

Symposium: The State of Political Science in Asia

The Study of Political Science in Hong Kong

Peter T.Y. Cheung

University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

Political Science in Asia

Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter, 2005)

Asian Consortium for Political Research

Symposium: The State of Political Science in Asia

The Study of Political Science in Hong Kong

Peter T.Y. Cheung

University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

INTRODUCTION

The development of the discipline of political science in Hong Kong after World War II has been largely shaped by the expansion of high education and the political change of this cosmopolitan city situated between the East and the West.¹ The profession of political science in Hong Kong began to develop in the early 1970s.² Higher education experienced gradual expansion since the mid 1980s as Hong Kong prepared for its reunion with the People's Republic of China in 1997, but this process further accelerated in the early and mid 1990s. While a variety of methodological and philosophical traditions can be identified in the Hong Kong academic community, it is clear that political scientists in Hong Kong are clearly oriented toward the intellectual community in the West. The intellectual orientation of the discipline in Hong Kong is thus largely influenced by Western political science.

On the other hand, after the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, Hong Kong entered into a period of political transition before rejoining China in 1997. This transition between 1984 and 1997 and the many accompanying political changes and public sector reforms have captured the attention of Hong Kong scholars. After the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) in 1997, the challenges in governance under the framework of "One Country, Two Systems" have similarly become a key priority on their scholarly research agenda. Equally important, the dynamics of reform and opening in China since 1979 has emerged as a key research agenda for political scientists in Hong Kong because they began to gain greater access to information and could develop academic collaboration with their Mainland counterparts.

THE ORIGINS OF THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN HONG KONG

The development of political science in Hong Kong is closely linked with the evolution of its universities, especially the University of Hong Kong (HKU) and the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). The teaching of political science in Hong Kong's universities can be traced back to the beginning of the last century in 1913, soon after HKU was established.³ By 1915 a B.A. (Hons) in Political Economy was offered by the University and the first political science course was offered two years later. The Department of Politics and Public Administration at HKU dates from 1937, when the University planned to set up an academic unit modeled after the London School of Economics and Political Science. This led to the creation of the Department of Economics and Political Science from which the Department of Political Science emerged in 1970. Reflecting colonial practices, the teachers of the Department in the 1970s were mainly recruited from British colonies or Commonwealth countries. In September 1993, the department was renamed the Department of Politics and Public Administration (PPA) to better reflect its long-standing commitment to both political studies and public administration.⁴ The Department also publishes the first academic journal of political science in Hong Kong, currently entitled *Asia-Pacific Journal of Public Administration*, since 1979 (formerly the *Hong Kong Journal of Public Administration* and later the *Asian Journal of Public Administration*).

The Department of Government and Public Administration (GPA) at CUHK was founded in 1970. Whereas the faculty of HKU at that time mainly came from British colonies or Commonwealth countries, the GPA Department recruited not only Chinese scholars, but also experts from different countries, including developing countries such as Sri Lanka and Nigeria. Prof. Hsueh Shou-sheng launched the new GPA department at CUHK in 1970 and the first generation of local Chinese political scientists, notably Kuan Hsin-chi, Jeremiah Wong and Andrew Wong, joined the Department in the early 1970s. Later, several other Chinese scholars who received their doctorates from major American universities and originally came from Taiwan, including Byron S.J. Weng, Liao Kuang-sheng, and Peter N.S. Lee, and overseas Chinese scholars such as Chang Chak-yan, joined the Department in the mid 1970s. In other words, the majority of the political scientists who served in Hong Kong in the mid 1970s were not local people from Hong Kong; rather, they were either foreigners or overseas Chinese. This reflects the British colonial government's lack of

interest in promoting research and teaching of the subject of politics, especially among Hong Kong people.

Nonetheless, an increasing number of local Hong Kong political scientists began to take up teaching and research positions since the late 1970s. For instance, Joseph Y.S. Cheng joined CUHK in the late 1970s and Anthony B.L. Cheung began his career at the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong in the mid 1980s. Both are now senior academics at the City University of Hong Kong. Many students from HKU and CUHK, especially those majoring in political science and sociology, pursued post-graduate studies overseas in the 1980s and 1990s. They have become what may be called the "second generation" of political scientists from Hong Kong.⁵ The majority of this group completed their Ph.D. in major universities in North America or the U.K. and after their return to Hong Kong, they have helped to make the discipline more internationalized in orientation. Since the mid 1990s, more scholars who originally came from Mainland China and other Asian countries but educated in major overseas universities also came to work in Hong Kong.⁶ More foreign scholars have joined the profession in Hong Kong recently as well, bringing with them a rich variety of methodological and intellectual perspectives.⁷ Although some of these scholars left after a few years, others continue to contribute to the profession in both research and teaching. If compared with the 1970s and even the 1980s, the academic community in political science in Hong Kong today is much more diverse in both intellectual orientations and social background. Further, with the rapid expansion of higher education in Hong Kong in the 1990s, the Hong Kong Government and the community expected greater accountability and contribution from the universities. The introduction of research assessment and the competition for scarce resources among the universities, for instance, have engendered enormous pressure for the political science community in Hong Kong to become much more international and competitive in both teaching and research.

