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"National Identity in Hong Kong During the Hundred-year Lease and its Affect on

the products designed there."

By:

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### **12. Introduction**

This thesis attempts to analyse the Chinese national identity of the people of Hong Kong and how it is expressed through the designs and manufactured items during the hundred year lease and then to analysis how the two identities, if they are noticeably separate combined after the 1997 handover.

To do this a criteria must be provided for analysis of national identity in the designed good. It must be decided how identity is established in all Chinese or Hong Kong products. Questioned such as those put forward by Jeremy Aynsley would help to provide such a criteria:

- 1. How can form: material and technique of a piece of design embody national or international concerns.<sup>3</sup>
- 2. Can there be national traditions in the systems of manufacture? How does a consciously international designer or company approach the organisation of the practice?
- 3. Are the categories mutually exclusive or can the same object contain both a national and international aspect.

#### (Aynsley, 1993, p.2)

Initial questions shall be asked about the nature of identity prior to the hundredyear lease of the Chinese people and more particularly of the Cantonese culture along the Pearl River Delta. This questioning shall lead to a full understanding of the characteristics that make up identity in Chinese design. Perceptions of the British towards China and Chinese design shall also be considered as a reference to original intent at the beginning of the hundred-year lease.

The thesis shall adopt a time linear approach and take into account both social and political influences on identity and examine how this would have affected the prevalence of national identity characteristics in the design and manufacture of



goods on the colony. It shall also examine the possibilities of future identity and design changes after the hand-over.



#### Literature Survey:

The first core reference text for this thesis was Matthew Turners, <u>Early modern</u> <u>design in Hong Kong</u>, 1986 which provides crucial historical information on Hong Kong design from before the hundred year lease to the nineteen sixties. The text is an argument for industrialisation in the third world but this thesis can use much of the information provided and construct arguments relating more specifically to national identity. The text ends in the 1960's and it would be the intention to follow through these arguments to the present day.

Hugh Aldersey Williams, <u>Nationalism and Globalism in Design</u>, 1992 provides information on the theories and styles of Globalism and Nationalism and has a chapter dedicated to the products designed there in the late eighties and early nineties. The main fault of the text is that it deals with this specific time period only and lacks the contextual and historical information to back up its arguments, it is in these areas where this thesis intends to improve on the text.

Bill Ashcroft, <u>The PostColonial Studies Reader</u>, 1995 provides information on the effects of colonialism on identity after the colonial Power has been removed. The text is general and the case studies differ greatly from Hong Kong but the arguments may be adapted and used in context for chapter 7.

Jeremy Aynsley's, <u>Design in the Twentieth Century: Nationalism and</u> <u>Internationalism</u>, 1993 was useful to create a structure of analysis in relation to national identity in design. It looks at design from various

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viewpoints in social, economic, educational, manufacturing, esthetical, cultural and geographic terms. Its method of analysis although applicable to any nations design requires more specific direction when applied specifically to Hong Kong. It would be the intention of this thesis to formulate a more specific analysis structure.

Madan Scrup, <u>Identity, Culture and the modern world</u>, 1996 was a reference guide for the analysis of national identity from a modern perspective.

Tom Barringer and Tony Flynns, <u>Colonial and the object: Empire, Material</u> <u>Culture and the Museum</u>, 1998 contained an essay entitled 'Chinese Material Culture and British Perceptions of China in the Mid-nineteenth Century that gave an important insight into both Chinese identity and also British intent on entering the hundred year lease.

Nando.net.com, <u>Main Events in the history of Hong Kong</u>, 1997 details the social, political and economic events that influenced Hong Kong identity and although not related to design was used as important focal points for this thesis.

Kevin Platt, <u>Motherlands embrace makes Hong Kong People Ask: Who Are</u> <u>We?</u>, 1993 gives personnal opinions on identity from people in Hong Kong in the run up to the 1997 hand-over. Not distinctly design related but gives a sense of identity that could be compared to that found in designs of the day.

Hazel Clarke, <u>Twenty Years in Retrospect: Design in Hong Kong</u>, 1993 was produced shortly after the Design'92 exhibition which took an overview of Hong Kong's recent design history. It gave detailed descriptions of the Swire School of



Design and the Hong Kong designers association, which gave an impression of the design strategies from the seventies onwards.

Colin Robinson, <u>Hong Kong From Shoddy to Chic?</u>, 1984 illustrates the development of Hong Kong design from the advent of the colonies hypergrowth up until the early eighties and offers up some areas in which case studies could be extracted.

Jonathan Woodham, <u>Escape from the imitation game</u>, 1986 discusses the problems with plagiarism of products in Hong Kong in the late seventies and early eighties and suggests the problems this would cause for future design.

Stephen Sparkes, <u>The complexity of Hong Kong identity in the past and</u> <u>present</u>, 1997 limited to the nineteen sixties to the present day and doesn't apply itself particularly to the field of design.

Graham Jenkins, <u>What it takes to design a product</u>, 1987 details the potential for the Hong Kong Design Innovation company and the types of products they worked on at the time.

Hong Kong Design Innovation Company, <u>Design Innovation Design</u> <u>Consultants</u>, 1997 details the products and awards the company received since its conception. The brochure does not apply critical analysis to the products shown and those suitable for this thesis should be considered in a more questioned manner.

DA News, <u>Fusing Art Philosophy With Design</u>, 1989 discusses the work of Max Cheung and offers up possible case studies.

Hong Kong Industrial Design Council, <u>Annual report</u>, 1972 gives details of the Governors awards for design that year.



