A STUDY OF THE ROLE OF FESTIVAL OF HONG KONG IN SHAPING HONG KONG’S CULTURAL LANDSCAPE FROM THE LATE 1960s TO 1970s

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May 9, 2018
Abstract

The study aims to investigate the intrinsic meanings and impacts of the three times Festival of Hong Kong (The Festival) held in the late 1960s and early 1970s by using archival sources, academic sources and newspaper clipping. The review of socio-political and cultural context of that period showed that the Colonial Government saw the need to organize a territory-wide community event to stabilize the society. The examination of the constitution of the committee and responsible department of The Festival revealed that it developed the Government’s approach to the later development of community and cultural events in Hong Kong. The analysis of the two highlighted programmes of the Festival indicated that it carried the intention of political and social construction. By discussing the cancellation of the Festival, its significances in shaping the cultural landscape of Hong Kong in 1970s were found. All the findings reported could add to the current literature by building up a data base for The Festival and contributing to discussion of the colonial government’s effort paid in public governance.
Acknowledgements

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to our supervisor Dr. LEE, Vivian in encouraging us to keep on with the work and finally accomplished the research. Her patience, motivation and knowledge guided us with academic support and helped us develop our ideas. She was always keen to know how we were proceeding to steer us in the right direction and showed confidence in our work. A special word of gratitude is also due to Dr. LEE, Sylvia, Dr. LUO, Yu, Dr. WONG, Marianne, Mr. WONG, King Chung and Dr. CHUI, Lisa, who have commented on our presentation, for their insightful questions and encouragement.
# Table of contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong> ...........................................................................</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CHAPTER ONE. The Sociopolitical and Cultural Context of the Time before the First Festival of Hong Kong</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Sociopolitical Background of Hong Kong in 1960s</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Disturbance of 1967 Riots</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Festival and Cultural Events in Early 1960s</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Background of Festival of Hong Kong</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CHAPTER TWO. From the constitution of committee of the Festival to the organisation of Hong Kong community activities</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Committee Members and Involving Government Departments of The Festival</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government Departments Responsible for Organising Community Activities</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After 1973</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CHAPTER THREE. Programmes of Festival of Hong Kong: A Political and Social Construct</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grand Procession</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miss Festival of Hong Kong</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reaction of the Public</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER FOUR. Cancellation of The Festival and its significance in shaping the cultural landscape of Hong Kong in 1970s

Overview

Economic Downturn In Between 1973-75

Social Welfare Re-construction in The Mid-seventies Hong Kong

The Increasing Awareness of Local Culture in Hong Kong in Mid-seventies

Significance of Festival of Hong Kong

CONCLUSION

Bibliography

Appendix
Introduction

Festival of Hong Kong (hereinafter The Festival) was first inaugurated in 1969 to provide a week of relaxation, enjoyment and interest for the people of Hong Kong and was repeated at two-yearly intervals thereafter until 1975. In the view of the colonial government, The Festival was considered successful in achieving its aims. As the Governor, Sir Murray MacLehose, said at the opening of The Festival on 26 November 1971 that it is about “the right combination of hard work with leisure and fun is the hallmark of a happy and successful community,” when “we are beginning to enjoy the rewards for a rising standard of living and something new – a little leisure time.” In addition to the denotation of a getting-prosperous community, The Festival played a significant role in shaping the cultural landscape of Hong Kong from late 1960s to mid-1970s because it signified “a change in recreation and use of leisure” that it was the first community-wide whirl of festival “placing stress on entertainment”.

Moreover, The Festival adopted a two-level approach to the programme items; apart from the major events such as Military Tattoo, Grand Procession and Miss Festival of Hong Kong which were organised by the central committee, hundreds of the programmes on a district basis were held and organised by local kaifongs, like in The Festival 1971, the Tsuen Wan District Ad Hoc Group organised fashion show, Chinese Opera performance and table tennis competition, etc. for celebration. Being cooperatively prepared by both the Activities Committee and kaifongs’ organisation, The Festival was considered successful in creating a

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1 Cultural landscape in this paper refers to the development of Hong Kong’s popular culture and mass entertainment from late 1960s to mid-1970s
2 Festival of Hong Kong Office. Festival of Hong Kong, 1971-74. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1974.
3 The Activities Committee is responsible for generating the overall programme of entertainment under the chairmanship of Mr. A. de O. Sales.
sense of community in one Executive Council discussion which was held on 24th March 1970 because of the widespread involvement of the people of Hong Kong⁴.

The above discourse regarding the success of The Festival formed the basis of this paper which intends to find out how The Festival changed the cultural landscape of Hong Kong from late 1960s to mid-1970s. On the other hand, the discussion led by the colonial government can also be understood as what Laurajane Smith referred to as authorized heritage discourse (AHD) which is about how the authority speak for and about the nature and meaning of heritage⁵. Although Festival of Hong Kong did not deal with "heritage" in the literal sense, it adopted the same narrative of collective history and identity as a guiding principle to selectively use the past to serve present purposes. The official positioning of The Festival therefore reflected how the government would like to present the city to the world.

As the published agenda of The Festival shows, the colonial government tended to assign The Festival a meaning of community cohesion that all the people of Hong Kong, including both rich and poor, could gather to enjoy the rewards for their diligence which had contributed to a rising standard of living. The intention of this authorized heritage discourse – to celebrate a history of successful economic development and the social and work ethics that support it through an open-to-all context – echoed what Janet Ng commented on the AHD regarding the description of the seventies Hong Kong’s history in Hong Kong Museum of History’s permanent exhibition, namely “The Story of Hong Kong” which was said to serve a purpose of flattening out social disparity and glorifying Hong Kong spirit⁶.

In a nutshell, the colonial government valued The Festival because of its success in creating a sense of social cohesion and the image-embedding nature of festival to influence

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people’s idea of a city in a way that it provides many points of identification. It implies that there must be some designated perceptions to be assigned to the city through festivals, so that the participants will be likely to change their ideas of Hong Kong after joining the activities. In this regard, this paper also aims to find out what images of Hong Kong that The Festival proposed to create under the hypothesis that it was a manifestation of the colonial government's AHD. The paper starts by reviewing the social context of Hong Kong in 1960s to see under what social situation the Festival of Hong Kong was launched. It will then discuss the management body of The Festival, including the steering committee and the responsible department to see how the very first large-scale community project which emphasised entertainment for the people was organised in the colonial days. The third part of this paper will examine the programmes of The Festival to study what kinds of social and cultural values were promoted through the events and how the public was engaged through these activities.

Although The Festival was viewed as a hallmark of a happy and successful community under the authorized heritage discourse, it came to an end in 1975. When the government announced in 1974 that The Festival which was scheduled for November 1975 had been postponed without rescheduling, a local newspaper called The Star conducted a street poll in 27 February 1977 about “should the festival be resumed? Do you want it resumed as an annual event?” Most of the viewers thought that it was good to have The Festival because they would have more places to go and more things to see. As it showed, The Festival was a good choice for entertainment among the citizens and it proved that The Festival successfully fulfilled its ultimate goal – to provide a community-wide whirl of festival stressing on entertainment. Therefore, it is doubtful why the government would

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indefinitely suspend such a well-received event. The fourth part of this paper will attempt to
address this question by suggesting other possible reasons behind the indefinite suspension of
The Festival in addition to the official explanation of economic downturn.

Chapter one is an overview to explore the social circumstance in 1960s before holding
the first Festival in 1969. It focuses on how the social disturbance of 1967 Riots which was
originated from labour disputes, was related to the underlying intention behind The Festival.
This chapter also has a glance at the cultural events and festivals had been held before The
Festival in early 1960s, specifically the Hong Kong Week in 1967 and the first Ready-to-
Wear Festival in 1968, in which their intentions were to promote Hong Kong design, product
and textile. The last part of this chapter is going to show the background of Festival of Hong
Kong to look at why this festival with unique nature was coming up in the late sixties and the
early seventies.

Chapter two examines the organisational structure of the Festival of Hong Kong. The
constitution of the festival committee and the government departments incharge of the event
started the later developments of Hong Kong government’s approach to cultural activities and
related facilities, as The Festival was the first ever large-scale community project in the city.
By studying the organisational structure, it can illustrate how cultural events, especially the
Festival of Hong Kong, was managed. The focus of this chapter is the evolution of the
government departments involved during the three times Festival, that it can give clues to
how the more well-defined division of labour helped the government to better organise
cultural events in later periods and why cultural events in Hong Kong society were
increasingly important since then.

Chapter three gives a brief description on the various activities and events organised
during The Festival. Among the entertainment programmes, two highlight events, Miss
Festival of Hong Kong Pageant and Grand Procession, would be selected to look into the
programme details, results and the reaction of the public. Despite The Festival officially declared its aim to offer a time of entertainment and celebration to the public, the international branding brought by the events and over-emphasis on prosperity suggests the implicit meaning of its commercial and political values and its attempt to conceal the economic and social instability of society in the immediate aftermath of the 1967 Riots.

Chapter four gives importance to the cancellation of the Festival. It on the one hand examines the government’s decision to cancel The Festival; on the other hand, it reviews the social and cultural landscape in the mid-seventies Hong Kong to analyse other possible reasons why The Festival 1975 got the axe, even though a lot of preparatory work had been done by that time. The discussion in this chapter intends to infer the political connotations of The Festival - why a said “hallmark of a happy and successful community” was suddenly called off and was never revived? Was it possible that The Festival, in its planning stage, was intentionally designed as a temporary event to enable the Hong Kong society to gradually recover from the chaos and disturbances of the late 1960s? These questions will be addressed in chapter four.

As the study focuses shown above, this paper studies The Festival in four aspects with the intention to find out what images of Hong Kong it proposed to create and how it changed the cultural landscape of Hong Kong in 1970s. All the findings reported can extend the current literature by contributing to the discussion of Hong Kong's cultural policy and that of the civic culture in colonial days.
Chapter 1.

The Sociopolitical and Cultural Context of the Time before the First Festival of Hong Kong

Overview

This chapter explores the social and political context in 1960s to offer a broad picture of the Hong Kong society before the first Festival of Hong Kong inaugurated in 1969. It focuses on how the social disturbance of 1967 Riots acted as a turning point in colonial governance. Referring to government’s official investigation report, the riots were attributed to the idle youth from the colonial government’s point of view. The governor thus started to launch a series of responsive social reform in education, labour and housing policy.

After reviewing the overall sociopolitical landscape in 1960s, influence of the large-scale cultural activities held in late 1960s will be discussed. Since the colonial government not only reformed social services after the disturbances, but also launched large-scale carnival in late 1960s. The first Festival of Hong Kong, for instance, came up in 1969.

The last part of this chapter introduces the background of Festival of Hong Kong to look at why this festival with unique nature came up. As Zukin pointed out that culture could enhance a city’s intangible strength while facing local tensions, especially for festival events which could create the “togetherness” influencing people’s idea towards a city to underpin citizens’ local pride. Therefore, this part examines why The Festival was held and what images it attempted to convey to desalinate the haze of the social unrest after 1967. It is believed that The Festival happened right after the riots has exerted significant social and image impact, which will be elaborated in latter paragraphs.

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8 Philipp Gassert and Martin Klimke. 1968: Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt (Washington, D.C: German Historical Institute, 2009), 80.
9 Richards and Palmer, Eventful Cities: Cultural Management and Urban Revitalisation, 1.
10 Ibid, 1, 148.
The Sociopolitical Background of Hong Kong in 1960s

During 1960s, the manufacturing and textile industry in Hong Kong was in a rapid development. The disparity between the poor and the rich had been enlarged. In those days, Hong Kong had not yet developed appropriate corresponding policy to safeguard citizens’ right, especially the working class.

