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**Recent Trends in Work and Leisure in Hong Kong
and Higher Education's Response**

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by

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INTRODUCTION

It has often been noted that in industrial societies, leisure has been steadily, though sometimes imperceptibly, increasing. This has resulted from a number of factors. First, rising productivity and more efficient methods of organization and management have brought about shorter hours of work. In Hong Kong, a rapidly developing commercial and industrial centre in the Far East and South-east Asia, the average work-week has shortened for practically all occupations over the period 1971-1981 by as much as 20 per cent, according to official figures obtained by the Censuses of 1971 and 1981. The shortening was experienced by both men and women. Thus, for example, the average (median) working hours among production and related workers were 57 for men and 52 for women in 1971 but were reduced to 51 and 48 respectively in 1981. Among administrative and managerial workers, the work-week averaged 53 hours (men) and 54 hours (women) in 1971 but only 45 hours (men) and 43 hours (women) in 1981.¹

The growth in leisure has also resulted from the establishment and enjoyment of holiday entitlement in work. While this differs from one occupation to another, the minimum of seven paid holidays a year,

¹ Calculated from data reported in: *Hong Kong Population and Housing Census 1971 Main Report* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1972), pp. 133-137, and *Hong Kong 1981 Census Basic Tables* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1982), p. 25.

in addition to common holidays, has been in practice in Hong Kong for many years. In many managerial and professional occupations, holiday entitlement can be as much as two months per year. Next, the general prolongation of the schooling period with the introduction of compulsory education and a high proportion of school-age population attending schools, coupled with early retirement for those who so wish, means more time released from work in the population.

In this paper, we shall selectively identify some recent trends in both work and leisure in Hong Kong that may suggest what the future is like, and consider what the responses of higher education are or could be.

The question of higher education's contribution to work in the sense of training manpower required by the economy is likely to be regarded as both legitimate and practical. By comparison, however, the question of higher education's contribution to leisure is much less discussed. On the surface, it does seem that the connection between higher education and leisure--either leisure of individuals or leisure in society as a collective phenomenon--is hard to define. But if we bear in mind the great variety of learning and socialization experiences available to students in universities and other institutions of higher education, we would recognize that the attitudes, values, habits and skills obtained in the process of learning should have a place in shaping one's life, including the domains of both leisure and work. In addition, as we shall see, higher education can also contribute to the development of leisure services in the community.

TRENDS IN WORK

For our purposes, five main trends in work in Hong Kong society may be identified: (1) increase in educational attainment of the working population, (2) increase of women in employment, (3) steady change in the structure of occupations in the direction of more middle and higher level work, (4) growth in office automation, and (5) increase of employment in large organizations.

Increase in educational attainment of the working population

Largely as a result of the improvement of schooling opportunities over the past two or three decades, the educational attainment of both the general population and that part of the population engaged in gainful employment has risen significantly. Thus, as indicated in Table 1, the proportion of the working population with a secondary education or above for the census years of 1961, 1971 and 1981 was 27 per cent, 33 per cent and 52 per cent respectively.

Table 1: Education attainment of working population:
1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 (estimated)

Education attainment	1961	1971	1981	1991 (estimated)
	%	%	%	%
No schooling/Kindergarten	20.1	16.2	10.7	10.2
Primary	52.7	50.7	36.8	36.1
Secondary/Matriculation	22.9	28.0	44.7	45.4
Post-secondary/ University	4.3	5.1	7.8	8.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Hong Kong 1981 Census Main Report* Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1982), pp. 46, 137.

On the one hand, the quality of the work force, in terms of education, has improved. On the other, the educational qualification required for entry into work has been upgraded either by keen competition among job seekers or because there are now more jobs that actually require at least graduation from secondary school, or both.

Increase of women in employment

With the growth of the Hong Kong economy in the last couple of decades, employment opportunities for women have expanded, both in manufacturing and in service sectors. Relatively new manufacturing industries, such as electronics and toy-making, along with the more traditional textile and garment industries, are all employing large numbers of female workers. At the same time, the centrality of international trade has rapidly increased opportunities in clerical and service occupations for the more educated females. Indeed, as the gap in educational attainment between the sexes is narrowing over the years, the rise in the overall occupational status of women is a clear trend. In the professional, technical and managerial fields, where men have traditionally been dominating, women participants are not so uncommon as, say, one or two decades ago.

As Table 2 clearly indicates, not only is it true that female participation in the labour force in Hong Kong has risen, but it is also noteworthy that such rise has been more substantial among younger age groups. Thus, for example, while only 51 per cent of the women in the 20-24 age group in 1961 were employed, the labour force

participation rate of the corresponding age group rose to nearly 80 per cent twenty years later. This has much to do with the increased educational attainment of women over the years. In 1961, only 15 per cent of the female population had a secondary education; in 1981 this rose to 38 per cent. Corresponding figures for the male population are 30 per cent in 1961 and 48 per cent in 1981.² These show that besides rising educational attainment of women, the gap in educational attainment between men and women has narrowed.

Table 2: Age-specific labour force participation rates of women; 1961, 1971 and 1981

Age group	1961	1971	1981
	%	%	%
20-24	51.1	69.5	79.7
25-34	33.9	39.6	56.8
35-44	38.0	38.7	53.4
45-54	42.1	38.9	46.7

Source: *Hong Kong 1981 Census Main Report* Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1982), p. 31.

