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City University of Hong Kong

Department of Chinese and History

BA (Hons) in Cultural and Heritage Management

CAH4514 Project

Home Away From Home:

Identity and Sense of Belonging of Pakistanis in Hong Kong

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ABSTRACT

This project focuses on the culture and identity of Pakistanis in Hong Kong amidst the constantly changing mainstream ‘Hong Kong culture’ and ‘Hong Kong identity’. The analysis on government policies and NGO’s efforts sheds light on understanding the efficacy of home making among this cultural group. With the addition of primary information through conducting interviews and field visits to Kwai Chung, this study aims to enhance the existing critical scholarships on the topic, thus provide an insight on whether and how Pakistanis in Hong Kong could transform a ‘place’ into a ‘space’ called ‘home’.

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INTRODUCTION

Hong Kong's culture and identity are not only frequent topics of debate in academic circles, but they have also sparked vehement conversations among the general public. However, ethnic minorities, among the peoples in Hong Kong, are frequently under- or mis-represented in public discourses and critical scholarships. Therefore it is important to look into their current situation and self-identification, since they are undoubtedly a part of the society.

Amongst the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, the population growth of Pakistanis by percentage have been rapidly rising; it is now the fourth largest group¹ of minorities in Hong Kong² (Census and Statistics Department 18). Meanwhile, Kwai Chung has also been coined by Hong Kong's mainstream media as "mini Pakistan"; hence we would like to delve into this area and this group of ethnic minority in particular.

To study Pakistanis in Hong Kong, it is crucial to understand their culture and sense of identity as they interact with the mainstream – the Chinese-speaking society. That being so, we would like to discover where the ethnic minorities are currently situated, amidst the ongoing debates over the meaning of Hong Kong culture and identity. In this study, four main aspects will be investigated and discussed, including

¹ According to the 2011 Thematic Report by the Census and Statistics Department on ethnic minorities, Pakistanis consisted 3.2% of Hong Kongers in 2001 and 2006, and rose to 4.0% in 2011 (Census and Statistics Department 18).

² The Filipinos and Indonesians, which consisted a large amount in the survey (respectively 29.6% and 29.5% in 2011), are in fact domestic helpers (Census and Statistics Department 18). Therefore we would focus on Pakistanis instead – since most of them are locals whose parents or grandparents have come to Hong Kong since the colonial period.

the government, NGOs, media, and individuals.

We would like to start by providing a historical overview in the first chapter. Chapter 1 illustrates how the ethnic minorities (Indians and Pakistanis in particular) started to reside in Hong Kong. Since their settlement was closely related to the British colonial rule, colonial history highly affected ethnic minorities' position in Hong Kong's identity construction, even in later days of decolonization and reunification with Mainland China.

Yet before we zoom into individuals' perceptions, we hope to examine the impact of the Hong Kong government's policy toward ethnic minorities on their sense of identity. In Chapter 2, we would draw out major government policies and actions related to the ethnic minorities. By examining the suggestions raised by the Racial Harmony Unit and some general policy directions set in Policy Addresses, we would speculate the visions or stance of the Hong Kong's government regarding ethnic minorities. In the same chapter, we would also study how the Immigration Department, Education Bureau, and government subsidies have catered to the needs of ethnic minorities. This would help us figure out whether the visions of the government are effectively put into action. Moreover, we would also find out about the Hong Kong government's attitude and progress in this particular area, compared with other countries.

Chapter 3 reveals how non-governmental organizations work as a medium between the official agendas and individuals. Apart from interviewing social workers in NGOs, we would collect second-hand information through websites to study how

these organizations acquire government subsidies, how much they get, and how they lobby for welfare and support. We also hope to discover the difficulties and limitations NGOs faced, so as to uncover the conflicts between the governments' agenda and what the NGOs plans to achieve. Finally, we would evaluate the ethnic minority services provided by the NGOs help the minorities.

Chapter 4 further delves into the Pakistanis and their life worlds. We would study Kwai Chung's Ping Lai Path as their community, which is the outcome of 'home making' by both the local Pakistani community and Kung Yung Koon. Unlike other NGOs, Kung Yung Koon aims to transform Kwai Chung and Ping Lai Path into a 'home' for ethnic minorities; Pakistanis in particular. This issue would therefore be discussed in this chapter as we study how Kung Yung Koon is a facilitator in this homemaking process.

Following this section, in Chapter Five, we would concentrate on the mainstream media as a lens for the public to know about ethnic minorities and their life worlds – specifically Kwai Chung as “mini-Pakistan”. After critically investigating the space in the previous chapter, we hope to spot if there are any contradictions between the reality and the portrayals by mainstream media; how they have depicted Pakistanis and conveyed their voices. These could thus affect the identity of the space and the people in it, which we would examine later on.

Lastly, through surveys and interviews, we would critically analyze how identity and 'home' are viewed by the Pakistanis themselves in Chapter Six. Our ultimate goal is to probe into the different approaches of identity construction – from

the government to the individuals' reception and their cultural self-identification. We would like to explore to what extent are the culture and identity of Pakistanis in Hong Kong are affected by different social parties, such as the government and media.

In the end, this project would be concluded by a reflection on ethnic minorities' identity and culture, as well as its implications for home making in Hong Kong nowadays.

1

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Over the past centuries, Hong Kong has gone through significant historical, political, and cultural developments. The city has transformed from a part of Imperial China to a colonial city ruled by the British government. And with the 1997 handover, Hong Kong has reunified with the People's Republic of China; meanwhile, decolonization has led Hong Kong to a process of searching for and redefining Hong Kong's identity. The history and voices of non-white and underprivileged ethnic minorities, on the other hand, may hence be overshadowed by the search of Hong Kong identity vis-à-vis Chinese identity. This is, in fact, evidenced by the lack of representations in major scholarships and governmental records (Erni and Leung 17). In this chapter, we attempt to retrieve a brief chronicle of this group of people in Hong Kong (mainly Pakistanis), in order to provide a more holistic understanding of their settlement in the city and to shed light on our later chapters.

Since January 1841, Hong Kong Island's sovereignty has been proclaimed to be in the hands of the British according to the Convention of Chuenpi (穿鼻草約); in the following month, British Plenipotentiary Charles Elliot declared Hong Kong to be a free port (Carroll *appendix*). In 1843, Hong Kong Island has officially become a British Colony according to the Treaty of Nanking, followed by the Kowloon

Peninsular and the New Territories followed in later decades at the Convention of Peking (Carroll *appendix*)³.

As Hong Kong became a crown colony, foreign businesses and churches have started to expand in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong governmental blue book has recorded embassies and foreign consuls being set up in Hong Kong since 1851, showing that foreign countries had a close relationship with Hong Kong and that there were groups of foreigners residing in the city (Ting and Lo *prologue*).

However, it was not until 1871 did the governmental census start to record the number of non-Caucasian ethnic minorities in Hong Kong including Pakistanis, for only Europeans, Americans, and Chinese were listed before then (Ting and Lo 3). It is therefore impossible to figure out the population of ethnic minorities in early colonial Hong Kong, as all non-Chinese people were categorized as “Europeans and Americans” (4). This ambiguity obliquely hints at how non-Chinese and non-white ethnicities were being overlooked or underrepresented in the early colonial period, if not afterwards as well.

A Brief History of Pakistanis in Hong Kong

With India (including “Pakistan”)⁴ becoming a British colony in 1858, interactions between India and Hong Kong became more frequent, such as the

³ The New Territories was leased to the Britain for 99 years while Hong Kong Island and Kowloon Peninsula were ceded as the crown colony. Yet in 1997, all Hong Kong Island, Kowloon Peninsula, and the New Territories were handed over to PRC in 1997.

deployment of Indian soldiers to Hong Kong's police force and the establishment of the East India Company, which brought Indian or other South Asian sailors and traders to Hong Kong (Ting and Lo 145-146; Carroll 46).

Engagement in Police Force

Indians (including Pakistanis) were often appointed as police officers or prison guards in the early colonial Hong Kong for several reasons, including political considerations and racial prejudice. Politically, the government reserved from giving power to local policemen, so as to prevent them from challenging the British governance (Chu and Ho 17). On the other hand, cultural differences and racial discrimination during the time resulted in the segregation between Chinese and Europeans in the colony. European residents in Hong Kong were also resistant towards the idea of Chinese policemen monitoring their areas, while British officials also believed that Chinese policemen would likely be biased towards local criminals (Carroll 46; Chu and Ho 16). All these reasons called for the need for an increasing number of non-Chinese policemen, be they Europeans or other South Asians.

Consequently, the British government sought labour force from India, which was also a crown colony at the time (Chu and Ho 17). And on these accounts, policemen of Indian ethnicity were treated better than that of Chinese origins until the 20th century, which is shown through the serious

⁴ Pakistan was a part of India until 1947, when it declared autonomy and become an independent country since then. Therefore in this study Pakistan is included as 'India' in the events before 1947.

disparity in their wages⁵ (Ting and Lo 147). Therefore it does not come as a surprise that many Indians left their home countries and came to Hong Kong to join the police force for the better salary or in the hope of moving to other British colonies afterwards. Most of these people were in fact illiterates from poor rural areas, but working in Hong Kong allowed them to start a new life; they could also learn Chinese and English upon their arrival in another colonial city (147).

However, recruiting police officers from India were only out of political concern. European officers still held most of the management positions, as the multi-national recruitment policy of introducing Indians to the force was only to “dilute” the Chinese power in the police force and to prevent their threat to British rule (Chu and Ho 17; Erni and Leung 19)⁶. This shows the racially divided power structure in the police force. Even if Indian policemen had more privileges than the local police, their career prospects were still limited. These Indian policemen could only stay in Hong Kong for a limited time – they would have to leave the police force or even be repatriated to their home countries after a certain period of time – hence even when officially they could reach positions of sub-inspectors, they only had enough time to be promoted to sergeants (Ting and Lo 147). The structure of the police force shows how Indians were placed between European management

⁵ In the pre-WW2 era, racial discrimination has been serious among civil servants – in 1914, the yearly wage of European police officers was £1000, which was seven times higher than the policemen with Indian and Chinese ethnicity whose yearly wage were about HKD\$150 (Ting 102). Yet when compared with the Chinese policemen, the wages of Indian police were still slightly higher (Ting and Lo 147).

⁶ This is proven by the police statistics – until the WW2, 23 Indian policemen died during duty while only 6 British policemen have lost their lives at work, showing how Indian policemen were likely to work at the frontline (Chu and Ho 18). We can also see how they are less likely to become high-positioned officials.

personnel and Chinese police on the frontline. Indeed, their English standard may be better than most local policemen, yet their limited knowledge of Chinese and somehow privileged treatments did not allow them to blend into the Chinese community either (147). Hence the Indian police community was largely constrained within their ethnic enclave, which might foreshadow their position in later colonial and post-colonial Hong Kong.

The large number of Indians in the police force explains why most Indians in Hong Kong were male in the 1870s and 1880s, especially when the Muslim religion did not encourage women to leave their homes (Ting and Lo 158). However, in the 1890s, the number of Indian women and children in Hong Kong had increased due to family reunions or interracial marriage with local Chinese women (158). These chain migration and marriage migration patterns have allowed more Indians to reside in Hong Kong, which also led to their long-term settlement and homemaking in this diaspora later on.

This growing trend continued until the first half of the 20th century, until it faced a hiccup in 1947 after the outbreak of the Indo-Pakistani war. The war affected the British-Indian relationship as the colony separated into India and Pakistan (Chu and Ho 19). The Indian government strongly opposed the British colonial government for recruiting Punjabi labourers for Hong Kong, and forbade the Indians who were having a break in their home country from recommencing their jobs in Hong Kong (19). As a result, the Hong Kong colonial government had to recruit from Pakistan in 1952 and 1961 (19-20). The Pakistani policemen soon earned their career success in Hong Kong,

especially amidst the 1967 Riots when many Chinese-locals rallied against the colonial government. The British officials tended to trust non-Chinese policemen more as they were seen as less corrupt and more politically neutral in events such as the 1967 Riots (Ting 102, Chu and Ho 25).

Engagement in Trade and Commerce

The engagement of Indians (and Pakistanis) in Hong Kong's trade and commerce developed steadily in the early colonial period, but settlement due to business reasons was not as significant as those seen in the police force.

With the establishment and success of the East India Company, trades such as opium and tealeaves flourished. South Asian sailors were hired to work on ships for the British businesses, and some of them even moved to Hong Kong for work purposes. However, it was only until the 1950s when Hong Kong entered the industrial period with accelerated capitalist developments later on did Indians began to flourish in Hong Kong for business reasons. Famous prominent Indian families in Hong Kong include the Harilela family, which started off with a sewing business in the 1950s, and the Gidumal family, which launched supply stores in the 1960s that catered to both the British and the Indians in Hong Kong (Erni and Leung 21).

As Hong Kong was developing its industries in the era, Hindu and Muslim businessmen began to climb the social and economic ladder in Hong Kong. Many of the early Indian inhabitants had invested in trades and ran

retail businesses in Tsim Sha Tsui and Jordan; Chungking Mansions had become a famous multi-ethnic prime spot since its operation in 1961 (Erni and Leung 22). Their businesses prospered during Hong Kong's flourishing economy in the 1970s; some of these Indian traders thus had a chance to climb up the economic and social ladder (21). However, since 1997, these ethnic minorities in security or law and order sectors were eventually replaced by Chinese-locals (21). Coupled with the inflow of Pakistani immigrants – most of whom coming to Hong Kong to work as factory workers or cargo workers in the 1970s – the impression that Pakistanis in Hong Kong belonged to a lower echelon was intensified (22).

Construction of 'Hong Kong Culture and Identity'

The above overview of Indian (and Pakistani) settlement in Hong Kong reveals how their residency in Hong Kong was closely related to British colonial history. As Carroll has put it, colonialism has vastly impacted Hong Kong's development, and the city would not be where it is right now without the 150s years of British rule (Carroll 3).

Meanwhile, the colonial history of Hong Kong has also put the city and its peoples in a state of identity confusion. Geographically, Hong Kong was located on the southern boarder of Mainland China. Hence Hong Kong was inevitably affected by events in its neighbor country in spite of its status as a crown colony (Carroll 3). By 1841, the majority of Hong Kong's population was ethnic Chinese. Most of them who came to Hong Kong from the Chinese Mainland were to look for business or job

opportunities and had the port mentality of going back to China, where their ‘home’ was, once they had accumulated wealth.

From the events such as the 1925 Canton-Hong Kong Strike and the 1937-1945 Sino-Japanese War, one can observe that Hong Kong had maintained a tight bond with China – most first-generation immigrants in Hong Kong would have relatives in Mainland China, and therefore would show great empathy in times of crisis. From 1842 to the early 1950s (shortly after the establishment of the PRC), people in Hong Kong and China commuted freely across the border as identification documents were not yet in place for cross-border traffic.

With the spark of socialism and nationalism in China in the early 20th century, Hong Kong was also affected by the political climate in Mainland China; as shown in events such as the 1922 Seamen Strike and the 1925 Canton-Hong Kong Strike (Faure *xxvi*). These already revealed how mass movements in Hong Kong were closely knitted with China and its political environment. Since the 1967 Riots in Hong Kong⁷, the British government had started to establish and define “Hong Kong” as neither (British)-nor (Chinese), for it feared that Hong Kongers may bring disruptions against the colonial rule someday⁸.

⁷ With the sentiments imbued by the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the 1967 (Leftist) Riots were triggered in Hong Kong. People pledged strong allegiance towards Mao and his ideas, hence showed hatred towards the British and capitalism, which resulted in protests and riots in the colonial Hong Kong.

⁸ The ideological difference thus led to Hong Kong’s unique economic development, compared with other Chinese cities or other British colonies. To avoid dissent from the locals, the British colonial government has put great emphasis on consumerism and free market economy to an extent that it turned into a one-dimensional development, which on the other hand, obstructs the development of democracy and political freedom (Abbas 5).

However, despite the fact that this neither-nor mentality is uniquely “Hong Kong”, Pakistanis, or other ethnic minorities, may not necessarily feel like they could belong because of the nature of the dominant “Hong Kong” identity discourse and the events that helped mold it.

For example, the general understanding of “Hong Kong” identity was mainly based on differentiating itself from China. The difference in social and economic development between Hong Kong and China escalated since the late 1960s. China’s emphasis on molding the “new socialist man” and the indoctrination of Mao’s ideologies isolated itself from foreign cultural influences (Lau and Kwan 2). Meanwhile in Hong Kong, in the 1970s, colonial government-sponsored events such as the “Hong Kong Festival” and “Keep Hong Kong Clean Campaign” were to promote capitalism as opposed to socialism in China (Carroll 172). While in popular culture, mainland characters such as “Ah Chan” (阿燦) in the TV show *The Good, The Bad And the Ugly* in 1979 created a stereotype “new comer” character to differentiate “modern” Hong Kong from an “old-fashioned” China (Chen 117). While the political, legal, and social systems in Hong Kong developed based on the British structure, it departed from the development of Mainland China under the PRC. This explains why Hong Kong culture was distinctive from, and thought to be more “advanced” than, the Chinese culture on the Mainland, especially when the social order, legal system, and the political structure of the PRC (“politics within the government”) mirrored the “legitimizing principles” from the Imperial China, in a sense that the Communist Party was the only doctrine in political, social, and economic sectors (Lau and Kuan 2, 4-5).

Indisputably, these events have propelled the local Cantonese culture to its peak in the 1970s and 1980s, which brought great pride to Hong Kongers (Tsui, 67). Since the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, the Hong Kong society began to search for a more definite identity; the sense of identity crisis reached a new peak with the people's political awakening in the wake of the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre (Carroll 197; Abbas 4). By 1985, a survey revealed that 59.5% of the respondents referred to themselves as "Hong Konger", instead of "Chinese" (Lau and Kuan 2).

However, since Hong Kong's handover in 1997, it has gone through a re-nationalisation project as the former Chief Executive Tung Chee-hua promoted elements of Chineseness as "Asian Values" (Chen 118). Historian Wang Gungwu has pointed out that unlike Mainlanders or Taiwanese, Hong Konger has a unique attitude towards 'being Chinese', especially after 1997 (Wang 861). While most Chinese-locals tend to feel a stronger linkage towards their Chinese identity, there were still a number of citizens who regard themselves as Chinese but with a different ideology than the one that the PRC upheld (Wang 861). With Hong Kongers' imagination towards China being separated as "culturally China", "economically China", and "politically China", the re-nationalisation of Hong Kong in governmental discourses could then be adjusted as different aspects are not contradictory (Chen 119). Although it may be hard for Hong Kongers to accept the political or economic system of China, their sense of pride or belonging towards the Chinese culture, if not China, could still be fostered nonetheless. Hence the people's emotions and sentiments can be triggered through cultivating nationalism in different aspects.

Conclusion: Pakistanis Among the Mainstream

Since the early days of the colonial Hong Kong, the colonial government has adopted the “social non-interventionism” and “laissez faire” attitude in managing different peoples in the city (Lau and Kuan 22). It was not until the later years did the government started to develop Hong Kong’s economy into a capitalist free-market economy for politically strategic reasons. When the colonial government eventually started to build a unique ‘Hong Kong identity’ in the 1970s, the motive behind was mainly to prevent the Chinese-local from being affected by the PRC propaganda at that time and rally against colonialism. This could suggest that the ‘Hong Kong identity’ was based on the differentiation from China.

This brings us to the question – where are the ethnic minorities positioned? Given that their ethnicity is different from the majority of the locals, whose roots were predominantly Chinese, (how) were the ethnic minorities included in the making of “Hong Kongers”?

Tracing back, it seemed as if the lack of integration among both Chinese and Indian (and Pakistani) ethnicities weren’t solely due to the construction of the ‘Hong Kong culture and identity’, based on the differentiation from ‘Chineseness’. Some historians have observed that the Chinese people’s xenophobia towards Indians were much serious than those for Europeans, especially because of the darker skin colors (Lethbridge 33). It was reported by historian Frederic Wakeman that according to the various sources he has consulted, rumours that the Indian policemen were sexually molesting Chinese women were widespread during the early colonial period (33). As

a result, Chinese locals feared and avoided Indians; this ethnic minority group has hence become alienated, and the ethnic stereotypes seemed to have prevailed for decades.

That being so, the Pakistani minority could be alienated from the mainstream society; not only because of the inherent components of ‘Hong Kong identity’ – be they in the late colonial years or in the post-1997 era – but also because of their difficulty in integrating into the mainstream society and being accepted by the Chinese majority.

