



香 港 中 文 大 學
社 會 研 究 中 心

The Study of Higher Non-expatriate
Civil Servants in Hong Kong

Aline K. Wong

SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTRE
THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY
OF HONG KONG

Suggested citation:

Wong, Aline K. 1972. *The Study of Higher Non-expatriate Civil Servants in Hong Kong*.
Hong Kong: Occasional Paper No. 10, Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of
Hong Kong.

THE CHINESE UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG
SOCIAL RESEARCH CENTRE

The Study of Higher Non-Expatriate
Civil Servants in Hong Kong

by
Aline K. Wong

University of Singapore

June, 1972

CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	1
I. Thr Sample	3
II. Who are the Senior Non-Expatriate Officers (SNOs) and what do they do?	4
III. Motivation and Recruitment into the Civil Service	9
IV. Promotion and Career Ladder	12
V. Job Evaluation	16
VI. Physical Conditions and the Organization of Work	19
VII. Job Satisfaction	21
VIII. Local-Expatriate Staff Relationship	30
IX. Self-image, Aspirations and Life-style	35
X. Professionalism and Commitment to Hong Kong ...	39
XI. Conclusion	47

Preface

This study was originally conceived as part of a broader study of the Colonial Civil Service in Hong Kong (Research Proposal submitted to the Social Research Centre, The Chinese University, November 1970). The study was to include an analysis of the historical development of the Civil Service, an examination of its role in the government of Hong Kong, and an evaluation of its structure and administration. An integral part of the latter section would be a socio-cultural study of the higher civil servants, both ex-patriate and non-expatriate, and their roles within the Service. However, owing to the non-participation of the Association of European Civil Servants of Hong Kong, the present study has to be limited to a survey of the higher non-expatriate government officers, with particular reference to their attitudes toward work, their job satisfaction, their aspirations and life styles. This study, although limited in scope, actually throws light on the strengths or weaknesses of the present bureaucratic administration, with policy implications for its future improvement. Being an occupational study in itself, this survey would also illuminate the commitment, performance and occupational aspirations of a major group of professional workers in Hong Kong. The Civil Service is one of the main employers in the local society, (the latest figures indicate that 1 in 50 of the local (total) population is employed within the Civil Service),¹ its medium and top level posts therefore constitute some of the chief occupational goals for the local educated elites. A study of the Senior Non-expatriate Officers is important for two other reasons. For one thing, the trend of localisation of senior government officers has definitely set in although it has taken a long time to materialize since the Public Services Commission set a general localisation policy for all ranks almost twenty years ago. This means the senior officers whom we are going to portray in this report will predominate the scene, so that our study can actually form the basis for prediction. Secondly, the senior non-expatriate officers would form the backbone of a new, local government should there be a major

¹ HONG KONG (Annual) Report 1970, Hong Kong, Government Press, 1971. p. 248.

change in the political status of Hong Kong. Hence their personalities, working and general life styles would produce definite effects for the running of the government in future -- although the case for Hong Kong's political independence is considered by many observers as unlikely even upon the expiration of the New Territories Lease in 1997.

This report will give a characterization of the senior non-expatriate officers both on their jobs and in their personal lives -- on their jobs: with regard to the nature of their work, their career opportunities, their commitment and performance; in their personal lives: their expectations, values and leisure-time activities. This study gives a rather full view of the higher civil servants as professional workers; however, comparative studies of other major occupational groups in Hong Kong are necessary in order that the work and career of the civil servants can be viewed in a broader perspective. Furthermore, neither the careers nor the lives of the local officers can be satisfactorily depicted unless they are compared to and contrasted with those of the expatriate officers. Hong Kong, after all, is still a Colony, for whose fate the Government in Britain and its political appointees are ultimately responsible. In the government of Hong Kong, the expatriate civil servants are still holding the reins. It is therefore particularly disappointing that the Expatriates should have refused to cooperate in this study which can only help to improve the public's understanding of Hong Kong's administration and eventually to make it a better society to live in for those who are going to stay in Hong Kong and whose fortunes rise or fall with its political status.

The author wishes to express her gratitude to the Social Research Centre of The Chinese University of Hong Kong for a small research grant and the service of a part-time research assistant, which made this study possible. Special thanks are due to Mr. Chan Chee Wang for his unfailing assistance in the project, and Miss Pang Lai Sim for help with coding and preliminary data processing. The kind cooperation of the Senior Non-Expatriate Officers' Association and its members who filled in the questionnaire, and whose identities remain anonymous to the author, is greatly appreciated.

I. The Sample

Upon obtaining the cooperation of the Senior Non-Expatriate Officers' Association, a questionnaire was mailed to its 869 members in late August 1971, and a second dispatch of follow-up questionnaires were sent two weeks later. Altogether 253 returns were obtained, i.e. a rate of 29% which compares favourably with most other rates of return to mailed questionnaire surveys in the social sciences. The greatest majority of the members of the Senior Non-Expatriate Officers' Association are Chinese, who may have been born in China or in Hong Kong but have been recruited locally as contrasted with the Expatriate officers. Their positions closely correspond to those civil servants listed with brief biographies in the 1970 Staff List, i.e. officers who were on salary scale 10 and above, and officers on other scales whose initial salaries are \$3,739 a month (or \$3,280 a month for women) or more. Both their posts and their salaries indicate that these civil servants occupy responsible positions among the upper-middle and upper rungs of the Colonial Administration. They can truly qualify to be called higher civil servants.

To facilitate the analysis of data, a simple officers' ranking scheme is adopted, which introduces some uniformity into the otherwise diverse scales, titles and posts across the various Government departments. By means of this reclassification we find the following distribution of respondents among the various grades:

		% of sample
Grade I officers	Principal professional	6.9
Grade II officers	Senior professional	28.7
Grade III officers	Full professional	59.1
Grade IV officers	Assistant professional	5.3
		<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 100.0%
		(253)

The Administrative Officers and Senior Executive Officers, who form the mainstay of the administrative branch of the Service fall within the Senior and Full professional grades; while the Full professional and Assistant professional grades comprise the bulk of the staff members within the professional or operative branches of the Service. Principal professionals are often those in the Director or Acting-director positions in the functional departments.

II. Who are the Senior Non-Expatriate Officers (SNOs) and What do They do?

Although a localization policy has been adopted by the Government since 1946,² the progress of localization has been slow and uneven (See Charts 1 and 2). While local officers now form the bulk of the professional and technical staff in departments offering such services, expatriate officers still predominate over the administrative grades and in the internal security forces; and top posts are still occupied by a handful of overseas recruits.³ Thus it is by no chance that the majority of our respondents are Full Professional whose main duties consist of rendering professional and technical services within the Government, with administration and supervision coming second in importance. Also, these higher non-expatriate officers are seldom involved in policy-making decisions (Table 1). The nature of their work varies somewhat with their grades, thus:

² Hong Kong Hansard 1946, p. 128.

³ See David Podmore, "Room at the Top", Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 65, No. 29, (1969), pp. 180-182.