Several institutional developments merit attention as well. For instance, the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong (later renamed the City University of Hong Kong) incorporated the field of social policy and administration and public administration into the Department of Public and Social Administration.⁸ The study of politics received another boost with the establishment of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST), and its Division of Social Science has already incorporated political science since its founding in 1991.⁹ Another major institutional development is the establishment of the Department of Government and International Studies (GIS) at Baptist University in 1994. The GIS

Department teaches not only Chinese politics and Hong Kong politics, but also international studies, especially European affairs.¹⁰ In the mid 1990s, the Department of Politics and Sociology at Lingnan University was established, although the discipline was already part of the Department of Social Sciences since the mid 1980s.¹¹ Aside from offering research oriented post-graduate degrees such as M.Phil. and Ph.D., Hong Kong's universities have developed a variety of post-graduate programs in public affairs. For instance, the Master of Public Administration (MPA) programme at HKU (formerly called the Master of Social Sciences) formed a partnership with the civil service of the Hong Kong government to train mid-level officials since its inauguration in 1978, and hundreds of their theses have produced some of the most valuable data and analysis of public administration in Hong Kong.¹² Other programs that have been launched in recent years include, for instance, CUHK's Master of Social Science in Law and Public Affairs, City University's Master of Arts in Public Policy and Management and HKU's Master of International and Public Affairs (MIPA).

Reflecting their extensive links with the international academic community, many political scientists in Hong Kong are not only members of overseas professional bodies such as the Association for Asian Studies, the American Political Science Association, the American Society for Public Administration, and the International Studies Association, but also participants and paper presenters in the professional meetings of these and other overseas academic bodies. They have also served as referees of manuscripts for major international journals and academic publishers, or have published in these venues themselves. Hong Kong political scientists have published in many major international journals in the fields of China and Hong Kong studies, comparative politics and development studies, international relations, political philosophy, as well as public administration and public policy.¹³ The majority of their works are published in English, although some scholars have also published in both academic journals and presses in Mainland China and Taiwan (or elsewhere).

The lack of support from the British colonial government had inhibited the expansion of university education in Hong Kong until the late 1980s. This could be attributed to their concern with the potential political activism of local intellectuals. However, confronted by the outflow of local talents as a result of their concern with the Chinese resumption of sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997, the Hong Kong government expedited the expansion of higher education in the early and mid 1990s. Their focus was still on practical subjects such as business administration,

science and technology. Nonetheless, the profession of political science has benefited from this general improvement of Hong Kong's higher education as well. When HKU and CUHK launched their departments in political science in the early 1970s, there were only three to four faculty members in each unit. By 2005, there are already six universities – HKU, CUHK, the City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Baptist University, HKUST as well as Lingnan University – that carry out teaching and researching on politics and public administration. Given the relative small size of the academic community (around 50 to 60 people), a professional political science association was not formed until 1998. The Hong Kong Political Science Association (HKPSA) was founded in 1998, with a membership of about 50, but it has since grown to 81 by 2005, with 59 coming from local universities, 10 from non-local universities, and 12 from other sectors. The Hong Kong Public Administration Association (HKPAA) was created in 1990, but unlike the HKPSA, its 200-strong membership includes not only academics but also professionals from both the private and public sector, especially civil servants. The HKPAA publishes a bi-annual journal, *Public Administration and Policy*, in cooperation with the Department of Public and Social Administration of City University.¹⁴

THE STATE OF THE DISCIPLINE IN HONG KONG

The studies of political science in Hong Kong since World War II have covered many areas. While recognizing the tremendous difficulties of summarizing such a huge body of studies in this short essay, I attempt to highlight a few key themes which seem to have attracted the most attention among scholars in Hong Kong. These themes are (i) political and administrative institutions, (ii) state-society relations, (iii) political participation and democratization, (iv) public administration and public policy, (v) Hong Kong's governance since 1997 and the implementation of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy and (vi) China's reform and open door policy.

Understandably, one of the key issues examined by political scientists in Hong Kong concerns the workings of the former British colony's political institutions and particularly the civil service, which had played a uniquely important role in governance. Few would dispute that the study of the government and politics in Hong Kong by Norman Miners at HKU remains the most influential treatise on Hong Kong politics before 1997. The volume was first published in 1975, but later it had gone through five

editions. Miners' well-research volume scrutinized not only the key governmental institutions, the role of pressure groups, political parties and public opinion, but also the impact of both the British and Chinese governments on Hong Kong.¹⁵ Other scholars at HKU have also examined the nature of the Hong Kong political and administrative system in the 1980s. For instance, Peter Harris argued that Hong Kong was an "administrative state" whereby politics was dominated by the bureaucrats who believed that the government would only make decisions "which are not capable of solution by the 'market'" (Harris, 1978: 176). The study of political institutions and the general pattern of politics have continued to be a key topic in the academic community in Hong Kong since then.¹⁶