The later chapters would further delve into the details of the Pakistani community in Hong Kong. We would figure out where ethnic minorities are positioned through taking a closer look at one of the most underrepresented cluster, the Pakistanis. This is to better understand whether, and how, their culture and identity might be assimilated or integrated into the mainstream.

GOVERNMENT APPROACHES AND POLICIES

After the end of British colonial rule and reunification with the People's Republic of China in 1997, Hong Kong has undergone a seemingly infinite voyage of identity-searching, and entered an era in which different parties have more actively conveyed their opinions through petitions, protests or rallies. In this scenario, the HKSAR government understood Hong Kong, as a multicultural city, must deal with the increasing numbers of problems created by diversity. Following former PRC Premier Wen Jiabao's speech in the 2005 National People's Congress on the importance of societal development and the fostering of social harmony, former Hong Kong Chief Executive Donald Tsang emphasized social harmony as one of the main targets in the policy address in 2005 (Erni and Leung 7). Since then, several actions have been taken regarding the status and social integration of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong.

In response to social disputes and inequalities, the Race Discrimination Ordinance (RDO), the first anti-discrimination legislation in Hong Kong, was passed and came into operation in 2008 and 2009 respectively. The often-overlooked difficulties and issues regarding ethnic minorities by the mainstream discussions have then finally come into spotlight. Not only has the ordinance triggered public debates, but it has also initiated the formation of policies (discussed below) concerning various aspects of challenges that the ethnic minorities are facing. These policies aim to curb obstacles regarding education, employment, learning of languages, and involvement

in social and political issues, among others, in order to help ethnic minorities blend into the society, hence construct a more harmonious Hong Kong that welcomes all peoples. However, the effectiveness of this ordinance in handling the obstacles faced by the minorities remains arguable without other forms of social support and services designed to address their specific needs.

To further develop a harmonious society, the HKSAR government has also produced a series of promotional videos, namely the “Social Inclusion” series, in the hope of fostering respect and tolerance among different groups of people in Hong Kong. In the following, we would like to examine different policies, ordinances and government departments so as to look into the existing forms of assistance available to the ethnic minorities, as well as some of the challenges that the ethnic minorities are facing in Hong Kong. In addition, we will discuss the government's position and approaches towards ethnic minorities in constructing a harmonious society; finally, we will look into the cultural identity-making of ethnic minorities under such policies and social supports.

Major Government Policies and Ordinance Related to Ethnic Minorities

Legally, a number of laws and ordinances in Hong Kong have delineated the degree of rights that ethnic minorities in Hong Kong could enjoy and the safeguarding measures of protecting such rights, including the Basic Law, the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance, and Race Discrimination Ordinance.

Chapter III of the Basic Law, *Fundamental Rights and Duties of the Residents*,

stipulates the rights that can be enjoyed by both Hong Kong permanents and non-permanent residents. In this sense, once a person of ethnic minority has been granted the Hong Kong resident status, either permanent or non-permanent, (s)he is endowed with the same rights as everyone else in the mainstream society (“Hong Kong Basic Law”).

To explain the right of Hong Kong ethnic minorities, it is crucial to refer to the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance. The ordinance explicitly states that ethnic minorities in Hong Kong could enjoy the same degree of rights as the majority of Hong Kong people (“Hong Kong Bills of Rights Ordinance”). Several articles in the ordinance mentioned about the right of ethnic minorities, including Article 1 *Entitlement of Rights without Distinction*, Article 22 *Equality Before and Equal Protection of Law*, and Article 23 *Rights of Minorities*.

Article 1 states that the rights recognized in the Bill of Rights “shall be enjoyed without distinction of any kind, including race, colour, religion and national or social origin” (“Hong Kong Bills of Rights Ordinance”). Meanwhile, Article 22 indicates “all persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law” (“Hong Kong Bills of Rights Ordinance”). Thus it outlaws all kinds of discrimination, be they racial, religious, or cultural. It is noteworthy that Article 23 especially touches upon the rights of minorities in Hong Kong. It states that people “belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language” (“Hong Kong Bills of Right Ordinance”).

Yet, the above ordinance lacks a clear and detailed guidance for both the Hong Kong government and the general public to safeguard the rights of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. At the same time, the number of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong has risen continuously, while different social stakeholders such as non-governmental organizations and political parties have paid much more attention towards issues regarding this group of people. Consequently, discussions about the measures to ensure the rights of ethnic minorities have surfaced. This led to the government enacting the Race Discrimination Ordinance (RDO) in 2008, which has started operating in the following year (Equal Opportunities Commission).

The enactment of RDO aims to eradicate discrimination of race or other statuses caused by prejudices and stereotypes against people from other racial groups, which is often due to unfamiliarity with alien culture and languages. According to the RDO, racial groups falls into five categories, defined by race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin of people in the particular group (Equal Opportunities Commission). The Commission has further explained that the constitution of racial discrimination is generally defined by how people are treated; whether they are disfavored because of their races.

Under the operation of RDO, seven aspects are covered, including “education”, “employment”, “eligibility to vote for and to stand for election to public bodies”, “provision of goods, facilities or services”, “disposal or management of premises”, “participation in clubs”, and “offering of a pupilage or tenancy in a barrister’s chambers” (Community Legal Information Centre). Nevertheless, the

ultimate goal of the ordinance as stated is to “enrich Hong Kong’s culture and uplift Hong Kong’s competitiveness among international level” (Equal Opportunities Commission). This explicitly shows that it is a branding method that portrays Hong Kong as a multicultural city, rather than taking care of the needs and aspirations of Hong Kong ethnic minorities.

The HKSAR government had overlooked ethnic minorities in successive Policy Addresses before the Racial Discrimination Ordinance was enacted. Shortly after the implementation of the Racial Discrimination Ordinance, former Chief Executive Donald Tsang has started to provide directions towards ethnic minorities policies in his 2011 Policy Address. In general, the government supported ethnic minorities by providing supportive services in education and employment to foster a mutual understanding and respect within the Hong Kong community (“2011-12 Policy Address” 29). In terms of education, later policy addresses by Chief Executive CY Leung repeatedly mentioned the importance of Chinese learning, and the government identified ethnic minorities’ insufficient Chinese level as the reason of their difficulty in blending into the society (“2014 Policy Address” 22-23). Thus, the Policy Addresses emphasized that ethnic minorities must improve their ability to listen to, speak, read and write Chinese. It stated that Chinese learning support should be enhanced in different educational levels, for instance, Applied Learning Chinese Language Course in the senior secondary level for non-Chinese speaking students is one of the supports given by Education Bureau (“2015 Policy Address” 39).

In terms of the employment situation of ethnic minorities, the Policy Addresses in 2011 and 2015 revealed that the government has worked on ethnic

minorities employment issues, through organizing more job fairs by the Labour Department and providing training programmes with 800 places for ethnic minorities by the Employees Retraining Board (“2011-12 Policy Address” 29; “2015 Policy Address” 39). Furthermore, the government has also tried to cooperate with the private sector and non-governmental organizations to create more employment opportunities for ethnic minorities, as reported in the 2013 Policy Address (“2013 Policy Address” 45).

The HKSAR government has tried to make an effort to be the pioneer in promoting racial equality in the society. As a result, a set of guidelines, namely *Administrative Guidelines on Promotion of Racial Equality*, has been rolled out to provide instruction to various bureaux as well as public authorities, so as to ensure that ethnic minorities would be treated equally when accessing to public services. (Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau). The following section examines to what extent could the major government departments that concern ethnic minorities promote racial equality, through reviewing their measures and practices.

Major Government Departments concerning Ethnic Minorities’ Issues

Before the formulation of ordinances and policies, the HKSAR government has established specialized departments for handling issues regarding ethnic minorities, in order to promote racial harmony under the master plan of constructing a harmonious and multicultural city. The actions can be traced back to 2002 when the Home Affairs Bureau set up a consultative Committee on the Promotion of Racial Harmony, mainly for the provision of advice to the government on the development

strategies of promoting racial harmony (Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau). In the same year, Race Relations Unit was established under the same Bureau to provide support and services in facilitating the integration of ethnic minorities. Its work covered a wide range of programmes, ranging from education, employment, and publicity to ethnic minority forums.

Under the Race Relations Unit, programmes and support measures concerning education are main focuses. The target group of the education programmes is not restricted to the Non-Chinese Speaking students (NCS) but is also expanded to all students as a whole. They aim to arouse general awareness on culture and difficulties of ethnic minorities, and further encourage communication between the minorities and the majority (Race Relations Unit). For instance, exhibitions, school talks, multilingual phrasebooks, harmony scholarships, cross-cultural learning programmes for NCS youngsters were proposed to educate the public on different cultures. Meanwhile, another set of educational measures that targeted ethnic minorities was also mentioned. They include bridging programmes, grants, on-site support to local schools, training for Chinese teachers and supplementary guide on Chinese-teaching for NCS students etc. (Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau). In addition, publicity and integration programmes such as campaigns including poster promotions, drawing competitions and radio broadcast with ethnic minority languages were also launched. We can thus see that the unit has attempted to provide a comprehensive and all-inclusive program to foster the integration and communication of the two parties – the ethnic minorities and the rest of the society – for the attainment of social harmony.

However, the actual implementation and effectiveness of the above seemingly

well-structured programmes and measures are still disputable due to the vagueness of the proposal. In particular, despite the training for Chinese teachers as a proposed measure, there is no clear guidance and further elaboration on it in both official reports and websites. The only information provided is that the “commissioned tertiary institutions” would be responsible for organising related training for “designated schools” (Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau). There is no further elaboration on what the designated schools are nor are there details on the training programmes. This may lead to another ambiguity concerning the education programme, which is the criterion of the selection of subsidised schools. For instance, intensive on-site support and financial grants were only offered to the chosen ten primary schools and five secondary schools in the 2006/7 school year to improve the quality of teaching and learning of Chinese to non-Chinese speaking students (Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau). The exact criteria are unknown and the coverage of the support is obviously limited as well. Moreover, the frequency of public education programmes such as talks and exhibitions remains unclear. The ethnic minorities or the general public’s access to the programmes and assistance is also a question that is to be discussed in the next chapter.

Apart from the Race Relations Unit, another government department that has incited controversy is the Immigration Department, which generated debates on the eligibility for applying for the HKSAR passport. The application of HKSAR passports has always been a frustrating issue for ethnic minorities, including both migrants and descendants of migrant families who were born and raised in Hong Kong. According to HKSAR government, one of the fundamental criteria to be fulfilled to apply for a HKSAR passport is to possess Chinese Nationality. Therefore

we have to first look into the Application for Naturalization as a Chinese National. There are ten factors to be considered by the Immigration Department in an application, and the most controversial requirement is to have “sufficient knowledge of the Chinese language” (Immigration Department). However, the definition of “sufficient” is not stated, which led to contestations when ethnic minorities are applying for Hong Kong passports. Various public media like *Apple Daily* and *Passion Times* have pointed out the non-transparency and ambiguity of the procedure and criteria, which created extra barriers for the ethnic minorities to integrate into Hong Kong society, when they could not even legally be a part of Hong Kong. In 2014, a local born Pakistani girl, Asma, was rejected in her application for Naturalization as a Chinese National without any explanation on the refusal (*Passion Times*). Without an HKSAR passport, Asma encountered many obstacles including the loss of learning opportunity in Singapore due to the failure in applying for student visa. However, in another case, the former chairman and famous business magnate Allan Zeman, who does not speak fluent Chinese, was successful in the applying for the naturalization for Chinese Nationality (*Apple Daily*, “Ten Rules of Naturalisation”). This shows the varying standards of the application for a HKSAR passport, especially when Asma could speak fluent Chinese yet Zeman could not. This revealed the large grey area in the vagueness of the unexplained terms. Therefore, the obscure criteria may hinder the development of a sense of belonging and cultural identity of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. This may even be contradictory to the official plan and intention of promoting a harmonious society.

Apart from the application for passports and nationality status, ethnic minorities in Hong Kong are also dealing with hardships regarding education.

Education is not only a recognised means to acquire knowledge, but more significantly, it is a way to climb up the social ladder. For ethnic minorities, being educated and landing good jobs are also a means for them to better integrate to the mainstream society. In this respect, the HKSAR government has been spending efforts particularly on education to support ethnic minorities. As aforementioned, the Race Relations Units has provided various kinds of funding for schools, extra Chinese tutorial classes and other learning kits to support ethnic minorities students. However, the overall education system and policies designed by the Education Bureau still created unfairness and difficulties for the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. One striking change in education system policy that affected ethnic minorities is the shift from using English as a medium of teaching to “mother-tongue teaching”, which began in 1998, one year after the handover. It has often been regarded as an inconsiderate policy towards non-Chinese speaking students as they would have less choice for the schools they could enter due to language barriers (Loper 5). It is notable that most of the remaining schools using English as a medium of instruction (EMI schools) are labelled as ‘band one’ and ‘elite’ schools that require outstanding academic performances (5). As Chinese Language is one of the school subjects, ethnic minorities may face greater challenges and struggles to get into band one schools, for NCS students do not have sufficient academic qualification in Chinese. As a result, they could only apply for band two or three EMI schools where Chinese Language can be exempted and be replaced by other languages. The unfavorable language learning environment and education system may further hinder the academic achievement and chances to obtain tertiary education of students of ethnic minorities, especially when Chinese Language is one of the fundamental entry requirements of most universities under the JUPAS admission. This is, therefore, one of the issues that

the Education Bureau has yet to reconsider in order to encourage a truly social inclusive society.

Another issue that is worth reviewing by the Education Bureau is the languages used in schools. According to the Bill of Rights Ordinance, ethnic minorities maintain the right to use their own languages. Yet educational support provided by the Education Bureau merely focus on the teaching of Chinese language through different kinds of remedial programmes. In this respect, students of ethnic minorities would not have the chance to learn their own languages (e.g. Urdu, India etc.) at school, not to mention the time and platform for them to practice. Thus many young descendants of the first or second generations of ethnic minority migrants could not speak fluently nor write in their own languages due to the lack of support and opportunities to practice in Hong Kong.

Meanwhile, Education Bureau has also overlooked the cultural differences, such as dress codes and food regulations for ethnic minorities students, especially female Pakistani students (Chan et al. 52). As students spent most of the time in school, the lack of support for their cultural needs may lead to a dilution to their unique cultures and religious practices. This inconsideration may be caused by the Education Bureau, schools, and the general public's low awareness towards the ethnic minorities' cultures. This is therefore another issue concerning the needs of ethnic minorities that the Education Bureau and the government should re-examine, so as to provide a fair and inclusive environment for the development of cultural diversity.

A Comparative Study of Different Approaches for a Multicultural Society

The observations above show that multicultural policies in Hong Kong were not established until the past decade, whereas countries like the United Kingdom or Canada have incorporated the plurality of cultures in policy-making long before. This section first charts out the approaches and models adopted by different societies that share historical similarities with Hong Kong, namely United Kingdom and Canada, so as to better understand the different multiculturalism models. Then, we would refer to these examples to identify and reflect on the multiculturalism approach of Hong Kong.

United Kingdom: Core+ Model

Similar to Hong Kong, the United Kingdom is also a place where most of the ethnic minorities are Pakistanis and Muslims. Their settlement history also echoes that of Hong Kong, as the arrival of Muslims in Britain could be traced back to the 18th century when sailors (also known as *lascars*) were recruited by the East India Company (Pauly 98). Since historical events such as decolonization, World War II, and the Indo-Pakistan war, many of the Muslims in these countries have migrated to Britain due to the push- and pull-factors of the unstable political situations in their home countries and the labour demand in Britain (98, 107). The immigration wave transformed Britain from a homogenic to a heterogenic society in terms of race, ethnic, and cultural compound (107). The large influx of immigrants inevitably led to conflicts between different racial parties; hence the British government

introduced several immigration and racial policies in the following decades.

However, it has been argued that the immigration policies by the British government are in fact excluding other racial groups, especially those from the former colonies. It is pointed out that these policies are, in nature, to avoid large inflows of immigrants subsequent to decolonization, while ensuring “domestic homogeneity” within the country (Pauly 109). For instance, the British Nationality Act of 1948, as well as the 1962 and 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act intended to keep out Asian and East African migrants, for it was difficult for non-Caucasians to attain British nationality, even when their spouses had been working in Britain for years (Parekh 205, 210; Pauly 109-110). However, these policies of exclusions have changed since the 1981 British Nationality Act. The Act offered five extra categories of British nationals such as “British Nationals (Overseas)”, “British Overseas Territories Citizens”, “British Protected Persons”, “Commonwealth Citizens in the United Kingdom”, “British Overseas Citizens”, other than “British Citizens” who are the only ones that have the right of abode in the country (Parekh 206; British Nationality Act 1981). This somehow helped British Citizens, the majority of which are the locally born white people, develop a sense of belonging towards their nation, while the other categories of British Nationals are still somewhat included in the country. Nonetheless, these measures are meant to postpone the full integration of ethnic minorities to the mainstream British society (Pauly 110).

This may echo with the immigration policies in Hong Kong nowadays,

as it is difficult for South Asian minorities to obtain Hong Kong passports. However, the vision behind the government's measures towards ethnic minorities in the UK may differ from that of Hong Kong.

Despite the immigration criteria being discriminative to other racial groups, the British government has often been welcoming towards ethnic minorities. Even in 1966, former Home Secretary Roy Jenkins stated that the British society should not be a "melting pot" where cultures are flattened and in uniformity; instead, Britain should be a place of "integration" where "cultural diversity (is) coupled with equal opportunity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance" (Pauly 110). This is clearly opposite from former Hong Kong Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa's aspiration of turning Hong Kong into a "melting pot", which we would discuss in a later section. Jenkin's speech has then triggered a series of actions including the establishment of the 1968 and the 1976 Race Relations Acts, which led to the establishment of a Commission of Racial Equality (CRE) that manages the interests of UK's ethnic minorities (110). In 2000, the British government has already managed to list out specificities of the legislations regarding equal opportunities and racial discrimination in the workplace (Parekh 251-252). Hong Kong, on the other hand, was clearly lagging behind as regulations and bureaus responding to the needs of ethnic minorities are established decades later.

Social integration of ethnic minorities is, after all, a long-term project. Indeed, from the paragraph, we could see the British government's attempts of unifying the society within the nation (Pauly 116). However, we could not

deny that the multiculturalist approach by the British government still has its flaws and incompetence, especially when we look into the details of its policies.

From the categorization of British nationals to the attempt of integrating other ethnicities, we could observe that the United Kingdom's multicultural policies possess the characteristics of the core+ model of multiculturalism. In general, the core+ model can be distinguished by having its "consensual core" with add-ons of other different cultural identities (Ashworth 141). These add-ons could have no connection with the 'core', thus the majority do not need to pay heed on the minority cultures; they could also be contributive or enhance, the minority cultures may then be picked and included as embellishments to the 'core' (141).

It is, therefore, obvious that the United Kingdom adopts a core+ model towards multiculturalism. Yet there are also shortcomings in such model. It is suggested that Britain's multiculturalism approach failed to integrate Muslims particularly – from the 1976 Race Relations Act to the policies in mid-1990s, minority's religious and cultural practices were not considered (Pauly 111). Hence the Muslim dress codes or religious habits were not fully recognized or understood by the mainstream. This then led to a higher unemployment rate among Muslims; most of whom had to work as low-skilled labour as their practices were deemed incompatible with the mainstream society (116).

The prejudice seemed to be prevalent even until recent years. In

official documents, it is still recorded that Britain consists of essentially “one large white majority” and is used in official papers even during the 2000s (Parekh 254). Despite having set up a Social Exclusion Unit in 1997 to prevent social exclusion, there are still subtle traits of discrimination (“Social Exclusion Unit” 2). The Unit, along with the Department of Education and Employment, has regarded equality among races as a “minority ethnic issue” (Parekh 254). And in its document in 2000, it was stated that “every colour is a good colour” (255). This has then stirred up multiple criticisms, as the British government failed to address cultural racism, yet categorized the peoples in colours and physical appearance instead (255). As a result, this group of ethnic minorities are trivialized and marginalized due to the unfamiliarity towards their customs.