CHART I
 NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF LOCAL OFFICERS
 IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE
 (1952 - 1970)*

YEAR	NUMBER		PERCENTAGE	
	LOCAL OFFICERS	OVERSEAS OFFICERS	LOCAL OFFICERS	OVERSEAS OFFICERS
1952 (April)	22,900	1,063	95.56	4.44
⋮				
1965 (Jan.)	58,434	1,747	97.09	2.91
1966 (Jan.)	63,344	1,828	97.20	2.80
1967 (Jan.)	67,232	1,918	97.23	2.77
1968 (Jan.)	71,057	1,879	97.42	2.58
1969 (Jan.)	73,612	1,832	97.57	2.43
1970 (Jan.)	76,116	1,859	97.62	2.38

* Source of data:

A Report on Public Service, 1965, p. 34, Table I
 1966, p. 45, Appendix IV
 1967, p. 32, Appendix VII
 1967/1968, p. 32, Appendix VI
 1968, p. 36, Appendix X
 1969, p. 36, Appendix XI

CHART II

PROGRESS OF LOCALIZATION: PERCENTAGE OF LOCAL

GRADE

	1950 (April)	1956 (April)	1960 (April)	1961 (April)
Administrative Grade	2.3	5.26	16.27	10.38
Executive Grade	43.5	46.26	50.32	55.48
Education Officers, Masters & Mistresses	27.1	44.96	41.58	35.81
Labour and Factory Inspectors	66.6	71.42	50.00	63.63
Medical & Health Officers	44.2	74.28	89.09	88.92
Dental Officers	0.0	50.00	85.71	85.71
Nursing Sisters	10.4	50.00	65.95	69.18
Medical Social Workers	75.0	85.71	90.90	92.85
Radiographers	0.0	18.18	60.00	66.66
Police Inspectors	38.1	36.46	51.58	47.80
Chief Officers, Principal Officers & Prison Officers	16.2	43.47	55.31	62.16
Structural Engineers	0.0	50.00	30.76	86.66
Engineers	0.0	13.79	28.07	26.66
Electrical & Mechanical Engineers	0.0	20.00	50.00	23.07
Clerks of Works & Building Inspectors	0.0	0.0	39.28	40.74
Inspectors of Works	0.0	3.50	19.78	23.07
Health Inspectors	0.0	40.74	90.90	90.90
Assessor Grade*	36.4	--	--	26.92

Source: Based on A Report on the Public Service,
 1966, p. 46, App. V
 1967/68, p. 33, App. VII
 1967, p. 33, App. VIII
 1968, p. 37, App. XI
 1969, p. 37, App. XII

OFFICERS TO TOTAL NUMBER OF OFFICERS IN CERTAIN GRADE

1962 (Jan.)	1963 (Jan.)	1964 (Jan.)	1965 (Jan.)	1966 (Jan.)	1967 (Jan.)	1968 (Jan.)	1969 (Jan.)	1970 (Jan.)
15.38	16.66	16.25	18.39	19.5	23.7	23.5	31.4	36.0
57.86	58.82	60.55	59.36	55.7	58.6	60.3	69.0	73.4
42.74	73.37	78.61	50.55	49.8	54.9	60.5	67.7	69.0
61.53	70.00	72.72	90.32	90.9	91.9	91.4	93.0	93.6
89.61	89.00	91.08	88.50	89.8	89.6	91.6	93.0	89.5
92.00	90.32	90.62	97.22	97.5	97.6	100.0	100.0	100.0
86.01	77.16	86.76	87.50	90.8	92.0	94.3	95.6	96.1
92.30	91.66	94.11	94.44	94.4	94.4	100.0	100.0	100.0
74.19	75.00	93.36	85.45	85.7	87.5	89.5	90.0	90.3
45.18	48.90	46.46	51.55	52.3	54.4	56.4	65.4	56.1
68.69	74.17	15.43	77.27	79.4	83.1	85.0	88.7	90.4
87.50	94.11	95.00	95.00	91.6	92.3	93.3	93.9	96.8
24.24	34.37	36.04	36.04	43.3	50.0	53.1	53.2	61.5
21.43	23.07	29.41	29.41	37.3	40.0	42.1	40.0	33.3
48.27	54.28	56.25	66.66	58.1	62.5	70.2	80.0	82.1
24.17	31.86	35.87	41.83	48.6	62.5	67.4	72.0	82.5
90.90	94.73	94.73	92.68	93.1	95.3	93.5	96.0	96.0
--	44.11	--	63.15	--	39.1	65.2	78.0	73.8

- 1) More Grade I officers are involved in policy-making than any other grade;
- 2) The higher the grade, the more likely is the officer involved in administration and supervision;
- 3) While the "medium level" officers are more likely to be pre-occupied with the rendering of professional and technical services. (See Table 2)

Table 1: Main Duties of the Senior Non-Expatriate Officers (SNOs)

	% of total duties
Policy-making	7.3
Administration & supervision	32.0
Technical & professional	42.6
Personnel	4.1
Public relations	10.3
Public security	0.8
Secretarial	1.5
Others	1.4
	100.0%

Table 2: Main Duties of SNOs by Grade

	Percentage of Total Duties			
	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III	Grade IV
Policy-making	20.6	9.5	4.1	4.5
Administration & supervision	38.3	36.7	29.1	27.4
Technical & professional	26.5	35.4	51.6	27.3
Personnel	2.9	5.4	2.1	13.6
Public relations	8.8	8.2	11.1	13.6
Public security	2.9	1.4	0.4	-
Secretarial	-	2.0	1.2	4.5
Others	-	1.4	0.4	9.1
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Over 80% of the SNOs are male (82% as compared to 18% female), and the majority of them (63.6%) are in their prime years of middle age (between 30-45 years old). (Table 3) Many of the SNOs have served in the Government for a long time, with the average length of service of 12.6 years. (Table 4)

Table 3: Age Distribution of SNOs

Years	%
Under 25	1.6
26-30	13.4
31-35	30.0
36-40	21.7
41-45	11.9
46-50	11.1
51-55	7.9
Over 56	1.2
n.a*	1.2
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(253)

* No answer

Table 4: Length of Service in the Government

Years of service	% of SNOs
0- 5	20.2
6-11	30.3
12-17	25.7
18-23	17.4
24-29	2.8
Over 30	2.8
n.a.	0.8
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(253) Average = 12.6
	years

III. Motivation and Recruitment into the Civil Service

The establishment of each post in the Civil Service requires the approval of the Finance Committee of Legislative Council, assisted by the advice of its Establishment Sub-Committee, which examines all requests received from the various departments for additional posts. Recruitment and promotions are also subject to the advice and overall scrutiny of the Public Services Commission,⁴ while the day-to-day administration of the Service, including terms of service and training, is in the hands of the Establishment Branch of the Colonial Secretariat. It is officially claimed that all vacant posts are advertised locally before overseas recruitment takes place, in accordance with the policy of localization.

Among the SNOs, 62.5% started their careers in the Civil Service. By means of open competition, they obtained their first jobs in the Government and have stayed within the Public Service up to the present, having attained their present posts through a series of promotions. On the other hand, slightly over one-third of our respondents (37.1%) indicated that their first jobs were not with the Government, but that they had worked before mostly in the private business sector, private educational institutions and voluntary welfare services, while a small percentage among them had worked as free professionals before they entered the Government. (Table 5)

On the other hand, even though 62.5% of our respondents started their careers within the Government, only 44.3% said that they had always intended or wanted to work in the Public Service (as opposed to 47.0% who said they had not always wanted to work in the Government). The difference between these two percentages is

⁴ An advisory body established since 1950 to "advise the Governor on the selection and appointment of candidates to posts in the local Service." One of the functions of the Commission is to see that the local recruitment policy is carried through. However, the Commission does not examine and make final selections among the candidates for posts, unlike the British Civil Service Commission, and in any case such a task would be too formidable for the Commission which consists of one full-time Chairman, and two community leaders.