People at that time commented government officers were disrespectful in addressing problems and request of lower class population. Certain officers of governmental departments were domineering and reluctant to provide relevant social services. Besides, the colonial government spent little on education and social welfare to cater the needs of underprivileged population. The expatriate population was prior to acquire health care or other social services provided by British colony. Since the lower-class group could not seek desirable and practical support from colonial government department, they relied on the charitable institutions such as the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club and the Tung Wah Hospital. It revealed that the underprivileged population was with inadequate confidence towards the colonial government.

Additionally, corruption problem among bureaucrat mechanism and public service was prevalent, which intensified the residents’ discontent against the administration. As the 25th Anniversary booklet published by the Independent Commission Against Corruption.

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11 Cheung, Gary Ka-wai, Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 13, 41-42.
12 Factory workers were expected to toil more than 12 hours a day, dismissals by employers without compensations happened every day as Elsie Elliott, an English-born Hong Kong social activist had complained; When Robert Kilpatrick, a United States academic visited Hong Kong in 1967 was surprised that Hong Kong being a highly industrialized and commercialized city, however, without developed social security system, unemployment protection and retirement plan.
14 Robert Bickers and Ray Yep, May Days in Hong Kong: Riot and Emergency in 1967 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 149.
15 In 1965, more than 80% of primary schools’ graduates were not allowed to promote to secondary school.
16 Cheung, Hong Kong's Watershed: The 1967 Riots, 134.
17 Bickers and Ray, May Days in Hong Kong: Riot and Emergency in 1967, 149.
(ICAC) in 1999 mentioned, “people were getting sick of corruption in the late 1960s began to express their accumulated anger and condemn corruption and ineffective officials.”\textsuperscript{18, 19, 20} Accordingly, the centralization of the government had created an image of “detachment from the actual problems of the man in the street”\textsuperscript{21}.

In late 1960s, problems of social disturbances were coming up, Hong Kong situated in a wobbly circumstance with overwhelming disputes. In April 1966, the government’s decision to increase the fares of Star Ferry by 5-cent triggered off the outbreak of “Kowloon Disturbances”. An appointed Commission of Inquiry into Kowloon Disturbances of 1966 later indicated in a report that the cause of this incident was the public’s distrust against governance and the low sense of belonging to this place. The commission alerted the growing tendency of the youth in Hong Kong to get involved in protest\textsuperscript{22, 23}.

**Social Disturbance of 1967 Riots**

Subsequently, in May 1967, the political storm ensued from an industrial dispute in one of the biggest plastic flower production companies in Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Artificial Flower Works in San Po Kong\textsuperscript{24}. A group of radical communists and youth clashed with police, which incited intensive turmoil and aggravated the tense between the police and rioters\textsuperscript{25}. In fact, government was tolerant and restraint at the beginning\textsuperscript{26} until rioters planted

\begin{itemize}
  \item Gassert and Klimake, 1968: Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt, 80.
  \item There was no “Prevention of Bribery Ordinance” executed until 1971; ICAC had not been established until 1974.
  \item Ibid, 23.
  \item Ian Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong* (U.S.: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 97, 100.
\end{itemize}
bomb attack and continually brought about serious casualties. The confrontation lasted about eight months. Riots made Hong Kong attached a strong image of chaos and violence. As Nelson Chow Ing sum, professor of social work and social administration at the University of Hong Kong pointed out, although people did not have high opinion to government, the fear of communist rule drove people to side to the British government. Government received support and occupational groups proclaimed of the police in maintaining social security. The mainstream population altered their attitude towards colony from lukewarm to start treasuring it.

The period after 1967 riots acted as a turning point in colonial governance as internal investigation conducted stated that the disturbances were not driven by Communists and anti-colonial sentiments, but social injustice and the accumulated frustration of the idle youth. David Trench had been the governor from 1964 to 1971, who witnessed a series of disturbances. The great vulnerability of the society urged David Trench carried out prompted social and administrative reforms different perspectives. For instance, the government reduced the statutory maximum working hours for women and young workers in December 1967; the Employment Ordinance was passed in 1968 to safeguard the treatment of workers; a consultative and advisory City District Office scheme was reformed and developed in urban areas, which is a mechanism responded to contact local organisations.

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27 The riots claimed 51 lives, with 15 of the deaths caused by bomb attacks. A total of 1, 936 people were convicted.
29 Ibid, 133.
30 Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong*, 101.
34 Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong*, 107.
and handle complaints; the establishment of Mutual Aid Committees, a new form of citizenship developed, which was decided by the next governor MacLehose\textsuperscript{36}.

Apparently, enormous effort had been paid to promote the sense of commitment to the place to public through social policy\textsuperscript{37}. In the departing governor David Trench’s despatch in 1970, Trench gave an overall view of Hong Kong’s developments in 1969 and reflected that Hong Kong people are enjoying the reward of the favorable economic climate. Although not yet widespread to the less privileged group, improvement in living standards is deserved\textsuperscript{38}. Indeed, Sir Murray Maclehone, the new governor at that period also delivered similar message in his speech in 1971\textsuperscript{39}.\textsuperscript{40} It showed that the government therefore not only was eager to introduce social services to wider social spectrum and organise more events in communal basis.

\textit{Festival and Cultural Events in Early 1960s}

To turnaround the danger of the chaotic society into opportunities of developing cultural related programme in community basis, the citizens’ attitude towards government after the riots is the key. The cultural landscape of 1960s gives people clues about the embedded objective behind the Festival of Hong Kong. Before 1960s, cultural-arts related programme carried out as dispersed policies, colonial government simply provided entertaining activities for recreational but lacked systematic long-term plan to manage

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, 147.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid, 153.
\textsuperscript{39} Owing to the reason that people with rising living standard and more leisure time, government has hurried on the expansion of recreational facilities and programme, for instance, the beaches and stadium.
\textsuperscript{40} Information Services. \textit{Press Release: Right Combination of Work and Play Hallmark of Happy and Successful Community}. Hong Kong: Information Services, 1971, 4.
cultural related programme and facilities\(^{41}\). Despite a new City Hall was established in central district in 1962, proper official cultural center, concert hall or theater for stage performance were still insufficient\(^{42}\). Meanwhile, similar to the cases in many colonies, the performances in the City Hall were related to western art, which were exclusive to elites like Europeans or well-educated Chinese\(^{43}\). During that period, official cultural activities were managed by Urban Council, ironically, Urban Council department broadly handled sanitary affair, housing affair and the promotion work of mental and physical health to community. Their considerations of launching arts-related programmes, which was reviving mental and physical energy through those recreational activities, rather than from the cultural perspective\(^{44}\). It reveals government’s loose attitude in managing cultural related affairs.

By the end of 1967, a special office was set up to organise large-scale cultural and recreational programmes for the public in 1968, such as rock and roll concerts, outdoor dancing parties, and the Miss Hong Kong competition, directed for the mass public, and especially young people\(^{45}\). After the social tension of 1967 had been eased up, the governor became more attentive to local cultural and recreational activities as they considered it as a medium to cultivate people’s sense of identity and counter the threat from China. Knowing a grand festival is capable to promote collective consumption to combat the Communist Chinese’s socialist propaganda\(^{46}\). Therefore, the colony carried out a long-term campaign to promote Hong Kong as an international modern city and its regional culture, in contrast to the

\(^{41}\) Liu, Jingzhi 劉靖之, Xianggang Yin Yue Shi Lun: Wen Hua Zheng Ce, Yin Yue Jiao Yu 香港音樂史論：文化政策・音樂教育 (Hong Kong History of Music: Cultural Policy and Music Education) (Hong Kong: Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan (Xianggang) You Xian Gong Si 商務印書館(香港)有限公司, 2014), 2-4.

\(^{42}\) Chin, Hong Kong and Her Culture: Hong Kong’s Cultural Policy (Vol.1), 71-2.

\(^{43}\) Gassert and Klimake, 1968: Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt, 80-1.

\(^{44}\) Chin, Hong Kong and Her Culture: Hong Kong’s Cultural Policy (Vol.1), 72-3.

\(^{45}\) Gassert and Klimake, 1968: Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt, 81.

backward, chaotic images of China. At that moment, the stream of Western popular culture, the pop-up trend of the Beatles, Hollywood movies, James Bond, Enjoy Yourself Tonight (EYT) variety show produced by Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB) and blue jeans fashion blended with Hong Kong culture. Due to those compositied factors, the fusion grand procession activities in mega carnival, which attached Hong Kong with international images can successfully entice and fascinate youngster.

Hong Kong did not have many festive cultural events held before 1960s. However, it is true that a city with growing civic culture not only gave birth to facilities like theater, cultural center or museum, but also festivals celebrate a city’s culture. After a string of riots, the government became more attentive to cultural events, although in 1968, the Hong Kong Trade Development Council (TDC) teamed up with the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce organised the first Hong Kong Ready-to-Wear Festival, which purposed to promote fashion consciousness in textile industry, also boost export and tourism for Hong Kong. The target group possibly were the local manufacturers and exporters. The first Hong Kong Week with similar objective also held from 10 October to 3 November 1967. Attached with its slogan “Hong Kong People Use Hong Kong Products”, encouraged Hong Kong people embrace their own identity and culture, intended to lift people’s civic pride in consuming local product.

The Hong Kong Week was conceived by the Hong Kong Federation of Industries in

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49 The Hong Kong Trade Development Council, Address by the Hon. Sir Sik-nin Chau chairman of the Hong Kong Trade Development Council at the launching of the Hong Kong Festival of Fashions on 9th March, 1967. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Trade Development Council. 1967.
51 Chin, Hong Kong and Her Culture: Hong Kong’s Cultural Policy (Vol.1), 76-77.
conjunction with TDC in order to promote the local garments. Since government wonders to re-unite people after the riots, the events emphasised on the involvement of the community. As the chairman of the Hong Kong Committee Press Conference, Sir Sik-nin Chau stated that it no longer simply boosted the trading, but also the development of a sense of identity with Hong Kong through the exhibitions, sporting and other events targeting to young people.

The committee stressed Hong Kong Week can facilitate the community spirit and sense of co-presence through the enjoyment from consuming. The Festival seems a celebratory announcement of the resilience of Hong Kong, a time for the people to welcome new identity. Nevertheless, the commercial intention was inevitably strong.

### Background of Festival of Hong Kong

It is undeniable that many diversified cultural policy or events were introduced, which used to desalinate the chaotic image of this city by the vibrant and harmonious atmosphere generated in festival, the Festival of Hong Kong is a prominent case to investigate.

In 1968, government organised the first Festival of Hong Kong with its objective of “providing a week of relaxation, enjoyment and interest for the people of Hong Kong with particular emphasis on youth”. Originally, in the first meeting of discussing the Festival of Hong Kong in April 1969 and other related official documents, this festival was called “Hong Kong Week” or “Second Hong Kong Week”. However, the committee of The Festival wondered to stress the objective of entertaining the entire community and its

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52 Tong, *The Hong Kong Week of 1967 and the Emergence of Hong Kong Identity Through Contradistinction*, 51.

53 The Hong Kong Trade Development Council. *Address by the HON. Sir Sik-nin Chau chairman of the Hong Kong Committee Press Conference on 30th October, 1967. Hong Kong: Committee of Hong Kong Week. 1967*.