Change in the occupational structure

Since 1961 there has been some change in the occupational structure. In the manufacturing industry, which employs over 40 per cent of Hong Kong's labour force, there was an increase in the

²*Hong Kong 1981 Census Main Report* Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1982), p. 153.

proportion of professional, technical, administrative and managerial workers during the last decade or so--from 1.5 per cent in 1971 to 3.8 per cent in 1981.³ As a rapidly developing centre of international trade and finance, the industry of financing, real estate and business services has grown threefold in terms of proportion of labour force employed--from 1.6 per cent in 1961 to 4.8 per cent in 1981. Within this industry, the proportion of administrative and managerial personnel has also grown threefold from 3.6 per cent in 1971 to 10.3 in 1984.⁴

This indicates that the demand of employers for higher-level employees is on the rise to meet the requirements of new developments in the economy to which technical and managerial skills are relevant. Insofar as the general level of education of workers is raised, the employer's demand could be met.

Growth in office automation

Great advances in office automation have occurred since the late 1970s in leading industrial countries. Hong Kong joined the trend very quickly and has taken the lead in the South-east Asia region in adoption and development of new automation technology. According to a recent Government survey,⁵ 42 per cent of 488 contacted business and

³ *Hong Kong 1981 Census Main Report* Vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1982), p. 35.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The survey was carried out in early 1985 by the Town Planning Division of the Lands Department, Hong Kong Government, at the request of the Special Committee on Land Supply.

commercial organizations have already made use of computerization in such aspects as word processing, information storage and retrieval, and electronic mail and messaging. In only a few years from now, many more organizations are expected to adopt or further expand office automation. Job opportunities for computer programmers, system analysts and sales and servicing personnel in the computer field have greatly expanded. For large number of office workers, from typists to managers, a sort of quiet revolution has been going on requiring the learning and use of new skills and styles of work organization and communication. Indeed, automation is not restricted to commercial and business settings but is rapidly spreading to all types of organizations and institutions. One could say that work is never quite the same as before.

Employment in large organizations

One important characteristic of industrial societies is that people tend to work in organizations under contract rather than in small units or family circles without legally binding terms. This is very much the case in most occupations in Hong Kong although small scale family businesses still exist. Two implications for work may be noted. First, qualifications and competencies for the same or similar kind of work tend to be clearly identifiable and standardized. This also makes transfer from one job to another in the same kind of work more easily assessed by the employer. Second, whatever the kind of work, work procedures and role expectations in work tend to be regularized and institutionalized. The larger the size of the work organization, the

more these implications are likely to be true. We have in Hong Kong witnessed a steady increase in the proportion of workers in some of the major commercial and business sectors who are employed in establishments with employment size of 100 persons or more. As shown in Table 3, the trend is true of the retail businesses, import-and-export firms, and restaurants and hotels.

Table 3: Percentage of persons employed in establishments with 100 or more employees, 1977 to 1980, by selected sectors

Sector	1977	1978	1979	1980
	%	%	%	%
Retail	6.5	7.6	7.7	8.1
Import/export	9.5	10.6	11.4	11.1
Restaurants and hotels	44.8	45.9	45.7	46.1

Source: *Hong Kong Social and Economic Trends 1970-1980* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1981), pp. 18-19.

TRENDS IN LEISURE

It was already pointed out at the beginning of this paper that, as in other industrial societies, Hong Kong people in employment are generally having more leisure time. As both educational standards and incomes rise, the awareness of the importance of leisure and the interest in doing a variety of things during leisure tend to increase. When it comes to job seeking and selection, opportunities for leisure in the form of holidays allowed and length of commuting time required would be taken into account. Other things being equal, it is not uncommon that the job containing more favourable opportunities for

leisure is more attractive.

Over the past decade or so, the following are some of the main trends in leisure in Hong Kong: (1) increase in attention given to leisure services, (2) growing interest in the outdoors and the countryside, (3) increased awareness of health and fitness, (4) keen interest in travel, and (5) rising importance of the mass media for leisure.

Increase in attention given to leisure services

Since around the mid-1970s, there has been considerable development in a great variety of leisure services, covering the whole range from community recreational and cultural facilities and programmes to organized sports and outdoor activities for groups. Among the most significant was the Government's setting up of a Recreation and Sports Service (RSS) in 1974 which was charged with the task of making recreation and sports as widely available as possible to members of the general public. All kinds of programmes and projects for various age groups and people from all walks of life are offered to suit different needs and to stimulate interest in different forms of recreational use of leisure. Many projects are organized jointly with other government departments or private bodies. Within the past few years, a large holiday village with comprehensive amenities and a water sports centre, both in scenic locations in the open countryside, have been established by RSS.

Non-government organizations, including various sports associations and the Hong Kong Jockey Club, have also been active in promoting sports and recreational activities. In particular, the

Jubilee Sports Centre (financed by the Hong Kong Jockey Club) has excellent facilities for indoor and outdoor sports and regularly offers training courses at different levels.