The second key theme concerns the pattern of state-society relations in Hong Kong, especially the issue of political stability in the post-1945 era. Actually, some of the most influential studies on politics in Hong Kong have been undertaken by sociologists and scholars from other disciplines. For instance, Ambrose King's study of the administrative absorption of politics has emerged as a dominant interpretation of Hong Kong politics in the 1970s and 1980s (King, 1975: 422-439). Nonetheless, a sea change of Hong Kong's political landscape has taken place after the city entered into the transition period in 1984. Another important body of literature comes from the many studies carried out by two scholars from CUHK, Lau Siu-kai, a sociologist, and Kuan Hsin-chi, a political scientist, both individually and in collaboration since the late 1970s. Lau has established himself as one of the leading analysts of Hong Kong politics with a theoretically ambitious attempt to explain Hong Kong's political stability. In his *Society and Politics in Hong Kong*, Lau characterized Hong Kong (up to the early 1980s) as a minimally integrated socio-political system whereby a bureaucratic polity co-existed smoothly with a resourceful Chinese society characterized by "utilitarian familism." The Chinese society and the Chinese people in Hong Kong were hence politically aloof and did not expect much from the government. Since then, drawing upon the works on political culture championed by Gabriel Almond and other scholars, Lau and Kuan have conducted many important empirical studies of Hong Kong's political culture and ideologies, party system, and other issues in the past two decades. Together with other scholars, especially sociologists in Hong Kong, they have also conducted regular surveys to formulate a set of indicators of social development, including political indicators such as political perception and political culture.

Another important interpretation of Hong Kong politics in the 1980s is Ian Scott's analysis of political change and legitimacy in colonial Hong

Kong, which was published in the eventful 1989. Scott traced the problem of legitimacy in Hong Kong to its establishment as a colony in 1842 and examined how the colonial regime had coped with such crises, especially because Britain and China had to prepare for the colony's return to China after reaching an agreement on the future of Hong Kong in 1984. Instead of granting Hong Kong more autonomy and representative democracy, the post-1997 governance arrangements inherited a powerful executive branch, which, in Scott's view, would have to face an enduring crisis of legitimacy. On the other hand, a large number of studies by sociologists, such as Stephen Chiu, Lee Ming-kwan, T.L. Lui and Alvin So, have also made important contributions to the field of political studies. They have analyzed political issues ranging from socio-political identities and social movements to state-society relations and democratization. Similarly, legal scholars have made critical contributions to the political and legal controversies surrounding Hong Kong's return to China in 1997 and the challenges confronting the preservation of Hong Kong's political and civil rights under "One Country, Two Systems." Among the most important works in this area include, among others, those by Albert Chen, Johannes Chan, Yash Ghai, Peter Wesley-Smith and Raymond Wacks, all of whom from HKU's Faculty of Law, as well as by Michael Davis from the GPA Department at CUHK.

The third theme concerns political participation and democratization in Hong Kong. One of the great debates is about whether Hong Kong people were political indifferent and apathetic. For instance, in sharp contrast to the earlier arguments by Lau Siu-kai and Kuan Hsin-chi, Lam Wai-man maintained that Hong Kong's political culture actually combines both political activism and a culture of depoliticization. Another debate focuses on the path of Hong Kong's democratization and how political actors and groups have competed to shape the political process since 1984.¹⁷ The third major cluster of studies concerns the study of electoral behavior and election results in Hong Kong's local and legislative elections.¹⁸ With the rally of over half a million people on July 1, 2003 and the uncertain future of Hong Kong's democratic reform and constitutional development, political participation and the path of democratization will likely continue to be an important topic for Hong Kong's political scientists in the near future.

The fourth theme concerns the study of public administration and public policy in Hong Kong. In 1952, Charles Collins first published a study of public administration in Hong Kong since the 1840s up to the period before World War II.¹⁹ Hsueh Shou-sheng also published a short book,

Government and Administration of Hong Kong, as early as 1962.²⁰ But it was not until the mid 1980s that more systematic and updated works began to appear. For instance, John P. Burns, Ian Scott, and other scholars associated with the MPA programme at HKU began to publish studies on different aspects of Hong Kong's civil service since the mid 1980s – its profile, structure, personnel policies and practices, succession planning, localization, the changing values of civil servants, and the challenges confronting the civil service in the run-up to 1997.²¹ The implementation of public sector reform before and after 1997 is another major topic addressed by Hong Kong's political scientists. More recently, many scholars began to study these issues in relation to the experience of other Asian countries.²² Other studies of Hong Kong's public policy and management attempt to address other important issues such as the convergence between policy practices in Hong Kong and Mainland China, and the similarities and differences between Hong Kong and other Chinese cities.²³ Further, the recent contributions by John P. Burns on governing capacity and the civil service in post-1997 Hong Kong as well as Ian Scott's comprehensive analysis of public administration in Hong Kong merit special attention. Based on a wealth of empirical data and years of research, both studies have examined the impact of the changing socio-economic contexts and regime change after 1997. Burns has provided a thorough examination of the management issues confronting the civil service and its role in governance since 1997 whereas Scott has examined not only the civil service, the public sector, and the budgetary and policy processes in detail, but also the challenges in the relationship between the people and the government in the context of governance and the legitimacy deficit. The many problems in public sector management examined in this 496-page volume corroborate Scott's earlier characterization of Hong Kong's post-1997 political system as a "disarticulated" polity. These two major works will likely set the platform for debates and influence the agenda of research in the near future.