Table 5: Work Before Joining Civil Service

	% of SNOs who started outside government
Commerce	45.4
Industry	4.1
Voluntary Social Welfare institutions	11.3
Private educational institutions	20.6
Free professions	9.3
Civil service elsewhere*	3.1
Others	6.2
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(97)

* e.g. the Chinese Government

probably due to the fact that over 1/5 of the people who entered Government did so because it was their "first available job". Thus, probing into the reasons why our SNOs joined the Civil Service, we obtained an interesting spectrum of motivation, including personal interest, opportunity for further studies, family pressure, obligation to Government, as well as the prospect, the security and pay of government jobs. (Table 6)

While recruitment into the Civil Service depends on the individual's qualifications as well as the requirements of the post, most of our SNOs entered the Government with a university degree or with some other professional qualifications. Only a minority of them did not have university education at the time they entered Government. (Table 7)

Table 6: Reasons for Joining Civil Service

	% of responses
Interest, training, experience and study	25.3
Financial salary and pension	15.0
Prospect (e.g. promotion)	10.6
Stability and security	20.4
Family pressure	2.9
Obligation to Government*	3.0
First available job	22.8
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> 100.0 %
	(200)

* e.g. under bond to Government after having received scholarship

Table 7: Types of Qualification at Entrance into Civil Service

	%
University degree (e.g. B.A.)	62.0
Higher academic degrees (e.g. M.A.)	1.8
Professional qualifications (certificates, diplomas, licences, etc.)	32.5
School certificate & some university education	3.7
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> 100.0%
	(294)

IV. Promotion and Career Ladder

Once having joined the Service, these officers start their long, slow climb up the career ladder, as can be seen from the fact that the average lengths of service for the various grades are: Grade I, 18.6 years; Grade II, 15.1 years; Grade III, 11.2 years and Grade IV, 9.2 years. During their past service, many of these SNOs have experienced a number of transfers of posts (Table 8). As expected, the higher the grade reached, the greater the number of posts one has held (Table 9). Not all these transfers have meant promotions, and not all the officers like the transfers. (43.5% of the SNOs said they liked the transfers, while 27.7% were indifferent, and 5.9% disliked them.) Among the reasons given for disliking transfers of posts are disruption of on-going work, lack of attachment to work and a feeling of being "kicked around" and unimportant.

Table 8: Number of Posts Ever Held

	% of SNOs
1-2	41.9
3-4	31.7
5-6	13.1
Over 7	9.2
n.a.	4.1
	<hr/>
	100.0%
	(253)

Table 9: Number of Posts Ever Held by Grade

No. of posts	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III	Grade IV
	%	%	%	%
1-2	-	38.2	50.0	40.0
3-4	35.7	27.9	35.7	30.0
5-6	21.4	22.1	8.6	30.0
7-8	14.3	4.4	5.0	-
Over 9	28.6	7.4	0.7	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(14)	(68)	(140)	(10)

Slightly over half of the SNOs have had at least one to two promotions during their past service, while about one-quarter have had no promotion yet (Table 10). However, on the basis of our survey data, it is not possible to work out how many years on the average it takes an individual to get promoted from one grade to another. It seems from Table 11 below that, depending on the grade one entered Government, the length of time needed to progress from one grade to another is in regressive relationship to the entering grade. For example, entering at Grade III, the average number of years to reach Grade II is 13.7 years, and to reach Grade I, 15 years. Entering at Grade IV, it takes 13.2 years to reach Grade III, 15.5 years to reach Grade II, and 20 years to reach Grade I. Taking the difference in length of service between the grades, for people entering at Grade III, there is a difference of 1.3 years in the length of service between Grade II and Grade I; on the other hand, for Grade IV entrants, the difference in length of service between those who have reached Grade II and Grade I is 4.5. Similarly, the difference of length of service between Grade III and Grade II for Grade IV entrants is 2.3 years, as compared to a difference of 5.3 years for Grade V entrants. However, these differences cannot be taken to mean the average number of years actually taken to progress from one grade to another, bearing in mind that some people have never obtained any promotion, and that at each grade, a certain proportion of officers have not yet had any promotions, or perhaps never will. (See Table 11 also)

Table 10: Number of Promotions in Past

	% of SNOs
0	24.1
1-2	50.6
3-4	20.5
Over 5	2.4
n.a.	2.4
	<hr/>
	100.0%
	(253)

Table 11: Present Grade & Length of Service by Entering Grade

(a) Entering Grade I: N of SNOs = 0

(b) Entering Grade II:

(c) Entering Grade III:

Service years	Present Grade (N of SNOs)		Service years	Present Grade (N of SNOs)		
	I	II		I	II	III
2- 5		1	2- 5			26
6-11	1		6-11	1	12	14
12-17		1	12-17	3	5	2
18-23			18-23	1	5	1
24-29			24-29		1	
30+			30+			
	1	2		5	23	43

T = 3

Av. yrs. to reach I = 8.5

Proportion not promoted = 66%

T = 71

Av. yrs. to reach II = 13.7

Av. yrs. to reach I = 15
Proportion not promoted = 60.5%

(d) Entering Grade IV:

(e) Entering Grade V:

Service years	Present Grade (N of SNOs)				Service years	Present Grade (N of SNOs)				
	I	II	III	IV		I	II	III	IV	V
2- 5		1	11	3	2-5					1
6-11	1	7	26	3	6-11			3	1	
12-17	1	17	17		12-17		1	10	1	
18-23	3	7	16		18-23		2	2		
24-29		1	2		24-29		1			
30+	1	1	2		30+	1		1	1	
	6	34	74	6		1	4	16	4	0

T = 120

Av. yrs. to reach III = 13.2

Av. yrs. to reach II = 15.5

Av. yrs. to reach I = 20.0

Proportion not promoted = 5%

T = 25

Av. yrs. to reach IV = 15.1

Av. yrs. to reach III = 15.7

Av. yrs. to reach II = 21.0

Av. yrs. to reach I = 33.0 or more

Proportion not promoted = 0%

Most of the SNOs believe that in general promotion depends on seniority. Ability comes only second, while good relations with superiors and "luck" or "being in the right place at the right time" come third and fourth as criteria for promotion that are believed to count most with the superiors (Table 12). While the majority of the SNOs tend to think this system of promotion is fair or as fair as possible, a sizeable minority (40%) think it unfair or very unfair (Table 13). And in spite of their general belief that seniority counts most for promotion, a small majority of them (53.4%) have exerted some effort in improving their own ability by way of obtaining further qualifications after they entered Government. Most of the kinds of further qualifications gained by our SNOs are of a professional nature, such as passing professional examinations and obtaining professional association memberships (Table 14).

Table 12: Criteria for Promotion Believed to Count Most for Superiors

	% of responses
Seniority	37
Ability	24
Good relations with superiors	15
"Being in right place at right time"	13
Hard work	4
General education	1
Experience	6
	100%
	(477)

Table 13: Evaluation of System of Promotion

	% of SNOs
As fair as possible	6.7
Fair	52.6
A little unfair	26.9
Very unfair	13.0
n.a.	0.8
	100.0%
	(253)

Table 14: Further Qualifications Obtained After Joining Service

	% of responses
Types:-	
B.A.	10
M.A.	8
Ph.D.	1
Certificates, diplomas, professional training	36
Professional exams, societies, licences, etc.	45
	100%
	(144)

V. Job Evaluation

Considering the higher civil servants as a whole, the most attractive features of their jobs are the security, the challenge and the responsibility. The pay which their jobs carry comes only 4th in attractiveness. This is explainable by the fact that since the great majority of our SNOs are professionals, they can have higher alternative earnings if they had worked in the private sector. On the other hand, however, it may very well be that when comparing the security of a government job with the pay, the former ranks higher in importance to the civil servants, although they may have "adequate" pay,

which grows not only with annual increments but is revised periodically according to the rising cost of living. Furthermore, in considering their pay, the civil servants may have undercalculated the fringe benefits adhered to their jobs inside the Government, such as free medical benefits, which the private sector does not usually offer. The two items on the attractiveness scale, housing and gratuity, appeared in the questionnaire which was originally meant to be used with both the ex-patriate and non-expatriate officers. However, owing to the non-cooperation of the Association of European Civil Servants of Hong Kong, comparative rankings of the various job aspects by the ex-patriate staff were not obtained. Consequently, these two items have very little relevance for the non-expatriate officers, as reflected by the low ratings they received on the attractiveness scale (See Table 15). Apart from the ten features which we outlined for the respondents to rank, some of the SNOs mentioned other features which are also attractive to them, including the contribution which their jobs make to the improvement of the Hong Kong society, the gaining of professional experience and the chance for further studies, and good staff relationship. However, the number of people mentioning additional attractive features is too small to be significant.