Great attention has been given by the Government through the Urban Council to the provision of community recreational facilities such as playgrounds, parks, indoor games halls and swimming pools. These, as far as practicable, are especially emphasized in the new residential towns that sprang up all over Hong Kong in the late 1970s. Indeed, the planning of the new towns, an intensive Government programme to decentralize the population away from over-congested urban areas, has increasingly taken efforts to provide for recreational needs according to specially designed standards and guidelines for both space and facilities.

The Urban Council is also instrumental in promoting a large variety of "cultural" services, such as public libraries, museums (including the new Space Museum opened in 1980) and programmes in the performing arts. Musical and theatrical programmes, with high attendance rates, have greatly increased both in number and in quality. For those who are interested in enjoying performances in the arts, opportunities are rapidly becoming richer as there are numerous programmes given by local and overseas artists and groups in regular music seasons and various festivals of arts practically all year round. One central force in this development is Hong Kong's own Philharmonic Orchestra which turned into a professional ensemble from a long amateurish background only ten years ago. This orchestra has in

recent years undertaken active efforts to popularize orchestral music, classical and modern, to a wide cross-section of the population in different venues, and has usually drawn near-capacity audiences. With the addition of several new and sophisticated cultural complexes and performing centres in just one or two years' time from now, participation in cultural activities during leisure by Hong Kong people will certainly be more enthusiastic.

The Government is also showing strong interest in the promotion of the performing arts through its support of annual running costs of the newly created Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts. The Academy started providing three- and four-year courses in music, dance and drama in 1984 and will soon be a vital source of professional manpower for further development of cultural activities in Hong Kong.

One rough indication of how responsive the population is to the provision of leisure services is the number of participants. Figures for some major organized activities for 1984 are given in Table 4.

Table 4: Number of participants in organized activities in 1984

Activity	No. of participants
Organized activities of the Recreation and Sports Service	770,000
Summer youth programme (government-sponsored)	1,000,000
Shows and sports events in the Hong Kong Coliseum	690,000
Concerts and other performances in the Hong Kong City Hall	550,000
Hong Kong Space Museum	741,000
Sky shows in the Hong Kong Space Museum	309,000
Mid-autumn festival lantern carnivals	360,000

Source: *Hong Kong 1985: A review of 1984* (Hong Kong: Government Information Services, 1985), ch. 19.

Bearing in mind that Hong Kong has a population of five million the figures in Table 4 may be taken to indicate a fairly substantial mass participation in and hence demand for a wide variety of leisure services.

Growing interest in the outdoors and the countryside

Hong Kong's population density is among the highest in the world. In the urban areas, the density is even higher, reaching the order of over 650,000 persons per square mile in some crowded residential and commercial areas. It is not surprising, therefore, that Hong Kong's urbanites are prone to go for the outdoors and the countryside once they have enough free time on weekends and holidays. One often sees city dwellers doing their early morning physical exercises in open spaces and woodlands on the urban fringes. One also sees exodus in groups or families to favourite spots in the countryside of the New Territories. Since 1976, twenty-one country parks have been designated and equipped with proper recreational facilities. They have been visited by more and more people every year, especially the youths, for hiking, camping, barbecueing and other recreational purposes. The number of country park visitors runs into the millions each year.

In a representative sample household survey conducted in 1982 by the Hong Kong Government's Census and Statistics Department, in which 32,430 individuals aged six and over responded to questions on what sports and outdoor activities they had undertaken during the preceding week, it was found that going to city parks or rest gardens was most common. It was also found that of those who participated in outdoor activities of various kinds, the average number of times

participated per person in a week in any given kind of such activity varied from roughly one (e.g., hiking, camping) to five or more (e.g., morning walks, shadow boxing). Details are given in Table 5.

Table 5: Participation in outdoor recreational activities by population aged 6 and over

Activity	Participation rate (per 100,000 population)	Average number of times undertaken per person in a week
Parks/Rest gardens	466	2.6
Morning walks	315	5.1
Picnicking/Barbecueing	284	1.1
Exercise walk/Jogging	169	2.9
Hiking	53	1.5
Shadow boxing ('Tai Chi')	24	5.6
Swimming (beach)	22	2.7
Tent camping	20	1.1

Source: *Social Data Collected by the General Household Survey* (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1983), p. 34.

In a 1983 survey of 1400 secondary school students from various types of schools in Hong Kong, it was found that watching television, listening to recorded or broadcast music at home, playing various ball games and going to the outdoors and the countryside were among the most common leisure activities.⁶ In fact, the salience of outdoor

⁶ The study included students of all secondary school years and was carried out under the auspices of the Centre for Hong Kong Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, with the author as one of the investigators.

activities such as camping and picnicking, in terms of frequency of participation by the adolescent students, was greater than that of watching movies, reading newspapers, and other sports.

Increased awareness of health and fitness

The awareness of health and fitness has in recent years become more visible, not only in the more traditional early morning exercises and the popularity of outdoor activities but also in the proliferation of health clubs, the growing interest among women in aerobics, the high use rates in sports centres and public swimming pools and beaches, and the increase of participants in such sports as tennis and squash, especially among professionals and office workers, that are relatively new in Hong Kong. Of course, companionship in social networks and fun-seeking are among the main motivations for many of these activities, but the health value of physical exercise is also very much taken into account by the participants.

The increasing awareness of health and fitness, like the interest in the outdoors and the countryside, may be partly attributed to the high living density in Hong Kong. While not much can be done to alleviate crowdedness--which is accepted as a fact of life--it appears that people are interested and willing to improve their life quality in other aspects wherever possible. Staying healthy and fit is both personally and socially desirable.