Swire School of Design, Interview report from the Sunbeam Manufacturing Company Ltd. Gives a detailed history of this influential Hong Kong manufacturer.

Wun Yiu, <u>The Porcelain Metropolis by the Sea</u>, 1997 brochure that gives details of the kiln in Tai Po and the products made there. This was particularly relevant to understand the manufacturing styles in china before the hundred-year lease.

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nen le neneral neneral Nen le ser p Nen le ser p Chapter 1. The years leading up to the hundred year lease.

To examine the changes in the national identity of the people of Hong Kong, we must first establish a distinct identity from before the hundred-year lease. This creates a problem as the Chinese Dynasty system brought new cultures and identities to china, which became the accepted identity for the duration of that dynasty. One can cite the Manchurian dynasty as the dominant culture before the opium war (1839-42), But the people from the Pearl River Delta including those from Hong Kong represent Cantonese Culture and identity (Chan, 1998, interview).

Another connection between the regions is their attitudes towards materialistic culture. Modern views on communist China may give the impression that it has always been anti-materialistic but this is not the case. Chinese culture has always been derived from the need to acquire money for the support of the family (Chan, 1998, interview). This trend continues with the mindset of the Chinese male being such that pride and tradition dictates that your goal should be to go into business and provide. This was particularly true of the Cantonese people around the Pearl River delta region.

This self-sufficient attitude was representative of the nation as a whole. Traditionally China held a superior position in the balance of trade with Britain. This desire for the people to provide goods for sale was combined with a huge potential market which resulted in a lack of imported goods into the country as the demand was already being met internally.

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It was at this time, with the balance of trade falling so much in Chinas favour that the traditional British attitude, as shown in this quote from an article of the time, of china began to change.

"The land of the exotic and unusual, the home of 'wisdom, virtue and good faith' and 'a model for all nations on earth" (Barringer and Flynn, 1998, p.10)

To address the perceived problem the British began exporting opium from India into china creating huge demand that would eventually lead to a retaliation from the Chinese that started the opium war (Chan, 1998, interview). At its end the British views of china had changed dramatically.

"Vast hordes of Chinese, thanks to the new freedoms offered by British political and commercial influence were at last able to break through the ignorance and superstition which has for ages enveloped them."

(Barringer and Flynn, 1998, p.30)

The Chinese became stereotypes in western eyes and with British control of the strong export region of the Pearl River Delta china began exporting products that neglected traditional styles and represented the new stereo typical view of the country.

A prime example of how the Chinese identity was not represented accurately by the indigenous designers of the time is shown in the Chinese export porcelain plate fig.1.

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Fig.1 Blue and white Chinese export plate.

The Blue willow pattern is a representation of the British image of Chinese culture. The design was originally conceived by Thomas Milton in 1780 but in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Chinese adapted the style to effectively supply the western market with the image of china they believed was true, Although this may be perceived as a breakdown of Chinese identity in their indigenous produce, realistically it continues the materialistic tradition that makes up part of traditional Chinese culture and identity.

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We have will be preserve as a representation for the British Intege of Converse control. The Bradger was a represent vector of the space will be a 17.80 and a the first of the Bradger was a represent approximation of the space of the second control of the Bradger of Alasers and price and second second second control of the Braden of Alasers and second set was true. Although the second control of the Braden of Alasers and second set was true. Although the second control of the Braden of Alasers and second set was true. Although the second control of the Braden of Alasers and second set was true although the second control of the Braden of Alasers and second second second second control of the Braden of Alasers and second second second second control of the Braden of Alasers and second second second second control of the Braden of Alasers and second second second second control of the Braden of Alasers and second second second second control of the Braden of Alasers and second second second control of the Alasers and the Braden of Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Braden of Bladen of Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of Bladen of Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of the control of the Bladen of t If we look at the ceramics produced for domestic use at the time we see a different story. The bowl is an example of blue and white wares of the Wun Yiu kiln in Tai Po and is designed in a more traditional Chinese style than the Miltonesque piece.



Fig.2 Authentic Chinese pottery style from Wun Yiu kiln.

The piece was designed for simple day to day use and represents the gap between the materialistic need to design for export and the need for traditional style that would represent visually national identity. The simple bird motif suits the items function. It is quite clear that with the lack of a constant visual identity between the products designed in the Hong Kong We sold a the certainies of deced for domestic restor the time where a billerene show (the basis is an example of films, ed. white wares of the Nur billerene is in Prevail to many address over continued.

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established apart from the visual.

Hong Kong was already quite industrialised on British occupancy.

" In 1846 the second Governor, Sir John Davis, noted: large number of Chinese are employed in their respective shops in the exercise of trades and manufactures" (Turner, 1986, p.204)

It was the economic strategy of the residents of Hong Kong that would provide the greatest conflict with the British Template, That strategy had three main features:

- A labour intensive system of serial or mass production.
- A strong export orientation.
- A process of adaptive design.

This system of manufacture along with the materialistic nature of the Chinese

people constitutes complete criteria for the analysis of future Hong Kong design.

On July 1<sup>st</sup> 1898 Britain began its 99-year lease on Hong Kong which would affect

the national identity of the Chinese people living there.

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#### Chapter 2. 1898- 1940.

In the advent of any colonization the coloniser must show its dominance and also win over the native people to the new jurisdiction. With Hong Kong the native people were used to changing ruling forces as seen through the many dynasties ruling China throughout its history. The people themselves would be used to an assimilation of the new ruling culture into their own, but in the past the economic, production and design strategies were always along the Asian principles discussed earlier. The British strategy would possibly force a conflict.