55 Tong, *The Hong Kong Week of 1967 and the Emergence of Hong Kong Identity Through Contradistinction*, 52-53.


58 Ibid.
uniqueness, the Hong Kong Week had been officially retitled as The Festival\(^5^9\).

The government altered its indifferent attitudes in fostering the cultural and arts related affairs, also wondered to smoothen social relations. The first “Festival of Hong Kong” launched in 1969, which held from 9\(^{th}\) December to 15\(^{th}\) December 1969. Dancing, theater performances, art exhibitions, fun fair, and all manner of various activities were planned to inspirit the new image of Hong Kong\(^6^0\). These were organised by “two level” approach in programme management, first level was Kaifong and District level, guided by the City District Officers and the New Territories District Officers and the Secretariat for Home Affairs, the second level was Centrally organised events\(^6^1\). To illustrate, major events organised by the central committees and hundreds of items organised on a districts basis by Kaifongs, in which students helps largely, and resulted in a very widespread involvement in the festival\(^6^2\). A UK scholar Matarasso mentioned that, an individual’s experience of community involvement in cultural event creates a better quality of life and civic pride\(^6^3\).

Mr. Stephen Law Chi-kin, Senior Principal Social Welfare Officer and head of the group and community Work Division, said this was designed to enable the young “to express their views, ideas, and imagination in relation to life and society\(^6^4\).” As there were youth translation contest, sports match or essay writing competition were specific for students to participate. For instance, the Hong Kong Youth Orchestra engaged in the role of performers, “School Gala” held in Government Stadium for students and staged by different schools\(^6^5\).

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\(^{59}\) Colonial Secretariat. *Festival of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Colonial Secretariat, 1969.

\(^{60}\) Gassert and Klimake, 1968: Memories and Legacies of a Global Revolt, 81.


The Festival also held open-air dancing party dancing party at old Blake Pier in Central (中環卜公碼頭舞會)\textsuperscript{66, 67}, which promoted western pop music and especially concerned the needs of youth living underprivileged, thus, most of the recreational communal activities was free of charge or charge little ticket fee. It is obvious for people to notice that the steering group intentionally targeted and valued the younger generation. The entertaining activities provided opportunities for them to input their excessive energy.

When the activities targeted youth and majority narrowed down the gap between top and bottom, ties-in with the ‘inclusive’ framework of The Festival attempted to involve more people and widens the scope for intervention\textsuperscript{68} is considerable in bringing out The Festival’s social impact on the one side. Meanwhile, The Festival with diverse and international images conveyed through the media discussion, grand procession and other events. The Festival combined local and diversified international elements not only attracted oversea visitors, but also gave Hong Kong residents a sense of civic pride. It brings out certain image impact to this city on the other side.

As the first Festival acclaimed a remarkable success by press and public alike signified its popularity, also the public enjoyed greatly\textsuperscript{69}. However, after the first Festival being held successfully, the Steering Committee had a discussion for future proposal in March 1970, During the meeting, Home Affairs and the Commissioner of Police agree that the event brought out a sense of community, especially it constructed joyful atmosphere, revealed from the size of the crowds along the street, which is appreciable. Whereas, the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{66} Zhou, Yongxin 周永新, Xianggang Ren De Shen Fen Tong He Jia Zhi Guan 香港人的身份認同和價值觀 (The Identities and Values of Hong Kong people), (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book Co. (H.K.) Ltd 中華書局 (香港)有限公司, 2015), 28, 29, 57.
\item \textsuperscript{67} Chin, Hong Kong and Her Culture: Hong Kong’s Cultural Policy (Vol.1), 78-79.
\item \textsuperscript{68} Richards and Palmer, Eventful Cities: Cultural Management and Urban Revitalisation, 29.
\item \textsuperscript{69} Festival of Hong Kong Office. Festival of Hong Kong Office ANNEX K. Hong Kong: Colonial Secretariat, 1970.
\end{itemize}
District Commissioner of New Territories questioned whether it generated any civic pride or sense of belonging in the New Territories. To some extent, the 1969 Festival can be successful because of its sheer novelty, the committee foresaw that the public is likely to be more demanding and critical in next time\textsuperscript{70}.

**Summary**

To sum up, late 1960s was a great timing to hold The Festival to promote a new identity for Hong Kong people and ease the unrest after riots in 1967. As discussed, majority of Hong Kong people was supportive to the colony; people with greater financial capacity and more time to support leisure activities; the “togetherness” generated in the carnival to reunite people. Besides, The Festival was used to promote the sense of community through its “inclusive” framework and detached the chaotic image after the social disturbances of Hong Kong by upholding the vibrant and harmonious atmosphere. As a festival not only contributed in creating an image of the city, but also building up the continuing renegotiation of relationships with its citizens\textsuperscript{71}. It brings out social and image impact to Hong Kong concurrently.


Chapter 2.

From the constitution of committee of the Festival to the organisation of Hong Kong community activities

Overview

The responsibility of organising community activities in Hong Kong was not clearly defined within the government in the 1960s. It was not until the organisation of the three times Festival of Hong Kong gave the government a chance to in charge such a large-scale community project. The constitution of the committee members and the involving government departments of the Festival established the later developments of Hong Kong government’s approach to manage community activities and related facilities. The organisational structure of the Festival also helps reflecting the management of community and cultural events in Hong Kong in the 1960s and 70s. Afterwards, when the Festival came to an end, some government departments took over the responsibility to continue producing community activities and events in the city. The study of the evolution of the government’s manners of organising community and cultural events sheds light on how the mechanism of organising the Festival affects the later organisation of community events in Hong Kong.

Before the launching of the Festival of Hong Kong, similar-type events were held in 1960s, namely the Hong Kong Week and the Ready-to-Wear Festival, but the scope of both were not as wide as the Festival in 1969. In terms of the Hong Kong Week, the constitution of the steering committee was suggested to set up under the chairmanship of an Unofficial Member of the Executive Council and with some additional members from different institutions. It would be the general policy-making Committee with responsibility for deciding the frequency of the event; which body should be invited to provide the organising

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72 Including an Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council; a representative of the Trade Development Council; a representative of the Hong Kong Federation of Industries; a representative of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce; and a representative of the Chinese Manufacturers Association.
staff; exercising general control over the content for the programmes; and coordinating the programme and resolving any conflict that might arise.\textsuperscript{73}

Since the event was not a “regularized” one, no staff was recruited specifically for handling it, all the members of the steering committee came from different institutions. It also involving parties from the business sector as it was not a solely community or profit-maximizing event. For the Festival of Hong Kong, which shares similar nature of the Hong Kong Week and replaced it, did follow the framework of the constitution of committee as well as the corresponding committee responsibility. Moreover, Festival of Hong Kong was the first territory-wide community event, thus it is significant to study the organisation of such a large-scale event in Hong Kong history. How was the constitution of the committee members and the involving government departments of the Festival affects the later organisation of community and cultural events in Hong Kong? Did the Festival act as a pioneer of large-scale community and cultural events in the city? The hypothesis is that the organisation of the Festival affected later development of the government’s approach to manage community activities and related facilities.

\textit{Committee members and involving government departments of the Festival}

\textbf{The Festival in 1969}

As mentioned above, the Festival did not have committee members who were recruited to organise the event, and all the members were seconded from existing government departments at that time. There were three main parts of the organisation structure, including the Steering Committee, Sub-committees (i.e. the Organising Committee and the Events Committees), and the Co-ordinator, in which the Steering Committee had the determinative role among the three.

\textsuperscript{73} Council Chamber. \textit{Memorandum For Executive Council Hong Kong Week}. Hong Kong: Council Chamber, 1968.
In 1968, Government set up a small Steering Committee to consider the advisability of organising a week of entertainment for the Hong Kong people. The Governor has appointed a Steering Committee under the chairmanship of the Hon. Sir Cho-yiu Kwan. Sir Kwan was a prominent Hong Kong politician in the 1960s. The objective of the Festival was to produce a large-scale community event for the Hong Kong citizens, so it is reasonable to choose a public figure who is a HongKonger himself and understand the Hong Kong community well enough to be the chairman of the Steering Committee.

Additionally, Mr. Ian MacDonald Lightbody was originally appointed as the Coordinator for the Festival, which was a key position among all the Committee members. In the first half of 1969, The Festival of Hong Kong Office has been set up. Its staff were all seconded from the government. In charge was Mr. Lightbody, and he was assisted by two Assistant Co-ordinators, Mr. T.K. Hum and Mr. N.B.M. Whitley. Later that year, the Co-ordinator was switched to Mr. Whitley.

The programme committee and various sub-committees were set up based on the Steering Committee and the Co-ordinator’s recommendations. They also decided that activities would be on two levels: (a) festivities organised at the local level by Kaifongs, the City District Officers and the New Territories District Officers; (b) centrally organised events, which were prepared by the main Organising Committee and the five “events” Committees.

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74 N.B.M. Whitley, “Message”, Festival of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Sin Poh Amalgama H.K. Ltd., 1970)
75 Festival of Hong Kong Office. Festival of Hong Kong. 1969. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office. 1969.
76 He was the Senior Chinese Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council and Executive Council of Hong Kong.
77 He was the Defense Secretary at the time.
78 Seconded from the Public Works Department.
79 Seconded from the Colonial Secretariat.
80 Festival of Hong Kong Office. Festival of Hong Kong. 1969. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1969.
81 Hong Kong Week Office. Hong Kong Week 1969. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Week Office, 1969.
The government appointed an Organising Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. A. de O. Sale, and five “event” committees under the chairmanship of Mr. Woo Po-shing (Entertainments), Hon. Wilson T.S. Wang (Sports/Youth Rallies), Mr. R.H. Lobo (Exhibitions), Mr. D.E. Parker (Music) and Mr. J.C. Howlett (Decorations). They were to advise the Organising Committee on the inclusion in the overall entertainments in their fields. (See appendix I, A list of members of the Festival of Hong Kong, 1969: Committee Structure.)

The elementary constitution of the Committee of the Festival was started to be formed at this point. The decisive positions of the Committee were all high-rank officers of the government and the Unofficial Members of the Executive Council, the Legislative Council or/and the Urban Council. Since all the Committee members were seconded from different government departments, while not every position had explicitly defined terms of reference and a balanced workload, some of the Festival works might disrupt their normal operations at certain level. This excessive burden of work also affected the government’s approach of organising events in later period.

**The Festival in 1971**

The constitution of the committees of the Festival in 1971 was mainly following the structure of the previous one, and one of the major changes was the division of labour among related government departments.

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82 He was a member of the Urban Council at that time.
83 N.B.M. Whitley, "Message", *Festival of Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Sin Poh Amalgama H.K. Ltd., 1970)
84 There were clearly defined Terms of References of the Organising Committee: (1) to advise on the general level and distribution of activities to be aimed; (2) to prepare with the advice and assistance of the various specialist “events” Committee a detailed programme of centrally organised events; (3) to advise on the allocation of venues where there are conflicting demands; (4) to advise on the methods to be used for controlling admission to centrally organised events; and (5) to advise generally on the organisation of the 1969 Festival and to co-ordinate all activities connected with it.
85 Festival of Hong Kong Office. *Festival of Hong Kong, 1969*. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1969.
The chairman of the Steering Committee and the Co-ordinator remained to be Sir Kwan and Mr. Whitley, respectively.\textsuperscript{86} On August 1970, the new Steering Committee started to make recommendations for the next Festival, they decided to broadly follow the pattern of the 1969 Festival.\textsuperscript{87} (See appendix II, List of staff)

Furthermore, the duty of the Co-ordinator was more distinctly defined this time.\textsuperscript{88} \textsuperscript{89} As time went on, the Co-ordinator and his staff were drawn irresistibly into the detailed planning of the events and became very closely involved in the organisation of the programme. As a result, the Office had gradually expanded.\textsuperscript{90} This job called for a rare mixture of creativeness, organising ability, tact and persuasiveness. He was expected to lead and advise, and to take decisions on his own account as much as possible, while consulting the Steering Committee on only key issues that he felt necessary. A Festival inevitably stands or falls on the enterprise, experience, enthusiasm and tact of its chief executive. To a very large extent he operated completely independently of the Secretariat.\textsuperscript{91} Therefore, the role of Co-ordinator had been more pronounced and prominent at this point that this position sat obviously above the Steering Committee since then. (See appendix III, IV)

In the meantime, there were changes for the local level committee as well. During the previous Festival, the participation of the City District Offices (C.D.O.s) was considered as extended and intensive when festival work had disrupted other C.D.O.s duties to an

\textsuperscript{86} Festival of Hong Kong Office. \textit{His Excellency the Governor, Sir Murray MacLehose, K.C.M.G, M.B.E.}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1970.