Growing interest in travel

What would people in Hong Kong now want to do most if they had at least a few carefree days? Almost certainly the answer is that they would want to travel. After all, Hong Kong is but a relatively small place, so that people naturally choose to go some place else for a vacation for a change of scene. The surge of interest in travel began in the mid-1970s, and travel agencies have multiplied greatly. Favoured destinations include China, South-east Asia, Taiwan, Japan, Europe, and North America, depending on both individual interest and affordability. Over the major holidays, Chinese New Year, for example, as many as half a million Hong Kong people would leave Hong Kong for a few days or a week for different destinations. Summer, as in many other countries, is a popular and busy holiday season plane tickets for which have to be booked weeks or even months in advance. College students usually work for two or three months on their summer job and then will have saved up enough for a week-long or even month-long trip to some place.

All this is becoming a new pattern. Travel has become an accepted part of the way of life for many people in Hong Kong, from factory workers to professionals. Back in, say, the 1950s or even the 1960s, this was pure luxury which only very few people could afford. With rising educational levels, rising incomes in more secure jobs, and affordable tour packages, the value of spending leisure on travel is commonly seen as both a well-earned privilege to seek enjoyment and a meaningful opportunity to broaden one's horizons.

Rising importance of the mass media for leisure

There are at least two ways in which the mass media are significant for leisure. First, the exposure to or use of the mass media, television in particular, is in fact a major form of leisure activity. In a recent survey (1980) of the leisure and recreational patterns of people in employment in Hong Kong, it was found that 61 per cent of the respondents mentioned contact with various mass media as their most frequent form of leisure activity on working days.⁷ In the 1983 survey of secondary school students mentioned earlier, 55 per cent of the students reported watching television or using other mass media as their most frequently participated leisure activity. For most people in Hong Kong, as in many other societies, television viewing is a common leisure activity often taking up two to three hours or more a day.

Second, the mass media make it increasingly convenient for one to pursue a leisure interest. One could watch spectator sports or music programmes on television, or could follow a hobby through special-interest magazines. Thus, satisfying some leisure need or interest could be the primary activity while watching television itself becomes secondary. At the same time, the convenience with which people use the media during leisure constitutes a favourable condition for inducing new leisure interests. Television, in particular, is often "exploited" to

⁷The survey was a joint venture between the Social Research Centre of The Chinese University of Hong Kong and the Hong Kong Government's Recreation and Sports Service in 1980, with the author as one of the investigators.

attract and spread interest, among certain target groups, in fad and fashion and in other things that make up what is generally known as "popular culture." In perhaps less purposeful but still quite instrumental ways, the variety of programmes we have on television will have some effect on generating new interests. In recent years, for instance, there are more telecasts of tennis tournaments which may be a factor in the increase of tennis enthusiasts. The same may also be said about the recent growth of interest among youths in billiards which may well have been associated with billiards programmes on television. Similarly, television documentaries introducing the sights and customs of different countries may have helped to boost interest in travel which has, as mentioned, become part of our life style in Hong Kong.

RESPONSES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Having described some of the main trends in work and leisure in Hong Kong, we shall turn to examining the responses of higher education. These are actually those aspects in the development of higher education that have implications for the economy generally, for the adaptation of individuals to work and leisure, and also for the development of leisure in society. What follows is a brief account of some such aspects.

Meeting manpower needs

Higher education in Hong Kong has always been a relatively rare "commodity." Up to about three decades ago, higher education (especially university education) was a luxury which only the well-to-do could afford. This has changed much as Government support has

greatly increased since the 1970s with over half of the students in Hong Kong's two universities now receiving Government grants and interest-free loans. Enrollment in the universities has increased substantially, from roughly 3,700 in 1965 to 13,000 in 1985. Nevertheless, the opportunity of a university education relative to the appropriate school age population is still scarce. At present, less than two per cent of all secondary school graduates will eventually be admitted to the universities. Even if we include the non-university forms of higher education, such as the polytechnics and the private post-secondary colleges, only about six per cent will receive some form of higher education.⁸

⁸The calculation is based partly on figures reported in *Hong Kong 1985: A review of 1984* (Hong Kong: Government Information Services, 1985), Ch.8. In 1984, 170,825 candidates entered for the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (CEE), which is taken at the completion of Form 5/Middle 5 although many take the examination as repeaters or as private students. In September 1984, the two universities in Hong Kong admitted 3,075 first-year students. At an annual growth rate of approximately 3 per cent, first-year university places will total roughly 3,300 in 1986 by which time the secondary school graduates of 1984 should have become eligible for competing for admission to one or the other of the two universities after one to two years' matriculation studies. The successful admission rate, based on the 170,825 CEE candidates, is therefore roughly 1.9 per cent. Since this base includes repeaters, private students, and a miscellany of others, it is larger than the total of all Form 5/Middle 5 students of a given year. If the latter is used as base, the eventual university admission rate would be somewhat higher. The total first year enrollment of full-time students in 1984-85 in the two universities, the two polytechnics, the three recognized post-secondary colleges, and the three colleges of education, according to the Universities and Grants Committee, the Education Department, and the colleges concerned, was just under 10,000. If this is taken to represent the total first-year places in higher education, then approximately 6 per cent of the 170,000 CEE candidates can be admitted to some form of higher education.