Table 15: Attractive Aspects and Unsatisfactory Aspects of Present Job

Descending Order of Attractive Aspects			Descending Order of Unsatisfactory Aspects		
	Score* (1-10)	Rank		Score* (1-8)	Rank
Job security	3.2	1	Strain of work	3.0	1
Challenge	3.7	2	Promotion prospect	3.4	2
Responsibility	3.8	3	Low job mobility	3.9	3
Pay	4.4	4	Pay	4.4	4
Variety of work	4.8	5	Monotony	4.7	5
Status	5.8	6	Lack of challenge	5.2	6
Promotion prospect	6.0	7	Status in Community	5.2	7
Holidays, leave	6.7	8	Lack of responsi-		
Housing	6.8	9	bility	5.7	8
Gratuity	8.8	10			

* Scores are based on the weighted average of rankings of aspects by individual SNOs.

The list of unsatisfactory features of their jobs is meant to partially correspond with the list of attractive features, so that items appearing high on the attractive scale would simultaneously appear low on the unsatisfactory scale, and vice versa. Comparing the two scales, we find a large measure of consistency. As requested, our respondents have been rather careful and serious about ranking the various items on both scales (Refer to Table 15). Thus, for example, promotion prospect is low on the attractive scale and high on the unsatisfactory scale, occupying almost the same position with regard to the poles on the scales. The importance attached to challenge and responsibility as shown by their high positions on the attractiveness scale is reflected in their positions on the unsatisfactory scale (lack of challenge and lack of responsibility as the 2nd and 3rd most unsatisfactory aspects). Variety as the 5th most attractive feature reappears as the 5th most unsatisfactory feature in the form of monotony. The most attractive feature, security of job is paralleled by the 3rd most unsatisfactory feature, the lack of job mobility (or inability to move into other kinds of work). Pay is not a very attractive aspect of their jobs, so it is also among the more unsatisfactory items.

Two interesting points emerge from a comparison between the items on the two scales:

- (1) There is a seeming paradox in that status in community is 6th in attractiveness, but it is also 7th in unattractiveness. In other words, it is considered one of the least attractive features, while on the other hand, it is also considered to be one of the least unsatisfactory features. The ambivalent position of this job aspect may be explained by the hypothesis that our SNOs do not or seldom care about their "community statuses". This is borne out by the fact that among the things considered most important for their lives, (which we will analyse in a later section), status (which is listed) is not one of the most important things which they would strive for. Furthermore, since most of the SNOs do not deal with public relations most of their time, they are seldom put in situations on their jobs where they would be made conscious of their community statuses.

- (2) The strain of their work is considered the most unsatisfactory aspect of their work. On the other hand, holidays and leave are considered quite low on the attractiveness scale. However, considering the working hours, the public holidays, casual leave, annual leave and in some cases, the study leave which the SNOs enjoy, it cannot be truly said that holidays are too few for the Civil Servants. However, their holidays have seldom been able to perform the functions which they are meant to perform for the SNOs, i.e. in relieving the strain and stress of their work. Later when we examine their leisure time activities, most of the SNOs prefer some form of sedantary recreation or other. Very few take the opportunity to go on outings, or travel abroad. Hence, the ironical situation develops that even though the SNOs enjoy a substantial amount of leave and holidays, they do not utilize their free time to properly relieve the tensions in their working lives.

VI. Physical Conditions and the Organization of Work

The majority of the SNOs are at least sometimes consulted about changes in the way in which work is organized in the office, with over one-third of them being always or usually consulted (Table 16). They described both their colleagues and superiors as easy to work with, and also, they are quite "liberal" with regard to the supervision of their own subordinates. Most of the SNOs tend to trust the easier decisions to those working under them (Table 17). However, one of their major complaints is understaffing (60% of the SNOs complained about it), which may well mean that the productivity of the SNOs is eventually reduced even though they may be capable, hard-working and responsible. On the other hand, the SNOs also have a number of complaints about the physical conditions of work, top among which are canteen facilities, parking space and office space. (See Table 18)

Table 16: Frequency of Being Consulted About Changes in Work Organization in Office

	% of SNOs
Always	19.4
Usually	24.1
Sometimes	28.9
Not usually	14.6
Never	12.3
n.a.	0.7
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(253)

Table 17: Supervision of Subordinates

	% of SNOs
They need close supervision to prevent mistakes.	13.0
I would like to keep a closer eye on them but am too busy.	13.0
They consult me about trivial things they don't have to.	2.0
They can be trusted with the easier decisions.	23.3
They can be trusted to come to me when the need arises.	33.6
Their judgment is pretty well as good as mine, and I leave them to carry on.	2.0
I do not have any subordinates.	10.3
n.a.	2.8
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(253)

Table 18: Physical Working Conditions that Need Improving

	% of responses
Noise	11.7
Sanitation	3.4
Ventilation	7.9
Lighting	4.5
Heating	4.1
Canteen	18.1
Working space	14.7
Decoration & furniture	11.7
Lavatories	6.2
Parking space	17.7
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(708)

VII. Job Satisfaction

The great majority of the SNOs (79.5%) said that they are happy with their job, as compared to a small minority who are only indifferent to their present job or dislike it (Table 19). In general, these higher civil servants tend to describe their work as offering enough variety, and responsibility; plenty of initiative is said to be allowed in their job, while the amount of supervision or guidance is adequate. As we have pointed out earlier, both colleagues and superiors are described as easy or "alright" to work with, and a friendly atmosphere is said to prevail in their own departments. The majority of them believe they are adequately paid, in spite of the fact that pay is not among the most attractive features of their work. On the other hand, however, a sizeable minority (39%) of them said they are being underpaid (See Table 20).

Table 19: Level of Job Satisfaction

	% of SNOs
I like it (present job) very much	20.6
I like it	58.9
I am indifferent to it	15.4
I dislike it	4.7
I dislike it very much	0.4
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(253)

Table 20: Variety, Responsibility, Supervision, Initiative, Personal Relations on the Job and Pay

	% of SNOs				
	Too much	Enough	Too little		
Variety	23.3	68.8	7.9	100%	(253)
Responsibility	30.0	64.5	5.5	100%	(253)
Supervision & Guidance	17.6	63.5	18.9	100%	(249)
Initiative	Plenty allowed	Some allowed	Little allowed		
	60.1	29.2	10.7	100%	(253)
	Easy to work with	All right	Difficult		
Colleagues	44.7	50.6	4.7	100%	(253)
Superior	40.0	46.8	13.2	100%	(252)
People in Department	Friendly 81.4		Impersonal 18.6	100%	(250)
Pay	Overpaid 2.8	Adequate 58.1	Underpaid 39.1	100%	(253)

Their level of job satisfaction is directly related to these various aspects of work, together with several other aspects, which we list in Table 21, showing their relative significance for job satisfaction in descending order of importance. It can be seen that of the twelve aspects we listed, ten are statistically significant for job satisfaction. The remaining two, staffing in the department and suitability (of own competence to demands of the job) are not significant. The question of suitability is of particular interest later when we deal with expatriate and local officer relationships.