\textsuperscript{87} Co-ordinator, Festival of Hong Kong. \textit{Staff for Festival of Hong Kong Office}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1970.

\textsuperscript{88} The Co-ordinator’s responsibilities developed as: (a) a member of the three major Committees; (b) developing and maintaining contacts with different institutions and Government departments; (c) ensuring the timely development of each item on the programme, and resolving difficulties; (d) devising publicity programmes; (e) maintaining cordial relations with all concerned with the Festival; (f) controlling expenditure of $1,850,000 from “one line vote”; and (g) controlling the general administration of Office and the Festival.

\textsuperscript{89} Colonial Secretariat. \textit{Festival of Hong Kong Office}. Hong Kong: Colonial Secretariat, 1970.

\textsuperscript{90} It consisted of a Co-ordinator, 5 Assistant Co-ordinator and 24 other staff (plus 58 other officers on short-term loan).

\textsuperscript{91} Colonial Secretariat. \textit{Festival of Hong Kong Office}. Hong Kong: Colonial Secretariat, 1970.
unacceptable extent, and they had felt the need to limit their involvement this time around. As a result, each district was required only to arrange one major entertainment; one or lesser events for inclusion in the Festival programme; and for decorations of Districts with assistance from the Festival Office. It was hoped that these measures could ease pressures on C.D.O.s and eliminate points of overlap.

The grading of superscale posts became a problem to concern during the 1971 Festival. The Co-ordinator, Mr. Whitley had been Co-ordinator for almost 3 years and felt that the position should be regularized. The Colonial Secretariat also considered that a further general review of the gradings of all superscale posts was necessary. From this, it is apparent that the government was starting to adjust and perfect all the administrative regulations regarding to the organisation of the event step by step, year by year.

The Festival in 1973

In the 1973 Festival, the structure of the Committees had a slight change and its duties were more defined in details. It was not only happening within the central committees but also the local ones, too.

For changes on central level, the chairman of Steering Committee had been switched to Sir Yuet-keung Kan, because of Sir Kwan’s sudden death in 1971. Other members of the

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92 Hong Kong City District Offices. *Festival of Hong Kong 1971 - HKCSS Participation*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong City District Offices, 1971.
93 This represents a reduction from an average of about seven events produced by Districts in 1969.
94 C.D.O.s were no longer needed to sell tickets and to assist in such events as sporting competitions. They were simply needed to plan for accounting procedures with the Treasury and Audit and to arrange grater liaison by providing a full-time officer for this purpose.
95 Festival of Hong Kong Office. *Festival of Hong Kong 1971 - District Participation*. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1971.
97 Ibid.
98 Sir Kan was the Senior Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council during the years.
Committee involving more departments and institutions,\textsuperscript{99,100} which shows they strengthened the collaborations between different departments. Besides, the Steering Committee and the Executive Committee (originally called Organising Committee) remained to be the two main central committees. The former “events” committees were integrated into the Specialist Committees.\textsuperscript{101,102} The structure of the committees is more organised than the last one and it has a clearer division of labour which helps reaching higher efficiency.

The responsibility of organising activities at local level was referred to the Local Celebrations Committee\textsuperscript{103} this time.\textsuperscript{104} Emphasis was to be placed upon an Urban programme and care was to be taken to avoid a purely local connection.\textsuperscript{105} The reason of setting up the Local Celebrations Committee was that with the growth of experience in festival organisation and the need to establish direct contacts with district organisations and personalities, it was decided that the Local Celebration Committee would undertake the 1973 Urban District programme.\textsuperscript{106} Another reason of the existence of Local Celebration Committee are also related to the C.D.Os. C.D.Os. staff still found themselves more involved

\textsuperscript{99} Including Mr. A. de O. Sales; the Secretary for Home Affairs or his duty; the Secretary for Information; the Commissioner of Police; the Festival Co-ordinator; a representative of the Hong Kong Tourist Association; and a representative of the Services. Mr. Sales has again accepted the chairmanship of the Festival’s Executive Committee (was called Organising Committee before), which will be responsible for the planning and preparation of entertainment programme.

\textsuperscript{100} Festival of Hong Kong Office. \textit{Festival of Hong Kong For 1973}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1972.

\textsuperscript{101} Under Specialist Committees, there were eight committees categorized according to its corresponding fields, which includes: Entertainments Committee; Exhibition Committee, responsible for exhibition items; Fiesta Committee; Local Celebrations Committee; Music & Performing Arts Committee; Precession Committee; Schools Activities Committee; and Sports Committee.

\textsuperscript{102} Festival of Hong Kong Office. \textit{Purpose of Festival and organisation of Committees}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1973.

\textsuperscript{103} The primary objective of the Local Celebrations Committee was to organise events for the urban areas over and above those undertaken by other specialist-committees.

\textsuperscript{104} Local Celebration Committee. \textit{Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Local Celebrations Committee}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1973.

\textsuperscript{105} Local Celebration Committee. \textit{Minutes of the First Meeting of the Local Celebrations Committee}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1973.

\textsuperscript{106} Festival of Hong Kong Office. \textit{Role of the Local Celebrations Committee}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1973.
than they had expected to be in the 1971 Festival, and C.D.Os.’ manpower and district resources were very much strained. Therefore, they felt that the degree of their involvement in the Festival should be further reduced. The Local Celebration Committee then took over some of the duties of the C.D.Os.

The organisation of the Festival was getting more mature and structured from time to time. The experience that they gained through organising the previous Festivals surely helped them to be more effective and efficient in the process of production of programmes.

**The Festival in 1975**

The 1975 Festival was postponed and cancelled at the end. However, the government did start to prepare the event in 1974. It seems that the Information Services Department played a significant role of the organisation of the Festival this time.

By the time of August 1974, both the Steering Committee and the Executive Committee had been formed. The chairman of the Steering Committee and Executive Committee remained to be Sir Kan and Mr. Sales, respectively. Yet, the Co-ordinator was switched to Mr. Peter Moss. Back in the 1973 Festival, the Co-ordinator was Mr. L.C. Strange, who was the Festival Office Executive Secretary. It might be related to the

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108 He was the Chief Information Officer of the department.
110 Festival of Hong Kong Office. *The Steering Committee for the Third Festival of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1974.
111 Mr. Strange was responsible for all administrative and financial functions in support of the 1973 Festival and its Committees.
fact that Mr. Whitley, who was the Co-ordinator in both 1969 and 1971 Festival, was retired in the first quarter of 1972.\footnote{Festival of Hong Kong Office. \textit{Co-ordinator, Festival of Hong Kong, Retiring}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1972.}

The Information Services Department was responsible for organising the Festival and the Festival Office was coming under the aegis of the Information Services Department. The Director of the Information Services Department at that time, who was Mr. G.S. Blundell, was also a member of the Steering Committee and had great involvement in the organisation of the Festival.\footnote{Festival of Hong Kong Office. \textit{Fourth Festival of Hong Kong}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1974.}

The reason of the introduction of Information Services Department in both the Festival Committee and Office was not mentioned in the government documents. Nonetheless, it revealed the government’s new approach to community and cultural events in Hong Kong.

\textit{Government departments responsible for organising community activities after 1973}

After the Festival had come to an end, some other government departments took over the responsibility to organise community and cultural events since then, which includes Government Information Services, City District Offices (i.e. under Home Affairs Bureau) and Leisure and Cultural Services Department. This transformation illustrates the governments’ growing awareness toward the importance of offering community and cultural events to the public and the functions that it can serve.
Government Information Services

Government Information Services (GIS) is founded in 1959, which serves as the government’s communication link with the media and the community. It consisted of three divisions, including Administration, News and Publishing. The News Division is the largest of them all, was further subdivided into the News Room and the Radio News Section. The bulletins provided by the Radio News Section were carried by Radio Hong Kong (now called RTHK) and Hong Kong Commercial Radio. Thus, GIS was an official media public broadcaster and played a key role of spreading the official messages to the public.

Soon after its establishment, GIS set up a Film Unit under its Publishing Division to produce short information films for the government. In 1959, GIS made a film about Hong Kong for commercial distribution to broaden publicity channels overseas. It also commissioned Cathay Film Services (HK) Limited to produce a colour documentary entitled “This is Hong Kong”, which received the Golden Harvest Award in the 8th Asian Film Festival in Manila in March 1961. In 1966, GIS engaged movie star Nancy Kwan to act in a short colour drama called “The Magic Stone” based on a local legend (i.e. the Amah Rock). In 1970, a short film “Festivals of Hong Kong” was made, which depicting the celebration of various major festivals. The film received the Best Planned Documentary Award in the Asian Film Festival in that year and was distributed to the UK, Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan and New Zealand.

For GIS’s involvement in Festival of Hong Kong in 1969 and the first Hong Kong Arts Festival in 1973, it mainly provided promotional support. This work was carried out by

115 Information Services. *50 Years of Dedicated Information Services: ISD 50th Anniversary*, (Hong Kong: Information Services, 2009), 5.
116 Ibid, 12.
117 These fell into three categories: overseas Hong Kong promotions; news-clips; and promotion of government policies.
118 Information Services. *50 Years of Dedicated Information Services: ISD 50th Anniversary*, 16.
the Publicity Division, which composed of the Publications and Editorial, Design and Display, Photographic, Film, Marketing, and Campaigns Sections. Since then, GIS started to undertake the responsibility of promoting government-organised community and cultural events.

It is obvious that GIS played a significant role in promoting Hong Kong from 1960s. It led to the promotions of community and cultural events that were organised by the government in the later years, which also served the objective of boosting the image of Hong Kong. Government valued the possibility and importance of publicity, caused the GIS’s great involvement of the organisation of the 1975 Festival and the duty was shifted to GIS as well.

**City District Offices (under Home Affairs Department)**

City District Offices (C.D.Os.) were a scheme launched under Home Affairs Department in 1967. After the 1967 riots, colonial government realised that there was no sufficient channel for the government and the people to communicate, therefore they introduced the City District Officer Scheme "as the first sign of reaching out to the ordinary people" in the Hong Kong society. It was possibly the only channel of direct communication between the people and the government for a long period of time.

After the last Festival of Hong Kong, C.D.Os. continued to provide community events to the public, because of its experience of organising community events within the Districts during the Festivals and its close relationship with district community associations. C.D.Os. began to work with district community associations to offer community activities. Since C.D.Os. had to deal with their administrative duties in the first place, they did not have

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120 Ibid, 40.
enough resources to organise it solely and they even shifted the responsibility of organising community activities to those associations.