Opportunities in higher education being so competitive and costs of supporting it with public money being very high, it is perhaps only natural that there is great concern with higher education's meeting the manpower needs of the economy of Hong Kong. Many policy makers, civic leaders and businessmen expect that higher education should do its best to provide professional, technical and managerial workers in commerce and industry. They believe that Hong Kong needs large quantities of these people in its course of development. Government funding of the universities' growth and expansion programmes is largely guided and justified by the way in which and the degree to which such programmes will meet new manpower requirements in the local economy. Thus, for instance, Government's recognition of the shortage of doctors in Hong Kong led to the establishment in 1980 of a new medical school at The Chinese University of Hong Kong and expansion of the existing medical faculty at the University of Hong Kong. At the polytechnics, by virtue of the nature of their institutional objectives, serving manpower needs is even more overtly recognized. The two universities and two polytechnics in Hong Kong depend heavily on Government funding for their operation. Hence, it is inevitable that those responsible for educational policy at these institutions of higher education are highly conscious of the need for their institutions and their curriculum to respond to developments in the manpower market at large.

Thus, for example, programmes that train business managers, accountants, engineers, doctors, computer specialists, social workers, urban planners and other professionals are designed largely with

local requirements in mind. Indeed, the response of the universities to the demand for administrative and managerial people in business has been most active in the last ten years or so, during which time Hong Kong has developed into one of the world's most important financial and trade centres. At The Chinese University of Hong Kong, the graduate studies programme with the largest student enrollment and most attractive to applicants is that in business administration. It consists of both the full-time two-year and the part-time three-year programmes, the latter of which being substantially supported in various ways by local business concerns.

In the sense just described, then, higher education in Hong Kong is responding to the manpower needs in the world of work. To the extent that such needs change with technological development, such as with the increasing adoption of automation, training programmes in the universities and other institutions of higher education have to make the necessary modifications and up-dating in the specialized knowledge and skills imparted to the students.

Adaptation of individuals to work and leisure

But the training of professional, technical and managerial personnel does not mean merely the transmission of specialized knowledge and technical skills which the student will one day use in problem-solving and policy-making in his work. For a university trained graduate, the work setting is likely to be a sizeable organization with a strong component of professional white-collar staff. The average educational level of his coworkers is likely to be fairly high. Women may be just as likely

as men to take up professional work in organizational settings. He will therefore need to have those attitudes and interpersonal skills that are instrumental for making the best use of the work environment and for launching into a successful career. Does he understand the organizational context in which his work takes place? Is he capable of learning and performing a role according to others' expectations and relating to others in such a way so that both individual and corporate interests are safeguarded? Can he visualize the meaning of work in his personal life so that perhaps he may orient himself better towards some goal? These are among the questions that academics and other practitioners of higher education could legitimately ask although there is hardly any clear consensus on the priority of each such question. Here, then, is where the response of higher education to the requirements of the work world is not so easily discernible although it is present none the less.

In other words, higher education needs to pay attention to not just training sufficient teachers, doctors, engineers, accountants and all the rest of the specialized manpower that the economy needs, but also producing manpower who can work effectively as team members, organization members, and leaders of one kind or another. It is a matter of quality as well as quantity. It may be argued that this amounts to imparting to the student a variety of basic intellectual habits and skills, no matter what vocational pursuit is intended, such as communication skills and the habit to follow through problems systematically. Also important is the capacity to tolerate ambiguity and

different points of view, as these abound in a highly competitive commercial society such as that of Hong Kong. So is the capacity to learn and to adjust to pressure and new environments, for the world of work and life in general are constantly in a state of flux.

What can higher education do to train students for working in a changing world? This is the kind of question that undoubtedly many institutions of higher learning in rapidly changing societies have frequently asked themselves. To impart the sorts of intellectual habits, skills and capacities as those just mentioned would obviously require careful thinking in curriculum design in a perspective broader than that of individual subjects or fields. It would also require the cooperation of academics themselves to be sufficiently perceptive and open-minded so that the quality of teaching and learning is more seriously examined. Such cooperation is also essential for ensuring that the university or the college will not be the alleged ivory tower but will be always outward- and forward-looking.

One of the things that are happening in higher education in Hong Kong with some bearing on the question of training students for a changing society is the review of the system of general education as offered at one of the two universities, namely, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. For many years, the University has stressed the importance of a general rather than a narrowly specialized education whereby the student could broaden his intellectual horizons and strengthen his analytic ability in the learning process itself. While the ideal has hardly ever been doubted or challenged, the actual

operation has not been too satisfactory. This is partly because the secondary school system in Hong Kong has traditionally been highly oriented towards subject matter and examinations which means that the idea of a general education lacks deep roots in the society. However, at a time when Hong Kong is facing a new political future (sovereignty will revert to China in 1997), the meaning and quality of education, particularly higher education, need to be considered more seriously.