Fifth, Hong Kong's transition from a British colony to a Special Administrative Region under the framework of "One Country, Two Systems" has naturally captured scholarly attention in both the local and overseas scholarly community. Many recent works on Hong Kong politics focus on the governance crisis during C.H. Tung's administration (1997 to early 2005).²⁴ His government has to meet the difficult challenge of implementing the "One Country, Two Systems" framework, but it was haunted by poor leadership and low popularity. The Asian financial crisis in 1997 further aggravated the situation. Hong Kong scholars have kept

abreast of the many challenges confronting the HKSAR. Among the issues that have been addressed include the challenge of governance under C.H. Tung, the legitimacy crisis of his administration, crisis management, the convergence of political institutions and policies between Hong Kong and the Mainland since 1997, as well as the governing capacity of the HKSAR Government.²⁵ More recently, Hong Kong scholars have begun to study the issue of social cohesion and the emergence of civil society and governance in Hong Kong.²⁶

Last but not least, Chinese domestic politics and foreign relations have long been a key preoccupation of Hong Kong's political scientists. The volume of scholarly works undertaken in this area is probably similar to those on Hong Kong politics and administration. In fact, given China's size and the complexity of the many political and social challenges, the scholarly agenda of Hong Kong political scientists conducting Chinese political studies have always been rather diverse. This discussion cannot do justice to such an enormous amount of work, but what I can do at best is to highlight several salient areas in Hong Kong's research on China. In domestic politics, Hong Kong scholars have examined issues such as elite politics, political participation, and economic management in the 1970s. With the opening up of China since 1979 and the availability of information and opportunities of field work, a much greater variety of work has been carried out in the 1980s and especially the 1990s, when many newly recruited political scientists in Hong Kong's universities share a strong research interest in the politics and political economy of China's reform and opening. For instance, in addition to conventional political issues such as elite politics, the Chinese Communist Party and the state, Hong Kong's political scientists have addressed a much wider range of topics, including, for instance, civil service and administrative reforms, central-local relations, civil society and NGOs, contentious politics and rural elections, constitutional issues, fiscal management, gender issues, industrial management, legal system and legal reform, local/provincial leadership and reform strategies, the media, the military, rural industrialization, workers politics, as well as urban politics and management. In the studies of Chinese foreign relations, Hong Kong scholars have moved beyond China's relations with the major powers and cross-straits relations to a much wider agenda, such as China's relations with neighboring countries (especially South Korea, South and Southeast Asia), China's territorial disputes, China's relations with the Central Asian countries, the Tibetan issue, Sino-Vatican relations, triangular relations involving the US, Japan and China, the political economy of China's open door policy, external

relations of China's provinces, and China's resource-based diplomacy.

The subject matter of most studies in political science in Hong Kong concerns Hong Kong, Mainland China and some Asian countries, although there is a diversity of methodological approaches. Most political scientists in Hong Kong carry out empirical research with a variety of data collection strategies, such as archival and documentary research, interviews, and surveys.²⁷ In terms of research design, one can find not only case studies, but also historical studies and comparative research (e.g. comparing Hong Kong with other Asian or Chinese cities). Perhaps one of the most interesting developments in political studies in Hong Kong has been the growing adoption of survey research methods. Lau Siu-kai and Kuan Hsin-chi are the pioneers in the use of the survey approach. Later, many more scholars have followed suit, especially in the study of electoral behavior, political identity, political culture and public opinion. An important endeavor in this regard is the "Hong Kong Transition Project" led by Michael DeGolyer at Hong Kong Baptist University, which has generated a large amount of survey data on the political views of the local community about the political transition to 1997 and beyond. The gradual democratization of Hong Kong's political system, as reflected in the introduction of district board/council elections and the Legislative Council elections, has also stimulated the adoption of the survey research in studying voting behavior among political scientists in almost all the key academic departments. The study of survey research has also been adopted in the field of public administration.²⁸

PROSPECT FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN ASIA AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOLARLY COLLABORATION

My selective survey suggests that many of the contributions in the discipline have addressed pressing issues in politics and governance of Hong Kong. Nonetheless, since the research assessment and positioning of Hong Kong's universities are closely aligned with North America and other Western countries, it is only inevitable that Western political science will continue to have a profound impact on the profession in the territory. In future, one key practical as well as theoretical concern is whether studies of Hong Kong politics and society can reach a wider audience in the respective subfields of political science and how Hong Kong should position itself in the academic community in Greater China. Nonetheless, the establishment of the Asian Consortium for Political Research will

provide a new venue for more exchanges across Asian nations whereby intellectual and academic links can be fostered. If more cooperation is to be promoted, it is necessary for the university administrations and perhaps the funding bodies of universities (most notably the respective governments) to promote such cooperation among Asian academic communities. Otherwise, it is more likely that Hong Kong's political scientists will continue to be mainly oriented toward their Western counterparts, and pan-Asia Pacific cooperation is unlikely to flourish.

The development of the study of political science in Hong Kong in future will also be influenced by the growing interactions between Hong Kong and Mainland China. Not only has the easy access from Hong Kong enabled its scholars to undertake field research and complete important studies in Chinese political studies, but research collaboration has also flourished, despite the continuing political sensitivity arising from political science research in China. Many intellectual links and research collaboration between individual scholars and academic institutions in Hong Kong and Mainland China have emerged after the Mainland has opened up since 1978. It is indeed impossible to summarize the state of such cooperation because of its intensity and extensive scope.

As shown in my earlier discussion, the study of politics in Hong Kong largely parallels the development of the discipline in the West as our interest has moved from formal and legal institutions to political culture, political behavior and political change, and then to state-society relations, civil society, and governance issues. Empirically, aside from Hong Kong's unfolding political and economic metamorphosis, the rise of China and its implications for the domestic and regional governance in the entire Asian region will likely become a key research theme that will attract scholarly attention in Hong Kong and the rest of Asia. In public administration, many issues emerging from public sector reform and governance problems in the age of globalization will continue to be salient research topics. Consequently, the scope and opportunities for scholarly collaboration between Hong Kong and Asian or other foreign counterparts are indeed promising as many countries may be interested in a similar research agenda.