Canada: Salad Bowl Model

Like Hong Kong, Canada has once been a colony. People from different countries have since settled in Canada, thus the Canadian society is made up of different cultures. For instance, before the colonization by the French and the British, Canada only consisted of aboriginal people. Hence these colonizers tend to find themselves the ‘founding peoples’ of Canada, as the geographical, cultural and linguistic map of Canada has expanded since.

To manage various groups of people with different cultures, Canada has adopted the Salad Bowl model, as a contrary to the core+ model in United Kingdom or the melting pot model in its neighbor, the United States of

America. Legal confirmation of Canada's adoption of the salad bowl model could be traced back to the Quebec Act of 1774, in which the "French language, Catholic religion, and seigniorial land system" were institutionalized and recognized in the "Lower Canada", Quebec (Ashworth et. al. 183). The nation building of Canada since the WW2 was established on the grounds that the nation resisted and was distinct from the melting pot model of the United States (184).

To illustrate the salad bowl model, it could be described with different metaphors. Like its name, the model can be imagined as a salad bowl, in which different "ingredients" can be "brought together and collectively create the dish without losing their distinctive characteristics" (Ashworth et. al. 180). It could also be visualized as a "cultural mosaic", as different elements and cultures could "together create a pattern through their juxtapositions while each fragment remains unchanged and individually identifiable (180). This is perhaps why the salad bowl model of Canada is sometimes referred to as the 'Canadian mosaic'. Recently, the rainbow became a metaphor of this model as well. Similarly to the conceptualization of mosaic, different segments could piece together a pattern while having the core of their colour unaltered; yet their "edges merge seamlessly into each other" during the "production" of the rainbow (180). Within the model, it could also be divided as pluralist or particularist. The former emphasizes the inclusion of all diverse cultural groups to contribute to the mainstream, while the latter seeks to preserve the "integrity and authenticity" of distinctive groups rather than focus on their effect to the whole (181).

Indisputably, the salad bowl model could preserve the singularity and voices of each cultural group, as they would have the chance and platform to convey their opinions. However, this approach may seem too quixotic if a country or a city were to establish a mainstream culture.

The 1971 Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which further establishes the country as ‘multicultural’, has become an exemplar for various countries since then. The Act further confirms bilingualism of Canada in the federal level, giving equal status to French and English (Ashworth et. al. 184). However, it has also been pointed out that the Act was in fact rather vague and its wordings are carefully crafted to balance the interests of different cultural groups, incorporating both pluralist inclusive approach and the particularist approach of strengthening particular identities, which in effect, led to separatism (181, 184). Consequently, these could be the downsides of the salad bowl model, for a mainstream culture could hardly be established amongst the plethora of cultures.

Reflection on Hong Kong’s Multiculturalism Approach: “Melting Pot for Chinese and Western Cultures”

Having sketched the core+ model and the salad bowl model taken by the United Kingdom and Canada respectively, we could better comprehend the pros and cons of the multiculturalism approach of the Hong Kong government.

The Hong Kong government's direction of dealing with cultural diversity and identities has been laid out since its decolonization, when the image and positioning of Hong Kong was starting to form after the handover. In 1998, shortly after the change of sovereignty in 1997, the first Hong Kong Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa put forward Hong Kong's position as "Asia's world city" and emphasized Hong Kong's image as a "melting pot for Chinese and Western cultures" (Chu 48). This overview gives away that the government has been trying to foster a "genuine cosmopolitan" city, by absorbing characteristics of different cultures to form a unique culture (46). In the other words, the Hong Kong government was trying to turn the society into a place of "glocal" hybrid culture with its own personality (54).

If a melting pot approach implies that different cultures are blended together to create a new 'Hong Kong culture', this grand vision somewhat contradicts the government's promotion of an "inclusive society" with respect and harmony in 2005, which echoes the salad bowl model, as it intended to construct a place where different cultures could mutually coexist with interactions and understandings, with cultural diversity taking place.

At the same time, it is interesting that Tung has envisioned Hong Kong as a melting pot for 'Chinese' and Western cultures, instead of 'Asian' and Western cultures. This demonstrates the metanarrative of Hong Kong since 1997 – as a city that is originally a 'Chinese' fishing village but was turned into an international metropolis. Over the years, many scholars have specified

the problems of this over-generalized statement – other facets that contributed to Hong Kong culture could be overlooked within the view that Hong Kong is placed between the binary of ‘Chinese’ and ‘Western’. Indeed, cultures of ethnic minorities could easily be neglected in the continuous formation of Hong Kong culture and identity.

With the dominant narration of Hong Kong identity posed by the government, Hong Kong definitely has a more distinctive ‘mainstream identity’ compared with Canada, where all cultures are equal. However, unlike the core+ model of the United Kingdom or the salad bowl model in Canada, the needs and status of ethnic minorities of Hong Kong were almost completely ignored until recent years, since the establishment of the Race Relations Unit. Generally, the melting pot model intends to ‘melt’ different cultures into a new culture. Yet in Hong Kong’s case, the cultures being ‘melted’ were selective for decolonializing if not renationalizing reasons. The status of ethnic minorities would hence likely be undermined.

Conclusion: Hong Kong Government’s approach to cultural diversity and identity

After examining several crucial policies, ordinances as well as the actual work done by certain departments that concern issues regarding ethnic minorities, it is rather confusing whether the Hong Kong government is advocating Hong Kong as a melting pot or salad bowl model of multiculturalism due to the contradiction between its grand vision and the actual implementation. However, judging from the actual

situations and implementations, assimilation rather than inclusion, seems to be taking place in Hong Kong. Ethnic minority cultures are somehow overlooked and diminished despite the establishment of the aforementioned policies and ordinances. It can be observed in the government's emphasis on education programmes, which mainly focus on the teaching of Chinese languages in the hope that the ethnic minorities could integrate into Hong Kong society. However, these attempts may have turned out to be unsuccessful due to the vague education programmes, such as the teaching guidance for teachers on NCS, as we have discussed above. On the other hand, ethnic minorities face numerous hindrances when practicing their own customs, religions, languages etc.. Therefore it is relatively hard for them to integrate themselves into Hong Kong society due to reasons we have mentioned. In this sense, ethnic minorities in Hong Kong seem to live in confusing and desperate circumstances where they may have the feeling of being trapped in the middle, between their own culture root and Hong Kong society, as they could not truly develop their sense of identity and belonging to one specific group, which we would further investigate in later chapters.

Moreover, Hong Kong's image of a multicultural city is also being criticized by scholars that it is a "multiculturalism without diversity" as its ultimate goal is to achieve social harmony, unity and assimilation, without due emphasis on diversity (Erni and Leung 7-9). Therefore, Hong Kong government is believed to have adopted the approach of "benevolent multiculturalism" where cultures of different ethnic groups are assimilated to achieve harmony, instead of encouraging "unity-in-difference"(11). This attempt can also be noticed in the slogan of the Equal Opportunity Commission - "We As *One*". This vision signals that Hong Kong may

gradually lose its diversity due to the failure of addressing the actual needs and disadvantages of the ethnic minorities (9). However, as we have mentioned, the actual process of assimilation is not successful either, judging from the implementation and vagueness of the policies as well as the life experience of the individuals, which we will further examine in later chapters.

Taking everything into consideration, Hong Kong has gone through a process of assimilation under “benevolent multiculturalism”, rather than “social inclusion” as the official narratives have promoted. Indeed, assimilation could be a method to create a harmonious society with fewer conflicts in a multicultural city, as all cultural groups would be ‘melted’ into one. However, it may not be a long-term solution to deal with a society of different peoples, as the long suppressed and undermined voices may be resistant toward the dominant culture in radical if not violent ways. Most importantly, the assimilation approach that the government has been trying to adopt is somehow problematic because it has failed to achieve its ultimate goal. Therefore it may be high time for the Hong Kong government to reconsider the actual needs of the Hong Kong society and formulate new approaches to respond to the current situation.

NGOs' EFFORTS

Apart from the government, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is another major and crucial party in Hong Kong that concerns the needs of the ethnic minorities, advocates equality and provides extra assistance particularly addressing their demands that are, in the meantime, not provided by government departments. In fact, the term “non-governmental organization” is not a household name until the United Nation (UN) first coined the expression in the 1950s, in the hope of distinguishing parties other than governmental bodies. (Yaziji and Doh 4). In recent years, the UN has provided a clearer definition of NGO as a “non-profit, voluntary citizens’ group” which “performs a variety of services and humanitarian functions, monitor policies and encourage political participation at community level” (4).

The significance of NGOs lies mainly in their unique role as a mediator connecting the government and the local community. As discussed in the last chapter, the existing government policies and services concerning ethnic minorities are inadequate and thus have failed to address the actual needs of the minorities. This may be due to the low level of interaction and contact between the government and members of the minority community. However, NGOs, as community-based organisations, could frequently interact with the minorities through regular outreach programmes and other public engagement activities. In this sense, NGOs could better understand the actual situations and needs of the minorities hence formulate corresponding measures, as well as report to the government.

In Hong Kong, NGOs have become increasingly vocal and important, especially in response to the conflicts and inequalities that frequently draw the attention of the mass media and the general public. Moreover, the role of NGOs in Hong Kong has been undergoing gradual transformations along with the changes in society and government agenda. One major change is the relationship between NGOs and the Hong Kong government – from an intermittent relationship to a closer alliance, dealing with social and political issues. Before 1945, during the early stage of the development of social welfare in Hong Kong, NGOs had taken up an active and direct role in responding society's needs and providing social services, while the government resigned from its leading role as the main provider of social welfare (Lui 14). Yet after the Japanese occupation in 1945, the collaboration between the government and NGOs has gradually transformed. The government began to provide social welfares and services along with the existing welfares and charity system operated by the NGOs. Since then, NGOs became an essential government partner instead of a mere services provider (14). In other words, NGOs could work jointly with the government through cooperation and consultation.

The change in relationship with the government may enhance the influences of NGO thus increase their resources and broaden their scope of service. However, the close interactions and increasing reliance on the government may also imply the loss of autonomy in decision-making and the allocation of resources to a certain degree. Therefore the following part charts the assistance and services concerning the ethnic minorities provided by major NGOs in Hong Kong. Through investigating the government funding system, procedures and agenda, our discussion probes into the

current relationship between the government and the NGOs, as well as the conflicts arising from such interactions. In addition, we would briefly evaluate to what extent the existing services and assistance provided by the NGOs could address the needs of the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong.

Channels and Procedures to Attain Funding

As non-profit making charitable organizations, NGOs in Hong Kong generally raise capital through three main channels, including governmental aids, donation in person or from charity trusts, and revenue from service charges or interest earnings (Lui 85). Since this chapter examines the relationship between NGOs and the government in providing supporting service for ethnic minorities, this section will mainly focus on how the NGOs obtain funding from the government.

As mentioned, the Hong Kong government has positioned itself as the pioneer of promoting racial equality and integration. Therefore, different government departments have provided grants for NGOs to facilitate their services for ethnic minorities. To illustrate the channels and procedures, we would like to observe the two main departments that directly finance and cooperate with NGOs: Social Welfare Department and Home Affairs Department.

NGOs could apply for subventions from the Social Welfare Department as long as they are “bona fide non-profit making charitable organization(s) exempted from tax”, as pointed out in Section 88 of CAP 112 Inland Revenue Ordinance (Social Welfare Department). Eligible NGOs refers to those of which profits “are applied

solely for charitable purposes and are not expended substantially outside Hong Kong and either” (Inland Revenue Ordinance). The Social Welfare Department would regularly invite NGOs to submit proposals on the ‘Invitation of Proposals/Expression of Interest’ column of its web page (Social Welfare Department). Interested NGOs would then submit a range of information in detail, including the organization’s “registration certificate, constitutions/articles of association, management structure and names of the accountable persons, audited financial reports for the past three years, track records and services provided” for the application (Social Welfare Department). Successful applications will receive a lump sum grant abided by Funding and Service Agreement within a certain period (Social Welfare Department).

Other than the Social Welfare Department, NGOs may seek governmental funding from the Home Affairs Bureau. No application instruction could be found on the Race Relations Unit’s⁹ website. However, the Home Affairs Department has distributed funding for a total of eight NGOs, such as Hong Kong Christian Service and New Home Association to provide services for ethnic minorities, so as to further facilitate social integration efforts by NGOs (Race Relations Unit). In 2009, the government provided \$16 million for the operation cost of the centers and \$8 million for the start up cost. These centers¹⁰ received over \$20 million as annual sponsorship, as stated in 2011-12 Budget (2008-09 Budget 43-44; 2011-12 Budget 51).

Apart from government grants, some local institutions have also provided funding for non-governmental organizations’ services. Notable examples include the

⁹ Race Relations Unit is structurally under the Home Affairs Bureau; it aims at providing supporting service for ethnic minorities.

¹⁰ In 2009 to 2011, there were only four centres that received funding from the Home Affairs Department.

Hong Kong Jockey Club Charity Trust, which is under the Hong Kong Jockey Club. In 2004, the Trust sponsored \$4.3 million to Christian Action to establish an “Integrated Service Centre for Ethnic Minority”, in order to provide supporting services such as counseling and work skills training for ethnic minorities (Hong Kong Jockey Club).

Major NGOs in Hong Kong that Provide Service to Ethnic Minorities

As mediators between the government and the local community, various NGOs engage in providing support for ethnic minorities through various means such as social welfare. This section illustrates the efforts offered by four major NGOs that provide services related to ethnic minorities, including Hong Kong Christian Service, New Home Association, HKSKH Lady MacLehose Centre, and Hong Kong Unison.

Hong Kong Christian Service

Hong Kong Christian Service regards “all ethnic minority residents in Hong Kong” as its main service target (Hong Kong Christian Service, “Ethnic Minority Services”). Six projects had been run by the organization, covering education, women empowerment and youth development etc.¹¹. Located in Kwun Tong, the Centre for Harmony and Enhancement of Ethnic Minority Residents (CHEER) is one of the service centers under the Home Affairs Department’s funding scheme, which aims at “facilitating ethnic minority people to have a cheerful and harmonious life in the society” (Centre for

¹¹ Two out of six projects are still under operation, which are “Centre for Harmony and Enhancement of Ethnic Minority Residents (CHEER)” and “Hong Kong Jockey Club Community Project Grant: Integrated Service Centre for Local South Asians (ISSA)”.

Harmony and Enhancement of Ethnic Minority Residents). The centre launches a range of supporting services, including “interpretation and translation service”, “language programmes” in both Chinese and English, “integration programmes” such as afterschool Chinese tutorial class, and “counselling, guidance and referral services” (Centre for Harmony and Enhancement of Ethnic Minority Residents).

Furthermore, supported by the Hong Kong Jockey Club Charities Trust, the Integrated Service Centre for Local South Asians (ISSA) focuses on the empowerment of South Asian women. It aims at facilitating “better social inclusion” of women from South Asia (Hong Kong Christian Service, “ISSA”). The service centre targets South Asian women in the West Kowloon district to “give extensive platforms to develop and utilize their capacity, form mutual support networks, build positive connection with their families, people of same or different ethnic origins and local organisations” (Hong Kong Christian Service, “ISSA”). Mutual support groups formed by South Asian women have engaged in different activities such as cooking and practicing handicraft. In addition, capacity building programmes are launched in the center for both South Asian teenage girls and women in order to strengthen their physical and mental health.

New Home Association

With the funding provided by the Home Affairs Department, New Home Association is operating the HOME Support Service Centre for Ethnic

Minorities in Yau Ma Tei, Tsim Sha Tsui, and Mong Kok, with a sub-centre in Sham Shui Po. To promote racial harmony and integration, the centre provides language classes and after-school tutorial classes to improve ethnic minorities' language proficiency, as well as to help students with their homework (New Home Association). Similar integration programmes such as mutual support group are also run by the association.

Lady MacLehose Centre

Meanwhile, Kung Yung Koon under HKSKH Lady MacLehose Centre mainly provides service for ethnic minorities in Kwai Chung district. The centre aims to promote “harmony against different races” by holding cross-cultural community tours, workshops such as “Chinese Lantern Making Workshop” and “Henna Drawing Workshop” to facilitate the cross culture interaction (Kung Yung Koon). Furthermore, Kung Yung Koon bought up the idea of district revitalization, Ping Lai Plus- Ping Lai Cross-Cultural Community Revitalization Project, is one of their efforts to create a public space for people from all cultural backgrounds (Kung Yung Koon). Details of the project will be further illustrated in the next section.

Hong Kong Unison

The three NGOs mentioned above have received government grants or have cooperated with the government. Hong Kong Unison, on the other hand, is an NGO that relies on donation from the public instead of governmental

grant. Unlike the other NGOs discussed above, Hong Kong Unison chiefly engages in policy advocacy. It has pleaded on different issues related to ethnic minorities to promote racial equality, such as helping ethnic minorities with their passport application and seeking to improve Chinese language education policies (Apple Daily, “Ten Rules of Naturalisation; Hong Kong Unison). Regarding direct services, the Hong Kong Unison offers career guidance programmes for ethnic minority students and organizes talks in schools.

All of the NGOs mentioned in this section share a common goal – to help ethnic minorities in Hong Kong to integrate into the society. However, their focuses vary, depending on whether they are funded by the government. Hence this inspires our investigation into whether receiving funding from the government would in turn become a factor that holds back NGOs’ actions. A case study is therefore put forward in the following section to examine the conflict between government agenda and NGOs’ efforts and aspirations.

Conflicts Between Government Agenda and NGOs

The previous overview of the main sources of capital of NGOs in Hong Kong illustrates how governmental funding plays a central role in NGO services and operations. From the government’s emphasis on social harmony, in particular the social integration of ethnic minorities, we could observe the increasingly frequent negotiations and interactions between NGOs and the Hong Kong government.

To the NGOs, the increase in government funding is an excellent opportunity

to further develop and diversify their services, assistances and activities. However, the application involves not only intense competition among the NGOs, but also other difficulties regarding the application procedures and process. For instance, the frequency of the provision of funding and the application procedure for NGOs is vague to a certain extent. In the Social Welfare Department's homepage, it is only stated that the "NGOs interested in applying for subventions to operate welfare services may regularly browse the 'Invitation of Proposals/Expression of Interest' column on the Social Welfare Department's Homepage for the latest information" (Social Welfare Department). Yet, the exact period for application and frequency are not mentioned at all. Most importantly, due to the multi-layered governmental structure, the cooperation and negotiation between the government and the NGOs became challenging and time-consuming, which we will discuss below through the case of Kung Yung Koon. This eventually slows down the schedule of the proposed project as well as the outcome, caused by the constant modification to meet the requirements and expectations from the government. In order to discuss the above conflicts in a more concrete manner, we will look into a specific case, Kung Yung Koon – the Dost.

Kung Yung Koon – the Dost (Kung Yung Koon) is part of the *Our Community of Love & Mutuality: Nurturing Cultural Diversity & Community Legacy in Kwai Chung* project. Founded in May 2014 in Kwai Chung district, where the South Asian network has been well established, Kung Yung Koon is a community centre for both ethnic minority and non-ethnic minorities (Kung Yung Koon). It aims to advocate cultural exchanges and understandings between ethnic minorities and the local majority (Kung Yung Koon).

Under this community project, another project item, *Ping Lai Plus–Ping Lai Cross-Cultural Community Revitalization Project*, was also launched to revitalise Ping Lai Path, an area outside Kung Yung Koon. The project strives to turn Ping Lai Path into an “open garden featuring cross cultural elements” and a “public place where people from all cultural backgrounds can share and enjoy” (Kung Yung Koon). In order to actualize the project, Kung Yoon Koon had to constantly negotiate and liaise with the government, since the area is government property.

According to one interviewee, one of the curators from Kung Yoon Koon, the community project was initiated by the NGO itself (Appendix 2). It was then proposed to the government, in the hope of fostering an inclusive society in Kwai Chung, as well as improving the environment in Ping Lai Path such as dim lighting at night and the infestation of rodents. To encourage cultural exchange between ethnic minorities and the local majority, Kung Yoon Koon



originally proposed to transform Ping Lai Path into a park with a cycling path, performance stage, clock tower and a

Figure 1 The work that Kung Yung Koon could do is rather limited. The only obvious change in Ping Lai Path is a shelter with the words, "integration in harmony" (共融) on it. (Photo taken during our first field visit in January 2017)

larger sitting area where ethnic minorities and other residents could enjoy and relax (Kung Yoon Koon). Yet, this design has been rejected by the government, thus Kung Yung Koon was not given the requested materials such as the aforementioned facilities. Most importantly, it reveals the problem of a highly stratified structure in

government that imposed more obstacles for Kung Yung Koon during the implementation of the project, since they had to discuss and bargain with nearly seven government departments separately (Kung Yung Koon; Appendix 2).