"Today we know that in the first phase of the national struggle colonialism tries to disarm national demands by putting forward economic doctrines" (Ashcroft, Griffins, Tiffin, 1995, p. 153)

An example of British efforts to impose its own design methods on Hong Kong during the early stages of its occupancy is seen in 1904 when London designers set up a firm of Arts and Crafts to 'aid' the Hong Kong designers who where still perceived as being ignorant towards the Assumed higher quality of design found in Europe(Turner, 1986, p. 204). This can be seen as an early indication that the British views towards Hong Kong design and manufacturing techniques were not ones of assimilation but of dominance and control.

This attempt at imposing the British attitude towards design was not without its detractors. The people of the Pearl river delta region had already established their indigenous strategy that by the turn of the century were producing a diverse range



of products successfully and this was justly recognised by Sir Matthew Nathan when he promoted the first exhibition of industrial arts in 1906 (Turner, 1989, p. 204). The exhibition attempted to demonstrate how the national tradition and identity of the people of Hong Kong could be demonstrated.

"A revelation of the artistic temperament of Chinese craftsmen in our midst, above all, it showed the way in which local artisans sought to express their feelings for beauty in the works of their hands". (Turner, 1989, p.205)

It is questionable however, that these economic and stylistic doctrines would have the desired effect on Chinese culture in Hong Kong as they just provided a new methodology for the people there to achieve the material wealth that they required as a point of pride and necessity under Chinese rule. In essence the people of Hong Kong would adapt to the British 'dynasty' as the people of china had done many times before as assimilate it into their lives and use it for their own goals.

After this time there was a steady influx of shanghaiese firms wishing to set up base in Hong Kong. This began gradually but by the 1930's had led to a massive increase in the amount of factories being set up in the colony and a dramatic increase in its output (Turner, 1989, p. 206). It is generally assumed that the industrial revolution occurred in Hong Kong in the post war years but this explosion in industry actually represents its<sup>1</sup> beginning. The growth was stunted by the war and took time to recover which leads to the false impression that the colony was not industrialised in the prewar years. In fact the Reputation Hong Kong earned at this time for manufacturing and design quality was extremely favorable. The British now were forced to replace some of the 'Made in Hong Kong' labels with ones claiming united Kingdom manufacture. This is an example of how the design

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heritage that could have been passed over to future Hong Kong Residents was hidden and would eventually lead to the later belief that no heritage existed at all.

A major development in the development of design and industry in Hong Kong occurred with the signing of the Ottawa Agreement in 1932(turner, 1989, p.208). This allowed products that were developed in the British colony of Hong Kong to be exported to other colonies (later this also included commonwealth countries). The ability of the designers and manufacturers who under Chinese rule would have a distinct export orientation to expand their markets to include Asia, the Middle East and Africa would solidify this traditional sign of identity in Chinese design. In essence the traditional methods of destroying identities of a people that would traditionally lead to problematic nationalism would not work in Hong Kong as the economic techniques were a logical continuation of Chinese culture. An example of successful design and manufacture is to be found in the ever-prominent textile industry. The Chuen Sun knitting factories' '505' and '555' cotton singlets produced under the Marco Polo brand where a great success in the growing export market. Even if we look however at the native advertising for the products at the time we can see how the Chinese identity characteristic of export orientation is accepted as the norm. The athletic image of the western male wearing a 555 shirt makes no

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Fig.3 Advertisement for Chuen Sun Products.

attempt to deny that the products are designed for export and for a Hong Kong resident to purchase one would show that this export nature was acceptable as a way of daily life. The Chuen Sun's designs were an export success with American film star Bo Derek appearing in a publicity

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Fig.4 Actress Bo Derek endorsing a Chuen Sun Design.

poster wearing a '555' singlet. The idea of this modern western icon wearing an item first produced in Hong Kong seems bizarre compared to the later view on the style and quality associated with Hong Kong products.

Pre-war Hong Kong design, as we have seen has shown itself to represent quality. So how does this relate to the cheap image of the products that followed and how would the lack of visible heritage affect the future designers working in the colony?

In conclusion we see that the prewar attempts at disestablishing national identity were misguided. Firstly the influence of the coloniser was not as strong over Chinese



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in som an versen ut the University of Supersult Supersult frequency is the second H sufficiency of the second s The some second second such a second such as a the second of the second second second second second second second people as it would have been in other countries as the assimilation of new culture was a common feature in Chinese history. New styles such as the arts and crafts would be seen as new methods of improving export viability to the British market and the economic doctrines set down would also strengthen this area and also promote the materialistic needs of the Chinese citizen. We see how quality designs were being produced in Hong Kong but passed off as British goods which would effect the feeling of identity witnessed in goods of the period.

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#### Chapter 3. 1940-1950

By the 1940's the new industrialised Hong Kong began to accept the need for design strategies as a means to satisfy the requirements of the expanded markets as a result of the Ottawa Agreement. The new markets in the Middle East, Asia and Africa had very different needs for the esthetical qualities of their imported products from Hong Kong. At the start of the decade there were over a dozen advertising houses in existence that promoted the design advancements in Hong Kong at the time(Turner, 1989, p.206). The design advancements in question were often slight changes that specifically suited individual markets and this was another example of how Chinese design methods and identity through process, namely design adaptation, could be applied to secure the financial viability of products for export.

The economic development experienced in Hong Kong during the early part of the century was to become stunted by the onslaught of World War Two. In December of 1941, Japanese troops began an occupation of Hong Kong to take advantage of its strategic military position. By the time the occupation ended in August 1945 the prewar growth was disrupted considerably and inflation soared affecting the real value of goods (Turner, 1989, p.207). Without the commercial viability of existing products a new approach to design and manufacture would have to be considered.