For example, the collaboration of the C.D.Os. and the Hong Kong Civic Association can be traced back to 1969. Certain Civil Association Officials had been assigned to act as Liaison Representatives with various City District Officers,\(^{122}\) which reflects the close connection between the two and they worked together to provide community activities for youth. Another case would be the support from C.D.Os. for King’s Park Kai Fong Welfare Association to offer community services for the district, such as Boy’s Scout Group, music groups and concerts, gymnastic class, skill training class… etc.\(^{123}\)

**Leisure and Cultural Services Department**

The Leisure and Cultural Services Department (LCSD) is founded in 2000, which specifically provides leisure and cultural activities for the Hong Kong public. It succeeded the task from the former Urban Council and Regional Council. The stable resources from the Budget allows it to develop facilities and services that includes museums, parks, public libraries, sports and fitness. Under these various categories of services, there are also activities organised for the general public to participate. It is certain that government has seen the importance of community and cultural events at a never extent and it recognised the need of setting up an independent department to handle such related issues.

The LCSD’s organisation of artistic and cultural activities and management of cultural facilities follow the terms and references of the Hong Kong cultural policy. It refers to the arts and cultural heritage’s development and preservation in Hong Kong. The government provides allocate stable budget for culture and arts every year, which accounts for $4.2 billion

\(^{122}\) Hong Kong Civic Association. 30th May, 1969. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Civic Association, 1969.

\(^{123}\) King’s Park Kai Fong Welfare Association Limited. King’s Park Kai Fong Welfare Association Limited. Hong Kong: King’s Park Kai Fong Welfare Association Limited, 1970.
in 2017-18. The policy ensures the steady supply of cultural events and festivals in Hong Kong every year. There are at least one large scale events held in every month, like Hong Kong Arts Festival, Hong Kong International Film Festival and Le French May.

The Hong Kong Arts Development Council that is closely related to LASD also helps organising cultural activities form diverse ways. It is created in 1995, which allocates grants, undertakes advocacy, promotes and develops, and plans programmes in the support of arts. The founding of the council indicates the government’s awareness of the development of arts in Hong Kong, and it is the government’s concern to plan and support the promotion of arts or artistic activities to the public.

Summary

This chapter analysed the changing role of Hong Kong government’s approach in organising community and cultural activities from the constitution of committee of the Festival to the later development of the organisation of such activities in Hong Kong. It is certain that the organisation of Festival of Hong Kong has great impacts to the later trend of availability of community and cultural events in the city. From seconding officers from different departments to hold events, to shifting responsibility to related departments, and at the end the government has recognised the need of founding a department to fully in charge of organising community and cultural events, while other related policies were formulated to supplement the whole mechanism.

Chapter 3.

Programmes of Festival of Hong Kong: A Political and Social Construct

Overview

In the three Festivals of Hong Kong, various recreational activities were held to provide relaxation and entertainment to people of Hong Kong. The festival was positioned as a carnival organised by the people for the people of Hong Kong, which consisted of events mainly taking the formats of parades, exhibitions, performances and competitions. The activities were held at two levels, local level by urban and rural kaifongs and central level prepared by the main activities committee. By reviewing the programmes in the three Festivals from the aspects of content and influence, the following paragraphs would like to reexamine the purposes served by the Festival which demonstrated a commercial and international image other than solely bringing enjoyment to the city.

Grand Procession and the contest of Miss Festival of Hong Kong were the highlights among the activities during the festivals as emphasised in the official documents. Rather than being limited within certain districts, the two programmes were held by central level committees. Comparing with other events organised at local level, these two programmes were less scattered so the influence on audience was not limited within local districts but the entire colony. According to Kung Sheung Daily News, during the Grand Procession in Festival of Hong Kong 1971, along the Nathan Road was extremely crowded with citizens expecting Grand Procession with an exciting atmosphere. Besides, the

125 Festival of Hong Kong Office. Festival of Hong Kong 1969 - A Carnival Week of Fun And Festivities. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1969.
126 Festival of Hong Kong Office. Festival of Hong Kong 1969. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1969.
127 Festival of Hong Kong Office. Three Mile Long Parade To be Held In December – Grand Finale to Festival of Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1969.
contest of Miss Festival of Hong Kong received wide attention from the public\textsuperscript{129}, with the help from the Kaifong Association of different districts, many people concerned about the contest. Furthermore, the two programmes were getting wide media coverage that Chinese newspapers, for instance the mentioned Kung Sheung Daily News and Chinese Student Daily (中國學生周報) and English newspapers such as South Chinese Morning Post reported about the programmes. The newspapers introduced the programmes by descriptions for example “diversified” （多姿多彩）\textsuperscript{130}, which shows the attention and expectation from media towards the programmes. Thus, these two representative programmes receiving attention from both public and media are selected for discussion in the following parts, to analyse the purposes served by the Festival of Hong Kong.

\textit{Grand Procession}

Grand procession in the following refers to the parade of floats along streets in Hong Kong districts, which was one of the highlighted events during the Festival. According to Mr. A. de O Sales\textsuperscript{131}, Chairman of the Festival’s Activities Committee, the parade was a fitting climax to the week-long Festival of Hong Kong 1969 as well as a sort of entertainment for the people of Hong Kong which had never been attempted on such a gigantic scale before. This indicated the unprecedented large scale to introduce this kind of programme in Hong Kong.


\textsuperscript{131} Festival of Hong Kong Office. \textit{Harmony Between Chinese and Western Culture}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1969.
The Grand Procession was in a form of float parade and often held in busy regions in Hong Kong. In Festival of Hong Kong 1969\(^{132}\), the big parade took place from Boundary Street, along Nathan Road to Salisbury Road and from there up Chatham Road to the Chinese Manufacturers’ Association exhibition site in Hung Hom. It was a route across the bustling areas in Hong Kong and was able to attract number of spectators. Also, as stated in the programme catalogue of Festival of Hong Kong 1971\(^{133}\), the Grand Procession that year took place as a parade of floats with Chinese and modern items, same as in 1969, starting from Boundary Street all the way along Nathan Road and ended at Kowloon Park. It could be seen that, as the Grand Procession was regarded as a highlight of the Festival, arrangements were made, including closure of roads, in order to ensure the event was able to capture attention in the populated districts such as Mong Kok and Tsim Sha Tsui and to allow spectators to enjoy.

Apart from the scale, the blending of Chinese and Western cultures in Grand Procession is worth to be noticed. Both floats of commercial firms and performances of Chinese culture such as dragon dances\(^{134}\) (see fig. 1) were found in the Grand Procession\(^{135}\). The floats of commercial firms were decorated with colourful lights and displayed a modernized image to the public. Meanwhile, as stated in the press

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\(^{132}\) Festival of Hong Kong Office. *Spectacular Festival Climax – Closure of Nathan Road During Procession*. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1969.


\(^{135}\) See Appendix III
release, lion and dragon dances were regarded as traditional at all important Chinese festivities. Both traditional and modern elements were added in the parade which made the programme more diversified and multi-cultural. As Mr. A. de O. Sales, Chairman of the Festival’s Activities Committee said, theme of the parade would be a mixture of things Chinese and Western and was based on the close harmony between the people from different countries who were making Hong Kong their home. The arrangement of the coexistence of dragon dances and modern floats parade was a way to present the social harmony in Hong Kong to its people and to create a sense of social stability.

Moreover, the major component, floats in the parade, were dominated by commercial elements. The floats represented commercial firms, Kaifongs, districts and other organisations. Take the programme in 1969 as an example, according to Festival of Hong Kong Office, the Grand Procession began with the band of Royal Welch Fusiliers, the military band of the Duke of Wellington was positioned in the middle part of the procession and the long parade was ended by Police Band. In between these three bands, there were 42 floats of different organisations. According to Appendix V, apart from the district committees of the Festival, the floats were sponsored by charity organisations and mainly commercial firms, which were from different sectors including manufacturing, retail industry, restaurants, transportation and banks (see fig. 2). This firstly revealed the commercial nature of the programme.
In addition, Grand Procession in general created a commercialized and splendid image of the programme. High costs were involved in the decoration of floats. As stated in the government document, the decoration cost of each float was more than HKD$8,000. Many firms had contributed in the floating section, the steering committee recommended that the government should allocate at least $2 million more every year to avoid the phenomenon of the excessive commercialized of the event. Therefore, although commercialization of the event might not be the initial purpose for the government to hold the Festival, it was resulted as a side effect due to the keen sponsorship and contribution from companies.

Also, by looking at the photos (see Fig. 3), floats were...
decorated with many lights, different designs of outlook and most importantly huge signage of corresponding organisation names\textsuperscript{143}. Even though there were various designs in all the 42 floats, generally the companies showcased their brands and the image of prosperity in Hong Kong as they were willing to spend money on advertising their brands and the procession hoped to bring a sense of stability to the spectators as well as people of Hong Kong.

Therefore, the Grand Procession became a platform for advertisement rather than an entertainment programme. By sending floats represented their own company, the companies gained more exposure for their brand, hence created future business opportunities and finally benefited the local economy. Apart from demonstrating the harmony and stability of society as mentioned, The Grand Procession became a commercialized programme which also served to gain potential economic benefits. This reassembled the trade promotion element of the Ready-To-Wear Festival and Hong Kong Week 1967 held previously, which aimed at promoting the city’s products\textsuperscript{144}. However, it is undeniable that the Grand Procession provided an entertainment for spectators to enjoy, but at the same time it was affected under the phenomenon of commercialization to turn into a platform for companies to advertise their brands.

\textit{Miss Festival of Hong Kong}

Beauty contests had a history in Hong Kong before the selection of Miss Festival of Hong Kong first started in 1969. Back in the 1940s, there were beauty contests in Hong Kong already, but most of them were held by private organisations. For example, the contest of Miss Hong Kong Pageant, starting from 1946, was held by Hong Kong Chinese Amateur


\textsuperscript{144} Festival of Hong Kong Office. \textit{Hong Kong Week 1969}. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1969.
Swimming Association and Royal Air Force Officers’ Mess. In 1955, Judy Dan, Miss Hong Kong Pageant, even represented Hong Kong to take part in the Miss Universe held in United States. Although the contest of Miss Festival of Hong Kong was not the pioneer of beauty contests in Hong Kong, it still played a crucial role which is going to be explained in the following.

Extending from the previous development, the selection of Miss Festival of Hong Kong also captured attention from people and was influential in society at that time. Among all the programmes, the contest of Miss Festival of Hong Kong had begun since late October in 1968. The contestants went through stages of competitions and finally fought for the name of Festival of Hong Kong. For instance, in the contest of Miss Festival of Hong Kong in 1969 (see fig. 4), fifteen finalists were introduced to the audience at a star-studded variety show at the Morse Park open-air theatre on December 10, 1969. Later at the night of 14th December in Statue Square, Hong Kong.

Fig. 4 Selection of Miss Festival of Hong Kong in 1969

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147 Festival of Hong Kong Office. Festival of Hong Kong Events on December 10 – Entertainment Galore For Young And Old. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1969.
148 Yee, Spencer, Selection of Miss Festival of Hong Kong, Festival of Hong Kong Album (Hong Kong: Sin Poh Amalgamted H.K. Ltd., 1970)
149 Ibid.
more than 30,000 people witnessed a girl called Kwan Man-wai becoming Miss Festival of Hong Kong 1969 (see fig. 5). Also, it was reported that more than a million audiences watched this ceremony on television. It tells that the contest successfully drew public attention and paved the way for its influence on the popular culture in Hong Kong.

The contest of Miss Festival of Hong Kong brought Hong Kong to the international stage again and presented Hong Kong to other countries. After the contest of Miss Festival of Hong Kong in 1969, awarded contests represented Hong Kong to attend the 1970 Osaka World Expo. Another example is Ms. Chow Boshan, Miss Festival of Hong Kong 1971, went on an ambassadorial visit to Bangkok, introducing Hong Kong’s culture to other parts of the world. This extended the Festival, which was for domestic entertainment, to an international level that people in other parts of the world could know more about Hong Kong and the Festival through the representation of Miss Festival of Hong Kong.