To conclude, enormous progress has indeed been made by the profession of political science in Hong Kong in the past three to four decades. If compared with the 1970s, the profession of political studies in Hong Kong today has become much stronger and sophisticated after three decades of gradual expansion, whether in terms of the background and training of the political scientists, their scholarly and research outputs, as

well as the resources available to the academic departments and research institutes. In the near future, it is very likely that the development of the field in Hong Kong will continue to be shaped by the progress in the discipline in Western countries, the availability of resources for research and other academic developments, as well as by the city's growing links with Mainland China and the rest of Asia.

NOTES

- 1 This essay will discuss the development of the field of political science in Hong Kong since 1945. Given the confines of a short essay, I cannot possibly cover all the important developments in Hong Kong's profession of political science. My discussion will concentrate more on the work of full-time, professionally trained scholars in the field, although some independent researchers, such as Suzanne Pepper, has also contributed to political research in Hong Kong. The data used in this essay draw not only from the author's experience in the profession, but also from the information provided by counterparts in the other universities and the websites of the six academic units currently engaging in teaching and researching political science. More emphasis is also placed on the studies of Hong Kong in general, rather than other sub-fields such as China studies, public policy, and international relations because this goes well beyond the confines of this essay and calls for another paper.
- 2 It is hard to find useful publications on the development of political science in Hong Kong. One of the few books published in Hong Kong that deals with the discipline of political science per se is the volume edited by Joseph Y.S. Cheng and Law Kam-ye, eds. *New Perspective on Political Science: Western Theories and Chinese Experiences* (H.K.: Chinese University Press, 1997) (in Chinese). Some of the chapters have briefly reviewed the studies in respective sub-fields of political science by Hong Kong and other Chinese scholars. See, in particular, the chapter by Lo Shiu-hing on the study of Hong Kong politics. Two edited volumes have collected some of the most important studies on Hong Kong politics undertaken by Hong Kong political scientists and sociologists, please refer to *Social Development and Political Change in Hong Kong*, edited by Lau Siu-kai, and *Hong Kong Government and Politics*, edited by Sing Ming. For a more comprehensive bibliography, please refer to *Hong Kong Politics: A Bibliography* edited by Lau, Siu-kai, Wan Po-san, and Shum Kwok-cheung.
- 3 Professor W. J. Hinton, formerly a fellow of the University of Wales, was the first Professor of Political Economy.
- 4 In 1937, a University Review Committee recommended that political science should become a major area of specialization, but it was not until 1970 that the first Chair in political science was established at the University. This section draws selectively from the website of the Dept. of Political and Public Administration at HKU.

- 5 Representatives of the graduates in the early and mid 1970s who pursued an academic career include most importantly Joseph Y.S. Cheng and Anthony B. L. Cheung. Other HKU graduates who have pursued an academic career include, for example, Cheung Chor-yung, Rowena Kwok, Grace O.M. Lee, Joan Leung, Terry Lui, James T.H. Tang, Irene Tong, Rap Yep, and Wong Hoi-kwok. CUHK graduates who have pursued an academic career in political science include, among others, the author, Hon S. Chan, Joseph Chan, Kenneth Chan, Tsao King-kwun, Danny W.F. Lam, Linda Li, Eliza Lee, Jane C.Y. Lee, Ma Ngok, Sing Ming, S.Y. Tang (in the US), Ting Wai, Wilson Wong, Carlos Wing-hung Lo, and Wong Yiu-chung. To be sure, some of these above-mentioned academics have studied at both HKU and CUHK. Examples of other Hong Kong Chinese who have completed their undergraduate studies in Taiwan or overseas universities and who have established their academic careers in Hong Kong include, for instance, Chan Che Po, Elaine Chan, Chung Chien Peng, Jermain Lam, K.K. Leung, Li Pang-kwong, Ma Shu Yun, Lo Shiu-hing, Timothy Ka-ying Wong, and Herbert Yee.
- 6 Scholars originally from the Mainland included, among others, Wang Shaoguang, Wu Guoguang, and Yu Xingzhong at CUHK, Ken Wang and Richard Hu at HKU, Chen Feng and Li Lianjiang at Hong Kong Baptist University, Ren Yue (formerly at Lingnan) and Zhang Baohui (Lingnan), as well as Lin Yimin and X.L. Ding (both sociologists who have research interests in Chinese politics and political economy) at HKUST. Other Asian scholars included, for instance, Jae Ho Chung, who worked in the HKUST in the mid 1990s and Jin-wook Choi who had worked at both CUHK and HKU.
- 7 Senior scholars who have come to work in Hong Kong since the early and mid 1990s include, for instance, Ian Thynne at HKU, Ian Holliday and Martin Painter at City University, Brian Bridges and Peter Baehr at Lingnan, as well as Ch'i Hsi-sheng and David Zweig at HKUST. More recently, others that have come include Emerson Niu at CUHK and Richard Balme at Baptist University.
- 8 The Department of Social Administration was created, along with the Polytechnic itself, in 1984 and in 1986-87, City Polytechnic offered a BA programme of Public and Social Administration, and the Department was renamed the Department of Public and Social Administration in 1988-89.
- 9 In fact, the headship of the Division in 1991-1992 was taken up by Prof. Ch'i Hsi-sheng, originally from the University of North Carolina in the US.
- 10 Actually, politics subjects were taught in Baptist University, e.g. in the field of mass communications, before 1994. The Department of Government and International Studies was founded in 1994, with teachers drawing from history and mass communication, and other new teachers were also recruited later.
- 11 Prof. Frances Lai Fung-wai led the study of politics in Lingnan College (later renamed Lingnan University) since the mid 1980s, but it was not until the mid 1990s that the Department formally uses politics as part of its formal name.
- 12 The degree was initially called the Master of Social Sciences (M.Soc.Sc.).
- 13 The following is a partial list of the publication venues of Hong Kong's scholars.
Area Studies: Asian Survey, China Information, China Journal, China Quarterly,