Figure 2 A visualization of Kung Yung Koon's district revitalization project. As seen from the picture, the organization could only make alterations to the ground design. (Photo source: Kung Yung Koon)

As a reaction to this rejection, Koon Yoon Koon decided to organize activities in Ping Lai Path with high flexibility and mobility to avoid the government's interference. For instance, a mobile pop-up library is set up outside Kung Yung Koon for ethnic minority students to gather and read after school



Figure 3 The bulletin board outside Kung Yung Koon also shows an ideal outcome of the revitalization project.

with their friends and families (Appendix 2). From this we can see how Kung Yung Koon maneuvered their power under the limitations imposed by the government. They tried to make use of the originally overlooked space by providing these

facilities. In this way, not only could ethnic minorities in the area have a new platform for gatherings, learning and entertainment, but local residents could also enjoy the space. Most importantly, it serves to eventually foster interactions and mutual understanding between the ethnic minority and non-ethnic minority groups.

This case unveils the conflicts and different considerations between the government and NGOs when cooperating in social projects. The NGO's concerns are focused on their target groups – in Kung Yung Koon's case, they addressed the needs of ethnic minorities and hoped to promote their culture. Thus their goal is to design and formulate measures and services that could help their targets. Yet, the NGOs may overlook some practical factors when developing their projects, such as the opinions of the whole community, possible impacts on the local community, and the regulation of the government when redeveloping public places. On the other hand, the role of the government as a provider of social welfare and services has been changing from a passive monitoring role to an active facilitator (Lui 14, 203). However, this also implies that the government would impose a tighter control¹², and the NGOs that are receiving governmental funding are inevitably affected (203).

Moreover, to reinforce the policies and other strategies, the government tends to assert its power over NGOs so that services provided by the NGOs could be consistent with the government policies along with high flexibility (204). It is observed that the government is recently taking a more dominant role intended to take control, thus some NGOs are becoming more dependent since they have been

¹² It is noteworthy that these controls?? aren't limited to political concern. These control could be in terms of financial funding, as the government had to carefully allocate public expenditure to avoid deficit especially after the financial crisis in Asia (Lui 203).

downgraded from a “partner” that works with the government to a “subordinate” that acts within the government’s structure and within its limitations (Lui 205). However, it is understandable that the government is required by various parties – NGOs as well as the Hong Kong society as a whole – to take all factors into account and come up with comprehensive decisions. After all, it is incumbent upon the government to shoulder the ultimate responsibility for different actions, being accountable to the Hong Kong public. Yet it is also important to note that the strict regulations and considerations may eventually lead to monotonous outcomes, such as services and projects with limited diversity and creativity. Hence the obstacles may lead to failure in addressing the specific needs of the minorities.

Therefore it is noticeable that the role of NGOs as an active social service provider has been gradually overshadowed by the government in order to retain its power in decision-making and control of the public budget. However, the significance of NGOs cannot be overlooked. They are, after all, organisations that are able to directly approach and contact the people in need with less barriers, hence understand their actual needs. Despite the fact that NGOs are somehow undermined by the current government as “subordinates” rather than “partners”, their role as a bridge has never changed. Moreover, it is also important to strike a balance between the ideal situation pictured by the NGOs and the actual regulations and considerations of the government, so that the minorities could benefit most from the outcomes.

Low Usage of NGO Services and its Consequences

Under the current situation, it is undeniable that NGOs had to work under several constraints in order to reach out and help ethnic minorities in need. However, we wondered if their actions could actually make a difference to the ethnic minorities or the society as a whole. To study the actual effects of the NGOs' services, this section illustrates the prevalence of the use of their services in the local ethnic minority community (particularly Pakistanis) through interview findings. We would also like to put forward some of our speculations from our participation in an ethnic minority home visit activity organized by the Hong Kong Christian Service.

Our previous sections showed that many NGOs are providing help for ethnic minorities to integrate into the society. There are many language classes and after-school activities provided by NGOs, which could be a result of the government's emphasis on ethnic minorities' Chinese language learning (c.f. Chapter 2). Yet it is interesting how only one of our interviewees has sought help from social services. Other interviewees have either stated that they do not need help from NGOs nor would they want to seek help. A Pakistani interviewee has explicitly indicated that in spite of his financial hardships and his friends' difficulties in applying for Hong Kong passports, he would not turn to NGOs for help, as he would rather rely on himself. Two of our interviewees, respectively a university student majoring in social work (P) and a social worker from Hong Kong Christian Service (L)¹³, explained to us this phenomenon. P revealed that the local Pakistani community in Hong Kong shares a strong bonding; hence they are actually aware of the services provided by the NGOs

¹³ Due to the interview ethics and privacy reasons, acronyms would be used to refer to our interviewees to avoid the disclosure of personal data.

through word of mouth. However, with the tight rapport among their circle, they would usually seek help from their friends whenever they encounter problems in their daily lives. Consequently, their need for social support is relatively low. This also explains L's observation that her clients are usually contacted by her and her colleagues, while her clients' initiative to approach social workers themselves remains extremely low. Therefore it is clear that social services provided by NGOs are not commonly used by the majority of the Pakistani community, for they tend to be resistant towards seeking help from the government or NGOs.

As discussed above, most of the services provided by the NGOs are Chinese classes or language assistance. The low usage of these services is actually reflected in the language barriers between Chinese-locals and ethnic minorities. This could, in turn, affect other services provided by NGOs, as ethnic minorities may not effectively voice out their needs. Hence, it would be harder for them to seek assistance in daily lives and integration to the society.

In February, we have joined an outreach programme (home visit to ethnic minorities elderly) held by the Hong Kong Christian Service's Support to Ethnic Elderly (SEE) Project¹⁴. During the home visits, we could not communicate with the ethnic minority elderly, as they spoke in their own languages (Appendix 6). It took us extra effort to remind them about government welfares and benefits such as healthcare vouchers as they may not be able to retrieve this information from mainstream news channels (Appendix 6).

¹⁴ The full field trip report could be found in Appendix 6.

From this experience we learnt how language barrier indubitably remains a key factor that impedes ethnic minorities from integrating into the Hong Kong society. Meanwhile, for the same reason, it is hard for the Chinese local community to reach out to them. Problems faced by NGOs, such as difficulties in seeking government's support that we have suggested in the previous sections, are merely the tip of the iceberg. More importantly, language and cultural barriers have blocked ethnic minorities from seeking help, leaving them and their needs hidden behind the wall, overlooked if not unseen by the majority of the Chinese locals.

Conclusion: Government Subsidies – A Double-Edged Sword?

This chapter has provided an overview of NGOs in Hong Kong, and has attempted to examine the actual work of some NGOs and their feasibility in helping ethnic minorities. Indeed, the government has increased its engagement in public services for the ethnic minorities in recent years. It is unarguable that the government has a significant involvement in the operations of the NGOs through financial support. However, the constraints and the limitations of the services that government-funded NGOs could provide could be the other side of the coin.

As listed from the above, the Hong Kong government has allotted a substantial amount of subsidy and resources to the social and linguistic integration of ethnic minorities. On the other hand, other subjects such as the application of Hong Kong passport (as discussed in Chapter 2) and the attempts to increase public space and facilities for ethnic minorities have been brushed aside, with only a few NGOs like HKSKH Lady MacLehose Centre's Kung Yung Koon and Hong Kong Unison

working on these deep-rooted issues. This could lead to a one-sided development of NGOs, in the sense that they are merely helping ethnic minorities to integrate into the mainstream with at best mixed results, not to mention the low utilization rate of these social services. This is not to say that services such as language support are not important. The language barrier still remains a big issue faced by most of our interviewees; most of them expressing their regret for not learning Chinese, as it limits their job opportunities. However, in the end, it still remains uncertain whether ethnic minorities could fully 'integrate' into the Hong Kong society to find a true sense of belonging, or to make Hong Kong their 'home'.

HOME MAKING IN THE LEFWORLD OF KWAI CHUNG

In the previous chapter, we have mainly discussed the role of NGOs – a mediator between the HKSAR government and the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. It is noteworthy that the some of the NGOs, such as Kung Yung Koon are not merely trying to formulate short-term measures addressing the needs of minorities, but also to advocate an inclusive society by helping the ethnic minorities to build their own ‘home’ and community in a particular district, in which they can develop their own social ties, businesses as well as other aspects concerning daily life. NGOs, in fact, play a particularly crucial and active role in reshaping the existing place and gathering members of the ethnic minorities to form a more organised and unified neighborhood. This is actually a process of remaking the place under unfavorable conditions as a survival tactic, in order to cope with the obstacles that they are facing (c.f. Chapter 2 & 3).

A case study can be found in Kwai Chung district, where a home making project is initiated by Kung Yung Koon. The case of Kwai Chung is especially worthy to look into, due to its constant representation by the mainstream media as “mini Pakistan”. Meanwhile, the district is undergoing transformation and remaking under the leadership of an NGO instead of the local ethnic minorities themselves. Hence we could observe the roles and functions of NGOs in the process of home making of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong.

The following parts would zoom into the lifeworlds of the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, with the Pakistani community in Kwai Chung as an example. Through our observation, we hope to examine how home making of the Pakistanis has been taking place in Kwai Chung. Also, we would briefly discuss how the project is initiated and led by Kung Yung Koon and how the process of home making gave an identity to Kwai Chung district as well as the people there.

History of Kwai Chung and the Settlement of the Pakistani Community

Prior to the investigation of the home making of Pakistanis in Kwai Chung, we have to understand the reasons why a Pakistani community has developed in this area, through tracing the history and development of Kwai Tsing District. Together with Tsing Yi, Kwai Chung has become an independent district of Hong Kong from Tsuen Wan District in 1986 (Cheng 28). The industrial area, Container Terminal and public housing estates have gathered in this district of Hong Kong, thus turned Kwai Chung into an attractive place in the eyes of blue-collar class. (Kwai Tsing District Council 92)

Before the 1950s, Kwai Tsing was an underdeveloped rural area in which many farmers resided. (Cheng 28) The beginning of rapid development in the area could be attributed to the dramatic population increase in the 1950s, which mainly consisted of new immigrants from Mainland China and indigenous inhabitants. After the end of the Japanese occupation (1941-1945), the British colonial government invited the town planner of the Greater London Plan, Patrick Abercrombie, who was

from University College London, to facilitate Hong Kong's redevelopment. Abercrombie suggested the government to allocate one hundred thousand people to the New Territories while launching a reclamation project at Gin Drinkers' Bay in the Kwai Chung area (Kwai Tsing District Council 88). The suggestion, however, was not adopted by the colonial government in the end due to the enormous expenditure (89). Nevertheless, the influx of new immigrants from Mainland China forced the colonial government to regard urban replanning as the foremost priority (89). After a series of investigation and discussion, the colonial government eventually chose Kwai Chung and Tsuen Wan out of six potential areas as the earliest new towns in 1959 (89). What made these two areas stand out among others were the existing population in the districts and the geographical advantages of being near the seashore and close to Kowloon (89).

Following the confirmation of Kwai Chung as a location to develop the new town, the colonial government started to massively construct public housing estates in the Kwai Chung area since the beginning of 1960s. At the same time, Kwai Chung developed into an industrial and container terminal area, along with the Gin Drinkers' Bay reclamation project, from the 1960s to 1980s (Cheng 28). In the 1960s, light industries such as textile factories started to operate in Kwai Chung due to the insufficient supply of industrial land in Tsuen Wan. This marked the beginning of Kwai Chung as one of the industrial areas in New Territories. The prosperity of Kwai Chung industrial area came after the completion of the reclamation project. As the rental rate of Kwai Chung was cheaper than that in Kowloon, along with the colonial government's encouragement of developing Kwai Chung as an industrial area, various industries such as electronics had set up factories in the district, which

provided vast employment opportunities in the area (Kwai Tsing District Council 142-144). On the other hand, a worldwide boom in container shipping in the 1960s prompted the colonial government to search for a suitable spot to build a container terminal to catch up with this trend. Once again, Kwai Chung was chosen because of its geographical advantage of having a deep-water port, as well as it being sparsely populated and close to Kowloon. The container terminal opened in 1972 also generated abundant blue-collar job opportunities for Kwai Chung and nearby residents (51, 55).

The development of Kwai Chung provided incentives for Pakistanis in Hong Kong to settle. According to the Thematic Report: Ethnic Minorities of 2011 Population Census, Kwai Tsing district held the third largest Pakistani population in Hong Kong, following Yau Tsim Mong and Yuen Long. (Census and Statistic Department 110) The report also analyzed the working Pakistanis by industry. Most of the Pakistanis are working in the industry of “import/export, wholesale and retail trades”, followed by “construction”, “real estate, professional and business service” and “transportation, storage, postal and courier services” industries. As mentioned, as an industrial area where one of the world’s busiest container terminals has been located since the 1970s, Kwai Chung offered an abundant amount of job opportunities in the above-mentioned industries in particular. Therefore, Kwai Chung has become one of the most popular destinations among Pakistanis, ranking the third among the eighteen administrative districts in Hong Kong (74-75, 110).

The report also noted that 77.6% of the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong were living in private housing units in 2011, much higher than that of all domestic

households (Census and Statistic Department 99). It is also noteworthy that most of them were located in old urban areas like To Kwa Wan or New Territories such as Kwai Chung, where the rental rate is relatively lower (Hong Kong Caritas Centre 19). The rest of them mainly reside in public housing. Due to the increasing number of public housing estates as well as working opportunities in Kwai Chung as an industrial district, it is not surprising that many Pakistanis chose to settle down in the area, if not assigned by the government under the public housing program.

Lifeworld of Kwai Chung: From a Physical ‘Place’ to an Imagined ‘Space’

Before we delve into the sociological concept of lifeworld and to study how Kwai Chung is a lifeworld of Pakistanis and Chinese-locals, it would be crucial to note the difference between a physical ‘place’ and an imagined ‘space’. Rather than being mutually exclusive, these terms complement each other. As cultural scholar Michel de Certeau has suggested, “space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalise it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities” – in short, a “space is a practiced place” (qtd, in Leach 299). With people’s activities and imaginations taking place within a place, they contribute to its transformation into a space, which could further be turned into ‘home’. However, as ‘ideals’ vary depending on different parties and interests, spatial interpretations are often in contestation among stakeholders, which we would explain by situating Kwai Chung and Ping Lai Path as a lifeworld under the system.

Originally introduced by philosophers Edmund Husserl and Alfred Schütz,

the term 'lifeworld' primarily refers to the "taken for granted 'common-sense reality' of the social world as it is lived by ordinary individuals" (Harrington 341). However, in later years, developing from Husserl and Schütz's concept that somehow echoes with the notion of 'space', social theorist Jürgen Habermas has added complexity to the term "lifeworld". In Habermas' understanding, the lifeworld is an intercommunicative sphere in which communications and interactions of the people within play important roles in actualizing the space into objective, social, and subjective worlds (Harrington 341; Habermas 119-120). In Habermas' words, the communicative actions inside lifeworlds are "always already" moving, and they are affected under the changes of the 'systems', which are the rational connections and actions in the stratified society¹⁵ (Habermas 119).

In light of this, Kwai Chung can be understood as a lifeworld of Pakistanis under the facilitation of Kung Yung Koon, which worked under the 'system' of government limitations as aforementioned. In the lifeworld of Kwai Chung, communication and interactions between Pakistanis and Chinese-locals have always been there since the settlement of the first-generation Pakistani migrants.

Since Islam is the national religion of Pakistan, over 90% of the Pakistanis are Muslims. The customs and eating habits of Pakistanis are strongly influenced by Islamic doctrines (Hong Kong Caritas Centre 34-35). Their unique cultural practices explain the need to set up their own stores in Hong Kong to meet their daily needs,

¹⁵ Habermas' idea of 'lifeworld' refers to a "society-wide sphere of social integration, as opposed to 'system', which is on the other side of the binary, referring to a "sphere of system integration"(Somerville 7-8). Therefore he believed that the 'system' could "colonise" thus economically, rationally, and legitimately affect the organic ecology of the 'lifeworld' (Somerville 8).

especially when a group of Pakistanis are residing in the same district.

As it holds the third largest Pakistani population in Hong Kong, Kwai Chung is where we can find different kinds of shops that serve the needs of Pakistanis in terms of their cultural practices. Since then, Kwai Chung has slowly transformed into a multicultural hub for different ethnicities. Shops that cater to their daily needs have also increased in number.

Therefore, ethnic minorities living in Kwai Chung seem to have developed their own community through an organic process motivated by social and economic needs. This kind of minority community may remind us of Chinatowns that can be found in foreign countries, where overseas Chinese developed their community within a specific area. However, in the case of Kwai Chung, the community is of a smaller scale and less concentrated since the neighborhood is not exclusively built for the minorities.

On our site visits to the district, it is not difficult to observe different kinds of Pakistani shops, restaurants and even a mosque in a tenement building in the neighborhood (Appendix 5). For example, a Halal restaurant is located in Ping Lai Path near Kung Yung Koon, while grocery stores selling daily necessities for ethnic minorities and a Pakistani salon can also be found in the neighborhood. In addition, two mosques have been established as places for Pakistanis for worship and assembly purposes. Boutiques for Islamic traditional clothing, a salon, and Islamic provision stores etc. are also found in the area.

Moreover, the “Ping Lai Plus- Ping Lai Cross-Cultural Community Revitalization Project”, launched along with KYK, has created a public space for both Pakistanis and other community members to gather and mingle. After the revitalization of the area, Pakistanis would gather at Ping Lai Path after praying, since there is a mosque nearby. They would stay there to chat with each other, while their children would play around, as we observed during the cultural tour and according to the interview with a Kung Yung Koon staff. (Appendix 2; Appendix 5) In this circumstance, the revitalization project, with the help of KYK, has provided a platform to foster the communication and social networking of the Pakistanis in Kwai Chung, hence created a sense of community among Pakistanis in Kwai Chung.

With these shops and connections between Pakistanis and the place, as well as the Chinese customers, in the sense of ‘lifeworld’, a community has already been formed. Despite the fact that Habermas’ dualistic theory is often criticized as problematic, it is significant nonetheless, as we could understand that community (lifeworld) can be formed beyond ‘systems’ and that it could “characterize society as a whole”, despite their contradictions (Somerville 8). Thus we can later observe that Kung Yung Koon is trying to form a ‘home’ out of the lifeworld of Kwai Chung under the ‘system’ of governmental structure and limitations.

Home Imagined and Actualized within a ‘Space’

After the formation of a community, the making of ‘home’ then takes place, focusing on the sense of belonging and the rapport of the people in the community. From the history of Pakistanis’ migration to Hong Kong as mentioned above, it is

clear that the Pakistani diaspora in Hong Kong has been growing, especially with the emergence of the second- and third- generation migrants. Like in many other multicultural societies, Pakistanis in Hong Kong also face the same situation – the “deterritorialization of identity”, in which people and their cultural products and practices are no longer confined to a particular geographical territory (Gupta and Ferguson 9). While first-generation migrants, inevitably, had to adapt to a foreign environment when they first arrive at their new destination, their offspring, on the other hand, may feel alien to their ‘root’ country and culture. In face of this “generalized condition of homelessness” as coined by the postcolonial scholar Edward Said, it is a natural desire for people to find and create a ‘home’ to belong (9). In the following part, we would like to reflect on how home making is revealed in the lifeworld of Pakistanis in Kwai Chung and Ping Lai Path. To understand how people could feel that they ‘belong’, we would like to introduce the concept of habitus.

Introduced by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, habitus is a set/sets of “durable, transposable, structured (and structuring) dispositions” of people (Bourdieu, “The Logic of Practice”, 53). Similar with lifeworld, habitus is formed from the activities of the people within the ‘field(s)’¹⁶; yet contrary to lifeworld, a person can belong to several habitus, thus the idea of habitus can be useful when understanding social integration and belonging in communities (Somerville 9). Habitus can be manifested as doxa, which can be understood as the ‘rules’ of the field, which is made up with different people and their power relations. Being in a habitus, therefore, has to be

¹⁶ The concept of Bourdieu’s ‘field’ is similar to Habermas’ ‘system’, both of which is highly related to the social status and power relations of the people within (Somerville 9). However, fields changes depending on the habitus and the people within (Somerville 9). Hence unlike system, which has a generally fixed set of rules towards different lifeworlds; habitus are affected by different sets of doxa (rules) according to the fields.