Fig. 5 Miss Festival of Hong Kong 1969

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150 Kam, Tim, *Miss Festival of Hong Kong. Festival of Hong Kong Album* (Hong Kong: Sin Poh Amalgamted H.K. Ltd., 1970).
152 Henry James, Festival of Hong Kong: commemoration magazine (Hong Kong: Universal News Agency, 1969), 165.
154 Kung Sheung Daily News. 1972. “Chow Boshan, Miss Festival of Hong Kong, left Hong Kong for an ambassadorial visit (香港節小姐鄒寶珊離港作親善訪問)”. February 20, 1972.
Apart from internationalization, Miss Festival of Hong Kong represented diversified identities as well. Before getting into final round, contestants were awarded with different titles in the semi-final, for instance Miss Public Security（治安小姐）. It proved that contestants did not only represent the Festival itself, but also other aspects of Hong Kong, mostly about the daily lives that people could relate to. Furthermore, the winner of Miss Festival of Hong Kong would have the opportunities to attend different events in Hong Kong in the name of Miss Festival of Hong Kong, such as the Hong Kong Brands and Products Expo （工展會）, to extend the influence to other aspects of life in Hong Kong without limiting to the beauty contests.

Furthermore, Miss Festival of Hong Kong was a model of civic value in society at that time. Beyond the different identities represented, the behavior and actions of Miss Festival of Hong Kong represented values in community as well. For instance, Chow Boshan, Miss Festival of Hong Kong 1971, visited patients in Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, Tang Shiu Kin Hospital and Pok Oi Hospital to deliver gifts. This explained that Miss Festival of Hong Kong cared for patients who were people in need in society and urged the public to do the same as well. Miss Festival of Hong Kong made use of the identity to draw public attention and encouraged people with civic values to help those in need. Hence, Miss Festival of Hong Kong was not only the winner of the contest, that she tried to be a role model in community to facilitate economic and social development.


**Reaction of the public**

People in Hong Kong held diversified views toward the achievements and shortcomings of the Festival. Some of them tended to comment the programmes in a positive way by focusing on the excitement and new images brought to the society. According to an editorial published on The Chinese Student Weekly\(^{160}\), the author commented the Festival as a multi-dimensional event and it was shared among the people in Hong Kong as if those traditional Chinese festivals. As stated on a supplement on The Chinese Student Weekly\(^{161}\), the modern feeling given by the Grand Procession could refresh the image of Hong Kong in the eyes of tourists, instead of a city filled with old Chinese culture only. And by organising local and district level programmes, the district committees could tell people that they were responsible for the district affairs. The writer of another supplement also mentioned that it was great to see the street scenes of bustle and excitement created by the programmes\(^ {162}\). The author considered it as a breather from the hectic life, even though the entertaining activities seemed to be superficial. Therefore, it could be seen that people appreciated the diversified events included in The Festival, which were beneficial to Hong Kong people as well as facilitating tourists’ better impressions toward the city.

On the contrary, people criticized and questioned the effectiveness of the programmes in bringing joy among people. Referring to the editorial published on The Chinese Student Weekly\(^ {163}\), the author was doubted about the joyful atmosphere that the Festival tried to bring out. The author believed that celebration should be self-initiated and the joyful atmosphere


was also originated from people’s hearts. Still, Festival of Hong Kong was held by the government thus promotions were carried out through different governmental organisations and via newspaper and public media, so a festive atmosphere was ‘created’. Colourful lights and parades were along the streets but the joyful feeling lacked a sense of warm and people did not initiate to involve and participate in the Festival. The author also judged that if The Festival really aimed to share prosperity with the people, the atmosphere of enjoyment and relaxation was limited to a superficial level that the people could not share the delight deep from their hearts. This even led to a boycott in 1971 against The Festival, which was organized by kaifongs to express their opinion that such an artificial festival was a waste of money, time and man-power. As mentioned on the supplement on The Chinese Student Weekly, Grand Procession was defined as a means to artificially create the joyful atmosphere among citizens and finally presented the picture of peace and prosperity in society. The author compared The Festival with the carnivals held in foreign countries, to bring out the fact that foreigners did enjoy the carnivals from their hearts, comparing with the situation in Hong Kong that every person focused on their own business and could not share the man-made happiness. They also made fun on the logo of The Festival that it symbolized Hong Kong as a football being manipulated and shaped. Hence, while being appreciated for the excitement created on streets, The Festival at that same time were criticized of bringing artificial and superficial joyfulness to the public and its intention to shape the happiness among people.

166 Chung Ying Daily News. 1971. “Several Kaifong Associations and One Rural Committee Boycott Festival of Hong Kong (數坊會聯合一鄉事委會決杯葛香港節).” October 13, 1971.
**Purposes of Festival of Hong Kong served**

The Festival officially emphasised its aim to provide enjoyment and relaxation for the public. At a press conference, Ian Lightbody, the Co-ordinator of the Festival of Hong Kong 1969, said that would be a truly popular week which can be enjoyed by everyone and the emphasis would be on securing the largest possible audience for the various events.\textsuperscript{168} The Festival of Hong Kong Office stated in the press release in 1969\textsuperscript{169} that “light… sun… movement… participation… involvement… impact…. are the thoughts which prompt the organisation of the festival with which everyone in Hong Kong will feel identified.” However, after examining the public opinion, the effectiveness of The Festival in sharing joy among the people was uncertain, as some criticized that the joyfulness could not be shared among people but a superficial and artificial atmosphere that the government tried to illustrate and the festive mood was created by the authority body rather than initiated from the public.

On the other hand, there are other purposes of The Festival to be explored. Commercialization of Grand Procession brought about potential economic benefits to Hong Kong’s economic development. The contest of Miss Festival of Hong Kong increased the international exposure of the city and was influential to promote civic values to the public. These impacts were a lot more than solely creating enjoyment and relaxation. In a nutshell, by the diversified and substantial number of programmes held at both local and central level, the Festival served multiple purposes yet the goal of being an “enjoyment-maker” was achieved to an uncertain extent.

\textsuperscript{168} Festival of Hong Kong Office. *An Item For Your 1 P.M. News*. Hong Kong: Festival of Hong Kong Office, 1969.

\textsuperscript{169} Ibid.
Chapter 4.

Cancellation of The Festival and its significance in shaping the cultural landscape of Hong Kong in 1970s

Overview

In a memorandum entitled “Festival of Hong Kong: Proposals for the Future” for the Executive Council discussion, it considered the first Festival of Hong Kong successful because the public had derived considerable enjoyment from the Festival, the Government had enhanced its image in the eyes of the public, and the local Kaifongs had had a widespread involvement in which a sense of community had been created by the hundreds of items organised on a district basis. All these impacts of the first Festival resulted in a piece of advice that The Festival of Hong Kong be repeated in 1971 and two-yearly intervals thereafter.170 The Festival, however, only continuously carried on in 1971 and 1973 and was cancelled in 1975 and never be resumed. Although the reason officially announced for the suspension was the weak economy, this chapter will also review the social and cultural landscape in the 1970s Hong Kong to explore other possible reasons why the fourth Festival of Hong Kong got the axe. It argues that The Festival was mainly a means of public governance to alleviate public grievances against the disturbances of the late 1960s and to create a stable social environment. Besides, it considers the government’s attempt to organise festivals was to nurture a civic culture, in which the acceptance of the public to the colonial governance could be shown as they enjoyed themselves in the atmosphere of carnival. It then turns to analyse the significance of The Festival in shaping the cultural landscape of Hong Kong in 1970s.

**Economic downturn in between 1973-75**

The decision to call off the fourth Festival which had been scheduled from 28th November to 7th December 1975 was rash as the Steering Committee had already done a substantial amount of preparatory work before the government’s announcement of the cancellation on 17th December 1974. One of the major programmes which was newly introduced in the fourth Festival was planned to focus on the knowledge of Hong Kong’s history and legends by organising a tour itinerary of 12 historical sites, while other major events such as Military Tattoo, Grand Parade, and Miss Festival of Hong Kong would still be continued. However fruitful the fourth Festival might be, it was not regarded as an “essential service” and was therefore postponed a year later thanks to the economic depression.

Hong Kong economy in mid-seventies was influenced by the world economic depression. The oil crisis in 1973 resulted both a fall of 7% in domestic exports and a decline of 70% in the market value of the stock market in 1974. Furthermore, the growth of GDP decreased from 13% in 1973 to 0.7% in 1974. In this economic climate, the government thought that it might not be timely to expand sizable amount of money and to ask for large scale contributions from the community for the fourth Festival of Hong Kong which would cost about $7 million, with government contributing $5 million and the community the remainder.

Although the reason given for the cancellation was economic downturn, the fourth Festival was not resumed when it came to an economic recovery in 1976 that the domestic

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Exports amounted to $32.629 million – 43% more than in 1975 \textsuperscript{175} and the growth of GDP increased from 2.9% in 1975 to 16.9% in 1976.\textsuperscript{176} Lacking sustainability, this paper thus considered the short-lived Festival of Hong Kong a cultural product wrapped up as a community-wide entertainment event for public enjoyment, with a political intention to play down the sentiment of anti-colonial governance fanned in the disturbances of the late 1960s.

**Social welfare re-construction in the mid-seventies Hong Kong**

On the other hand, the social landscape of the 1970s Hong Kong also influenced the implementation of the fourth Festival. Regarding the government’s response to the 1967 Riots, Ming K. Chan pointed out that 1967 marked a crucial turning point in the development of a more conscientious and responsive social policy with greater care and concern for the grassroots community.\textsuperscript{177} Introducing social welfare policy to reach the local communities therefore became the focus of the colonial government’s governing principle in 1970s. In 1970-1971, social welfare spending was HK$40 million; it was more than $2.5 billion in 1986-87 and more than $15 billion in 1996-97.\textsuperscript{178}

The public expenditure resulted in a series of social welfare system set up during 1970s, such as the free primary education which was first introduced in 1971 was later expanded to nine years’ subsidized education in 1978\textsuperscript{179}; the public assistance scheme which was first introduced in 1971 was revised in 1974 with increased rates and simplified claim


\textsuperscript{177} Ming K. Chan, “Labor vs. Crown: Aspects of Society-State Interactions in the Hong Kong Labor Movement Before World War II.” In *Between East and West: aspects of social and political development in Hong Kong*, 142. (Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1990)

\textsuperscript{178} Carroll, *A concise history of Hong Kong*, 162.

procedures\textsuperscript{180}; and also the Labour Tribunal was introduced in 1973 to provide a quick, informal and inexpensive way of settling individual claims for money due under a contract of employment. \textsuperscript{181} Besides introducing many social welfare programmes, the colonial government intended to “change its image gradually through its re-organisation of civil service” \textsuperscript{182} by establishing the Independent Commission Against Corruption in 1974, resuming the construction of Mass Transit Railway in 1975 and expanding new towns in Tuen Mun, Sha Tin and Tsuen Wan.