The response of higher education to the world of work, not just in manpower terms but also in terms of the quality of education itself, is relevant to the domain of leisure as well. If we consider the quality of education in a really broad sense, we would realize that a college or university education is likely to enable the student to acquire a variety of experiences, many of which are extracurricular, through which certain values, interests, and habits are shaped and developed. Thus, for instance, the importance of living a full and better life, however defined, is a value question which may arise in numerous contexts. Interests may be kindled and cultivated in such areas as the arts, literature, crafts, and sports. Habits of study, time allocation and friendship making may spill over to form part of a life pattern in later years. Almost all institutions of higher education in Hong Kong give students a complete free hand in developing their extracurricular life. Their activities are highly varied in kind and rich in quantity. It is difficult to single out which kind of activity would have an effect on the student's future work life and which on leisure. Indeed, the same kind of experience acquired in higher education may well have an effect

on both work and leisure. The ability and habit of getting things well organized and a commitment to doing things well, for example, are useful in both work and leisure. That is, if one is an organized and dedicated worker, one is also likely to be organized and dedicated in the pursuit of some personal interest during leisure.

Although the contribution of certain aspects of a higher education to the student's leisure life can be argued, the problem remains that these aspects are largely diffused in the educational experience. They do not form a "curriculum" per se, except to say, in the typical traditional proclamation, that an ideal education ought to give the learner balanced growth in five domains, namely, the character, the intellect, physical ability, social life, and aesthetic experiences. Consequently, it would be difficult for institutions of higher education to seek concrete ways, as part of the formal curriculum, in which attitudes and values relevant to leisure are directly or intentionally imparted to the students. It is not uncommon to have academics who are more concerned with their professional role as teachers and scholars than with the personal development of their students. The latter, in Hong Kong's institutions of higher education, is usually relegated to deans of students, dormitory masters or wardens, and student counsellors. At The Chinese University of Hong Kong, a unit called the Office of Student Affairs has been in existence for some time and has steadily expanded to play an advisory and supportive role to facilitate students' extracurricular life and to attend to student welfare in general. Similar functional units are present at the other university, the

polytechnics, and the post-secondary colleges. Although such units are not concerned explicitly with students' leisure life or preparation for future leisure, they would be a useful anchoring point for the promotion of tasks that amount to what might be called leisure education or education for leisure as part of the higher education experience.

So far, discussion of higher education's response to the future of work and leisure has been directed mainly to the kind of training provided, in terms of both meeting manpower requirements and offering opportunities for some form of overall personal development. It may be said that, in Hong Kong's experience, the manpower aspect has received much more attention, formal and otherwise, than the personal development aspect. In other words, the relevance to work seems to carry more weight than that to leisure.

We shall now turn to three areas in which higher education in Hong Kong, especially the universities, has a steadily greater involvement, and which have direct significance to the future of leisure and work in this bustling city of Hong Kong. They are: (1) continuing education; (2) assistance in training manpower for leisure and recreation service; and (3) research on topics related to leisure and work.

Continuing education

Both of the two universities in Hong Kong offer an elaborate programme of continuing education through a department of extramural studies. Utilizing the teaching resources of the universities themselves and the community at large, evening and daytime courses are offered in a wide range of studies including languages, art, accounting,

management, communication, computer skills, design and crafts, and many others. These courses usually attract great interest from the general public: the total enrollment in 1984 was nearly 60,000.

Many of the participants in extramural courses are in employment who take the courses during their leisure time to update their knowledge and skills that may be useful in their work. Indeed, the majority of extramural courses may be described as practical, designed to help people from all walks of life to equip themselves better for greater efficiency and perhaps higher advancement in work. One recent new development since 1979, is the offering of Courses by Newspaper by The Chinese University of Hong Kong on such themes as "Working: Changes and Choices," "Leadership and Change," and "Technology and Change" to provide yet another avenue for people in employment to acquire new ideas, attitudes, and perspectives with which to make the most of their own working experience.

Continuing education has "utility" not only for work but also for leisure. First, not all participants in extramural courses are in employment. There are students, housewives, and retired people who are interested in learning something as a meaningful leisure activity in that it contributes to personal development. Second, even for people in employment, what is sought after in attending extramural courses is not necessarily work-oriented or work-related. They may do it largely out of personal interest. Third, for all people alike, some of the extramural courses teach skills and knowledge that may be put to use in the pursuit of a leisure interest, such as music appreciation, painting,

dance, and computer programming.

Assistance in training professional manpower for leisure and recreation service

As mentioned earlier, one rather significant trend in leisure in Hong Kong is the heavy attention given by both government and private bodies to the provision of leisure and recreation services to all segments of the population. The Government's Recreation and Sports Service (RSS), the major promoter of what might be called the recreation movement in Hong Kong, took the initiative to establish a one-year certificate programme in recreation management about six years ago with the cooperation of the University of Hong Kong's Department of Extramural Studies. From 1982 onwards, the programme was replaced by a reorganized, more substantial one of two years in duration, offered in cooperation with The Chinese University of Hong Kong's Department of Extramural Studies. Trainees come from the RSS, other Government units involved in recreation services, commercial companies, schools and some voluntary welfare agencies. Classes are conducted twice a week--a weekday evening and a Saturday morning--by both academics and experienced practitioners. The training programme covers such areas as recreation theory, principles of management, personnel management, marketing, accounting, economics, statistics, sociology of leisure, and planning and organization of recreational programmes. On completion of the two-year training, a Diploma in Recreation Management is awarded.