Table 21: Correlation Between Various Aspects of Work and Job Satisfaction

Job Aspect	Value of X^2 (significant at 0.05 level)	Order of significance for Job satisfaction
Initiative	38.55513	1
People in Department	21.01485	2
Contact with men at top	16.54669	3
Variety	16.14472	4
Value of work to community	12.58568	5
Relation with superior	12.21713	6
Colleague relationship	10.48122	7
Supervision-guidance	9.18710	8
Responsibility	7.96567	9
Pay	6.70827	10
Suitability	3.02720 (not significant)	11
Staffing in Department	1.52098 (not significant)	12

From the list of ten significant factors for job satisfaction, it can be noted again that pay is topped by personal relations on the job, contact with men at the top, the amount of initiative as well as the job content (e.g. variety of work). Considering the sizeable proportion who have said that they are not adequately or are actually underpaid, our former observation that it is the

security of the job rather than the pay itself which is more attractive to the SNOs is again supported. We may also conclude that the SNOs are more concerned with the nature and quality of their work rather than the financial aspects.

The level of job satisfaction does not differ significantly from grade to grade, nor does it vary with the type of work the SNOs do (Table 22, 23). On the other hand, job satisfaction is related to the person's evaluation of the promotion system (Table 24) and pragmatically, to the number of promotions one has experienced in the past (Table 25). There is also evidence that the level of job satisfaction does not decline with the length of service, but on the contrary, increases with it (Table 26). This is not too surprising in as far as the longer one has served in the Government, the more likely for one to have been promoted a number of times; also, since the most attractive feature of their job is the security, as the officers approach their age of retirement, their job mobility declines, and they are likely to stay with the present job until retirement. Thus, when asked if they plan to retire in Government, age is highly significant for the SNOs' retirement plan, so is the length of service (Table 27 and 28).

Table 22: Job Satisfaction by Grade

	% of SNOs in Grade			
	I	II	III	IV
Job satisfaction				
Like job very much	27	17	20	18
Like job	60	66	58	45
Indifferent	13	14	16	18
Dislike	-	3	5	18
Dislike very much	-	-	1	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(15)	(70)	(147)	(11)

* $X^2 = 2.57760$ (not significant)

* X^2 obtained by collapsing of tables.

Table 23: Job Satisfaction by Nature of Work

	Policy	Admin- istra- tion %	Techni- cal & profess- ional %	Person- nel %	Public rela- tions %	Secre- tarial %	Public Secu- rity %
Like job very much	29.4	9.9	18.5	31.6	25.0	-	33.3
Like Job	61.8	71.0	58.0	47.3	60.4	71.4	33.3
Indifferent	5.9	16.0	18.5	15.8	12.5	14.3	-
Dislike	2.9	3.1	4.5	5.3	2.1	14.3	33.4
Dislike very much	-	-	0.5	-	-	-	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(34)	(131)	(198)	(19)	(48)	(7)	(3)

Table 24: Job Satisfaction and Evaluation of
Promotion System

	Promotion System			
	As fair as possible %	Fair %	A little unfair %	Very unfair %
Like job very much	29	24	12	21
Like job	65	64	56	39
Indifferent	6	11	28	15
Dislike	-	2	4	21
Dislike very much	-	-	-	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(17)	(133)	(68)	(33)

* $\chi^2 = 19.98443$
(significant at .05 level)

* χ^2 obtained by collapsing of tables.

Table 25: Job Satisfaction and Promotion in Past

	Number of Promotions				
	0 %	1-2 %	3-4 %	5-6 %	7+ %
Like job very much	23	17	23	60	--
Like job	43	66	65	40	100
Indifferent	18	15	12	-	-
Dislike	15	2	-	-	-
Dislike very much	2	-	-	-	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(61)	(128)	(52)	(5)	(1)

* $X^2 = 12.46602$
(significant at 0.05 level)

Table 26: Job Satisfaction and Length of Service

	Service Years				
	0-5 %	6-11 %	12-17 %	18-23 %	24+ %
Like job very much	23.5	18.7	17.5	6.3	43.0
Like job	43.0	52.4	65.0	27.0	43.0
Indifferent	18.0	23.8	15.5	66.7	7.0
Dislike	13.5	5.1	2.0	-	7.0
Dislike very much	2.0	-	-	-	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(51)	(77)	(65)	(44)	(14)

* X^2 obtained by collapsing of tables.

Table 27: Age and Retirement Plan

	Age in years				
	Under 25%	26-35 %	36-45 %	46-55 %	56+ %
Plan to retire in Govt.:					
Yes	-	30	56	81	100
No	33	30	11	4	-
Uncertain	67	40	33	15	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(3)	(100)	(84)	(47)	(3)

Table 28: Length of Service and Retirement Plan

	Years in Service				
	Under 5 %	6-11 %	12-17 %	18-23 %	24+ %
Plan to retire in Govt.:					
Yes	10	42	63	82	87
No	41	19	8	9	-
Uncertain	49	39	29	9	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(50)	(77)	(65)	(43)	(13)

On the other hand, the proportion of people stating they are satisfied with their jobs does not quite match the proportion of people who will for sure stay on in Government service (Table 29). While 79.5% of the people are satisfied with their present job, only 49.4% say they will retire in Government service. Thus we can see from Table 30, that even among the satisfied, there is a sizeable group who say they do not plan to retire in Government or are uncertain about their retirement plans. The chief complaints of those people who

do not plan to retire in Government or are uncertain about it are the pay and the promotion prospect. Thus, 66% of the SNOs who say that they are being underpaid do not plan to retire in Government or are uncertain about it. At the same time, the position of the promotion prospect on the attractiveness scale is much lower among them than among those who plan to stay in Government until retirement.

(The scores given by those who do not plan to stay and those who are uncertain are, respectively, 7.3 and 5.82, as compared to those of 5.66 for those who plan to retire in the Service.) Although they attach more or less the same amount of value to the challenge of their work (score 4 for those who do not plan to retire in Government, and score 3.6 for those uncertain, as compared to score 3.9 for those who plan to remain), it is interesting to note that both those who would stay and those who would leave or are uncertain think their work is pretty strenuous anyway, (score 3.2 for those who would stay, and scores 3.0 and 2.6 for those would not or are uncertain.) Thus, the strain of the work is not one of the main reasons for people wanting to leave Government service.

Table 29: Retirement Plan

	% of SNOs
Plan to retire in Govt.:	
Yes	49.4
No	18.2
Uncertain	31.2
n.a.	1.2
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>
	100.0%
	(253)

Table 30: Job Satisfaction and Retirement Plan

	Like job very much %	Like job %	Indiff- erent %	Dislike %	Dislike very much %
Plan to retire in Govt.:					
Yes	73	52	23	8	-
No	6	19	28	30	100
Uncertain	21	29	49	62	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(52)	(147)	(39)	(11)	(1)

Taking all these into consideration, the technical and professional officers rank the largest number among those who would want to leave the Government before retirement or are uncertain about staying on (Table 31). They also expressed desire to go into the free professions or go into business upon leaving the Government. Presumably this would raise their income level, but not necessarily reduce the demand for responsibility by their future work, or the strain thereof.

Table 31: Retirement Plan and Nature of Work

Nature of work:	Do not plan to retire in Govt. %	Uncertain %
Policy	3.8	11.0
Administration & supervision	23.9	29.7
Technical & professional	54.2	42.6
Personnel	5.1	4.5
Public relations	11.4	9.7
Secretarial	-	2.6
Public security	-	-
Others	1.3	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
	(79)*	(155)*

* Percentages based on the kinds of work done, not by the number of SNOs.

VIII. Local-Expatriate Staff Relationship

Although the greatest majority of the SNOs (90.5%) believe that the local officers should be given greater or much greater say in the running of the Government than what they have now, (Table 32) our data fail to show a strong antagonism among the higher non-expatriate officers towards the expatriate or overseas officers. Thus, the respondents were rather more cautious when they gave their opinions regarding the statement that "expatriate officers in general do not understand local conditions to the extent that they can be good administrators in Hong Kong." While some were uncertain about this statement and would rather reserve their judgment, others (28%) were in disagreement with generalizations of this sort (Table 33). The differences in response by grade and by place of birth are not significant. (Tables 34 and 35)

Table 32: "Do you feel that the local officers should have a greater say in the running of the Government?"