Contemporary Southeast Asia, East Asia, Issues & Studies, Journal of Contemporary China, Journal of Asian Studies, Pacific Affairs, Pacific Review.

Political Science (general), Comparative Politics and Development Studies: *American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, Citizenship Studies, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Democratization, Development and Change, Electoral Studies, Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, Journal of Development Studies, Journal of Democracy, Journal of Politics, Journal of Theoretical Politics, Party Politics, Political Quarterly, Political Studies, Problems of Post-Communism, Representation, Studies in Comparative International Development, World Development.*

International Relations: *Brown Journal of International Affairs, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, Columbia Journal of Transnational Law, Ethics and International Affairs, Foreign Affairs, International Affairs, International Security, Review of International Political Economy, Review of International Studies, World Politics.*

Political Philosophy: *Ethics, History of Political Thought, Philosophy and Public Affairs, and Philosophy East and West.*

Public Administration and Public Affairs: *Administration & Society, Governance, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, International Review of Administrative Sciences, Journal of Environmental Management, Journal of Social Policy, Policy and Politics, Public Administration Review, Public Administration and Development, Policy Studies Journal, Urban Studies, Voluntas.*

¹⁴ Other important journals published in Hong Kong are *China Review* published by CUHK and *Hong Kong Journal of Social Science* (in Chinese) published by the City University, both of which publish works by political scientists.

¹⁵ The post-1997 fifth edition published in 1998 contains a chapter on the HKSAR Government written by James T.H. Tang from the PPA Dept. at HKU. Miners also studied the politics and government of Hong Kong in the pre-WWII era, see his *Hong Kong under imperial rule: 1912-1941* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1987).

¹⁶ For studies on political institutions and the general pattern of politics since the mid 1980s, see, e.g. the works by John P. Burns, Joseph Y.S. Cheng, Ma Ngok, Lo Shiu-hing, and Ian Scott. Lo Shiu-hing and Herbert Yee have also studied Macau or compared Hong Kong's experience with that of Macau.

¹⁷ Major studies on Hong Kong's process of democratization have been examined by, e.g., Lau Siu-kai, Kuan Hsin-chi, Lo Shiu-hing, Alvin So, and Sing Ming.

¹⁸ See, among others, studies by Kuan Hsin-chi, Michael DeGolyer, Lo Shiu-hing, Sing Ming, Ma Ngok and Timothy Ka-ying Wong.

¹⁹ This 189-page volume, which focused more on the formal and constitutional issues, was published by the Royal Institute of International Studies in London in 1952.

²⁰ This is probably one of the first studies of Hong Kong's post-1945 administration and the book was published by the University Book Store in

Hong Kong. Prof. Hsueh taught economics in HKU in the late 1950s and early 1960s before he helped to found the Department of Government and Public Administration at CUHK in 1970.

²¹ The two most representative works in this series are Ian Scott and John P. Burns, eds. *The Hong Kong Civil Service: Personnel Policies and Practices* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1984) and Ian Scott, ed. *The Hong Kong Civil Service and its Future* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988).

²² Scholars such as Anthony B. L. Cheung, John P. Burns, Eliza Lee, Jane C.Y. Lee, Ian Scott, and Ian Thynne have done a lot of work on public sector and civil service reforms in Hong Kong and Mainland China.

²³ See, e.g. works by Ahmed Shafiqul Huque, Hon S. Chan, Ian Holliday, Ray Yep and Linda Wong.

²⁴ See recent works by Alvin So, Ming Chan, Anthony B. L. Cheung, Joseph Y.S. Cheng, Eliza Lee, S.K. Lau, Lo Shiu-hing, Sing Ming and others, especially the volume edited by Lau Siu-kai, who later became the Head of Central Policy Unit during Tung's second term, and the volume edited by Alvin So and Ming Chan on the crisis and transformation of post-1997 Hong Kong.

²⁵ See, e.g. works by John P. Burns, Anthony B. L. Cheung, Ahmed Shafiqul Huque, Eliza Lee, Grace O.M. Lee, Lo Shiu-hing and Ian Scott.

²⁶ See, e.g. studies by Elaine Chan, Joseph Chan, Eliza Lee and Danny Lam.

²⁷ Of course, there are many scholars whose works address philosophical and theoretical issues, such as Joseph Chan on political philosophy, Ian Holliday on just war theory, Danny Lam on institutional design and analysis, Eliza Lee on public administration theories, Ian Thynne on public management and public sector reform, among others.

²⁸ John P. Burns, for instance, has surveyed the views of senior officials about the civil service in Hong Kong after 1997.