Such a training programme is new in Hong Kong. It is also an

unprecedented role played by the universities in helping to meet the need for systematic training of professionals in the leisure and recreation field. It may be somewhat early in the development of these efforts for a clear evaluation to emerge concerning the effectiveness of such training, but practitioners feel an increasing demand for more trained personnel and some academics, at least, are interested enough to keep the training programme going.

Research on problems related to leisure and work

Although Hong Kong residents are now more conscious of leisure and even work hard so that they may improve their quality of life while leisure services have grown immensely in the past decade, not much has been done in systematic research on the many aspects of leisure and work in this society. The universities could make a contribution here, not only to academic understanding of the dynamics of leisure and work in the context of social change but also to the utilization of research findings for certain practical purposes in the planning and provision of leisure services.

In recent years, university academics have occasionally been called upon for consultation in surveys of leisure behaviour of special populations, such as school children or young adults, conducted by voluntary organizations and some of the many new District Boards established under Hong Kong's scheme of local administration which are quite concerned with the provision of recreational facilities and activities in their own district.

At The Chinese University of Hong Kong, two research projects have been conducted in the past few years that are specially concerned with variations in leisure behaviour as they relate to different social variables including work satisfaction, peer orientation, and family communication patterns. The first was conducted in cooperation with the Government's Recreation and Sports Service in 1980 in which 2,500 persons in employment responded. Two informative findings from this survey are: (a) better educated persons tend to be more knowledgeable of and participatory in organized recreation activities, (b) work dissatisfaction tends to be associated with a negative perception of the meaning of leisure activities (e.g., for killing time only).

The second research project on leisure is an ongoing one on the relationship between secondary school youths' leisure behaviour and their orientation towards their peers as well as the communication pattern between them and their parents. About 2,000 adolescents are included in this survey which is supported by a local television broadcasting company. While the data are still being analyzed, it has been found that the degree of importance placed on peers as indicated by the adolescents themselves is a rather useful clue to understanding how they spend their leisure. Thus, the more they are oriented towards their peers, the greater a proportion of their leisure time is spent with peers, and the more likely it is for them to go for popular music and to have a liking for pop singers.

Signs are that these research efforts are perhaps only the beginning of much more to come. It represents a legitimate response

of higher education that should prove to be productive in many ways. The second of the two research projects mentioned above is in fact part of a larger research programme, involving several groups of academics in various social science disciplines, with "the uses of television and other mass media in Hong Kong" as a general theme. While different projects in the programme have different specific concerns, they would soon provide a rather rich base of data on which the role of the mass media in shaping Hong Kong people's leisure values, interests, and activities may be better understood. As the findings from this and other studies, current and future, emerge and accumulate, academic researchers concerned will be in a better position to channel them into their teaching, wherever appropriate. Indeed, new courses such as the sociology and the psychology of leisure and work may be developed for incorporation into the regular undergraduate curriculum. This would be, then, one way of enriching students' preparation for a changing world of leisure and work.

CONCLUSION

In the days when higher education was a rarity and luxury in Hong Kong, the economy was much less developed. It would not have made much sense to discuss the response of higher education to work, much less to leisure. Not so any more. We have indicated in this paper that higher education in Hong Kong is responding to demands for all kinds of specialized manpower. The rapid economic development that Hong Kong has been experiencing since the 1970s makes the contribution

of higher education, which itself has greatly expanded, all the more instrumental.

While higher education has become closely linked to economic development and hence changes in the occupational structure, it is also playing a significant role in facilitating social mobility. With much greater financial support from the Government, access to higher education has become much wider for a cross-section of the population. The majority of the student population at the two universities are from less-privileged families. Thus, the higher education obtained and the relatively well-paid job in a business or service organization that is likely to follow is an avenue to an improved socioeconomic status.

Largely because substantial sums of public money have gone into the support and expansion of higher education in Hong Kong, Government officials and policy-makers in higher education have inevitably given greater consideration to the degree to which higher education is serving the needs of Hong Kong's economy. But this should not overshadow the fact that a diversity of knowledge, skills, experiences, attitudes, values, habits and interests go into the formation of the intellect and character of the person who receives several years of a university or college education. These will prepare him or her for future roles in work, family, and leisure. Such roles cannot, of course, be predetermined in any fixed manner, particularly when it is remembered that they will face a world of change when they graduate. Hence the need for a sufficiently broad exposure to different aspects of the nonformal as well as the formal curriculum. Is higher education giving the younger

generation the right kind of training and preparation for the future? This question should be seriously asked by those responsible for higher education in Hong Kong, particularly at a time when Hong Kong is undergoing a period of transition before reverting from British to Chinese sovereignty in 1997. One could ask questions concerning the adequacy of specific realms of knowledge and skills for a society with a changing sociopolitical structure. One could also ask questions concerning more basic matters such as the attitude towards work and life in general. University and college graduates are supposed to be better equipped for not only taking up relatively high-skill jobs but also, more importantly, recognizing the relationship between work and leisure and the need to integrate the two into a desired life style, even under changing life situations. Naturally, these are not easy questions, but sooner or later they have to be encountered if higher education in the context of a changing Hong Kong is to be in a better position to serve new social needs.