	% of SNOs
Much greater say than now	50.6
Greater say than now	39.9
The amount of say they have now is about right	4.3
Less say than now	1.2
Much less say than now	0.0
Uncertain	2.8
n.a.	1.2
	100.0%
	(253)

Table 33: "Expatriate officers in general do not understand local conditions to the extent that they can be good administrators in Hong Kong."

	% of SNOs
Strongly agree	20.9
Agree	38.3
Disagree	24.5
Strongly disagree	3.6
Uncertain	11.5
n.a.	1.2
	100.0%
	(253)

Table 34: Attitude Towards Expatriates by Grade

"Expatriate officers in general do not understand local conditions to the extent they can be good administrators in H.K."	Grade			
	I %	II %	III %	IV %
Strongly agree	13	23	20	18
Agree	33	30	45	27
Disagree	40	27	23	37
Strongly disagree	7	3	3	9
Uncertain	7	17	9	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(15)	(69)	(145)	(11)

* $X^2 = 5.59375$ (not significant at 0.05 level)

Table 35: Attitude Towards Expatriates by Birthplace

"Expatriate officers in general do not understand local conditions to the extent that they can be good administrators in H.K."	Place of birth	
	Hong Kong %	Outside Hong Kong %
Strongly agree	26	12
Agree	36	46
Disagree	25	22
Strongly disagree	3	5
Uncertain	10	15
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%
	(163)	(81)

* $\chi^2 = 7.32875$ (not significant at 0.05 level)

* χ^2 obtained by collapsing of tables.

It soon becomes apparent that one's attitude towards the expatriate staff has much to do with the personal experience of the promotion system. Thus, the question whether "only expatriates can really go to the top in the Government, under the present system" evoked a more interesting pattern of response (See Table 36). For the senior local officers who have "made it up there" already, this statement is obviously invalid. Thus Grade I and Grade II officers are more likely to disagree with this statement than Grade III and IV officers who tend to reply contrariwise (Table 37). In this connection, it is worth-noting that the place of birth again does not make any difference in the pattern of response to this statement among the SNOs (Table 38). This indicates that personal experience in the job is more relevant for one's attitude towards the expatriate officers. This is further supported by the fact that more people who feel that they can do the job of their superiors or that their own capabilities well exceed the demands of their present jobs (who are therefore more frustrated with the existing promotion system) agree with the statement that only expatriates can go to the top in Government. (See Tables 39 and 40)

Table 36: "Under the present system, only the expatriates can really go to the top in the Government"

	% of SNOs
Strongly agree	32.5
Agree	32.4
Disagree	20.9
Strongly disagree	14.2
	<hr/>
	100.0%
	(253)

Table 37: Attitude Toward Expatriates by Grade

"Under the present system, only the expatriates can really go to the top in Government"	Grade			
	I %	II %	III %	IV %
Strongly agree	13	30	35	37
Agree	27	31	34	27
Disagree	40	29	15	18
Strongly disagree	20	10	16	18
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(15)	(70)	(147)	(11)

* $X^2 = 8.34423$ (Significant at 0.05 level)

Table 38: Attitude Toward Expatriates by Birthplace

"Under the present system, only the expatriates can really go to the top in Government"	Birthplace	
	Hong Kong %	Outside Hong Kong %
Strongly agree	34	31
Agree	31	36
Disagree	21	22
Strongly disagree	14	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%
	(166)	(81)

$X^2 = 1.05969$ (not significant at 0.05 level)

* X^2 obtained by collapsing of tables.

Table 39: Ability to do Job of Superior and Attitude Towards Expatriates

"Only expatriates can really go to the top of Government"	"Do you think you can do the job of your immediate superior?"				
	Easily %	With some effort %	Not sure %	Not as well %	No %
Strongly agree	44	28	33	31	-
Agree	19	39	40	50	45
Disagree	19	21	7	19	45
Strongly disagree	18	12	20	-	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(88)	(104)	(15)	(16)	(11)

* $\chi^2 = 25.00518$ (significant at 0.05 level)

Table 40: Suitability of Job to Own Competence and Attitude Towards Expatriates

"Only expatriates can really go to the top of Govt."	Duties well below capabilities %	Duties a little below capabilities %	More or less suited %	Duties a little beyond capabilities %	Duties well beyond capabilities %
	Strongly agree	43	39	25	9
Agree	22	34	34	55	-
Disagree	11	17	28	18	-
Strongly disagree	24	10	13	18	50
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(37)	(83)	(119)	(11)	(2)

* $\chi^2 = 13.91730$ (significant at 0.05 level)

* χ^2 obtained by collapsing of tables.

IX. Self-image, Aspirations and Life-style

Given a majority of the senior civil servants who like their jobs for the challenge, responsibility and initiative, we have a group of highly self-conscious, and assertive individuals. The greatest majority of our respondents (83.0%) believe their work to be of essential value to the local community (as compared to 15.8% who say that their work is only useful to the community, and 1.2% who say their work is neither essential nor useful). The SNOs also tend to rank their own occupation as one of the most important occupations to the society of Hong Kong. As compared to 9 other kinds of occupations representing a cross-section of those engaged in commerce and industry, the free professions, white collar and blue collar jobs, the SNOs view their own jobs as second in importance only to that of an industrialist (See Table 41). It is therefore little wonder that most of the SNOs have a sense of achievement in life already, (Table 42), with those in the higher grades and those who are satisfied with their jobs feeling a greater sense of achievement. (Table 43 and 44)

Table 32: "Do you feel that the local officers should have a greater say in the running of the Government?"

	% of SNOs
Much greater say than now	50.6
Greater say than now	39.9
The amount of say they have now is about right	4.3
Less say than now	1.2
Much less say than now	0.0
Uncertain	2.8
n.a.	1.2
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(253)

Table 42: Sense of Achievement in Life

	% of SNOs
Great	7.1
Some	68.4
Little	19.8
None	2.8
n.a.	1.9
	<hr/> 100.0% <hr/> (253)

Table 43: Sense of Achievement in Life by Grade

Sense of achievement	Grade			
	I %	II %	III %	IV %
Great	13	10	7	-
Some	87	76	64	64
Little	-	14	26	36
None	-	1	3	-
	<hr/> 100% <hr/> (15)	<hr/> 100% <hr/> (68)	<hr/> 100% <hr/> (144)	<hr/> 100% <hr/> (11)

* $\chi^2 = 9.33670$ (significant at 0.05 level)

Table 44: Job Satisfaction and Sense of Achievement in Life

Sense of achievement	Like job very much %	Like job %	Indiff- erent %	Dislike %	Dislike very much %
	Great	14	7	-	-
Some	68	77	56	42	-
Little	14	15	34	58	100
None	2	1	10	-	-
	<hr/> 100% <hr/> (49)	<hr/> 100% <hr/> (148)	<hr/> 100% <hr/> (38)	<hr/> 100% <hr/> (12)	<hr/> 100% <hr/> (1)

* $\chi^2 = 24.58614$ (significant at 0.05 level)

* χ^2 obtained by collapsing of tables.

As we have already shown, most of the SNOs are in their 30's and 40's, with the majority of them married (75.9%) and with children. They enjoy a high level of income (50% of them earning a monthly salary of over \$4,000 Table 45), which is not only secure but also rising with annual increments and periodic revisions according to the rising cost of living. To them, the most important things in life are not wealth, power or status, but a happy family life, interesting work and economic security (Table 46). Today, the Confucian ideal of having sons to carry on the family line is no longer considered important, however, these well-educated middle class parents are likely to provide the best for their children, as well-indicated by the fact that the greatest majority of them wish to send their children to university, (93% of those who have children, as compared to 7% who are undecided yet).