The solution to the problem was the introduction of plastics. The material was first introduced to Hong Kong manufacture by the china plastic company in 1947(Turner, 1989, p.207). It offered the ideal methodology for the continuation of the



indigenous techniques of design adaptation. Plastic could be used to produce products quickly thus reducing manufacturing costs and providing the desired quick return on their investment that was essential to the materialistic culture of the time.



Fig.5 Star Industrial Co. ltd. Plastic toothbrushes.

An example of early successes in the use of plastics in products from Hong Kong include the Ace range of toothbrushes manufactured by the Star Industrial Co. Ltd. The new use of plastic in manufacture has allowed the continuation of light industrial labour intensive production, which was a factor of the Chinese indigensus techniques or design magnation. Plasme could un ized to produce in the produce in the second of the produced produce



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An errorado of carly successes in the use of plastics in products from Hong Kong, include the error range of confidence has manufactured by the Star Bultword Confid-The way are of plastic in anoto seture has allowed the confiduation of light incussion from the means or mean actions, which was a factor of the Charles manufacturing system. Plastic also allowed the production of colour ranges in the toothbrushes which offered the consumer more choice which has always been a successful method at increasing sales of a product. This satisfies the materialistic needs of the Chinese identity.

With both plastic usage and the expanding export markets (still including China at this point) Hong Kong's national identity in design as a descendant of the Chinese and particularly of the Pearl River Delta prototypes developed towards the universal identity required by global or large regional products. To take Ernest Gellners point on the potential for nationalist designers in the abstract:

"The nationalistic principle can be asserted in an ethical, 'universalistic' spirit. There could be and on occasion have been nationalists in the abstract, unbiased in favour of any special nationality of their own and generously preaching the doctrine for all nations alike" (Ansley, 1993, p.14)

Although Hong Kong in design terms was providing goods to the specification of foreign countries and traditional material usage such as that of ceramics had switched to plastic does not mean that the colonies Chinese identity had been corroded by its separation from the mainland. In fact the changes and developments that occurred in the period since the hundred year lease came into effect are more likely to have strengthened the signs of Chinese identity found in Hong Kong design.



The traditional financially driven attitudes towards design were to be at the expense of innovation after the war as market demands were based were based on familiar and stereotypical views on what type of product should come out of Hong Kong. An example being the sunbeam manufacturing Co. which produced flashlights in Hong Kong.



Fig.6 postwar advertisement for sunbeam torches.

After the war a department for engineering and design was set up to experiment with modern styles. The markets for the flashlights in Africa and Asia deemed the changes to be inferior and so the products failed. The company then reverted back to the original designs used before the war as seen in the advertisement (fig.6). Although the failure of modern styles in Hong Kong design would affect any attempts at innovation it did not immediately affect the Chinese identity through design and manufacture that had developed before British colonization but it would i he traditional financially driven attitudes forwards feering were to be at the mysene of momentum alternabe way is market denomine were based were besed on insumer and seconfynesis firms on elemetype of promoter should come out of Hong force, to example terms for samples manufacturing Co. which produced

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affect the weight of design heritage in the eyes of future Hong Kong designers. This trend to follow the examples of Hong Kong design which led to a more financial secure position of following the design trends in each market and providing a product that was immediately acceptable without attempt to extend any new boundaries in the products field would eventually have a much more serious impact on the apparent identity of manufactured goods from the colony.

Often the esthetical qualities of a product are seen as the defining factors when considering the evidence of national identity in a product. We look for the fashionable and stylised appearance of Italian goods and the functional and serious approach from Germany. This however, is not an appropriate criteria for use when discussing Chinese or Hong Kong products. It would not affect the identity of Hong Kong products to use similar styling as the Italians or the Germans as Chinese identity in design has always had an element of export orientation as a means to financial gain.

Up until the end of the 1940's china remained a strong influence on the Hong Kong designers and manufacturers as an identity source and also a huge local export market. In 1949 however, 750,000 Chinese fled to Hong Kong to escape the communist party that had taken control of the mainland. The traditional materialist culture of china was being reformed and the socialist ideal implemented. It is unlikely that the people who left china at this time brought any of these ideals with them as they represented the following of traditional Chinese government and the divisions between the two groups were always quite distinct. So the influence these

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people would have would be to promote materialist culture in Hong Kong and to encourage the designers there to keep this aspect of Chinese culture in their work. To surmise the forties brought changes to the traditional systems of design and manufacture. The need for different design strategies was realised, most importantly with the introduction of plastics. Creation of mature styles and innovative product lost out to plagiarism. The changes brought about are still connected however to design adaptation, export orientation, labour intensive production and materialist culture that was established as the characteristics of Chinese identity that are identifiable in the countries design.



# Chapter 4. 1950-1970

The political changes in China during the 1950's created fresh challenges for the designers in Hong Kong. The British Empire was in serious decline and therefore the organised trade structures between colonies and the commonwealth were breaking down. The Chinese intervention in the Korean War caused America to demand its economic and trade isolation. It was becoming apparent that the traditional design strategy of export orientation was at risk. The Chinese manufacturing association stepped in with trade missions to Japan, Thailand, Malaya, Australia, Singapore, the Philippines, Korea and Indonesia(Turner, 1986, 206).

The move was largely successful and by 1956 the trade to these countries was equal to that of the rest of the commonwealth( Turner, 1986, p.209). Added to this was American foreign policy aimed improving industrial and economic growth in Hong Kong, which created new trade links with the United States.

With China isolated from the rest of the world Hong Kong became a major trading port in Asia. This led to improved infrastructure, which strengthened the viability of Hong Kong exports.