For a long time, a weakness in Hong Kong's education system has been the overly narrow emphasis on the study of subject matter, without sufficient concern given to how the business of study may relate to life situations. To some extent, this is still true of higher education in Hong Kong. Although graduates will have to formulate their own life style and integrate their own work and leisure, the resources, opportunities, and experiences provided by higher education constitute perhaps some of the essential ingredients with which they take up roles and make decisions and choices. It is in this sense, then, that

practitioners in higher education need to review the current scene and to initiate new responses wherever appropriate.

Beyond the standard training given directly to students, the involvement of higher education in continuing education and in manpower training for leisure services, as mentioned in this paper, is a specific kind of response to meeting leisure needs in the general community. Given present conditions in Hong Kong, such as the heightened awareness of work-play balance and a keen interest in seeking better quality of life, this involvement in training workers in the leisure services, in particular, should prove to be a worthwhile effort. As confirmed by participation figures, organized leisure and recreation activities of various forms have been highly popular. This is attributable, at least in part, to the fact that public recreational facilities are still relatively scarce in Hong Kong. For those who live in crowded urban areas and whose daily life pattern includes spending tiresome hours commuting to work in overcrowded transport, being able to participate in some relaxing or entertaining activity arranged by a leisure service organization such as the Government's Recreation and Sports Service is likely to be seen as convenient and desirable. Besides, many leisure activities, such as certain water sports, camping in holiday centres, classes in crafts and miscellaneous skills, can hardly be pursued unless one uses the relevant leisure services provided.

Finally, one of higher education's most useful responses to the future of leisure and work is the closer study of changes in leisure and work and the relationship between the two. This is much needed

because we as yet do not know enough of it in the context of a fast-moving society like Hong Kong. Some of the research in this area has been reported in this paper. We hope that as more such research accumulates, higher education will perhaps be in a better position to relate to the needs of the community when it comes to the question of leisure and work.

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香港高等教育對工作與閒暇之反應

(中文摘要)

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香港是一個發展迅速的工商業中心，生產力不斷提高，而閒暇在社會生活中也漸見顯著。本文扼要地指出工作與閒暇在香港社會的若干趨勢（資料主要來自政府統計數字），並就高等教育所作或可以作的一些反應加以討論。

工作的趨勢

- (一) 工作人口的教育水平在過去二十餘年不斷地上升。
- (二) 婦女就業的機會和實際就業按年齡組所佔的比數都在增加。
- (三) 部分行業（如製造業、財務、地產及商業服務）愈來愈多僱用專業、技術、或管理級人員。
- (四) 電腦的應用日漸普遍。
- (五) 工作者受僱於大機構的比率有按年遞增之勢，以零售、出入口、酒店及酒樓等行業尤然。

閒暇的趨勢

- (一) 文娛康體服務自七零年代中以來大受注重。政府康樂體育事務處，大力推動各種康體活動；市政局也積極發展多類文化藝術活動；而市民參與文娛康體活動更見十分踴躍。
- (二) 隨着郊野公園及市區內的公園或休憩場所廣泛設立，市民對戶外及野外活動興趣日濃。
- (三) 參與戶外活動及各種運動者之衆多、健康中心及體育中心之林立，皆反映市民對保持健康與發展體能十分重視。
- (四) 利用假期到遠近各地旅遊已成為香港人生活的一部分。
- (五) 接觸大眾傳播既是閒暇活動的一個主要形式，同時也是培養或推廣某些閒暇興趣（如體育、音樂、旅遊等）的一個極有利途徑。

高等教育的反應

(一) 滿足人力需求：香港的高等教育近年不只在量方面有顯著的擴展，在質方面也致力於培養香港需要的各種專業人才。由於接受高等教育的機會仍然難得，而支持高等教育的公共經費相當龐大，所以課程的策劃必須務求符合香港經濟與社會發展所需。

(二)使個人適應工作與閒暇：高等教育培育的人才除了獲得專門知識和技能外，還須在待人和處事方面具有適當的態度和能力，以適應現代工作環境和程序。這些態度和能力的培養，實在是高等教育經驗的一部分，其中所涉及的内容，諸如興趣、習慣、價值觀念、判斷，無論是從課內或課外活動而得，對閒暇與工作同樣有重要的意義。問題是，高等教育對工作的意義還較易受到注意，但對閒暇的意義卻似乎少為人所談及。

(三)延續教育：兩所大學都設有校外進修部，為市民提供工餘或課餘學習機會。教授的學科種類甚廣，對學員在工作或日常生活都有相當的應用價值。事實上，不少學員把進修看為工餘或課餘的一項有益的閒暇活動。當然，有些校外課程所授的，根本與若干閒暇活動（如繪畫、攝影等）有直接的關係。

(四)為文娛康樂服務提供專業人才的訓練：政府康樂體育事務處先後與香港大學及香港中文大學（後者自一九八二年起）校外進修部合辦康樂事務管理訓練文憑課程。目前，該訓練為期兩年，受訓者都是現職於政府及私人機構或學校的各種文娛康樂服務從業員。

(五)對工作及閒暇的問題作研究：一些大學教師近年有就香港人的閒暇生活作研究，或協助某些社區團體進行有關閒暇的調查。香港中文大學目前進行中的「電視及其他大眾傳媒在香港的使用」研究計劃，有多位不同科系的教師參與，而研究内容有涉及閒暇活動與大眾傳播的關係。