Table 45: Monthly Income

	% of SNOs
\$2,000 - 2,999	15.0
\$3,000 - 3,999	28.1
\$4,000 - 4,999	24.1
\$5,000 - 5,999	17.4
\$6,000 or more	9.8
n.a.	5.6
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(253)

Table 46: Most Important Things in Life

	% of responses
Interesting work	20.4
Wealth	5.8
Economic security	17.5
Power	2.7
Status	5.7
Happy family life	22.2
Good health and long life	14.7
Sons to carry on family line	1.4
Good social life	4.4
Leisure	5.2
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(969)

From what little information we have gathered regarding the SNOs' leisure-time activities, it seems that they tend to separate their work from their personal or private life. Thus, they only sometimes bring work home, and only sometimes see their colleagues after work.⁵ For recreation, most of them enjoy sedantary forms of relaxation (Table 47), and only a few SNOs (18.9%) do some paid work after office hours for reasons of interest or to supplement their income.

⁵ There is a slight tendency for most higher-grade officers to bring work home than lower-grade officers; but there is no consistent relationship between grade and post-work colleague interaction.

Table 47: Leisure Time Activities

	% of responses
Studying & reading	34.6
Sports	15.2
Hobbies (music, painting, writing, etc.)	7.4
Movies, T.V.	9.7
Mahjong	4.2
Community service	2.6
Social engagement	7.3
Relaxing with family	14.8
Hardly any leisure time	4.2
	<hr/> 100.0%
	(230)

X. Professionalism and Commitment to Hong Kong

In summing up, one can say that the SNOs' commitment to their work (although not necessarily the commitment to their job) appears to be a strong work ethic. The seriousness of their purpose and the measured carefulness with which they execute their duties indicate a professionalism tempered by their long years of service in the Government. Being professional people themselves (whether as professional administrators or as engineers, architects, social welfare officers, etc.) their work ethic is really not different from that among professionals in the private sector, except for the profit motive. Given "adequate" pay, however, the SNOs are more concerned with the quality of their work rather than with the pay.

On the other hand, the fact that they are civil servants puts them in a different situation from that of free professionals. Thus, the constraints on their office are such that they cannot hold any personal views on government policies, neither are they involved in the process of top policy-making itself. As professionalism and expertise are increasingly emphasized, detachment from the community

and community issues also results. And under the special political circumstances in Hong Kong, where public opinion is neither encouraged nor given opportunities to influence government measures, the political apathy of the civil servants is not unique among themselves, but common even among the majority of the educated classes.

Our survey data show that the SNOs, even though it is their duty to execute policies for the better government of Hong Kong and the improvement of the professional and technical services they render to the people, are nevertheless not attached to Hong Kong as a community in spite of their general statement that their work is of essential value to the society. Whether our respondents were born locally or not, whether they have lived in Hong Kong for a relatively longer or shorter period, their evaluations of various aspects of the society and life in Hong Kong do not show any significant differences - in almost all cases, their opinions of the Hong Kong society are not favorable (with only one exception, i.e. the standard of living in Hong Kong is thought to be good or O.K.) as can be seen from the following tabulations:

Table 48: Place of Birth and Evaluation of Hong Kong Society*

<u>Aspects:</u>	<u>Birth- place</u>	Very good, good	O.K.	Bad, very bad	
Standard of living	Hong Kong %	42	50	8	100%
	Elsewhere %	35	58	7	100%
Living environment	Hong Kong %	9	27	64	100%
	Elsewhere %	9	28	63	100%
Community spirit	Hong Kong %	1	19	80	100%
	Elsewhere %	3	20	77	100%
Law and order	Hong Kong %	4	38	58	100%
	Elsewhere %	5	49	46	100%
Education system	Hong Kong %	4	34	62	100%
	Elsewhere %	5	25	70	100%
Leisure & entertainment	Hong Kong %	24	47	29	100%
	Elsewhere %	31	45	24	100%
Political stability	Hong Kong %	16	51	33	100%
	Elsewhere %	17	44	39	100%
Arts & culture	Hong Kong %	6	37	57	100%
	Elsewhere %	4	30	66	100%

* In no aspect is X^2 significant at 0.05 level.

Table 49: Length of Residence & Evaluation of Hong Kong Society*

<u>Aspects:</u>	<u>Years of residing in H.K.</u>	<u>Very good, good</u>	<u>O.K.</u>	<u>Bad, very bad</u>	
Standard of living	20 [~] %	39	48	13	100%
	20-40 %	38	54	8	100%
	40+ %	47	50	3	100%
Living environment	20 [~] %	9	30	61	100%
	20-40 %	6	27	67	100%
	40+ %	21	35	44	100%
Community spirit	20 [~] %	-	17	83	100%
	20-40 %	2	17	81	100%
	40+ %	3	35	62	100%
Law & order	20 [~] %	8	46	46	100%
	20-40 %	3	41	56	100%
	40+ %	9	41	50	100%
Education system	20 [~] %	-	42	58	100%
	20-40 %	3	28	69	100%
	40+ %	12	38	50	100%
Leisure & entertainment	20 [~] %	38	42	20	100%
	20-40 %	26	45	29	100%
	40+ %	29	50	21	100%
Political stability	20 [~] %	4	48	48	100%
	20-40 %	17	47	36	100%
	40+ %	21	59	20	100%
Art & culture	20 [~] %	-	29	71	100%
	20-40 %	6	34	60	100%
	40+ %	6	47	47	100%

* In no aspect is X^2 significant at 0.05 level.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the SNOs were asked if they preferred to live in some other places, 59.6% answered in the affirmative, while only 37.2% said they did not want to leave Hong Kong. Again, the place of birth does not make any difference for the desire to leave Hong Kong, if such a choice is available. (See Table 50)

Table 50: Place of Birth and Wish to Live Elsewhere

	Birthplace	
	Hong Kong %	Outside Hong Kong %
Wish to live elsewhere:		
Yes	60.6	64.6
No	39.4	35.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.0%	100.0%
	(160)	(79)

Among those who do not plan to retire in the Public Service, their wish to live somewhere else is stronger. But even among those who would stay in the government until retirement, nearly 50% still say they would prefer to have lived somewhere else.

Table 51: Retirement Plan and Wish to Live Elsewhere

	Plan to retire in Govt.		
	Yes %	No %	Uncertain %
Wish to live elsewhere:			
Yes	49.2	82.6	69.3
No	50.8	17.4	30.7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(128)	(46)	(79)

The length of residence seems to make some difference for the desire to stay in Hong Kong, (Table 52), however, the matter of age and physical mobility must be taken as realistic considerations for those who have lived much longer in Hong Kong and express a wish to stay on.

Table 52: Length of Residence in Hong Kong and Wish to Live Elsewhere

	Years of residence		
	Less than 20 %	20-40 %	40 or more %
Wish to live elsewhere:			
Yes	58.4	66.0	38.3
No	41.6	34.0	61.7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	(24)	(182)	(34)

$$X^2 = 9.35619 \text{ (significant at 0.05 level)}$$

As far as their work is concerned, it is remarkable that irrespective of their place of birth, the SNOs evaluate the various aspects of their jobs (both attractive features and unsatisfactory features) in almost exactly the same manner (Table 53). Furthermore, both the local-borns and the non-local borns among our sample respondents have very similar sets of values and attitudes towards life in general. (Table 54)

We have therefore identified a highly homogeneous group of senior civil servants whose major preoccupation with their work has resulted in their very similar work and life commitments. The professionalism of the non-expatriate officers in Hong Kong is akin to that of most senior government employees in many other countries in the world, particularly the United Kingdom. Even though we do not have the comparative data on the senior expatriate officers in Hong

Table 53: Attractive Features and Unsatisfactory Features of Present Job by Place of Birth of SNOs