The quality of Hong Kong design deteriorated rapidly at this time. This was a result of a severe lack of design education on the colony. While the west had begun to accept industrial design as a profession since the war, Hong Kong had no educational system to provide the training for such.

Another factor to be considered is that the products being manufactured in Hong Kong were more often than not being produced from specifications provided by the west, particularly the Americans, as a result of this inadequate training of



Hong Kong designers. In 1961 six American design specialists set up in Hong Kong and began to dominate the local design scene (Turner, 1986, p.209).

This begs the question: when products are no longer being designed by the Hong Kong people how can they be expected to represent any form of identity for those people? To defend against this point we must consider design as a process incorporating manufacture and market.

"In the process of creating a manufactured artifact, it is not only the individual designer and his or her national character that must be taken into account but also a number of collective intermediary characters, such as those of the client corporation and of the intended consumer base" (Affsley (ed.), 1993, p.27)

In the context of Hong Kong this should also include the manufacturing process that has been shown to be an overriding feature in all products from the colony. American interests were obviously upholding the traditional export orientation. They were primarily attracted to the advantage of low cost manufacturing that was to be found in Hong Kong as a result of the cheap labour intensive production due to the large population from the previous years immigration.

Therefore these elements that made up the Chinese identity in design remains intact regardless of the designers specific nationality. The fact that the designs are provided to the manufacturer also cuts down on cost of development allowing a quicker and higher return of investment and profits which would satisfy the materialistic instincts they possessed from Chinese culture.

The traditional process of design adaptation had however become more difficult with the provision of the foreign specification. Without the independence to alter the designs the Hong Kong manufacturers were halted from improving upon existing products by their traditional means.



This was the time that Hong Kong began its pattern of copying foreign goods and producing them at lower cost. This left future designers with a sense of creative inferiority (Turner, 1986, p.211).





Fig. 7 Sunbeams Ashtray.

An example of this plagiarism can be seen in the Ashtray produced by Sunbeam in 1964(Wei, 1994, p.2). The design relies heavily on Italian designs of the period. In the absence of desired innovation on the part of Hong Kong manufacturers the choice to plagiaries became a economical necessity. In order to compete in the international markets you must be prepared to offer the consumer the modern, fashionable

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product. With no adequate design teams this requires copying from other

companies. This could be seen as a development of the traditional methods of design adaptation mentioned earlier. Also the absence of a design team cuts manufacturing costs which can be linked to the materialistic tradition.

As for the Chinese identity felt by the people who had been separated from the

mainland for over sixty years. The new isolation from the mainland made the ability

to maintain a contemporary Chinese identity more difficult.

"The lack of a common Hong Kong Identity is apparent in the films and television of the time. Films were concerned with human drama without a specific Hong Kong context. There was little discussion of the colonial situation and only an idealised portrayal of china that is no local setting and little sense of being unique." (Sparkes, 1997, p.1)

With the isolation from china identity became static and less and less a factor in daily life. The idea of Hong Kongese as a separate identity came to define people who could not consider themselves British but lacked the connections with the mainland that would make them definitively Chinese.

"Nations foster a sense of belonging, rootedness, a sense of sovereignty. States are engaged in incessant propaganda of shared attitudes." (Sarup, 1996, p.130)

This rooted ness was breaking down due to the political situation. The media sources that would normally provide the propaganda were unable to provide an identity that the people could relate to. The fifties and sixties can then be seen as the first evidence of a possible deterioration in Chinese identity in Hong Kong.

For design, any attempt to retain the identity seen in previous goods from the colony required the implementation of design education. Both the designers themselves and the Hong Kong people had to improve their design awareness if the traditional identities were to remain. This resulted in the Industrial Design Council in 1968 and the Swire School of design founded in the previous year, which stemmed

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from British attitudes towards the need for design education and also the western 60's free culture that had caused educational reform worldwide ( Chan, 1998, interview). In conclusion, The history of export orientation proved invaluable because of the economic pressures from the political turmoil in Asia in the sixties and seventies. The nature of national identity in design was shown not to be dependant on the designers' own nationality but could also be established by the techniques he/she uses. In the context of Hong Kong this meant that although during this period the design of goods was largely out of the Hong Kong designers hands the systems remained connected to those of Chinese culture. This period did bring up the first signs of a breakdown in Chinese identity in Hong Kong and because the designers were largely ignorant towards a design heritage from the prewar years the quality of design and general plagiarism became identifiable factors in manufacture. In an attempt to address this the educational system was provided, but on the western prototype without regard for traditional values from the region.



## Chapter 5. 1970-1984

With the economic and manufacturing explosion of the early seventies Hong Kong had managed to restore the real value of products that had soared after World War Two. This should have been an excellent time for the first graduates of the Swire School to instill a distinct Hong Kong identity into the goods being produced there. The graduation show in 1971 would seem to indicate that the young designers were happier to follow the existing system of plagiarism then to offer up any new ideas.



Fig.8 graduation design by Kwok Hun Cheun.

This chair designed for the show relies heavily on European designs of the late sixties. There is no real attempt to invoke any sense of Chinese identity visually in

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the product. It seems that the attempts of the polytechnic to show the value of Chinese design heritage and instead students preferred to use the new adapted system which was affecting the quality of Hong Kong Design. The problems can not be solely seen in the work produced by the designers as the expanded industry did not immediately provide these opportunities towards innovation as the adequate design education that would reveal the potential of industrial design to the manufacturers was not there. Although this prevented the return to the more innovative adaptive design of Hong Kong's history. It does represent a continuation of the materialist culture. The manufacturers had no faith in the prospective investment of hiring an in house designer or even paying for the work to be developed by new inexperienced designers. The desire for the fast money was paramount to them. It would be untrue to say that the designers never made an impact on local industry. Many such as Andy law did eventually find success in the field. His designs followed the system of design for export and made use of plastics as a cheap and convenient manufacturing process as can be seen in this range of plastic bathroom fittings Fig.9. Law succeeded by using the system that had been established to give him the position to experiment with styles albeit foreign ones.