REFERENCES

- Burns, John P. 2004. *Governing Capacity and the Hong Kong Civil Service*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- , and Bidhya Bowornwathana, eds. 2001. *Civil Service Systems in Asia*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Chan, Hon S. 2003. "The Civil Service under One Country, Two Systems: The cases of Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China," *Public Administration Review* 63(4), 405-417.
- Chan, Johannes M.M., H.L. Fu, and Yash Ghai, eds. 2000. *Hong Kong's Constitutional Debate: Conflict Over Interpretation*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Chan, Ming K., ed. 1994. *Precarious Balance: Hong Kong Between China and Britain, 1842-1992*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- , and Alvin Y. So, eds. 2002. *Crisis and Transformation in China's Hong Kong*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Cheng, Joseph Y.S., and Sonny S.H. Lo, eds. 1995. *From Colony to SAR: Hong*

- Kong's Challenges Ahead*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Cheng, Joseph Y.S., ed. 1999. *Political Participation in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press.
- _____. ed. 2001. *Political Development in the HKSAR*. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong Press.
- Cheung, Anthony B.L., and Jane C.Y. Lee, eds. 2001. *Public Sector Reform in Hong Kong: Into the 21 Century*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- _____, and Ian Scott, eds. 2003. *Governance and Public Sector Reform in Asia: Paradigm Shifts or Business as Usual?* London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- _____. ed. 2005. *Public Service Reform in East Asia: Reform Issues and Challenges in Japan, Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- _____. 2005. "The Politics of Administrative Reforms in Asia: Paradigms and Legacies, Opportunities and Constraints" *Governance*. 18(2), 257-285.
- Chiu, Stephen W.K., and T.L. Lui, eds. 2000. *The Dynamics of Social Movement in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Cooper, Terry L., and Terry L. Lui. 1990. "Democracy and the Administrative State: The Case of Hong Kong." *Public Administration Review*. 50(3), 322-344.
- Davies, Stephen with Elfed Roberts. 1990. *Political Dictionary for Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Macmillan.
- Fu, Hua-ling, Carole J. Petersen, and Simon N.M. Young, eds. 2005. *National Security and Fundamental Freedoms: Hong Kong's Article 23 Under Scrutiny*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Ghaji, Yash. 1999. *Hong Kong's New Constitutional Order*, 2nd ed. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Harris, Peter. 1978. *Hong Kong: A Study in Bureaucratic Politics*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Holliday, Ian, and Linda Wong. 2003. "Social Policy under One Country, Two Systems: Institutional Dynamics in China and Hong Kong since 1997," *Public Administration Review*. 63(3), 269-282.
- _____, Ma Ngok, and Ray Yep. 2002. "A High Degree of Autonomy? Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 1997-2002," *The Political Quarterly*. 73(4), 455-464.
- _____, and Paul Wilding, eds. 2003. *Welfare Capitalism in East Asia: Social Policy in the Tiger Economies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Huque, Ahmed Shafiqul, Jermain T.M. Lam, and Jane C.Y. Lee. 1996. *Public Administration in the NICs: Challenges and Accomplishment*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan.
- _____, et. al. 1998. *The Civil Service in Hong Kong: Continuity and Change*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- _____, and Grace O.M. Lee. 2000. *Managing Public Services: Crises and Lessons from Hong Kong*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- _____, and Ray Yep. 2003. "Globalization and Reunification: Administrative Reforms and the China - Hong Kong Convergence Challenge," *Public Administration Review*. 63(2), 141-152.
- King, Ambrose Y.C. 1975. "The Administrative Absorption of Politics in Hong Kong," *Asian Survey*. 15(5), 422-439.

- Kuan, Hsin-chi. 1991. "Power Dependence and Democratic Transition: The Case of Hong Kong," *China Quarterly*. 128, 774-793.
- _____, Lau Siu-kai, Louie Kin-sheun, and Timothy K.Y. Wong, eds. 1996. *The 1995 Legislative Council Elections in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: HK Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies - The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- _____, Lau Siu-kai, Louie Kin-sheun, and Timothy K.Y. Wong, eds. 1999. *Power Transfer and Electoral Politics: The First Legislative Election in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- _____, Lau Siu-kai, and Timothy K.Y. Wong, eds. 2002. *Out of the Shadow of 1997?: The 2000 Legislative Council Election in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Kwok, Rowena, Joan Leung, and Ian Scott, eds. 1992. *Votes Without Power: The Hong Kong Legislative Council Elections 1991*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Lam, Danny W.F. 1998. *Governing Irrigation Systems in Nepal: Institutions, Infrastructure, and Collective Action*. Oakland, CA: Institute for Contemporary Studies (ICS) Press.
- _____. 2005. "Coordinating the Government Bureaucracy in Hong Kong: An Institutional Analysis," *Governance*. 18(4), 633-654.
- _____, and James L. Perry. 2000. "The Role of the Nonprofit Sector in Hong Kong's Development," *Voluntas*. 11(4), 357-375.
- Lam, Wai-man. 2004. *Understanding the Political Culture of Hong Kong*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Lau, Siu-kai, and Kuan Hsin-chi. 1988. *The Ethos of the Hong Kong Chinese*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- _____, and Louie Kin-sheun, eds. 1993. *Hong Kong Tried Democracy: The 1991 Elections in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: HK Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies - The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1993.
- _____, Lee Ming-kwan, Wan Po-san, and Wong Siu-lun, eds. 1999. *Indicators of Social Development: Hong Kong 1997*. Hong Kong: HK Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies - The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- _____, eds. 2001. *Indicators of Social Development: Hong Kong 1999*. Hong Kong: HK Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies - The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- _____, eds. 2003. *Indicators of Social Development: Hong Kong 2001*. Hong Kong: HK Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies - The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- _____, Wan Po-san, and Shum Kwok-cheung, eds. 1999. *Hong Kong Politics: A Bibliography*. Hong Kong: HK Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies - The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- _____, and Kuan Hsin-chi. 2000. "Partial Democratizations, 'Foundation Moment' and Political Parties in Hong Kong," *The China Quarterly*. 163, 705-721.
- _____, ed. 2000. *Social Development and Political Change in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- _____, and Kuan Hsin-chi. 2002. "Hong Kong's Stunted Party System," *The China Quarterly*. 172, 1010-1028.
- _____, ed. 2002. *The First Tung Chee-hwa Administration: The First Five Years of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