“learned” in order for the individuals in the field to feel “comfortable” and “at home” (Friedmann 316).

To incorporate this idea in home making, in particular, how Kung Yung Koon has facilitated such process, we could study the concept of habitus in migration. When people moved from one country to the other, their habitus would go through a change accordingly, whereas they would have to adjust to the new languages, cultures, etc. (318-319).

In the case study of Kung Yung Koon, we see how it has attempted to create a new habitus in which ethnic minorities and Chinese locals can share similar status. As mentioned in the last chapter, KYK is a community centre in Kwai Chung. To promote “harmony amongst different races”, the centre have launched various activities. Established in 2014, it has been putting HKSKH MacLehose Centre’s scheme, *“Our Community of Love and Mutuality: nurturing Cultural Diversity & Community Legacy in Kwai Chung”* in order. Since then, exhibitions, guided tours, cultural talks and sharing, revitalization projects etc. have been carried out frequently and regularly under the cooperation of Kung Yung Koon and the long-existing ethnic minorities in the district. As our interviewee, C has mentioned, rather than providing Chinese language courses for ethnic minorities to integrate to the society, the main focus on Kung Yung Koon is to organize activities for the Chinese locals and ethnic minorities to interact, so as to create a multicultural space for everyone to belong. Thus both Chinese and ethnic minorities are regarded as their target audience. (Appendix 2). Moreover, while organizing different activities, Kung Yung Koon has been playing the role of a facilitator in home making of the Pakistanis community in

Kwai Chung, through fostering the communication and cooperation among Pakistanis in the district as well (Appendix 3).

Our team has joined a cultural tour (南亞伯伯 ChaCha 社區導賞團), held by KYK on 21st February 2017. Including the three members of our team, there were about 20 participants in total. Most of the participants were either Cantonese- or Mandarin-speaking Chinese. The tour was led by a *cha cha*, which means *uncle* in Urdu. During the tour, participants could taste Halal food in a Muslim restaurant and visit a Pakistani provision store. The tour provided the opportunity for the mainstream society to understand the lives of Pakistani in Kwai Chung through direct interaction and gave us a chance to look into their daily lives (Appendix 5). As the organizer of the tour, KYK has reminded us of the existence of Pakistanis in Kwai Chung and has reinforced Kwai Chung as a symbol of Pakistani community. During the tour, we were also taught Muslim culture and simple Urdu phrases before we toured across Ping Lai Path and other Pakistani shops in Kwai Chung. This way, we as Chinese locals, could share common cultural capital as the Pakistanis, hence help us integrate into their habitus and vice versa.

Furthermore, to facilitate home making, some Pakistanis in Ping Lai Path have created a 'home' of their own making by bringing their practices in Pakistan to their new life in Hong Kong. From what we have seen during our field visit, many of the shops and restaurants are ran by first-generation migrants from Pakistan. A staff from Jalalia Provision Store told us that the store design was based on his memory of Pakistan in the 70s, before he has moved to Hong Kong. This shows that in times of migration flows, people are likely to construct their 'home' elsewhere by the use of

representations and simulacra to create a doubling of their root country out of their memory (Gupta and Ferguson 10). Hence in this era, home is no longer fixated in a geographical place, such space could be re-created in another country. Similarly, individuals can adapt and feel at home in a different lifeworld thus their habitus changes, as they learn “to belong”. Yet we would discuss this in Chapter 6.

Conclusion: Home making – Turning a ‘Place’ into a ‘Space’ Called ‘Home’

With the third largest Pakistanis population in Hong Kong, the history and development of Kwai Tsing district as a new town has provided the rationales behind why Pakistanis have chosen to settle in Kwai Chung (Census and Statistic Department 110). The inhabitation of Pakistanis gradually led to the creation of Pakistanis community in Kwai Chung.

To promote racial harmony among different ethnic groups in Hong Kong, Kung Yung Koon plays the role of facilitator in home making of the Pakistani community in Kwai Chung (Kung Yung Koon). At the same time, the revitalization project facilitating the provision of a space for Pakistanis to interact and thus creating a sense of community within the district, which also contributes to the home making process, thus turned the ‘place’ of Kwai Chung into a ‘space’ where some may refer to as ‘home’.

The home making facilitated by Kung Yung Koon in Kwai Chung has successfully caught the attention from media and general public. Since then, some of the mainstream media tried to write articles to reveal the mysterious veil of Pakistanis

community in Kwai Chung. In the next chapter, we would further scrutinize how the lifeworld of Kwai Chung became a source for the media to consume.

MAINSTREAM MEDIA AND REPRESENTATIONS

Despite their relatively low social visibility, the home making of the ethnic minorities, particularly Pakistanis, in Kwai Chung has attracted the attention of the media due to the work of Kung Yung Koon and the revitalization of Ping Lai Path. Since then, this Pakistani community has been unveiled by the mainstream media. The lifeworld of the Pakistanis in Kwai Chung has also become a media commodity, as certain images and representations are gradually constructed and circulated in Hong Kong society. These reports and portrayals regarding ethnic minorities by the media may hence shape our perceptions and impressions towards ethnic minorities to some extent, especially when not many of us could either acquire knowledge about them in formal education or interact with them personally. In this respect, the media, an important constituent of modern society if not an indispensable everyday necessity, can largely affect our views and hence shape our perceptions of ethnic minorities.

In the following parts, we would like to focus on the mainstream media as a lens to portray the ethnic minorities as well as their lifeworlds through a case study of Kwai Chung since it is coined by the mainstream media in Hong Kong as “mini Pakistan”. We will discuss how the mass media has portrayed Kwai Chung, as well as their audiences’ reception. Also, a comparison between the portrayals of ethnic minorities by the media and what we have observed in reality will be carried out to further investigate whether the ethnic minorities have a voice and participation in representing themselves.

Mediated Images in a Postmodern ‘Space’

Following our discussion on ‘space’ within a ‘place’, we should understand that this does not merely refer to the space where one builds his/her home. A more common understanding of ‘space’ would be the media platforms and the surfaces where mediated representations lie.

From the late 19th century onwards, we have entered the information age, in which mass communication and media plays a huge part contributing to our perception of reality and reality itself. Sociologist and critical theorist Jean Baudrillard often mentions that we are currently living in a postmodern society of images; thus representations have become part of our reality. Such theory has also enlightened many cultural scholars in understanding the human psyche in the postmodern world. Yet in this part, we would mainly focus on how images have such profound influence nowadays, before we further study the effects on individuals in the next chapter.

Since the 20th century, the rise of broadcasting has significantly affected the ways and systems of how people interact and engage with the world – most of us would perceive the society and the world through the information available online or on television (Thompson 129). In the context of communications, representations of the world are conveyed through the use of symbols; hence Fredric Jameson has commented that “no society has ever been saturated with signs and images like this one” (Featherstone 83).

Representations of Kwai Chung and Pakistanis in Hong Kong's Mainstream

Media

Similarly, mainstream media in Hong Kong have been portraying Kwai Chung with representations. With the effort by Kung Yung Koon which was launched in 2014 as the base of the whole project, “*Our Community of Love and Mutuality: nurturing Cultural Diversity & Community Legacy in Kwai Chung*” project (c.f. Chapter 4). Eventually the Pakistani community in Kwai Chung is brought into spotlight. Mainstream media in Hong Kong then began to report on the life of the ethnic minorities in Kwai Chung and the projects by Kung Yoon Koon. They have also attached various eye-catching labels to the place. In particular, the terms “mini Pakistan” and “Pakistan village” are widely used by different mainstream media in Hong Kong to describe Kwai Chung recently.

The term “Pakistan village” had its first appearance in the headline of an article of an online media, *Hong Kong 01* in 2016, when introducing Kwai Chung and Ping Lai Path as habitats of Pakistanis in Hong Kong. The article mainly aimed to present “Pakistani village” by portraying their community, culture and daily life (Hong Kong 01 “There is a Pakistan Village”). The media has interviewed a Pakistani in the district, Minhas Rashad, who is one of the curators of Kung Yung Koon. They have also visited many other stores run by the minorities in the area. Probably as a correction to the constant misunderstanding towards Muslims due to the recent terrorist attacks by the terrorist militant group ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), the article depicted a particularly warm, inclusive and unified community of

Pakistanis; it attempted to clarify the difference between the Islamic religion and ISIS. Thus, this article intended to present the Pakistani community in Kwai Chung as a peaceful and caring group of people who have a strong bonding with each other, so as to deflate some of the negative and misleading impressions towards ethnic minorities.

Another mainstream media, *Apple Daily*, also wrote about the situation in Kwai Chung as well as the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong in 2017 (*Apple Daily*, “There is a Mini Pakistan”). This time, another term “mini Pakistani” was coined for the place. In this article, the author wrote about the history of ethnic minorities in 1980s such as how they have settled in Hong Kong as migrant workers who contributed to the industrial development in Hong Kong. Moreover, some of their religious practices, culture as well as difficulties such as the learning of Chinese languages, are mentioned to show the willingness of the minorities to integrate into Hong Kong society. Most importantly, the article quoted one of the interviewees’ words after visiting the holy city of Mecca, Saudi Arabia – “after accomplishing my dream (to visit Mecca), I need to go back here (Hong Kong) because Hong Kong is already my ‘home’” (*Apple Daily*, “There is a Mini Pakistan”). Therefore, this news article, which shares the same intention as the previous one, hopes to change the negative impressions towards the ethnic minorities by looking into the Kwai Chung district more holistically. It depicts ethnic minorities as a locals, and emphasizes that they are just like the rest of the local born Chinese Hong Kongers, who have been contributing to the development of Hong Kong and are willing to regard Hong Kong as their true “home”.

With the above media representations of Kwai Chung as examples, we can see

how the mainstream media have recently used the stories and the image of the ethnic minority community in Kwai Chung, so as to produce a peaceful and harmonious image of Kwai Chung as a cultural hub. They also help present Hong Kong as a welcoming ‘home’ for ethnic minorities. Moreover, the images of the ethnic minorities are also constructed – through the lens of the mainstream media as mentioned above; they are portrayed as hardworking, gentle, passionate and religious. However, there are also many negative portrayals in media reports, such as South Asians being dangerous and engaging in criminal activities, especially after the terrorist attacks by ISIS since many of them are Muslims.

Some of these news feature stories regarding ethnic minorities in Hong Kong¹⁷ are studied by scholars. Firstly, the mainstream media, instead of specifically verifying and clarifying their actual ethnicity, tend to use “generalizing labels” to identify the ethnic minorities (Erni and Leung 53). For instance, these ethnic minorities, despite their ethnicity, were generalized and labeled as “Indo-Pakistani” (印巴籍) thus it reveals the media’s arrogance and carelessness (53). Secondly, the “characterization” of the ethnic minorities in news reports are mainly focused on their “facial and behavioral” details such as “fierce in character” and “face covered by beard” (53). Not only are these details insignificant in helping audiences understand the incidents and identify suspects, such pattern of “over generalization and

¹⁷ *Apple Daily* has reported in 2008 on a homicide of prostitutes by a Pakistani suspect. However, the headline of the news story did not give the suspect the benefit of the doubt. Instead, the title was “Pakistani guy killed sex workers” (54). In addition, a portrait of the suspect was inserted into the news story, which was against journalism’s code of ethic to conceal the identity of the suspect (54). In spite of the fact that *Apple Daily* has attempted to keep the name of the suspect private, by referring to him as “Rxxxq Yxxxm”, it is criticized as a “mockery” and “ridicule” for the way the name was blotted out (54). By highlighting the difference in appearance and the emphasis on such representation, Pakistanis are hence stigmatized by mainstream media.

characterization” in the depiction of ethnic minorities may even result in a “racialized representations” (54). Especially when most of the audience of these mainstream media may not have connections with Pakistanis, the portrayal of them in news stories may highly affect the perceptions of Chinese-locals. In other words, these mediated images have become hyperreal.

Hyperreality of Mediated Images

Reopening the topic of representations in an information age, we would like to draw out the phenomenon of hyperreality as elaborated by Baudrillard. Baudrillard has studied the phenomenon of the overflow of images in the postmodern world, on which he has conducted an in-depth study as shown in his famous work, *Simulacra and Simulation*. In his works, Baudrillard has focused on the position of mass media in the society nowadays. Images and information shown on television have hugely affected, if not distorted our sense of reality; especially when our sense of the real vis-à-vis the imaginary has been diminishing since we are informed about the world through the media (Featherstone 83). In short, not only are cultural representations a mirror that reflects reality, we also get to know about ‘reality’ through them, hence affecting our future cultural imaginations, and the cycle goes on. Baudrillard has described such phenomenon as our “‘aesthetic’ hallucination of reality”, especially when these simulacra may not be faithful representations of the original (83). They may even be pure simulacra, which refers to representations that have no trace of connection vis-à-vis the actual reality.

This phenomenon may therefore lead to negative consequences – mediated

images becoming more real than the real (hyperreal), bringing us the problems of representation, and eventually the ‘real’ object may face disappearance or ironically become dis-appearances¹⁸. In this sense, the real objects may feel misplaced in such disposition – which could help us understand Pakistanis and ethnic minorities under the representations of the mainstream media in Hong Kong. This explains why even though many Chinese-locals have not encountered Pakistanis in their lives, they have such negative/positive impressions ingrained in their minds. To these Chinese-locals, news reports that they have read have become their perception of reality; hence they could be highly affected by the depictions of Pakistanis by the media.

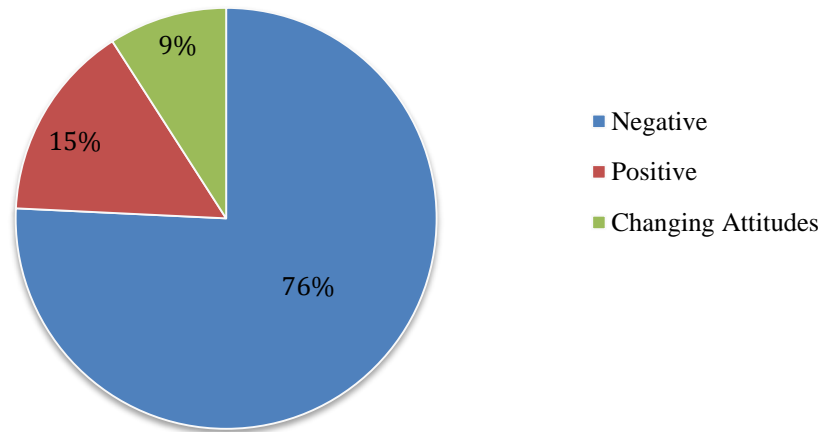
Chinese-locals’ Reception of Messages from Mainstream Media

In this respect, it is noticeable that mainstream media representations can exert influence over people’s perception towards Pakistanis. To further confirm the impact of the media, we have randomly interviewed 30 Hong Kongers who are ethnically Chinese, in order to discover how they feel about Pakistanis in Hong Kong and the mainstream media’s representations of this minority group.

Among our interviewees, all of them are readers of Hong Kong mainstream media, such as *Apple Daily*, *TVB*, *Hong Kong 01* and *Mingpao*. Below is a brief analysis regarding their opinions on the mainstream media’s portrayals of Pakistanis in Hong Kong:

¹⁸ When studying how Hong Kong as a subject has been dealt with in films and representations, Ackbar Abbas has coined the term “dis-appearance”, which does not simply mean disappearance. The prefix “dis-“ also connotes a “problematic appearance” – in most cases of misrepresentations such as clichés, the “visible” reality would not equate to the “intelligible” simulacra, bringing a gap in the real and the imagined (Abbas 119).

Chinese-locals' Descriptions on Mainstream Media's Representations of Pakistanis in Hong Kong



- a) Most of the interviewees thought that media representations of Pakistanis in Hong Kong are relatively negative. The depictions mainly fall into two types: first, depicting the ethnic minorities as criminals or “wicked”, and second, to describe them as “weak” and a neglected group of people, who are dealing with various difficulties such as learning Chinese. Thus we can see how the media generally give specific labels to the ethnic minorities.
- b) A few of the interviewees thought that media representations in Hong Kong are relatively positive since they would report the encouraging stories of the Pakistanis and would release articles about them to foster more sympathetic understandings among their audience.
- c) Three of the interviewees have spotted a change in the attitude of the mass media, specifically, a changing view from a negative to a more positive

representation in recent years. For instance, there are more news stories focusing on how Pakistanis are truly integrated and gradually being accepted by the Hong Kong society

These interviews inform us that media representations are rather selective and are merely focusing on a single perspective, which is either positive or negative. This indicates the lack of objective and impartial reports on the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. In this sense, the media may have failed to report in a comprehensive manner. Furthermore, we hope to look into the respondents' views on Pakistanis, by asking their general impressions towards this minority group in Hong Kong. Interestingly, negative descriptions are far more than positive ones, and some of the depictions are listed below:

- a) Regarding negative impressions, one of the most frequent descriptions of Pakistanis is “poor/ in poverty”. Another frequent impression is related to criminal tendency, including “dangerous”, “high in crime rate”, “frequently commit a crime”, “gangsters” and “engage in dishonorable work”. Less mentioned descriptions include “social isolation or disregard”, “discriminated or distained”, “difficult to integrate into Hong Kong society”, “poor in Chinese languages” and “low educational level”.
- b) As for positive impressions, there are no noticeable frequent descriptions. The respondents' views mainly include “gentle”, “passionate or proactive”, “kind”, “having unique cultures” and “trying hard to integrate into Hong Kong society”.

- c) There are also some relatively neutral impressions on the ethnic minorities such as “like to work and hang out in groups or pairs” which was mentioned by a few interviewees.

The above interviews gives a general view of how Chinese-locals see Pakistanis in Hong Kong. However, we have come to face several questions: How did they get such impressions? Are they generated from their personal experiences? It is then interesting to also examine the interviewees’ daily interaction with Pakistanis, and we found that out of 30 interviewees, only 13 of them had certain contact with Pakistanis in their daily lives. Yet, 5 of the 13 cases can be considered as brief and accidental encounters such as being served and helped by an ethnic minority salesperson or meeting when lining up in taxi station and chit-chatting with them for a short period of time. Therefore, only 8 of them have a more in-depth interaction and communication with Pakistanis. As for the remaining interviewees, more than half of them did not have any personal experience in approaching the ethnic minorities in reality. Their impressions towards this group of people they have never met are thus derived from media representations. In the next section, we would like to look into how the mediated images have informed the reality of people.

Conclusion: Problem of Stereotypes

With such background understanding, it is clear why media and their representations bear such significance. It is crucial to understand the interaction between the mainstream media and their audience. As opposed to “mass

communication”, the pattern inclines toward a one-way “‘transmission’ or ‘diffusion’ of messages, rather than ‘communication’” (Thompson 130). Therefore the audiences become passive receivers of the symbols and messages. Furthermore, simulacra may be generated and delivered as information, thus be deconstructed as symbols for reception, repetition, and consumption (131).

In this sense, the stereotypical representations may become detrimental to cultural diversity and imaginations. Journalist Walter Lippmann, who has added psychological implications to the term “stereotype”, has articulated such occurrence in the mass media. Especially in a postmodern world when we gain information of the world through news reports and mediated images, it is almost natural for people to create the “mental image” of stereotypes (Johansen 513-514). These representations could assist individuals in coping with the “great, blooming, buzzing confusion” of reality by filling in the gaps of the unknown realm with stereotypical images (513-514). For instance, when interactions with ethnic minorities are limited, the only way for people to further develop their imaginations towards this group of people is merely through stereotypes fixated in the back of their minds. Therefore it is pointed out that for a city to be truly inclusive to all cultures, stereotypical images had to be eliminated. Such is the only way that people can truly understand another cultural group. To start with, the media had to be more aware of how it portrays ethnic minorities, as people’s understanding and attitudes are highly affected by the media input (514).

Since media plays a significant role in shaping our views, their content and the way of portraying the ethnic minorities is another main focus when examining the

impact of media on the minorities and the mainstream locals. It is reasonable to assume that biased representations of ethnic minorities will bring hindrance to generating a comprehensive understanding of the ethnic minorities, or worse – produce stereotypes, be they positive or negative, external or internal. This kind of mediated impression may create further barriers for Pakistanis to engage themselves in Hong Kong society since the locals may be hesitate to accept them as a member of the society, more so if the portrayed images are mainly negative. On the other hand, Pakistanis who have access to mainstream media may also consume these representations and internalize such stereotypes. In the next chapter, we would further delve into the effects of mediated images in ethnic minority individuals, as well as reflect on how it affects their integration and engagement in the multicultural society of Hong Kong.