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Fig. 9 Examples of plastic products by Andy Law.

The Hypergrowth of the seventies propelled Hong Kong into the position of a major investment center. This was as a result of the British imposed tax system that made it a more favourable option for investment. This exaggerated materialistic society led to huge divides between the classes on the colony.

"During this time there was a clear divide between the ruling elite's and the masses. There was also a marked racial divide between the few British who ruled the colony and the majority Chinese workers." (Sparkes, 1997, p.1).

The financial growth caused the fractured Hong Kong identity to be examined more closely. To take Aynsleys point on national identity when he asks," Do individual characteristics proceed out of the national substance or is the concept of what is national formed by generalisation on the basis of individual characterisation" (Aynsley ed., 1993, p.24). In other words did the social position, beliefs and culture of the majority workers make up the national identity or was it the individuals who Che Hypergansch of the sevenics prophiled floor, and, have the Hypergansch of the sevenics prophiled floor is nog into the position of any or investment context of the sected of the British topped he system for match is more firrearcite option for investment. This magge star contentions and it is more firrearcite prion for investment. This magge star contentions acted, its to have distance between the classes on the colory.
controlled the money and the power? The films and television programmes of the time, powerful weapons during the British 'Dynasty' as along with the education system it allowed them to promote its influence quickly in an easily consumable form, show very different images than the sixties versions. They were more specifically about the 'Hong Kong experience'. They looked at youth rebellion, family values, vice and corruption. The most popular soap operas of the time were often about the desire for riches, from this we see the materialist culture that is traditionally Chinese but also the corruption that goes against the 'work hard to prosper justly' ethic. This could be a result of the relaxed enforcement of the law in relation to activities such as gambling which was allowed to take place provided some of the profits went to charities. These charities largely represented the interests of the rich and with visible corruption in government policy like this it is possible that the materialistic identity of the people of Hong Kong became soiled.

If traditional identities and culture was to be represented in the industrial products further efforts had to be made to raise the design awareness of the business community. The effort was made with the establishment of the Hong Kong designers association in 1973, which aimed to raise the standard of design on the colony. The association consisted of representatives from various aspects of design and visual communications. It had some success particularly in the field of graphic design. The HKDA attempted to merge the traditional styling and imagery of china and meld them with modern design theories of the time. In product design however, this development was not quite as successful with manufacturers still relying on



themselves as being OEM (overseas equipment manufacture) and not realising the benefits of ODM (own design manufacture).

The early seventies brought with it another political event that made Hong Kong Residents consider their nationality. In 1972 the newly reappointed Peoples Republic of China indicated to the UN that it wanted Hong Kong back. Britain towards the end of the decade began talks on the subject and in 1984 British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Chinese premier Zhoa Ziyang sign an accord to return Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1997(Nando.net, 1997, p.1). This forced the people of Hong Kong to decide whether or not they would leave the colony or stay and await the return to Chinese rule. Such a decision requires a clear feeling of ones own national identity. Questions were raised on the validity of Chinese identity in the westernised Hong Kong. Should the people adopt the traditional Chinese identity or the modern socialist one? Does the term Hong Kongese have validity claiming a separate unique identity for the people of the colony? Or was there a definite identity at all? If we look at industrial products made in the early eighties we see few attempts to show pride in ones national produce.

An example of this lack of pride can be seen in the Meyer electric grill of the late seventies. The design proved to be an example of quality Hong Kong design but was sold to Braun in the eighties. While looking for the fast return on investment the company had no time for idealistic principles like pride and the creation of identity. The materialistic instinct remains intact but still the design heritage is lost.





Fig.10 Meyer electric grill

The eighties saw the continuation of the copying system, a system that gave Hong Kong an undesirable identity in western eyes, for example in the furniture industry where famous mackintosh chair designs were reproduced. Asian kitsch as it is know known had a very strong base in Hong Kong design with coke bottles turned into telephones and human sized travelling robots being produced in order to meet short term supplier demands( Robinson, 1984, p. 36).

It is possible that the copying and kitsch systems stem from this confusion on national identity. In other words the transient and baseless nature of the products is representative of the lack of concrete identity on the colony.

By 1984 further problems were becoming apparent on the colony. The increased economic growth had led to higher labour costs putting the traditional

method of labour intensive manufacturing strategies in a situation were it was not economically viable for investors. Hong Kong was now second behind Japan for labour costs in Asia and people were choosing to invest in Seoul or Taipei. The message was clear that Hong Kong designers and manufacturers would have to start producing higher quality goods for export in a similar way as Japan had been required to do, not for reasons of identity or style but to satisfy material needs of the people. This caused many problems, as most of the companies were small firms that had no ability to create an in-house design team to work on the goods. In conclusion the early seventies was a period of great economic growth for the colony but also a terrible time for the quality of its design output. The students from the Swire School failed to make the impression required in local industry which in itself did not realise the benefits of own design manufacture. Traditional elements of identity as seen in industrial products such as materialist culture and design adaptation had become corrupt and in the case of the later had developed into downright plagiarism. Political events of the time made people question for the first time their identity and the lack of concrete identity can be seen in the kitsch and plagarised products of the time.