- Lee, Eliza W.Y. 1995. "Political Science, Public Administration, and the Rise of the American Administrative State," *Public Administration Review*. 55(6), 538-546.
- _____. 1998. "The Political Economy of Public Sector Reform in Hong Kong: The Case of a Colonial-developmental State," *International Review of Administrative Sciences*. 64, 625-641.
- _____. 2005. "The Renegotiation of the Social Pact in Hong Kong: Economic Globalization, Socioeconomic Change, and Local Politics," *Journal of Social Policy*. 34(2), 293-310.
- _____. 2005. "Nonprofit Development in Hong Kong: The Case of a Statist-Corporatist Regime," *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 16(1), 51-68.
- Lee, Jane C. Y., and Anthony B. L. Cheung, eds. 1995. *Public Sector Reform in Hong Kong: Key Concepts, Progress-to-date and Future Directions*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Leung, Beatrice, and Joseph Y.S. Cheng, eds. 1997. *Hong Kong SAR in Pursuit of Domestic and International Order*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Li, Pang-Kwong. 2000. *Hong Kong from Britain to China: Political Cleavages, Electoral Dynamics and Institutional Changes*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Lo, Shiu-hing. 1997. *The Politics of Democratization in Hong Kong*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.
- _____. 2001. *Governing Hong Kong: Legitimacy, Communication and Political Decay*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- McMillen, Donald H., and Michael E. DeGolyer, eds. 1993. *One Culture, Many Systems: Politics in the Reunification of China*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- Postiglione, Gerard A., and James T.H. Tang, eds. 1997. *Hong Kong's Reunion with China: Global Dimensions*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Scott, Ian, and John P. Burns, eds. 1984. *The Hong Kong Civil Service: Personnel Policies and Practices*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- _____. ed. 1988. *The Hong Kong Civil Service and its Future*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1989. *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- _____. ed. 1998. *Institutional Change and the Political Transition in Hong Kong*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.
- _____. 2005. *Public Administration in Hong Kong: Regime Change and Its Impact on the Public Sector*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic.
- Sing, Ming, ed. 2003. *Hong Kong Government and Politics*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 2004. *Hong Kong's Tortuous Democratization*. London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- So, Alvin Y. 1999. *Hong Kong's Embattled Democracy*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.
- Tsang, Steve, ed. 2001. *Judicial Independence and the Rule of Law in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Wacks, Raymond, ed. 1999. *The New Legal Order in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

- Wong, Hoi-kwok, and Hon S. Chan, eds. 1999. *Handbook of Comparative Public Administration in the Asia-Pacific Basin*. New York: Marcel Dekker.
- Wong, Linda, Lynn White, and Gui Shixun, eds. 2004. *Social Policy Reform in Hong Kong and Shanghai – A Tale of Two Cities*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Wong, Yiu-chung, ed. 2004. "One Country, Two Systems" in *Crisis: Hong Kong's Transformation Since the Handover*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Yee, Herbert S. 2001. *Macau in Transition: From Colony to Autonomous Region*. New York: Palgrave.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author would like to express his sincere thanks to the following professors for sharing their valuable views and information: Richard Balme, John P. Burns, Joseph Chan, Anthony B.L. Cheung, Peter Fong, Ian Holliday, Kuan Hsin-chi, Lam Wai-man, Ian Scott, Ting Wai and Wong Yiu-chung. All the errors and inadequacies in this essay are, however, my sole responsibility.

WEBSITES OF ACADEMIC DEPARTMENTS AND ASSOCIATIONS IN HONG KONG

Websites of the key academic departments and professional associations in political science in Hong Kong:

<http://www.hku.hk/ppaweb/>
Dept. of Politics and Public Administration
University of Hong Kong

<http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/gpa/>
Dept. of Government & Public Administration
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

<http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~gis/>
Dept. of Government and International Studies
Hong Kong Baptist University

<http://www.cityu.edu.hk/sa/>
Dept. of Public and Social Administration
City University of Hong Kong

<http://www.ust.hk/%7Ewebsosc/>

Division of Social Sciences
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology

<http://www.ln.edu.hk/psd/>
Dept. of Politics & Sociology
Lingnan University

<http://www.hkpsa.org/hkpsa/>
Hong Kong Political Science Association (established 1998)

<http://www.hkpaa.org.hk/>
Hong Kong Public Administration Association (established 1990)