In a nutshell, the 1970s Hong Kong was undergoing a re-construction of social welfare which John Mark Carroll described it as a representation of “a departure from the old colonial-style governor”\textsuperscript{183}. The fourth Festival of Hong Kong which ultimately proposed to provide relaxation, enjoyment and interest for the people of Hong Kong was therefore excluded from the political agenda in the mid-seventies Hong Kong when the public attention had been diverted to the issue of the development of social welfare and civil services. Meanwhile, it would be a timely decision to abandon The Festival when it had generally enjoyed a good reputation among the public.\textsuperscript{184}

\textit{The increasing awareness of local culture in Hong Kong in mid-seventies}

The rise of popular culture in the mid-seventies Hong Kong could provide mass entertainment for the people of Hong Kong; the mission of The Festival to provide a community-wide relaxation was thus completed. As discussed in last part, Hong Kong was undergoing an economic downturn in the early seventies and the economy was gradually

\textsuperscript{180} Ibid, 10.
\textsuperscript{181} Ibid, 5.
\textsuperscript{182} Takwing Ngo, \textit{Hong Kong’s history: state and society under colonial rule} (London: Taykor and Francis, 1999), 110.
\textsuperscript{183} Carroll, \textit{A concise history of Hong Kong}, 161.
\textsuperscript{184} A local newspaper called The Star conducted a street poll in 27 February 1977 about “should the festival be resumed? Do you want it resumed as an annual event?” Most of the viewers thought that it was good to have The Festival because they would have more places to go and more things to see.
recovering in the mid-seventies; such an economic development was influencing not only the Festival of Hong Kong, but also the formation of Hong Kong local culture as some have observed that there was a cultural vacuum in the early seventies Hong Kong\textsuperscript{185}, while the later rapid economic development led to the rise of a local popular culture expressed in film, music, and television shows\textsuperscript{186}.

The development of Hong Kong local film culture as David Bordwell described was waning by the end of the sixties and there were no Cantonese films made in 1972.\textsuperscript{187} It was until 1973 when Shaw Brothers Studio published \textit{The House of 72 Tenants} which featured the unfair issues in daily lives and satirized the governance of the colonial government became a blockbuster, the Cantonese-dialect cinema revived. Along with the comedy films which gave special attention to the mentality of workers, for instance, \textit{Games Gamblers Play} in 1974 and \textit{The Private Eyes} in 1976 filmed by Michael Hui Koon Man, Hong Kong began to stake out a distinctive popular culture and there emerged the "new gang-chan-pian (Hong Kong-made films) characterized by Cantonese slang."\textsuperscript{188}

In addition, TV shows contributed much to people’s entertainment in mid-seventies. It was recorded that in the ten years from 1967 – the year Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB) commenced broadcasting – to 1976, households owning television jumped from 12 per cent to 90 per cent.\textsuperscript{189} Besides, since 1970s, TV dramas were shown at the prime time in the evening when most of the Hong Kong people were having their dinner. It cultivated the habit

\textsuperscript{185} Yueai, Zhang 張月愛, “Xiang gang wen hua shi fou xiang du li. 香港文化是否步向獨立.” In \textit{Reading Hong Kong popular cultures 1970-2000}, 222. (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2002)
\textsuperscript{186} Carroll, \textit{A concise history of Hong Kong}, 168.
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid, 32.
\textsuperscript{189} Hong Kong Heritage Museum, \textit{Hong Kong's Popular Entertainment} (Hong Kong.: Leisure and Cultural Services Department, 2006), 17.
of eating and watching TV at the same time.\textsuperscript{190} It resulted in a phenomenon that watching TV shows have become a popular pastime among the Hong Kong people since mid-seventies. And more importantly, since the gang-chan-pian (Hong Kong-made films) as well as the TV programmes closely corresponded with the social context of the seventies Hong Kong, they had an edge over The Festival – which merely placed emphasis on entertainment with the intention to give comfort to the public after the 67 Riots – in becoming appealing to the people of Hong Kong. As a result, to revive The Festival was therefore not a necessity in the mid-seventies when the people of Hong Kong had found their own way for relaxation.

\textit{Significance of Festival of Hong Kong}

As the above discussion shown, this paper considered the accomplishment of The Festival to provide a community-wide relaxation was one of the possible reasons why it was never revived although the economy was recovered shortly after 1975. The significance of The Festival could therefore be told. First, it facilitated part of the formation of Hong Kong culture. Second, it signified the change of colonial governance in cultural affairs. Third, it became the predecessor of Brand Hong Kong campaign.

Regarding the culture of beauty contest in Hong Kong, the first Miss Hong Kong Pageant was held since 1946 by Hong Kong Chinese Amateur Swimming Association and Royal Air Force Officers’ Mess in RITZ Ball Room (麗池花園夜總會) intermittently as it was suspended from 1967 to 1969.\textsuperscript{191} But, when it came to the first Festival of Hong Kong, the culture of beauty contest once again became the discussion topic in 1969 because Miss Festival of Hong Kong was organised and broadcasted on Rediffusion Television Limited (麗的電視) continuously in each Festival of Hong Kong. Its significance lay in the fact that it

\textsuperscript{190} Ibid, 18.
cultivated the culture of holding a beauty pageant in an official level aiming to develop a civic value as the winners of the Miss Festival of Hong Kong would act as a goodwill ambassador. Besides, it developed the culture of broadcasting beauty contest through a television station, leading TVB in 1973 absorbed the trend of holding and broadcasting Miss Hong Kong Pageant which constituted the culture of beauty contest in Hong Kong.

Meanwhile, in a research report issued by Hong Kong Policy Research Institute, it pointed out that the cultural policy in 1950s and 1960s adopted a means of governance of positive non-interventionism. The Festival with the nature of being the government’s first attempt to get involved in celebrating festivals, in this sense, signified a change of the colonial governance right after the disturbances in late sixties. In this respect, The Festival was thus regarded as a cultural product which was wrapped up as a community-wide entertainment for public enjoyment with a political intention to play down the sentiment of anti-colonial governance fanned in the disturbances of the late 1960s.

Lastly, by reviewing the opening remarks delivered by the Governor of Hong Kong, it revealed a strong sense in forging a Hong Kong identity, branding an energetic yet hard-working image of Hong Kong people and also building a sense of social cohesion through The Festival. Sir Hugh Selby Norman-Walker said in the opening in 1969 that The Festival “continues the spirit of Hong Kong Week to display Hong Kong identity with less emphasis on commerce and more on the pleasure of the general public.” As it showed, the first Festival of Hong Kong tended to focus more on the issue of identity in order to respond to the sociopolitical context in late 1960s. It, however, appeared differently in the second and third Festival. Sir Murray MacLehose in 1971 described that The Festival was a “right

192 Hong Kong Policy Research Institute Ltd, Xiang gang wen hua yi shu zheng ce yan jiu bao gao 香港文化藝術政策研究報告 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Policy Research Institute Ltd, 1998), 10.
combination of work and play, denoting a hallmark of happy and successful community” and in 1973 that “a programme for everyone, no one has been forgotten”.

The government discourse as shown above echoed with what Laurajane Smith referred to as authorized heritage discourse by adopting the same narrative of collective history and identity as a guiding principle to speak for a place.\textsuperscript{193} It therefore reflected that the colonial government would like to present to the world that Hong Kong was energetic, while the people of Hong Kong were hard-working through The Festival.

\textsuperscript{193} Smith, \textit{Uses of Heritage}, 29-30
Conclusion

As the research has demonstrated, Festival of Hong Kong was significant because it was the first community-wide whirl of festival placing stress on entertainment organised by the colonial government. On the other hand, The Festival was worthy to study because it was taken place in between 1969 to 1973, when the colonial government was facing a time of social disturbances and wanting to maintain social cohesion. The historical mission and political connotation embedded in The Festival thus formed a strong basis for this paper to argue that it was a cultural product – as wrapped up as a community-wide entertainment event for public enjoyment – launched by the colonial government as a means of public governance to alleviate public grievances against the disturbances in late 1960s. Having positioned in such a unique place, The Festival of Hong Kong was examined in terms of its background, management body, programmes, and reason for the cancellation to find out what images of Hong Kong The Festival proposed to create and how it shaped the cultural landscape of the seventies Hong Kong.

Starting by reviewing the sociopolitical and cultural context of Hong Kong in 1960s, this paper attributed the implementation of The Festival to the need of promoting a Hong Kong identity for the public after the disturbances in late 1960s. Besides, the concept of togetherness was found strongly delivered in the official promotion of The Festival that the importance of being connected was clearly shown. Therefore, it was under the “inclusive” framework that The Festival of Hong Kong was held in responding the necessity to play down the sentiment of anti-colonial governance in later 1960s.

It then turned to examine the constitution of the committee and responsible department of The Festival. The evolution of colonial government’s approach to organize cultural event was the main investigating issue in this part as it could tell the changing role of the government in managing cultural affairs. It found that The Festival could be defined as the
pioneer in organizing cultural and leisure events in central level as there was no a specific department responsible for managing that kind of events before The Festival. It resulted in a phenomenon that staffs from different departments were called to help. Therefore, one of the significances of The Festival was being a facilitator in calling government’s attention to set up a department specialized in managing cultural and leisure activities.

On the other hand, two central programmes were investigated and they were Miss Festival of Hong Kong and Grand Procession. While the review of the two programmes highlighted many factual descriptions about their content, the analysis followed gave out the purposes of The Festival. It explained that there were two more underlying purposes underpinned The Festival in addition to the officially declared intention to provide enjoyment and the political connotation to promote sense of belongingness found in chapter one. For Miss Festival of Hong Kong, it inferred that it aimed to promote civic values to the public as the winners were given an image of goodwill ambassador. For Grand Procession, it was more about forging Hong Kong an image of “East meets West” and bringing economic benefits.

The paper ended with the discussion of the government’s decision to cancel The Festival and that of The Festival’s significance in shaping the cultural landscape of the seventies Hong Kong. Taking the economic climate in mid-seventies into consideration, it found that The Festival was no longer an essential service as the Hong Kong people had already found their own way for entertainment which was the result of the increasing awareness of Hong Kong local culture in mid-seventies. Therefore, the colonial government called off the fourth Festival when undergoing an economic downturn in between 1973 to 1975 and never revived it even though it came to an economic recovery in 1976.

It then moved to analyze the significance of The Festival in shaping Hong Kong’s cultural landscape in 1970s as mentioned in chapter one that it had its mission to complete. In addition to the one realized in chapter two – being a facilitator in calling government’s
attention to set up a department specialized in managing cultural and leisure activities – there were three more significances found important. In short, it facilitated the formation of Hong Kong’s beauty contest culture; second, it signified the change of colonial governance from positive non-interventionism to getting involved in celebrating festivals; third, it became the predecessor of brand Hong Kong campaign as it was the first community-wide whirl of festival embedded with image-forging purposes.