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## Chapter 6. 1984-1995

The designers and design educators in Hong Kong after 1984 began to identify the major problems involved in Hong Kong design. The first problem to be overcome was the lack of financially viable design teams in manufacture. The then head of the Swire School had been promoting the idea of a government subsidised design company, which would work with local industry. In 1986 he received the funding for such and the Hong Kong Design Innovation Company Ltd was established (Woodham, 1986, p. 17). The mission of the HKIDC was the injection of new ideas into domestic manufacturing industry to remove the dependence on the overseas orders and designs mentioned earlier so these manufacturers would be able to respond to rapid changes in production technology (Woodham, 1986, p. 17). The idea of the company was to encourage design education in local manufacture by offering the companies a local government funded source of ideas and information. The company had strong links with the Swire School and intended to use their consultants and lecturers as a workforce in the project.

Success stories such as the E Fax 200 fax machine designed by Max Chueng in 1991 are example of how the HKIDC achieved its goals. The products strengths rely on the innovative design adaptation techniques that were being used by the HKIDC. This return to traditional features of Hong Kong design methods was justly rewarded in both local and international design competitions. The product once again relied on the export market fulfilling characteristic two of the aforementioned identity criteria. The labour intensive production methods however were lost to heavier





Fig. 11 Award winning E fax 200

Manufacturing techniques that were less labour dependant. The materialistic instinct went from the fast dollar to a more considered long-term quality approach to business.

The Swire School itself was now facing its own problems in encouraging this more identity conscious approach to design. There was no question about the ability of the students at technical skills such as drawing and model making or their motivation: ten-hour days were often complimented with part time jobs. This was because they usually came from the majority working classes mentioned previously and for them the need to get a job was the most important thing in college (Aynsley, 1993, p.96). We must consider that although China had a huge design heritage that the students could take inspiration from it did not have the media structure that would have existed during British occupancy. The desire for originality was severely lacking in the students, The tradition of copying that had been established decades earlier left



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the students with no problems plagarising work (in fact the students rarely questioned anything and took the tutors information at face value all the time).

"In a crowded classroom at the Swire School of design in Hong Kong Polytechnic, Matthew Turner confronts his students with this observation. One student in the room is the outright winner of a recent competition. Several runners up are also present. In keeping with recent tradition their designs are strangely familiar. Why is this? Do the students not feel ashamed? There is a silence in the room and a sense of a cultural gulf between student and teacher. There are a few sniggers but there is no embarrassment. For passing off is part of Hong Kong life." (Aldersy Williams, 1992, p.132) The attempt to convince the designers and manufacturers of the colony to approach design from a different viewpoint than the purely financial one was an uphill struggle. Where the HKIDC succeeded and the Swire School had difficulties was in its ability to find a balance between materialistic needs and future stability of design in Hong Kong. By acting as an outside service costs could still be relatively low so the system became more financial viable while improving the quality of the designs and restoring the prewar identity of Hong Kong design. It should be noted however that the restoration began to take place as a result of economic pressures referred to earlier note as some recognition of design heritage on the colony.

The nature of identity of the Hong Kong people during the early nineties became even more fractured. Nobody considered themselves as a permanent resident, especially in the years preceding the handover in 1997(Aldersey-Williams, 1992, p.134). The lack of concrete identity and even a belief in a design history that could be used as a reference for one, affected how the designers expressed their nationality through manufactured goods. The culture of plagiarism was omnipresent in Hong Kong products and led to the present day image of 'cheap and



nasty' products. The confidence needed to change this system is what was lacking at the time. Uncertainties on the future of Hong Kong under communist Chinas control was essentially preventing the long-term investment that was required to revamp the local industry to provide the quality goods that could demand a higher price in the marketplace. This was a major test of the Chinese identity for Hong Kong manufacturers who would need to have the belief that Hong Kong would continue to be a major industrial success after 1997.

In 1989 this confidence became strained when the Peoples Republic of China crushed the prodemocracy movement in Tiananmen Square in Beijing severely affecting confidence of the colonies residents under Chinese rule. The divide between the democratic Colony and communist China was laid bare and this further shook the fragile identity structures on the colony.

Prodemocracy candidates swept the polls at the final legislature elections in 1995 stating quite clearly that the Chinese identity of the people of Hong Kong (many of those who felt they had lost this identity and saw themselves as incompatible with the new China chose to leave in the eighties) was a democratic one which suggests a reliance on precommunist ideals of China. China however, vowed to disband legislature when it took control further straining its relationship with its future residents.

To summaries the late eighties and early nineties saw attempts to improve the quality of Hong Kong industrial products most specifically in the HKIDC. Although there were improvements in quality in manufacturing in education the students influenced by media and faster information than ever before relied on the old



system of plagiarism. All improvements in the quality of design must be at the benefit of materialistic needs. The traditional identity characteristic of labour intensive production was becoming financially unviable and heavy technology was being used instead.

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Chapter 7. 1995- 1998

This chapter attempts to look at the state of Hong Kong identity in the two years preceding the hand-over, discuss the affects of the hand-over and suggest how the identity of the resident will be affected with the assimilation with China. There are three arguments for the state of identity in Hong Kong before the Handover. Firstly that the fact that the people who stayed in the colony when they had the chance to leave obviously still felt attached to Chinese identity regardless of the separation period, The second claims a separate Hong Kongese identity removed from that of the Chinese and the third claims no identity at all not British, not Chinese somewhere in a type of no mans land.