INDIVIDUALS – PAKISTANIS IN HONG KONG

In the former chapter, we have acknowledged the importance of mediated images and how they could contribute to the public's understanding of Pakistanis and their cultures. We have also identified some examples of the mass media's stereotypes towards ethnic minorities (Pakistanis in particular) and their changes throughout the years. This chapter further investigates the impact of the mass media and its stereotypes, in the context of Pakistanis in Hong Kong, by taking a closer look at the individuals themselves; how they view themselves under these circumstances.

To ensure that we are not hastily generalizing this minority group in Hong Kong with our relatively small sample size, we would draw reference from existing statistics done by other institutions. As our study focuses on second- or third-generation migrants, our interviews could hence provide additional information, for our interviewees are mainly from this demographic group.

In this chapter, we would narrow our scope down to Pakistanis in Hong Kong; our focus is to survey whether the home making as mentioned in Chapter 2 has been successful, whether their expected outcomes can be seen in the target individuals. 'Home making', in this case, does not merely refer to the effort made by Kung Yung Koon (c.f. Chapter 4). In this chapter, 'home making' refers to making ethnic minorities feel included and at-home in Hong Kong. Therefore official immigration policies such as giving them Hong Kong passports, or media propagandas of making

Hong Kong a home for everyone (including ethnic minorities), could also be a part of 'home making'.

Identity and sense of belonging are important constituents of 'home'. Whether a place can be 'home' relies deeply on one's disposition, sentiments and feelings. All these are subjective concepts, thus "home is where we *feel* we belong" (Hedetoft and Hjort *vii*). Thus, in order to study whether the Pakistanis have fully accepted Hong Kong as 'home', we would delve into how Pakistanis in Hong Kong perceive their identity, and their sense of belonging towards Hong Kong. In addition, we would like to see to what extent their own root (Pakistani) culture is affected as their habitus changes or overlaps in Hong Kong.

Sense of Identity

This part provides an extension towards media stereotypes (c.f. Chapter 5) and investigates how Pakistanis themselves view certain media stereotypes. We would like to find out whether the lens of the mainstream media would be internalized by Pakistanis, which eventually affects how they identify and position themselves in Hong Kong.

Among our interviews, all of our respondents agree that there are stereotypical views towards Pakistanis; many of whom believing that it is resulted from the difference in cultures and the unwillingness to understand, to see beyond the differences. As our interviewee G has mentioned, there is a misunderstanding towards Pakistanis yet no one seems to care about it. People tend to blindly receive the

messages of mainstream media regarding ethnic minorities, yet they do not further reflect on whether these portrayals are accurate; they may even have forgotten that ethnic minorities have contributed to the Hong Kong society in the colonial era.

Our interviewee N has observed that Pakistanis, like other ethnic minorities, are “usually portrayed as the ‘other’” in mainstream television shows and movies because of their difference in appearance and skin color from the majority Chinese-locals. Indeed, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’ could lead to stereotypes in media portrayals. As the majority of the Hong Kong locals may not have in-depth interactions with ethnic minorities, they are likely to take the impression towards individual members within the Pakistani community into account and form a stereotypical understanding of the whole group. As mentioned by our interviewee S, “some Pakistanis still act inappropriately in certain areas, which causes the assumption that the majority [of Pakistanis] will do the same”. As a result, Pakistanis in Hong Kong are often depicted as “hooligans”, “thugs”, “gangsters”, “terrorists”, “evil people” who are “smelly” and “loud”, our interviewees spotted. In spite of all these depictions, all our interviewees stressed that they are actually more than what the media has portrayed, and that these are twisted perceptions that do not define who they are in the society.

However, it seems that the Chinese-locals are more affected by the portrayals of the mainstream media. Yet how the locals treat ethnic minority people would impact how the ethnic minorities identify themselves in relation to the mainstream society in Hong Kong.

One of our interviewees, K, recalled an encounter regarding racism while she was working. Despite the fact that she was the supervisor and knew her job well, a Chinese-local customer screamed at her and told her that she shouldn't be working at the company. The customer even told K's boss that he should "stop hiring 'Indians' as this is Hong Kong", though K isn't even Indian. This episode depicts how people with different skin colours are all classified as 'the others', echoing with our interviewee N's observations as aforementioned. This resulted in how K has perceived herself as a part of Hong Kong society. Having a job in Hong Kong and having represented Hong Kong in international sports events, as well as having a permanent resident ID card, K is unarguably a Hong Kong citizen and resident in legal terms. However, she couldn't feel as included in the society as people who are ethnically Chinese. K stated that at times like that, she felt as if she wasn't accepted as a member of the Hong Kong society, mainly due to the racial discrimination towards her as an ethnic minority. However, this incident did not affect her perception towards herself as a Hong Konger. K explained that her supervisor then dealt with that customer and made her feel that the customer was the one who was narrow-minded; that her nationality wouldn't affect her identity as a "citizen of Hong Kong".

Therefore a paradox in the government's home-making intention is shown in this case. Indeed, an individual can legally be a permanent resident of Hong Kong through the acquisition of a Hong Kong ID card or passport. Yet laws or public propagandas to prevent racial discriminations may not be sufficient, for it takes the whole society's endeavor to make ethnic minorities feel truly included in this multicultural society.

When asked about our interviewees' self-identification, one of them considered herself as "Hong Kong-Pakistani". This hyphenated identity highlights the difference in territory, culture, and ethnicity; and that they co-exist (Caglar 173). Hence, it is possible that one can have different "cultural", "ethnic", "political", or "civic" homes, which we would further discuss below (Hedetoft and Hjort *vii*).

However, most of our interviewees still regard themselves as Hong Kongers; mostly because they are second- or third- generation migrants who have little cultural or linguistic ties with their root countries. Our interviewee, K, expressed that "being a Hong Konger means that we contribute to the society and actually care about the environment and situations in Hong Kong". Meanwhile, K has participated in the Umbrella Movement in 2014, which further proves her perception of herself as a 'Hong Konger'. Another interviewee N thinks that 'Hong Konger' is "someone who treats Hong Kong as home and has been brought up by its culture" or someone who feels that "Hong Kong is more significant to them than their place of origin". This matches our earlier description about 'home' as psychologically and emotionally constituted, meaning that ethnic ties may not always be the sole or most important factor determining how a person relates himself/herself to a place. Therefore the meaning of the identity, "Hong Konger", in the end, boils down to the experience and perception of the individual. In these cases, both K and N believe that Hong Konger refers to their personal attachment towards Hong Kong – the place, history, social life, and culture¹⁹.

¹⁹ The definition of Hong Kong culture, be it the culture in the eyes of Chinese-Hong Kongers, or the Hong Kong culture as seen by ethnic minorities, is in constant contestation. Yet we would further develop on this in the following parts and chapter.

Sense of Belonging

To start with, sense of belonging could be understood as ‘be-longing’. One could “‘be’ in one place, and ‘long’ for another”; while the latter doesn’t necessarily mean longing for a place – it could be longing for a sense of “home” (Hedetoft and Hjort *vii, viii*). One could be in a place yet still feels alienated, and this is especially seen in minority groups in societies (*viii*). In other words, ‘identity’ and ‘belonging’ can be divisive (*viii*). In our case study, although our interviewees may see their identity as “Hong Konger”, their ‘home’ may still differ.

To discuss the sense of belonging of Pakistanis towards Hong Kong, we would like to focus on whether they regard Hong Kong as their ‘home’ – whether they like Hong Kong, and what ethnic identities they have constructed. The analyses in the following are based on the results and responses from the *Research Report on the Life Experience of Pakistanis in Hong Kong* conducted by Centre for Social Policy Studies of Department of Applied Social Sciences, the Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 2003, as well as our interviews.

The research conducted by the Centre has attempted to figure out whether Pakistanis in Hong Kong regard Hong Kong as their home, by asking “Do you think Hong Kong is a better place to live in and stay than your home country?” (Chan et al. 40). The data showed that 52.5% of the respondents agreed with the statement that Hong Kong is their ideal place of residence, while 23% of them disagreed. Yet, either way, some of the respondents from both sides indicated that they might migrate to other countries if they were given better alternatives (40). Meanwhile, some of our

interviewees shared the same thought as well. While all of our interviewees viewed Hong Kong as home, two of our interviewees planned to leave Hong Kong in the future. In contrast, the rest of our interviewees planned to stay in Hong Kong.

In addition, most of the respondents of the research held positive feelings towards Hong Kong. The report found that 43.4% of the respondents liked Hong Kong “very much”, and more than 50% of the respondents rated their love towards Hong Kong as “fair”. Only 2.6% of the respondents expressed they did not like Hong Kong (Chan et al. 40). Similar results can be seen from our interviews. Most of the interviewees had positive feelings towards their lives in Hong Kong. However, the interviewees who did not plan to stay in Hong Kong expressed contrastive feelings.

Furthermore, various factors have influenced the choices and feelings of ethnic minorities. The report attributed the reasons of local Pakistanis’ positive feelings towards Hong Kong to, namely, Hong Kong is “a peaceful land free from warfare or military threats from neighboring cities or nations” and “personal freedom and autonomy are basically secured and enjoyed” (Chan et al. 40). Our interviewees, who were mostly born and raised in Hong Kong, tend to like Hong Kong and prefer staying in Hong Kong rather than their home countries. They explained that it is because they are more familiar with the lifestyle and culture of Hong Kong, and that they have already adapted to the environment in Hong Kong.

Another significant factor that has affected the perception of ethnic minorities is that they believed Hong Kong is a place where they can improve their lives; Hong Kong is a place with more opportunities where they could earn more money. Our

interviewee I, who has migrated to Hong Kong for about twenty-five years, indicated that he loved Hong Kong since he can make a living by working in the recycle industry. Our other interviewees, whose grandparents or parents' generation have already settled in Hong Kong for years, also revealed that their grandparents and parents came to Hong Kong to search for opportunities to improve their lives. These findings correlate with what we have mentioned in Chapter 4, that most of the Pakistanis in Kwai Chung district settled there because of the abundant job opportunities in the area. In other words, job opportunities and the chance to improve their quality of life are the main reasons for ethnic minorities to settle in Hong Kong, while these have also generated their positive feelings towards Hong Kong.

Interestingly, as we have mentioned, some of the ethnic minorities considered Hong Kong as their home, yet they would migrate to other places if they have better alternatives. These groups of ethnic minorities, when asked about whether they like Hong Kong, usually expressed negative feelings. The report pointed out that it is due to the "great pressures of living in this hectic and bustle city" (Chan et al. 40). Our interviewees, R and K also share similar views. R expressed that she did not really like Hong Kong and preferred to live in Pakistan, as the pace of everyday life in Pakistan is slower, hence she would feel more relaxed and be less stressful there. At the same time, K said although she preferred living in Hong Kong to her home country, as she felt "much more safe and comfortable living in Hong Kong without any or much worries of robbery or rape or kidnapping". However, at the same time, she thought that Hong Kong is not a happy place to live.

On the other hand, the relationship between locals with Chinese ethnicity and

ethnic minorities also affects whether they view Hong Kong as home. During the cultural tour organized by Kung Yung Koon, the Pakistani speaker of the talk expressed that ethnic minorities in Hong Kong would feel less accepted in the society when compared with the new immigrants from mainland China. To examine whether the ethnic minorities feel accepted by the mainstream society, we looked at their social circles to see if they have blended in with the society. Interestingly, the results from the report and those from our interviews were quite different. According to the report, 83.5% of the respondents conveyed that making friends with Hong Kong people (i.e. Chinese-Hong Kongers) was difficult for them. The difficulties are caused by four reasons, including their lack of knowledge in Chinese, their perception that “most Hong Kong people were “unfriendly”, racism from the majority of the locals, and differences in cultures and religions“ (Chan et al. 19). As a result, their social circles were usually confined within the Pakistanis community. Quite a contrary to the findings from the report, our interviewees did not seem to face difficulties when making friends with the Chinese-Hong Kongers. Most of our interviewees’ friends consisted of both Chinese and different nationalities. Moreover, while they’d also have Pakistani friends, yet it wasn’t the dominant ethnic group in their social circle.

To explain the diverse response between the report and our interviews, we have identified an important factor – whether they are first generation immigrants or second- and third- generation Hong Kong born Pakistanis, which we would further illustrate later.

Most of our interviewees belong to the second generation of ethnic minority immigrants in Hong Kong. Most of whom were also born and raised in Hong Kong,

since their families have settled in Hong Kong before they were born. However, the respondents of the research are mostly the first generation ethnic minorities in Hong Kong who have migrated from their home countries (Chan et al. 12).

Since the first generation migrants were more used to the culture, custom and languages of their home countries, it may be more difficult to them to adapt to a brand-new environment after moving to Hong Kong. Even when some of them have come to Hong Kong for many years, the language barrier, stereotypes towards ethnic minorities, and cultural difference have reduced their chances in communicating with the majority in the society (Chan et al. 18). This can be explained by the concept of “habitus” we have put forward in Chapter 4, hence show why the first generation migrants, when compared to their children, may face more obstacles in developing their sense of belonging in Hong Kong. For the second- or third- generation migrants, they tend to be more familiar with the local customs, lifestyle, and even languages (i.e. mainly Chinese and English), as they study in local or international schools in Hong Kong. According to Bourdieu, habitus can be structured by one’s education, apart from family and social background (Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital”, 16). Therefore it would be easier for second- and third- generation Hong Kong-Pakistanis to adapt to the mainstream Hong Kong society, as their education has equipped them with cultural and linguistic knowledge, while their social capital can be accumulated by making friends with Chinese-locals at school. Our interviewees who are second-generation migrants expressed that they felt unfamiliar towards their root cultures – they may not know the language or may not like the lifestyles in their home countries. Hong Kong is where their families and friends are, and most of their memories are created in. Therefore, to this group of ethnic minorities, it is much easier to develop a

sense of belonging towards Hong Kong than the first generation.

Transience of Home: Port Mentality

In spite of the fact that the second- and third- generation ethnic minorities tend to show a greater sense of belonging towards Hong Kong, there is still an existence of port mentality among these people. Both the research findings and our interview results showed that some of the ethnic minorities may emigrate, if given better alternatives than Hong Kong, or that they did not plan stay in Hong Kong in the future. Hong Kong, in this sense, has become a “doorway” for these ethnic minorities to improve their lives. Even they have already regarded Hong Kong as home, it could just be a temporary home. The sense of transience is strong among ethnic minorities, especially for the first generation migrants. The speaker of the Kung Yung Koon’s cultural tour mentioned that Pakistanis in the old days would rather choose to migrate to European countries such as Denmark, and “only those who were ‘unlucky’ would come to Hong Kong”. This revealed that Hong Kong might not be their first choice or ideal place of settlement, for they still hoped to relocate to other crown colonies in the future. As most of our interviewees have mentioned, home is where they could earn a living, therefore it shows that Hong Kong isn’t their definite ‘home’. Like the early Chinese-migrants, these ethnic minorities nowadays also share the same port mentality – to them, “everything is provisional, ad hoc, everything floats”²⁰ (Abbas

²⁰ Indeed, Abbas has claimed that port mentality was only “viable before anxieties over 1997”, due to the strenuous “last-minute collective search” for a more definite Hong Kong identity afterwards (Abbas 4). However, we believe that such port mentality is still seen among ethnic minorities in Hong Kong nowadays. This isn’t to accuse that Abbas’ observation was flawed, but that the “collective search” may not have included ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. As seen in our observations in Chapter 5, ethnic minorities, until this day, still did not seem to have a voice in Hong Kong’s cultural imaginations, explaining their weak sense of belonging towards the place and the culture.

4).

Apart from that, we could also spot a few more similarities between the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong nowadays and the early migrants in Hong Kong. To the individuals themselves, Hong Kong is a place where they can earn money, as we have mentioned. Especially for the less affluent working class ethnic minorities, most of them have long working hours to earn basic wages; hence they do not have the time to concern about anything else. For example, our interviewee, I, indicated that he had to wake up at 5AM to work until 8PM. Therefore he does not have the time to watch TV, either on local channels or TV programs from Pakistan. As a result, they may not have the time to even think about their own cultural identity²¹. In the end, they may simply be temporarily attached to Hong Kong because it is a place where they could earn money.

Cultural Barriers Faced by Pakistanis in Hong Kong

At this point, it is clear that most of the ethnic minorities may have viewed Hong Kong as home only because of their work, or that they came here for a better job. Therefore their original lifestyle or root culture may also undergo changes because they hope to adapt to the workplace or to climb up the social ladder, for this is the main reason of their stay in Hong Kong.

In the case of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, in order to ‘survive’ in the education or work environment, ethnic minorities would have to adapt to the lifestyle and workplace culture in Hong Kong. In this part, we would like to first point out

²¹ Given that ethnic minorities themselves may be preoccupied with work, they may not have the opportunity to pay enough attention to their cultural life in Hong Kong.

language barriers faced by ethnic minorities and how the Chinese language is essential in their education and employment. Hence we would like to explain the individuals' integration to the mainstream Hong Kong society. In the end, we would reflect on how this has affected Pakistanis' (or other ethnic minorities') root cultures.

When asked about the biggest difficulty when living in Hong Kong, most of our interviewees pointed out that language barrier was the largest obstacle. One of our interviewees explained that her lack of Chinese language proficiency has brought her difficulties in looking for jobs, as most of the employers in Hong Kong required employees to be able to speak fluent Cantonese. Although two of the respondents did not encounter language-related problems since they can communicate with the locals in English, one of them still agreed that language barrier remains the biggest difficulty for ethnic minorities who could not speak fluent Chinese or English. Therefore, from our interviews, language barrier – mainly the usage and learning of Cantonese – is the most disturbing obstacle for the ethnic minorities to truly integrate into the Hong Kong society.

In fact, our findings echoed with some of the articles and interviews of ethnic minorities available online. To reveal the situation and introduce the culture of ethnic minorities to the general public, various Hong Kong media as well as NGOs have conducted interviews that studied the life experiences of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, especially those who were locally born and raised. Among these featured articles, their difficulties of living in Hong Kong became a main focus. In 2013, *Apple Daily* has examined employment issues of ethnic minorities in the Hong Kong Police Force, since deficiency in Chinese Language remained a challenge for them to pass the written test in the recruitment screening. As a result, the Police Force has provided

various special language training programmes to support ethnic minorities, who wanted to join the Force but do not have enough proficiency in Chinese. In the article, the Chief Inspector, Mr. Chow, has pointed out the difficulty of ethnic minorities in developing Chinese writing skills and comprehension ability (Apple Daily, “Using Minorities”). Therefore it is reasonable that the ethnic minorities may face more obstacles when engaging in the Police Force, when compared to the Chinese-speaking locals.

Until recently, the language barrier still exists and hinders the academic and employment opportunities for ethnic minorities. In 2016, another mainstream media, *Hong Kong 01*, also looked into the aforementioned difficulty regarding language barrier in employment opportunity in the Hong Kong Police Force. The interviewee, Raza, a locally born Pakistani, has talked about his two failures in applying for jobs in the police force due to deficiency in Chinese Language, and he had his third attempt last year after attending Chinese tutorial classes (Hong Kong 01 “Pakistani Youngster”). In February 2017, Mingpao also released a featured article on ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, including an interview with the chairman of Hong Kong Islamic Youth Association, Zaiq Ali, who is also a locally born Pakistani. In the interview, he agreed that low Chinese proficiency would hinder their understandings of local news as well as daily communication with locals. Another interviewee, Afrida Begam, also disclosed some of the daily difficulties related to the language barrier. For instance, she mentioned her neighbor, who could speak neither Cantonese nor English, would request her company when shopping and seeing the doctor (Mingpao). In the above in-depth interviews, we could, once again, recognize the importance of learning local languages (c.f. Chapter 2).