This paper has underlined the importance of Festival of Hong Kong from the late 1960s to 1970s. Despite the fact that there have been many publications discussing the social and cultural development of Hong Kong from 1960s to 1970s, not much attention has been drawn to the noteworthiness of Festival of Hong Kong. It resulted in the formation of this paper which could extend the current literature by building up a data base for The Festival and contributing to discussion of the colonial government’s effort paid in public governance.
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**Websites**

Appendix

Appendix I

Festival of Hong Kong, 1969: Committee Structure

Steering Committee

Chairman: Hon. Sir Cho-yiu Kwan
   Dr. the Hon. S.Y. Chung
   Hon. M.A.R. Herries
   Mr. H.W. Lee
   Mr. J. Cater

Activities Committee

Chairman: Mr. A. de O. Sales
   Mr. I.M. Lightbody (Co-ordinator, Festival of Hong Kong)
   Hon. Wilson Wang (Chairman, Sports & Youth Festivals Committee)
   Mr. Woo Po-Shing (Chairman, Entertainments Committee)
   Mr. R.H. Lobo (Chairman, Exhibition & Visual Arts Committee)
   Mr. D.E. Parker (Chairman, Music Committee)
   Mr. J.C. Howlett (Chairman, Decorations Committee)
   Mr. John Lau (representing Hong Kong Federation of Students)
   Mr. Eng-U Lyen (representing the Chinese Manufacturers Association)
   Miss Ko Siu-wah (representing Hong Kong Council of Social Service)
   Mrs. P.C. Chang (Chairman, Western District Womens’ Association)
   Mr. D.C. Bray (representing Secretary for Home Affairs)
   Mr. J. Canning (representing Director of Education)
   Mr. D.S. Whitelegge (representing District Commissioner, New Territories)
   Mr. R. Oblitas (representing Director of Urban Services)
   Mr. K.Y. Yeung (representing Director of Social Welfare)
   Mr. Fong Yick Fai (representing Commissioner of Police)

Events Committees

Sports/Youth Festivals

Chairman: Hon. Wilson T.S. Wang
   Mr. A.W. Campbell (Education Department)
   Mr. HO Sai-chu (South China Athletic Association)
   Mr. William CHEUNG (Kaifong Research Council; Federation of Youth Groups)
   Mr. Stephan LAW (Social Welfare Department)
   Mr. J.B. Hutchinson (Urban Services Department Youth Recreation Officer)
Entertainments

Chairman: Mr. WOO Po-shing
(Membership not yet settled)

Music

Chairman: Mr. D.E. Parker
Miss Maple Quon
Dr. S.M. Bard

Exhibitions

Chairman: Mr. R.H. Lobo
Mr. W.K. Lee (Lee Hysan Estate Co. Ltd)
Mr. Patrick CHUNG (Graphic Atelier)
Mr. J. Warner (Curator, City Hall)
Mr. Wucius Wong (Asst, Curator, City Hall)
Mr. M. Griffith (Education Department)

Decorations

Chairman: Mr. J.C. Howlett (Public Works Department)
Mr. G.C. Tait (H.K. Land Investment Co.)
Mr. Jackson C.S. WONG (Wong, Ng Ouyang & Associates)
Mr. Joseph Lei (Public Works Department)
Mr. David Crowe (Architect and Designer)
Mr. A.A. Lee (Eric Cumine Associates)
Mr. Daniel Koo (Shui Hing Co.)
Appendix II

The Steering Committee of the Festival of Hong Kong 1971 composed of:

Sir Cho-yiu Kwan, C.B.E., J.P.(Chairman)

Hon. H.J.C. Browne, OBE, JP

Dr. the Hon. S.Y. Chung, OBE, JP

Hon. G.M.S. Salmon, JP

Mr. H.W. Lee

Mr. A. de O. Sales, OBE, JP

Hon. J. Cater, MBE, JP, and

Mr. C.P. Sutcliffe, CBE, QPM, JP

Mr. N.B.M. Whitley, MBE, JP (Co-ordinator)
Appendix III

5. This staff would be appointed as the need arose and as the individual officers were available. They would be deployed as follows:

Co-ordinator
Pers/Secy.

A/C
Admin/Accounts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A/C</th>
<th>A/C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Admin/Accounts</th>
<th>Steering Cttee</th>
<th>Organising Cttee</th>
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<td>1 L.O.</td>
<td>1 L.O.</td>
<td>L.O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 G.C.S.</td>
<td>1 G.C.S.</td>
<td>G.C.S.</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<th>Other Cttees</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 S.A.T.
1 Typist
3 Messengers.
Appendix IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assistant Co-ordinator</th>
<th>Assistant Co-ordinator</th>
<th>Assistant Co-ordinator</th>
<th>Assistant Co-ordinator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 L.O.</td>
<td>1 L.O.</td>
<td>1 L.O.</td>
<td>1 L.O.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 G.O.S.</td>
<td>1 G.O.S.</td>
<td>1 G.O.S.</td>
<td>1 G.O.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Mus.</td>
<td>1 G.O.S.</td>
<td>(for pre-sales)</td>
<td>2 Production Managers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Typists</td>
<td>2 Typists</td>
<td>2 Typists</td>
<td>2 Typists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 S.A./Typists
### Appendix V

**Table of themes and sponsors of the traditional Chinese festival performances in Grand Procession of Festival of Hong Kong 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Sponsors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Hong Kong Chinese Martial Art Association (led by Mr. Lung Kai Ming)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>中國國術總會由龍啟明師傅領導</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Mo Boon Art Research Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>務本藝術研究社</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Chan Hon Hung Gymnasium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>陳漢雄健身院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>So Yuen Gymnasium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>蘇源健身院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Tsang Chiu Yue Gymnasium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>曾昭宇健身院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Lui Lit Gymnasium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>呂烈健身院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Oceania Restaurant and Night Club (led by Mr. Kwong Kwan Wai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>海天酒樓夜總會由鄺群威師傅領導</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Chiu Chow Musical Band 潮州大鑼鼓</td>
<td>Chiu Chow Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>潮州各界</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 108 Heroic People of Shui Hu Chuen 潮州土風舞</td>
<td>Chiu Chow Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>潮州各界</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Stilt 高腳</td>
<td>Chiu Chow Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>潮州各界</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Pak Mei Lion Dance Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>白眉醒獅團</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Tam Hon Gymnasium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>譚漢健身院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Tsang Kwok Man Gymnasium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>曾國民健身院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Choi Shing Kung Gymnasium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>蔡成功健身院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Unicorn 麒麟</td>
<td>Wai Chau Village Club Association (led by Mr. Cheung Chung Fai)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>惠州同鄉會由張仲輝師傅領導</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. 4 Monks of the trip of Tong Sam Cheng 唐三藏取經</td>
<td>Tin Ngai Culture &amp; Arts Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>天藝文化藝術學院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. South Lion 南獅</td>
<td>Chau Piu Gymnasium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>周彪健身院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Lion</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Unicorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Golden Dragon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Phoenix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>South Lion</td>
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<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Golden Dragon</td>
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<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>North Lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>North Lion</td>
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</table>
Appendix VI

Table of themes and sponsors of the floats in Grand Procession of Festival of Hong Kong 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme of the floats</th>
<th>Sponsors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Ship That Links 同舟共濟</td>
<td>Mackinnon, Mackennzie &amp; Co. of H.K. Ltd. 鐵行輪船有限公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Heavenly Music 鼓樂喧天</td>
<td>The Chiu Chau Plastic Manufacturers Association Co., Ltd. 潮僑塑膠商會有限公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Boom Town 繁榮之都</td>
<td>Mong Kok District Committee for the Celebration of Festival of Hong Kong 旺角區各界慶祝香港節委員會</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Red Packets 得其利是</td>
<td>Chung Nam Watch Co., Ltd. 中南鐘錶有限公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Knowledge, Service &amp; Leadership 立己立人</td>
<td>Ming The Youth Centre 明德青年中心</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The Happiest Millionaire 百萬鉅富</td>
<td>Hong Ning Co., Ltd. 康寧有限公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Celebration Day 普天同慶</td>
<td>Oceania Restaurant &amp; Night Club 海天酒樓夜總會</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Our Bank is Many Things to Many People 我們是大眾的銀行</td>
<td>The Hong Kong &amp; Shanghai Banking Corporation 香港上海滙豐銀行</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Fair Angels 仙女散花</td>
<td>Golden Crown Restaurant Ltd. 金冠大酒樓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Kind Protection 保護婦孺</td>
<td>Po Leung Kuk 保良局</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. The Daring Calf 初生之犢</td>
<td>The Dairy Farm Group of Companies (Hong Kong Division) 牛奶公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Young Beat 青春旋律</td>
<td>Jardine Matheson &amp; Co., Ltd. 怡和有限公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Prosperity 貨如輪轉</td>
<td>District Celebration Committee (Wong Tai Sin) 黃大仙區慶祝香港節委員會</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Container Transport 新式貨運</td>
<td>The Hong Kong &amp; Kowloon Wharf &amp; Godown Co., Ltd. 香港九龍貨倉有限公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Moon Landing 登陸月球</td>
<td>British-American Tobacco Company (Hong Kong) Ltd. 英美煙草有限公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. All are Pretties 美女如雲</td>
<td>Cathay Organisation (Hong Kong) (1965) Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
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</table>
| 17  | Our Fast Growing Industry Brings Prosperity, Stability and Progress | The Chinese Manufacturers’ Association of Hong Kong  
突飛猛進香港中華廠商聯合會 |
| 18  | Things Go Better                           | Hong Kong Bottlers Ltd.  
樂滿全球香港汽水廠有限公司 |
| 19  | Salon Beauties                             | Asahi Photographic Supplies  
沙龍美女賓得攝影器材 |
| 20  | Miss Festival                              | The Wing On Co., Ltd.  
香港節小姐香港永安有限公司 |
| 21  | Utopia                                     | The Amoy Canning Corporation, (Hong Kong) Ltd.  
大同香港淘化大同有限公司 |
| 22  | The World of Love                          | Pok Oi Hospital  
博愛元朗博愛醫院 |
| 23  | The Most Convenient Communication          | Hong Kong Telephone Co., Ltd.  
通訊快捷香港電話有限公司 |
| 24  | Happiest Hours                             | A.S. Watson & Co., Ltd.  
歡樂時光屈臣氏有限公司 |
| 25  | The World’s Greatest                       | Lun Kee Company  
世界之最倫記行 |
| 26  | Great Advancement                          | Kowloon City District Hong Kong Festival Committee  
一日千里九龍城區慶祝香港節委員會 |
| 27  | Missile Master                             | Cheung’s Film Productions  
火箭霸王章氏製片公司 |
| 28  | Swimming Swans                             | The Shui Hing Co., Ltd.  
天鵝戲水瑞興公司 |
| 29  | Strong and Healthy                         | The Amoy Canning Corporation (Hong Kong) Ltd.  
健康強壯香港淘化大同有限公司 |
| 30  | Industrial Power                           | Hong Kong Festival Kwun Tong District Committee  
工業動力香港節觀塘區委員會 |
| 31  | Light of The Sea                           | Chan Cheng Co., Ltd. & Ocean Film Co.  
海洋之光陳正體育及海洋影業製片公司 |
| 32  | The Best Music                             | Tom Lee Piano Co., Ltd.  
笙樂飄飄通利琴行 |
| 33  | Harbour Centre                             | Harbour Centre Development Ltd. & Star Ferry Co. Ltd.  
航運樞紐天星小輪公司 |
| 34  | Sleeping Beauty                            | Kwon Ah Steel Furniture & Mattress Factory  
睡美人冠亞鋼床軟褥廠 |
| 35  | Co-operation                               | Yaumati Kai Fong Welfare Advancement Association Ltd.  
齊心合力油麻地街坊福利會事務促進會有限公司 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Company Name</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Bridal Tower</td>
<td>Koon Nam Wah Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>選婿樓</td>
<td>冠南華公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Beauty Queens</td>
<td>The Hong Kong Cotton Spinners Association</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>雲裳艷后</td>
<td>香港棉紡業同業公會</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Warmth of Compassion</td>
<td>Tung Wah Group of Hospitals</td>
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<td></td>
<td>溫暖遍人間</td>
<td>東華三院</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Space Living</td>
<td>Dah Chong Hong Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>貿易聲聲遍宇寰</td>
<td>大昌行貿易有限公司</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>The Fairies</td>
<td>Highball &amp; Mocambo Restaurant &amp; Night Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>仙女下凡</td>
<td>漢宮及金寶酒樓夜總會</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Sea Bottom Treasure</td>
<td>Sea Dragon Skindiving Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>海底寶藏</td>
<td>海龍潛水會</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>The Saving Bank</td>
<td>The Chartered Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>未雨綢繆</td>
<td>渣打銀行</td>
</tr>
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