"Introspection is new for Hong Kong, where questions about identity were largely submerged in the rush to make money. British Gunboats wrested Hong Kong from China in 1841 in a war to sell opium. But Chinese flocked there willingly, seeking haven from war and famine. The enclave thrived on cultural and political ambiguity" (Platt, 1997, p.1)

The real decision time would come on July first 1997 when the mainland and Hong Kong where reunited when the differences between the cultures would become apparent. In design terms how would the changes in the traditional design process throughout the hundred-year lease influence or be influenced by the mainland. Would communist China attempt to change the money lead society of the colony into its own ideals or would the successes and experiences of Hong Kong restore the materialistic heritage in the mainland. Post-colonial theory offers some indications:



"The dangers of the national bourgeoisie using nationalism to maintain its own power demonstrates one of the principal dangers of nationalism- that it frequently takes over hegemonic control of the imperial power, thus replicating the conditions it rises up to combat." (Barringer and Flynn, 1998, p.151)

This would suggest that Hong Kong would attempt to take a dominant position in the creation of the reunited identity. In design terms this could be problematic with the need for labour intensive production disestablished in the previous decade huge numbers of Chinese people may find it difficult to survive in the quality own design system now developed on the colony. On the other hand the labour available would be cheap and perhaps the system would again follow the Japanese typeset and base design and development in the experienced Hong Kong and manufacturing elsewhere on the mainland.

Whatever the problems and benefits would be it was clear that by 1995 the designers and manufacturers had learnt of the benefits of quality design method. The attempts to improve the reputation of Hong Kong design had been reasonably successful as can be seen in the award winning discovery torches (fig.12). They were developed by the HKIDC who at this time where producing designs for Black and Decker, Philips and Prolite as well as a host of local Hong Kong firms. This client list alone showing the quality and recognition Hong Kong design was beginning receive. The local and international awards the torch designs received would suggest that the time was right for Hong Kong to become the design center for Chinas manufacturing.





Fig.12 award winning HKIDC torch designs.

This new system seems to be the most likely according to ex-Hong Kong resident and design tutor Steve Chan who believes that China's materialistic values still live on in Communist China (Chan, 1998, interview)

He suggests that communism was a means to replace the Dynasty system rather than a natural political progression. The political system still allows a certain degree of materialism to exist and the return of Hong Kong should give the mainland the means to fulfil its materialistic desires.

There is of course that this materialistic instinct may not be as prevalent in Hong Kong as it once was. Before the Handover the British introduced the first social welfare system in the colonies history. The materialistic values had sprung from the need to survive and support the family. Unemployment rates soared as a

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result and considerable damage was done to this traditional characteristic of the Hong Kong people and therefore its influence on design and manufacture.

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## **Conclusion:**

The first chapter of this thesis identified the four main characteristics of identity in Chinese design. These being the continuation of materialist culture, A labour intensive system of serial or mass production, a strong export orientation, and a process of adaptive design. These characteristics went through the following changes during the hundred-year lease.

In the prewar years British attempts to impose economic and stylistic doctrines on the colony resulted in a strengthening of the materialist culture and also an improved means for export orientation. These factors caused the prewar industrialisaton of the colony and resulted in a reputation of quality for the products designed there.

This process of industrialisation collapsed as a result of world war two, which required a rethink of certain factors in design. The most important event was the introduction of plastics, which allowed a continuation of the labour intensive production and also the system of design adaptation. Hong Kong's reputation for quality innovative design was under risk at this time because development of product was discouraged by the export markets.

During the fifties and the sixties the traditional Chinese identity was tested again with the breakdown of organised export structure at the collapse of the British Empire. If the export orientation was solely a result of British influence the economy would have collapsed but the familiarity and inclination of Chinese identity towards export manufacture enabled the economy to recover. The lack of design education and the cut off of design heritage from the forties resulted in the traditional



characteristic of design adaptation moving into the area of copying. The designs commonly used at the end of this period were produced by foreign designers and clients. It was established that the Chinese identity still continued in this system as it was seen through motivating factors (materialism) and the traditional manufacturing techniques which remained largely intact regardless of the individual designers or clients nationality. However this period does show the first breakdown of Chinese identity on the colony.

The seventies and early eighties brought hypergrowth to the Hong Kong economy. Economic doctrines from Britain such as the tax system encouraged the materialistic nature of manufacturers and the money led profession made student designers less interested in any design heritage and resulted in increased plagiarism and the short term gains of Kitsch products. These features of design strategies mirroring the lack of rootedness many residents of the colony felt when challenged seriously for the first time to think about their own identity.

The late eighties saw the introduction of new design strategies to improve the quality of Hong Kong design, which was becoming economically unviable as a result of competition from other Asian countries. This meant the loss of the traditional characteristic of Chinese identity, the use of labour intensive production methods. The chapter shows that the educational system could not offer the financial reasoning for the change and therefore had difficulty making the improvements. In industry the improvement were argued from the point of the characteristic of materialist culture and by the start of the nineties thing had begun to change.



To look at the changes in Chinese identity in design from the colony we see that materialist culture became soiled during the hundred-year lease due to political corruption and the money lead society it created. As previously mentioned The labour intensive method of production survived until the eighties when the economy grew to such a point that it was not a competitive system anymore. Design adaptation turned from innovative design to plagiarism and more recently back to quality designs. Export orientation remains the method by which the colony survives. The three remained and developed characteristic are likely to be a huge influence on the mainland after the handover with Hong Kong Becoming the design centre for the mainland's manufacturing. How much influence communist China will have on the exaggerated materialist culture of Hong Kong is difficult to judge but as is suggested that political system was a means to an end and the materialist spirit still carries on in the Chinese citizen.



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