The above daunting situation is not only revealed by the ethnic minorities themselves, but also in official and academic researches. In the report mentioned in the previous part, only 30.5% of the respondents thought that they were proficient in spoken Chinese, and 27.5% of them were confident in Chinese listening, while 15% indicated that they “cannot understand the language at all” (Chan et. al. 15). In terms of Chinese reading and writing, the rating dropped significantly to 2% in both category, and a large percentage of 79% and 80.5% indicated that they could not read and write in Chinese respectively (Chan et. al. 15). Despite the fact that the report has been conducted more than 10 years ago and merely focused on Pakistanis, the statistics showed us the magnitude of the language problems faced by ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. Meanwhile, the statistics from another recent official report, Thematic Report 2011, further disclosed that the above problem has not been improved. In the report, ethnic minorities in Hong Kong were also asked about their usual language. Among the ethnic minorities, less than half (31.7%) indicated that Cantonese was their most commonly spoken language while about half (51.8%) said they were able to speak in Cantonese (Census and Statistics Department 42-46). This data implies that nearly half of the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong could not speak Cantonese at all. From the above statistics, we could see the relatively low proficiency in Chinese language of the ethnic minorities is an urgent issue, since the lack of Chinese language proficiency may create further obstacles in their daily lives, such as education and employment opportunities. Hence, knowledge of the local languages would remain one of the biggest difficulties of ethnic minorities, since it is connected closely to and may cause negative influences on other aspects of life.

To tackle the language barrier in Hong Kong, many ethnic minorities are trying to improve their Chinese and English language proficiency. Among our interviewees, one of them regretted not learning Chinese since he is now facing difficulty in job-hunting due to his incapability in speaking fluent Chinese. Moreover, in online articles and interviews, many ethnic minority parents want their children to master the Chinese language, in the hope that they could climb up the social ladder. Mr. Ho, a Pakistani who came to Hong Kong for living when he was young, disclosed his greatest wish now is to let his children to fully understand the Chinese language, not only in terms of speaking and listening, but also in writing, due to job requirements in Hong Kong. (Apple Daily “There is a mini Pakistan”) Therefore, we could observe a strong willingness of the ethnic minorities to learn local languages, especially Chinese, in the hope that they could improve their current conditions as well as integrate into the society.

However, the strong emphasis on and desire for learning local languages, either Chinese or English may, in turn, cause a negative impact on their own languages and cultures. In the other words, Pakistanis in Hong Kong may pay less effort on teaching their next generation their native languages. Taking Urdu, the native language of Pakistanis, as an example, many of our Pakistani interviewees indicated that they do not have good understanding of the language, while some of them do not even know how to write or speak in Urdu. Even if they have learnt the language, they merely know how to handle simple conversations, but they do not know how to write in the language. Moreover, most of them learnt Urdu through their families and parents instead of from school. This is usually the case found among the younger generations. The above result may further imply that the learning of native

tongues may be compromised to a certain extent. If the older generations are now focusing on the education of Chinese and English of the younger generations due to practical reasons such as finding jobs and getting into tertiary education, the native languages of the ethnic minorities may be facing a crisis of decline among the Pakistani community in Hong Kong. According to our Pakistani interviewees, half of them agreed that there is a possible decline in Urdu in the future in Hong Kong society, since native languages of ethnic minorities is not the mainstream languages in Hong Kong. Moreover, the platforms for them to practice their cultures and languages are also insufficient in Hong Kong, as we have mentioned in Chapter 2.

From the above investigations, it is obvious that language barrier is one of the biggest obstacles of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong that has remained unsolved. Without sufficient knowledge of local languages, Pakistanis may face greater difficulty in employment, education and daily life. In particular, the choices of jobs and schools for them are limited, due to low proficiency in Chinese or English. Hence, we could observe a strong willingness for the ethnic minorities to learn local instead of their native languages. In other words, they are trying to fit in the habitus in Hong Kong by accumulating cultural capital (c.f. Chapter 4). However, this also led to another challenge regarding languages, which is the decline of their native languages, due to diminishing utility across generations, as well as insufficient opportunities for practice. This is in fact a serious issue to be examined, since the emphasis on local culture may suggest the abandonment of their own cultural roots in Hong Kong, which may further affect their sense of cultural identity, whether as Pakistanis or Hong Kong-Pakistanis.

Meanwhile, it also brings us back to the question of the government's approach toward ethnic minorities (c.f. Chapter 2). It is rather hard for us to believe that the Hong Kong government is truly advocating an inclusive and multicultural society. The public cultural programmes in Hong Kong are rarely specifically designed for ethnic minorities (Chan et. al.). Public library collections also lack minority language resources, such as books in Urdu. Thus, for those who are not familiar with the culture and languages in Hong Kong, they would be excluded in cultural activities. From this we can see that the Hong Kong government hasn't been putting enough effort in integrating ethnic minorities or promoting better understanding and accommodation of ethnic minority cultures in the Hong Kong society at large. From our findings, it is undeniable that the development of ethnic minority cultures is stagnant, due to the lack of means and commitment to promote and integrate their native cultures, religion as well as languages in the mainstream society. Hence, it is arguable that assimilation (the absorption into the mainstream) is a more likely scenario in Hong Kong, rather than the multicultural hub ideal that the government has been emphasizing in its city-branding campaigns.

Conclusion: Belonging Neither Here (in Hong Kong) Nor There (in their root countries)

The previous part draws attention to the negative effects on Pakistanis' root culture, when most of the people in this minority group are trying to fit into the Hong Kong society. Meanwhile, due to the existence of racial stereotypes and racial discrimination among the mainstream Hong Kong society, they could not be fully accepted as members of the Hong Kong society enjoying equal access to education

and job opportunities. In addition, it is not likely that individuals in the ethnic minority groups have been able to develop their own voice in the Hong Kong society. Their voices may then be subsumed under pre-existing clichés and stereotypes. In the end, they may feel alienated from the mainstream society.

However, as mentioned above, most of the second- and third- generations of migrants aren't familiar with their own root culture and language either. In the end, it is likely that these ethnic minorities may feel more alienated than ever, as they are neither fully "Hong Konger" nor are they fully "Pakistani". This would then exacerbate their floating identity in Hong Kong, as they are constantly looking for a 'home' that they could truly belong to. Yet the existence or their ability and willingness to identify such a space, if not a place, remains uncertain. Hence these ethnic minorities in Hong Kong would probably find themselves stuck in a cul-de-sac in their search for home, only to feel more alienated in the city as time goes by.

CONCLUSION

Our study began with an investigation into the historical context of ethnic minority settlements in Hong Kong, with a specific emphasis on the Pakistani community. After studying the Hong Kong government's policies toward ethnic minorities (Chapter 2) and the work and services provided by NGOs (in Chapter 3), we have traced the organic formation of a lifeworld of Pakistanis in the Kwai Chung district. Furthermore, the efforts made by Kung Yung Koon has transformed a lifeworld that has 'always already' been in Kwai Chung into a "home" amidst institutional and social constraints (Chapter 4). In Chapter 5, we have looked at the mass media as a double agent. On the one hand, it mirrors reality, yet on the other hand, it also shapes public perception of ethnic minority people and their cultures, which in turn affects their actions. The attitude and reactions of the mainstream society to ethnic minorities, in the end, would affect how individuals of ethnic minorities view themselves as "Hong Kongers" or Hong Kong as home. Therefore in Chapter 6, we have studied Pakistani individuals' perception towards home in several aspects – how media, government policies, and their personal experiences have contributed to their reception of "Hong Kong as home". In the end, we have reviewed how all these factors have affected Pakistani culture in Hong Kong.

In this concluding chapter, we would like to use the results of our investigations throughout these chapters to reflect on the multiculturalism in Hong Kong, hence find out whether Pakistanis' in Hong Kong could develop a sense of identity and sense of belonging in this city.

From what we have identified in the previous chapter, the Pakistanis (and other ethnic minorities) in Hong Kong nowadays are exceptionally similar with the early Chinese migrants in the colonial period. Certainly, over the years, the government has developed several metanarratives to construct Hong Kong as a “home” for its residents. Yet it seemed as if the ethnic minorities weren’t included in these constructions. Even in academic scholarships, ethnic minorities in Hong Kong tend to be the forgotten part of the society.

In Chapter 1, we have mentioned how the government has focused on constructing the sense of belonging of Hong Kongers with Chinese ethnicity. This can be revealed in the responses of some of our Chinese-local interviewees. When asked about how they understand the term, “Hong Konger”, most of our interviewees simply indicated that “Hong Konger” bears more political connotations, while “Hong Kong resident” simply refers to a person who has a permanent HKID card and lives in Hong Kong. Two of our respondents, however, seemed more interesting. One of them expressed that “Hong Kong itself has a culture inspired by both Western and Chinese influences, yet does not fit within the category of either. And to be a ‘Hong Konger’ is to embrace this unique culture and way of living”. Explicitly, this shows the mentality instilled by the colonial government since the 1967 riots, that is, neither (British)- nor (Chinese). Another interviewee, on the other hand, responded that “being called ‘Hong Konger’ brings people the sense of belonging towards Hong Kong rather than being called a ‘Chinese’”, which reflects the identity construction of the Hong Kong government and mainstream media in the 1970s – by distinguishing Hong Kong from the ‘other’, China.

The above findings show that the ‘home making’ efforts done by the Hong Kong government since the 1960s have vastly impacted Hong Kongers of Chinese ethnic origin. Moreover, the term “Hong Konger” seemed to have a more definite meaning in their perspective.

However, it seemed that the Hong Kong government has made relatively little effort in defining ‘Hong Konger’ or ‘Hong Kong as home’ to ethnic minorities. When asked the same question, ethnic minorities in Hong Kong tend to answer more vaguely. Most of them could only give short answers towards this question, such as “an identity”. As mentioned in Chapter 6, our ethnic minority interviewees who gave relatively concrete answers believed that being a ‘Hong Konger’ implies that an individual feels more attached to the city.

Getting back to our initial questions posed in Chapter 1, then how are ethnic minorities positioned in the identity discourses of Hong Kongers? What is the place of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong culture in present-day Hong Kong?

We have explored these questions in our main discussions:

Since the Hong Kong government failed to provide equality when dealing with ethnic minority issues in actual implementation, such as the inconsiderate Chinese learning system and unclear standard of passport application, the government is undergoing assimilation under “benevolent multiculturalism” (Erni and Leung 9-10). Though we have to keep in mind that it is unintentional. From government’s

implementation in policies, we can conclude that the Hong Kong government has failed to provide social inclusion within the Hong Kong society. It has also failed to be the pioneer in the society to reach racial equality among the ethnic majority and ethnic minorities.

Meanwhile, there are also different non-governmental organizations trying to lend a helping hand to the ethnic minorities and advocate racial equality. However, most of the NGOs had to rely on the funding provided by the government. Their projects must be examined by the respective departments, such as the Social Welfare Department, before the projects can be carried out. The projects also had to be under the government's supervision during practice, so as to ensure the projects fulfill the government expectations and requirements. Therefore, many projects which may provide supportive services to ethnic minority in a more effective way were banned by the government, like the case study of Kung Yung Koon in Chapter 2, as these projects did not meet the expectation or requirement of the government. As a result, government has become a factor that hindered the effort paid by the NGOs, instead of facilitating them.

Besides the government and NGOs, the ethnic minorities have tried to reconstruct their home in Hong Kong as well. We used Kwai Chung as an example to look into how ethnic minorities have set up shops and mosques in their living district in order to fulfill their custom and cultural practices. Although they have unintentionally

constructed their home in the area, the NGO, Kung Yung Koon has played the role as facilitator to foster the sense of home among Pakistanis in Kwai Chung by organizing activities such as cultural tours to shorten the distance between the majority and Pakistanis, and also among Pakistanis.

The emergence of Kung Yung Koon in Kwai Chung soon caught the attention of the mainstream media in Hong Kong. The mass media has tried to portray Kwai Chung as “little Pakistan” and “Pakistan village” while writing some articles to show the positive images of Hong Kong ethnic minorities. As media plays a significant role in shaping public opinion, the portrayal of mainstream media has influenced the perception of ethnic minorities of the majority in the society. However, this kind of portrayals, be they positive or negative, are created by the majority instead of the ethnic minorities as a channel for self-expression. The mainstream media tend to have reduced Pakistanis into simple labels such as “religious”, “passionate”, or “dangerous”. This may obstruct the mainstream locals from really understanding this group of people. In addition, with the language and cultural barriers, it may be even harder for both parties to develop mutual understanding.

All in all, the issues mentioned above contributed to the failure of constructing a real multicultural society in Hong Kong. In this respect, the minority has no choice

but to integrate themselves into the majority. Meanwhile, they may abandon their own root cultures to a certain extent. Thus, the aforementioned factors tend to advocate an environment that encourages the process of assimilation to take place, as opposed to inclusion. Ethnic minorities in Hong Kong may, consequently, have a feeling of being excluded from the majority if they do not try to integrate to feel 'at home' Therefore, minority cultures and languages, if not the voices of ethnic minority people, are somehow being marginalised by the mainstream.

Yet in the present age of globalization, the boundaries between cultures and identities are becoming more fluid. It is common that second- or third- generation migrants may feel alienated in their root cultures. Therefore in a multicultural society like Hong Kong, it is more important to figure whether Pakistanis could have a say in the constitution of the mainstream Hong Kong culture. After all, having a voice is the most fundamental factor in home making. This is how one could truly feel at home, for home, is a place of their own making.

Yet, with the observations from the previous chapters, Pakistanis do not seem to have a say in the formation of HK culture, nor do they have a strong initiative to participate in such process. However, we couldn't blame any single party we have studied for this situation, as all aspects intertwine – it takes all parties in a society to piece together a 'home'. It could be that the NGOs are unable to fully incorporate multiculturalism in providing services to ethnic minorities, for most of them focus on teaching ethnic minorities Chinese language. It could also be that the media has failed to portray a multicultural society where all races are equal. In the end, when it boils down to the individuals, they may not even care about preserving their root culture or

finding their own cultural identity in Hong Kong.

In conclusion, the identity and culture of Pakistanis in Hong Kong seemed to have disappeared back in the colonial period; until now, as their voices are absorbed into the melting pot of ‘Hong Kong culture’, they do not seem to have the intention to be heard. Just as the early Chinese migrants in the colonial period who saw Hong Kong as an entrepôt, Pakistanis in Hong Kong nowadays remain exiled. They could not be fully Pakistani, nor could they be fully “Hong Kong”.

This dilemma is summarized by our topic, “Home away from Home”. Not only in the sense that they are having a home away from their home country, but also in the sense that, with a port mentality, their ideal of ‘home’ remains far away from where they reside, which some may still *name* – ‘home’.

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Appendix I. List of Interviewees

	Alias	Ethnicity	Occupation	Years of Residency in Hong Kong	Date of Interview
1	L	Chinese	Social Worker	> 30 years	28-3-2017
2	P	Chinese	Social Work Intern	22 years	28-3-2017
3	C	Chinese	Kung Yung Koon Curator	25 years	16-2-2017
4	M	Pakistani	Kung Yung Koon Curator	> 30 years	16-2-2017
5	R	Pakistani	Secondary Student	18 years	17-3-2017
6	G	Pakistani	Film Producer	24 years	27-3-2017
7	S	Pakistani	IT Engineer	14 years	3-3-2017
8	I	Pakistani	Worker (Recycling Industry)	25 years	1-3-2017
9	O	Pakistani	Part-time Sales / Teacher	19 years	3-5-2017
10	N	Indian	University Student	20 years	11-4-2017
11	H	Nepal	University Student	14 years	18-4-2017
12	K	Filipina	University Student	21 years	10-4-2017
13	AA	Chinese	University Student	22 years	12-4-2017
14	AB	Chinese	University Student	23 years	12-4-2017
15	AC	Chinese	University Student	22 years	12-4-2017
16	AD	Chinese	Police	23 years	12-4-2017
17	AE	Chinese	University Student	22 years	12-4-2017
18	AF	Chinese	University Student	22 years	12-4-2017

19	AG	Chinese	Police	24 years	12-4-2017
20	AH	Chinese	University Student	21 years	12-4-2017
21	AI	Chinese	University Student	22 years	12-4-2017
22	AJ	Chinese	University Student	22 years	12-4-2017
23	AK	Chinese	University Student	22 years	12-4-2017
24	AL	Chinese	University Student	21 years	12-4-2017
25	AM	Chinese	University Student	21 years	12-4-2017
26	AN	Chinese	University Student	21 years	12-4-2017
27	AO	Chinese	University Student	21 years	12-4-2017
28	AP	Chinese	University Student	21 years	3-5-2017
29	AQ	Chinese	University Student	22 years	3-5-2017
30	AR	Chinese	University Student	19 years	3-5-2017
31	AS	Chinese	University Student	21 years	3-5-2017
32	AT	Chinese	Private Tutor	22 years	3-5-2017
33	AU	Chinese	University Student	22 years	3-5-2017
34	AV	Chinese	University Student	22 years	3-5-2017
35	AW	Chinese	Secondary Student	18 years	3-5-2017
36	AX	Chinese	University Student	23 years	3-5-2017
37	AY	Chinese	Salesperson	30 years	3-5-2017
38	AZ	Chinese	University Student	21 years	3-5-2017
39	BA	Chinese	Marketing Intern	24 years	3-5-2017
40	BB	Chinese	University Student	22 years	4-5-2017
41	BC	Chinese	University Student	20 years	4-5-2017
42	BD	Chinese	University Student	22 years	5-5-2017

Appendix 2. Interview Transcript (Interviewee #3)

Date of Interview: 16 February 2017

Location: Kung Yung Koon, Kwai Fung House, 21-23 Ping Lai Path, Kwai

Chung

Alias: Interviewee (C); Interviewers (I)

I: 你們從哪些途徑獲得資助？

C: 我們可以申請資助的途徑有很多，有政府、賽馬會、周大福（珠寶集團）等。

但這些機構多數覺得少數族裔能否融入社會的因素僅在於語言、就業及教育方面，因此你們可以看到全港 18 區主流的少數族裔服務大致上也是與語言、就業及教育有關。

I: 你們有沒有舉辦一些課程給區內的少數族裔學習中文？

C: 有，我們有個計劃設立了上門補習及課後補習班。補習班的對象以小朋友為主，成人因收生不足及難以聘請導師而沒有開辦課程。成人方面我們有一些就業計劃，例如我們開設了兩家社企，其中一個是邀請少數族裔婦女在家中製作手作飾物。如果這些婦女的丈夫同意她們外出工作，就會邀請她們賣手工藝品及畫 henna(身體彩繪)。因為在回教的文化中，並不建議女士外出工作。但我個

人認為，這些融入活動都帶有濃厚的政府意識，就好像少數族裔來到香港就一定要說我們的語言、把我們的文化加諸在他們的文化中。但這樣是否真的讓少數族裔融入了我們的社會呢？我覺得這樣太單向，看不到每個少數族裔個體的個性。我們平日所指的少數族裔其實包括了多個不同的文化，尼泊爾人、巴基斯坦人及印度人其實有很多大的分別，例如宗教。所以我們這個計劃中有些較相向的活動，讓南亞裔認識我們的文化之餘，我們亦能去認識他們的文化，以致大家在工作及生活上能有多點的體諒，其實這樣已經對少數族裔融入社會有很大的幫助。

I: 所以你們的服務對象不一定只是南亞裔，同時也包括了本地的華人？

C: 對，我們的服務對象是任何階層、任何背景的人。例如我們常常舉辦一些文化導賞團，有些公司會因想聘請少數族裔而來，我們便會跟他們說明有什麼地方需要注意，如飲食方面。有些少數族裔信奉回教，每天要祈禱五次，但每次祈禱的時間其實很短，大概需時五到十分鐘，會否能讓他們暫時離開工作崗位一會去祈禱？我認為這些微少的工作已經能夠幫助少數族裔尋找工作。

I: 你們是否有一個展覽關於少數族裔(來港)的歷史？

C: 我們館有些小 display 有講述他們(來港)歷史的時間，你們剛才拿的書也有提及到少數族裔來港的背景。我們想特地葵涌區少數族裔來港的背景，但我們發現文獻及圖片紀錄均相當少，只有紀錄關於整體少數族裔來港的主因，如當兵、做警察等。

I: 我們在資料中得知上世紀 20、30 年代少數族裔來港的主因主要是當兵，70 年代則因本港工業興盛而來港謀生。但現時本港的工業已不像以往般繁榮，現時少數族裔來港有沒有其他因素？

C: 在這一區 (葵涌) 的少數族裔多是為了謀生而來港。雖然很多帶有工業的工作已消失，但很多比較基層的工作，例如建築、運輸、裝車、裝修都需要一些比較廉價的勞工，所以有很多男士會來港。待他們可能有一定的經濟基礎，安頓好生活，便會申請他們的太太和小朋友過來；或有些是在這裡安頓好以後，有人介紹他結婚組織家庭。這是葵涌區的特性，但如果說灣仔、油尖旺又可能有不同的故事。