Aspects	Attractiveness Scale Scores		Aspects	Unsatisfactoriness Scale Scores	
	HK-born	Non-HK-born		HK-born	Non-HK-born
Responsibility	3.9	3.4	Monotony	4.7	4.7
Security	3.3	3.1	Pay	4.6	4.2
Promotion prospect	6.0	6.0	Promotion prospect	3.5	3.2
Challenge	3.8	3.5	Lack of challenge	5.1	5.2
Pay	4.3	4.6	Strain	2.9	3.1
Variety	4.9	4.6	Lack of responsibility	5.7	5.6
Holidays	6.4	7.4	Status	5.3	5.1
Status	5.8	5.9	Low job mobility	3.7	4.4
Housing	6.8	7.0			
Gratuity	8.9	8.8			

Table 54: Most Important Things in Life by Place of Birth

	% of responses	
	HK-born	Non-HK-born
Interesting work	18.6	23.4
Wealth	6.3	5.4
Economic security	16.6	18.3
Power	2.8	3.1
Status	6.9	3.1
Happy family life	21.2	23.6
Good health and long life	15.6	14.6
Sons to carry on family line	1.4	1.3
Good social life	4.6	4.1
Leisure	6.0	3.1
	100.0%	100.0%
	(166)	(81)

Kong, it would not be unexpected that, since they are usually drawn from among the ranks of the British Civil Service at home or from some other ex-British colonial civil services, they should share the same kinds of professional commitments and values in life as the local officers. The question immediately arises that the distinction between expatriate and non-expatriate staff in the Hong Kong Civil Service is basically an artificial one. Since it makes very little difference for his work whether a person is born in Hong Kong or born outside Hong Kong (as clearly shown by our data) the special privileges given to the expatriate officers are totally unjustified - the locals have both the qualifications and the dedication that are required by the job. Since the localization policy started in 1946, over 20 years have elapsed and an entirely new generation of administrative and professional experts could not have failed to come into being within the local community of Hong Kong. It seems to the author, that there is little excuse for the authorities concerned to have delayed the effective implementation of localization. Distinction between expatriates and non-expatriates in their terms of service only leads to, and indeed has led to, internal antagonisms and discontent, which in turn would result in a "brain drain" from among the local staff members into the private sector or overseas. Our survey has revealed that pay and promotion prospect are the main complaints of those who would not stay in Government service, and that the SNOs' attitudes toward the expatriates are deeply affected by their personal experiences with the promotional system. Since the expatriate officers are still holding most of the top posts in Government,⁶ and often do so not by having to go through the same system of internal promotion, but by direct recruitment into those offices, the extent of discontent and hostility among the local staff is likely to be much greater than our SNO respondents would care to admit.

⁶ As at January 1, 1969, of the 326 superscale posts only 71 were held by locals.

XI. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can raise a few points in connection with our survey findings:

(1) Under the British tradition, a career civil servant's role in the government has been one of an executive and administrator. The permanence of his office is one device to ensure continuity of the Public Service and the smooth-running of the government irrespective of changeovers among the elected political leaders. Politics and policies are left to the ministers and politicians. However, in a colony, such traditional role of the civil servant is called into question. In the absence of parliamentary democracy, a civil servant is often required by the nature of his work to play the role of policy-maker and in a sense, "appeal to an 'electorate' for support."⁷ In this dual role, the civil servant has to familiarize himself with the opinions of the public, which are so inadequately represented by the local political parties whose roles are limited by the Urban Council electoral system.⁸ The recent more open attitude and partial acceptance of public opinion by the Hong Kong Government since the 1966 and 1967 riots indicate a beginning to recognize this particular, dualistic role of the civil servant in a colonial society. On the other hand, however, the fact that the Senior Non-Expatriate Officers, who are by definition members of the local community, are still not involved in the top-policy making process will inevitably undermine this auspicious beginning.

⁷ See "Speaking Out" in the Hong Kong Affairs section of the Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol. 60, No. 26, (June, 1968), p. 668.

⁸ For a study of the role of political parties in Hong Kong in the context of general political apathy, see my article on "Political Apathy and the Political System in Hong Kong", United College Journal, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Vol. 8 (1970-71), pp. 1-20.

(2) The high professionalism of the senior civil servants, their emphasis on "doing a good job" of an assignment inevitably leads to a cautious, conservative approach to their work. Especially where they are not involved in policy-making, most SNOs tend to fall back on precedents in their job execution. However, in a rapidly developing economy and a fast-changing society, the civil servants need to get away from stereotype thinking and be more innovative. The modern role of a civil servant should be of the managerial type, his perspective should be forward-looking, not dependent on the past. The absence of long-term planning which has hitherto characterized so many of the Government's social and economic policies actually reflects the under-emphasis on the modern dynamic role of the civil servant, be he local or expatriate.

(3) Expatriates by definition do not have roots in the local society and they are naturally detached from the Chinese population. On the other hand, society of Hong Kong is ultimately to suffer if so many of its Senior Non-expatriate civil servants also lack a sense of attachment to their own community. It might be argued that for the day-to-day routine running of the government members of the Public Service should maintain a cool, professional attitude towards their various tasks. However, for the drafting and execution of long-term policies, a firmer commitment to the local society is obviously required.

(4) The progress of the localization policy as revealed by official statistics, which we have put together in Charts I and II, is deceptive. The Charts indicate two significant facts about the carrying out of the policy. Firstly, the seemingly impressive progress made among the technical and professional officers does not show the hierarchical distribution of the still remaining minority of expatriate staff in the various departments. Thus, our survey of the senior professional workers within the Service shows that they are still rarely involved in policy-making. Secondly, localization has made very slow progress in certain other areas. Indeed, it was no more than a gesture until very recently. Such is the case with the administrative and executive grades. The lack of progress of localization among the Police Ins-

pectors is even more striking. However, one has to reconcile with the fact that there is no complete localization for a colony.

(5) As we have indicated in Section X, the amount of anti-expatriate feeling may have been far greater than our limited study can reveal. The fact that a high proportion of SNOs (76%) feel that they can easily do the job of their immediate superiors may cloak an anti-expatriate attitude. If this were true, it would also imply a widespread under-utilization of the higher-level manpower which is available, is there already locally. This is again borne out by our SNOs' evaluation of their own capabilities, 47% of them consider that their duties are a little below or well below their capabilities.

(6) Our study has disclosed a high degree of homogeneity among the SNOs in terms of their values and aspirations. They represent a brand of social conformity among the up-and-coming middle and upper-middle classes in the local society, the salaried middle class in particular. However, unlike the free professionals and still more unlike the business executives, these SNOs are not simultaneously status-seekers in the community. For the former two groups, status aspirations in some way compensates for the lack of political expression in the Colony, but for the public servants, no such compensation exists. Whether or not their sense of achievement in life and their pursuit of professionalism in their work do not lead to a bureaucratic complacency is a question worth further research on.

(7) We have repeatedly pointed out that the SNOs seem to be more concerned with the nature and quality of their work, rather than with the pay. However, it must be emphasized that job satisfaction among the SNOs is preconditioned on adequate pay, and that we can expect a different order of values attached to work among the less senior or lower grade civil servants.

(8) In spite of the attractions of job security and other job benefits, 51% of the SNOs do not plan to retire in Government service, or are uncertain about it. This indicates that the Hong Kong Civil Service is likely to be threatened with a massive drop out from among the ranks of its dedicated, experienced professionals. Should this

happen within a short span of time, and if the Government fails to find replacements immediately, its effective functioning will be impaired. The case in point was the crisis situation which developed in the recent past among the medical officers, with large numbers of them resigning for private practice or migrating to other countries owing to the 1967 riots. While no government in the world has successfully dealt with the problem of loss of professional manpower to the private sector, the Government in Hong Kong faces a more formidable task: how to cultivate a greater sense of commitment among its well-qualified personnel who may not only be lost to the Public Service, but may also be lost to the local society?