I: 我們在很多新聞、報紙說這裡是「小巴基斯坦」，但我們 1 月 1 日的時候來過，不知道是由於新年所以店鋪都關了門還是其他原因，我們感覺不到這裡有

什麼特別有特色。

C: 我給你一幅地圖。其實這裡有很多（巴基斯坦人開的店），有十餘間。因為他們的店多數都是做巴基斯坦人的生意，你可以想到它們的生意額其實不是賺很多錢，所以他們不可以租一個冠冕堂皇的地鋪，讓你很容易看到。如果是這些雜貨店、布店，你可以走進商場裡才會見到。但為什麼叫「小巴基斯坦」未必是只看店鋪，你要看看他們聚居的地方，如這條街有個他們拜神的地方叫清真寺，在出面一家叫穆德廚房樓上的那個單位。你要選時間來，例如星期五他們特別叫主拜日，男士一定要去祈禱，午餐時會有一群男人在那裡聚集。

I: 是誰提出翻新屏麗徑的建議？是政府先提出還是是共融館的計劃？

C: 是共融館主動向政府提出的。其實這是一個比較大膽的嘗試，那時我還未在這裡工作，是一個部門主任想嘗試做一些硬件的東西。這些其實全部是政府土地，很少非牟利機構會主動提出，但我們覺得有這個需要。因為這條街其實很好用，但很骯髒，晚上有很多老鼠，燈光也十分不夠光亮。難得有個基金是新開放，我們便嘗試一下。

I: 翻新的設計是你們的創作，還是在申請基金後政府替你們設計？

C: 政府不會替我們設計。我們有一筆錢，要自己去找設計師，即是找一個 AP (authority person, 獲授權人士)。他會想好設計，然後由我們出標給承辦商，即是設計和施工是兩個不同的人。但施工的要讓設計師監督如何進行工程。我們請了大學建築系的教授幫手設計。做這些計劃很特別，就是你不能把你的念頭放進去，因為這是社區的 (計劃)，所以我們要舉行很多資詢會。好像是我們覺得放多一點椅子給街坊坐好，但在資詢會上不論是南亞還是華裔都反映這條街不是個讓人當成公園的地方，只是讓人路過，可能閒時會坐下，不要弄那麼多椅子，這是個頗有趣的建議。其實本身這裡是個很漂亮的公園，地是單車徑的地、有鐘樓、有舞台，但政府因庫存沒有這些非常用物料而否決了這些設計。

I: 原來如此，難怪我們發現這個計劃跟政府其他的融合計劃一樣，沒有真正進行融合工作。

C: 所以我們對這個硬件的看法是改善衛生及燈光。所以那時第二期基金會有說過不如只通過翻新屏麗徑而不批准設立共融館，但其實不可以。因為這個館是整個計劃的「腦」，即是街上發生什麼事要靠我們一直推出。就街道現時的情況，我們將會舉行一些比賽或者電話上流動性的，一些政府不會插手的活動讓

雙方不同種族的朋友享用。例如放兩張桌子、兩張椅子當成搖搖板，或者一些千秋椅可一起享用這個空間，就是在這些灰色地帶做些較有趣的事。因為我們的設計都給政府全部否決，一個花槽也要經三個部門（審批），我們整條街的計劃差不多跟了七個部門討論，要各部門一逐審批，所以改成了我把計劃完成後發現實際上沒有什麼可以改動的空間。

I: 在活化後有沒有人使用這條街？平日主要是什麼人士使用？除了路過之外，人們會否使用這裡？

C: 多了很多人坐在這裡。不知道之前你們有沒有來過，其實(原本)沒有什麼空間讓人坐，很骯髒，但現在放假你會看到很多人坐在這裡，很多小朋友在這裡玩。其實我們做點計劃實驗，一些很小型的地區實驗，放一張桌子，放一個書櫃，放一些植物出去已經(感覺)相差很遠。因為有些媽媽放學會帶小朋友在這裡放學看書、做家課、帶他看什麼是怕羞草、澆花。這是我們學習如何營造公共空間，不可以靠硬件建設。

Appendix 3: Interview Transcript (Interviewee #4)

Date of Interview: 16 February 2017

Location: Kung Yung Koon, Kwai Fung House, 21-23 Ping Lai Path, Kwai

Chung

Alias: Interviewee (M); Interviewers (I)

I: 為什麼那裡(共融館展覽處)有一本並非攝於香港的相簿作展覽品？

M: 那本相簿(的照片)是攝於印度的。因為我們之前在這個中心內舉辦了兩次相展(相片展覽)，一次是伊朗相展，另一次是印度相展。而這兩次相展皆由本地的一些年輕人，親身去了這兩個國家，並居住差不多了二十多日至一個月(時拍攝)。這兩個地方環境都很不同。其實為什麼我們要舉辦這個東西(相展)呢？它們都是很大型的。原因是因為大家對這兩個國家的印象很多時候都是來自傳媒，(而這次)是他們的親身體驗，並且拍下當時的情景。他們還有一個 talk(分享會)，分享他們的經歷。

I: 那麼展出相簿的原因主要是希望可以給大家看到一個非傳媒筆下的地方(伊朗和印度)？

M: 可以這樣說。雖然看照片未必看到很多，但年輕人喜歡攝影，所以都想舉辦

相展給大家看看。

I: 那為配合相展都會舉辦分享會去讓大家了解更多？

M: 會的會的，其實這些年輕人可說是比較”無憂米”(富裕不必擔心生活)。他們是科大(香港科技大學)的學生，如工商管理的學生，也有在大銀行工作的，因此可以有較多機會出國遊玩。他們有穿上印度服裝，還有從當地帶回一些東西去解釋它們的背景等。

I: 我們還想問這裡(共融館)的擺設，是你們自己製作還是跟街坊們一起弄的？

M: 其實這裡的擺設有幾個層面的。例如是裝修，我們要多謝珠江 college，因為是他們替我們設計的，館內的東西都是他們替我們佈置的。比如這些(貼牆大櫃子的活動設計)可以拉下來作工作枱，而這些(另外一個活動裝置)可以拉出來變成一間房子。因為有時候我們需要舉辦(有關)女士的活動，不能公開，她們也不會隨便跟陌生人聊天。因此我們可以把這裡變成牆子，避免街上的行人望到(她們)。而第二個(層面)，就是從巴基斯坦帶回來的，在香港是找不到，比如後面那些(擺設)和椅子，都是從巴基斯坦帶回來的產品。還有一些就是這裡的街坊，比較有藝術細胞，畫了些東西。比如是上面那幅畫，是我們有時候去”洗樓

"(大廈探訪)跟他們聊天的時候他們捐給我們的。有些做展覽時已經收好沒有放出來，所以有些是街坊、有些是巴基斯坦帶回來、有些是本地。還有一些是南亞婦女，在家中做了一些製成品，放在我們的社企擺賣。因為她們不能全職工作，家庭人數較多的時候需要照顧小朋友和丈夫，但她們還有些空餘時間又希望賺一些外快。因此可在這個社企寄賣她們的(手作)製品，賣出了便可以把錢分給她們。這個(共融館內的寄賣)是一個很小的部分，大的那個在油塘，大本營那邊有一個 counter 寄賣。而在海洋公園、昂平 360 也有些(南亞)婦女替人畫 henna 的。

I: 我們在政府部門如在有「小巴基斯坦」之稱的葵涌區民政事務處很少見到有關少數族裔的東西，多數是有關老人家的社區活動，你們這裡比較多呢。你怎樣看？

M: 其實真是少。但「小巴基斯坦」可能是誇張了，不過我們的確希望做多一點服務。做這個地方的背後是有意思的，我們做這個工作的時候，目的不是希望非華裔、南亞裔(和本地)認同對方，而是要認識對方，因為在香港對少數族裔的認識很少，這個很重要。政府那邊是要幫助他們(來港的少數族裔)融入社會，但不是兩邊(本地人與少數族裔)推廣。因為到了新地方不能融入的時候，不能

理解(當地)的時候，他們(政府)用一些方法去 support 他們(少數族裔)。但我們(共融館)是兩方面，support 是重要的，但我們兩方面告訴大家，如為什麼有這個宗教信仰，因為政府不會特意去做這個東西。因此可能大家的背景和想法有少許分別，所以(政府)可能都有的，但比較難找到。另外在香港也沒有一個特別的部門針對少數族裔的，其實這不是太好。為什麼呢？因為你想想在香港社會生活，就算是本地人也會遇到很多困難例如房屋和教育，但一個不懂這個地方的語言和文化的人，他所遇到困難一定比本地人十倍、百倍。本地人都感到困難時，那他所感到的困難肯定是更大。所以我們見每一個部門(政府部門)是分散的，如有房屋問題你就自己去找房屋處、學校問題和教育問題又...(去另一處)，所以是應該有個更專門的，一個統籌會較好。但去民政事務處可以做到多少呢？如果有屋屋問題和教育問題到民政事務處也不能替你解決，頂多是在區內收集意見、舉辦一些活動等。

I: 所以照你所說，這個中心是比較雙向的，是需要兼顧兩邊的目標對象？

M: 其實我們中心初期定的 target 是針對本地人多的，我們知道他們(本地)的背景和歷史等，也發覺少數族裔會遇到困難是因為他們外表不同，很多時大家都知道香港歷史，除了有丁權的人士、原居民外大家都是來自不同的地方，或者

從內地不同城市過來。但是為什麼中國人或者華人住在香港，住了一代便覺得自己是香港人，而在香港土生土長或住了兩三代，比他們還要久的(少數族裔)就會被問到什麼時候來香港的、為什麼會來香港的？你們有沒有試過問自己父母？大家沒有丁權時，其實都是這樣(從外地遷到香港)來的，但你們不會問自己為什麼來香港的。為什麼會(對少數族裔)問這個問題呢？就是因為我們看到自己外表就覺得自己是香港人，但見他們(少數族裔)外表不同的時候就問他們為什麼來港。但我們想一想，其實看看歷史大家來香港的原因都很接近，可能是政府問題、貪污、戰亂、謀生、權力轉變等，大家便走難到香港。很多在香港的華人也可能是因此而來的.....其實現在在香港少數族裔的背景已經統一了，很多時候都是由父母申請以家庭形式申請他們來港。但是以前更多是跟英國人有關係，都是英聯邦地區，大家的交流會較多、四處走動。我都認識一些華人以前在印度出生甚至在巴基斯坦...(?)因為以前在英國統治的時候就會去印度那邊，因為以前沒有巴基斯坦。

I: 我們想做個有關在港出生的第二、三代巴基斯坦人的 cultural identity 的訪問，你知不知道有什麼途徑可以接觸到他們？

M: 其實很多的。你們可以留意一些學校、主流學校都會收很多南亞學生的，比

如?(大同?)、嘉道理。很多學校都會收南亞學生，但比較土生土長就多一些，如我或者喬寶寶這樣。這些在香港土生土長的(南亞裔人士)以前受教育和接觸本地都是靠自己的動力，因為以前沒有一個普及教育要他們學習中文。但是為什麼有些(南亞裔人士)會(中文)很好，可能是因為他們接觸本地人較多。但是現在不同了，他們會特登去學習，尤其回歸(中國)後中文的重要性更高，就算多利害的人如果不懂中文的話，出路是相對較少，工作和教育出路都會較低。因為很多時候香港政府都是對這些人(南亞裔人士)有統一看法，比如想考大學都要 DSE(中文)合格的，所以他們會有困難。所以不同(時期)的人，早期後期不同的。所以你們做一點功課都應會找到的，當然不計 band one 的，通常 band two/three 學校都會收到兩至三個甚至十個八個南亞學生。我們中心都有，不過要趁機努力一下，哈哈。我們剛剛睇這本書都有幾個年輕人的故事，土生土長的。好似這個女仔”Ashka”，她的爸爸是以前是(軍人)後來做了警察，是第三、第四代。有些故事都幾特別的。

I: 傳媒經常說這裡是「小巴基斯坦」，你怎麼看？

M: 都可以這樣說，為什麼會有這個看法呢？因為其他區很少會見到咁 close 的，我們有餐廳、雜貨店、清真寺等，日常(生活)用到的東西都可在這裡找到，甚

至有做他們衣服的布廠，不是區區都可以找到的。所以日常用品、衣食住行都可以找到的。尖沙咀都類似這樣，但是去工作(的人)比較多一點，很少成個家庭住在那一區，因為是商業城市，租金貴。所以日常用品、宗教都可在這裡找到，有些學校會收很多南亞學生，所以基本上都可算是小巴基斯坦的。

Appendix 4: Field Visit Report I

Location: Kung Yung Koon - The Dost

Date of visit: 16 February 2017

Time of Arrival: 10:15

Time of departure: 11:15

Introduction

Kung Yung Koon, one of the project items under the *Our Community of Love & Mutuality: Nurturing Cultural Diversity & Community Legacy in Kwai Chung* project, was founded in May 2014 in Kwai Chung district, in which a South Asian network has been well-established. Kung Yung Koon is a community centre for both locals and South Asians, which aims to provide a platform for diverse cultural exchanges. In our first field trip, we aimed to visit the exhibition as well



as to observe the overall condition and setting of Kung Yung Koon. Both its interior and exterior design, flow of visitors, types of visitors will be the main focus of our field trip.

Observation

There were four staffs working in Kung Yung Koon when we conducted our

site visit. Three out of four staffs are Chinese-locals and the remaining one is a Pakistani. Besides our group, there were no other visitors at that time.



Inside Kung Yung Koon, instead of an exhibition, there was a board about the history of Pakistanis in Hong Kong. Next to the board was a wooden frame with photos and interviews on Pakistanis' lives in Hong Kong. As Kung Yung Koon had organized a photo exhibition of Iranian (Persian) culture before, there was an album of photos to showcase the lives in Iran. As we toured the place, we noticed that there was a sliding door at the middle of Kung Yung Koon as well. It would be closed when holding workshops for Muslim women to protect their privacy. Several decorations like paintings and wooden chairs were placed in the centre. According to the staffs, the decorations were either brought from Pakistan or donated by residents in Kwai Chung. We also had interviews with the staffs during our visit. In the interviews, we talked about the target audience of the centre, the Ping Lai Path revitalization project and the difficulties facing by both Pakistanis in Hong Kong and NGOs when attaining funding from the government (Appendix 2 &3).

Some plants, a wooden bookshelf and some chairs were placed in front of Kung Yung Koon to create a public space for the residents to enjoy. According to the staff, the creation of the public space is also a part of the *Ping Lai Revitalization*

Project. A little boy and his mother were reading books at the space during our visit.

Conclusion

The interview with the staffs of Kung Yung Koon during our visit has deepened our understanding towards Kung Yung Koon's work on ethnic minorities, as well as the current situation of Pakistanis in Kwai Chung and their major difficulties of living in Hong Kong. We could see that the Kung Yung Koon has tried to promote and foster the understanding among different cultural groups by organizing different activities and creating a public space in Ping Lai Path.



Appendix 5: Field Visit Report II

Location: Kung Yung Koon - The Dost and its surrounding neighborhood

Date of visit: 21 February 2017

Time of Arrival: 14:30

Time of departure: 17:00

Introduction

Apart from making observations on Kung Yung Koon itself, it is particularly important to visit its surrounding areas i.e. the Kwai Chung South Asian community. Therefore in this field visit, we aimed to participate in a cultural activity, including cultural sharing section and guided tour, held by Kung Yung Koon in order to have a better understanding of Kwai Chung's South Asian community as well as the locals. Observing the kind of participants, exploring the stories and cultures of local South Asians, tasting South Asian food, and visiting South Asian shops were our main focus of the day. By doing this fieldwork, we hope to see whether the "Mini Pakistan" community in Kwai Chung is justified, and to see whether the activities held by Kung Yung Koon promote cultural exchange between locals and South Asians.

Observation

During the field visit on 21 February 2017, there were around 15-20 participants; including three members of our team, who joined the cultural sharing section and guided tour held by Kung Yung Koon. Inside the venue, chairs are set

beforehand. However, due to the limited and inadequate space in Kung Yung Koon, participants were closely packed together, leaving one tiny aisle for the staff to access with difficulty.

The range of ethnicities among the participants was not diverse. There were only two non-Chinese visitors, including one Caucasian and one Pakistani, and the rest of us were either Cantonese-speaking or Mandarin-speaking locals. Since many of the participants came in groups like our team, there was little contact between each other. The first section of this cultural activity was a brief introduction of South Asian history and Culture in Hong Kong followed by a sharing section by a Pakistanis elderly who had difficulty in communicating in Chinese. In this section, most of the participants were concentrated and willing to raise questions, some of them even took notes. But still, there was no interaction among participants.



After the sharing section, we took off and went to a small restaurant opposite to Kung Yung Koon that served halal food. The restaurant owner was a South Asian who married a Hong Kong woman. The interior design of restaurant showed a strong sense of South Asian belief. For example, we observed tablecloths and drawings on walls with Muslim patterns, a painting of the holy city of Mecca, a shisha on shelf etc.. As for the food, we have tried two

dishes, including fried dumplings and a cup of milk tea. Interestingly, both dishes were not as spicy as we have expected since we have an impression that most of the South Asian cuisine are famous for the extensive use of spices. Milk tea, on the other hand, was sweeter than Hong Kong style milk tea. For the employees, there were around two to three waiters who were all South Asians, and we saw no sign of waitresses.



Shortly after the food tasting, we followed two guides and paid a visit to a nearby grocery store, which sold South Asian food and daily necessities. There were no employees except the South Asian shop owner himself. The interior design was eye-catching since it was different from most of the shops in Hong Kong: cupboards, which were divided into many cubicles with same size and rectangular shape, were installed to the walls, while products were tightly packed inside each cubicles.



Also, there was an eye-catching slogan written in Urdu hanging right above the cashier. Overall, the shop shows a different design style when compared to most Hong Kong grocery shop.

Conclusion

To conclude, in today's field trip, we could experience the close interaction and relationship between Kung Yoon Koon and the rest of the South Asian stores and restaurant in the district. Also, most of the participants, who were interested in guided tour regarding South Asian community, were mainly Chinese people. Most importantly, we were able to see how the Ethnic minorities developed their social and economic life in the area.

Appendix 6. Field Visit Report III

Field Visit: Outreach Programme – Home Visit (Hong Kong Christian Service’s Support to Ethnic Elderly [SEE] Project)

Location: Yau Ma Tei (Henry G. Leong Yaumatei Community Centre; homes of Ethnic Minority Elderly)

Date of Visit: 25 February 2017

Time of Arrival: 10:00

Time of Departure: 12:30

Introduction

Financially supported by The Community Chest of Hong Kong to help ethnic minorities integrate into the Hong Kong society, the outreach project aims to provide ethnic minority elderly with information to public services provided by the NGO and the government, to reinforce the support given to the ethnic minority elderly, as well as to raise the awareness of the mainstream locals who provide services to the ethnic minority elderly (Hong Kong Christian Service).

Through this field visit, we hope to observe the living environment of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. Moreover, we would like to chat with the volunteers and social workers to familiarize ourselves with the actual needs of ethnic minorities.

Observation

Volunteers of the event were formed into groups of two; all of the volunteers are ethnic minorities, most of whom are Nepalese and Indians. We were then allocated to different places to chat with the ethnic minority elderly for 15 to 30 minutes, so as to know about their needs and report to the organization during the debriefing. Upon arrival at their flats, we realized that all the ethnic minority elderly we have visited could not speak in Chinese or English; hence volunteers who did not know the language could not communicate with them at all. Moreover, due to the language barrier, most of the elderly may not be aware of the services they could have access to. Therefore we were instructed to ask them whether they were aware of the recent resources and services provided by the government and the Hong Kong Christian Service such as healthcare vouchers. We were also reminded that we could not guarantee anything to the elderly, including whether we would visit them again during the next round of visits. By the end of the event, we were given a 'transportation allowance' of \$62.5, as the social worker explicitly explained that it was from the government's funding.

Conclusion

From this field trip, we learnt that language barrier is the biggest difficulty faced by ethnic minorities. At the same time, we feel powerless, as we couldn't speak their language either. It revealed to us that although most NGOs' services are in language integration, we couldn't deny that these services are of fundamental importance in communication among different ethnic and cultural groups.