The Concept of Youth and Youth Policy:

A Discursive Analysis

By

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Philosophy

December 2001

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ABSTRACT

The objectives of this thesis are to: a) find out how youth problems were articulated from 1950s to 1970s in Hong Kong; b) to examine how relevant discourses made sense of youth problems and put forward youth policies; and c) to investigate the relation between youth policies and the process of state formation.   To answer the above questions, Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is employed. Fairclough emphasized that discourses have effects on construction of social identity and social relations, termed as the interpersonal function, and the construction of system of knowledge and belief, as the ideational function.   Focusing these two functions of texts, we identified the parties involved and the relations among them in youth policy formation in textual analysis.   In Fairclough's model, this textual analysis is combined with an analysis of a wider context of sociocultural practice. Fairclough provides a three-tier structure of analysis for this study.   The first-tier is an textual analysis by which specific features are found.   The second-tier, called discursive practice, is to examine the meanings of text by reference to the production and interpretation of the text.   The third-tier, called social practice, is to bridge the production and interpretation of text to ideological changes of hegemonic discourse.

The study attempts to identify the changes of youth discourse and its relation to social changes.   These changes divided the three decades from 1950 to 1979 into three periods.   In the first period from 1950 to 1965, poverty discourse was widely accepted by the government, voluntary agencies and the public.   Poverty discourse treated youths as victims of poverty who were forced to earn a living through delinquent means.   Youths were constructed as socio-economical subjects. It excluded moral discourse, which deemed youth as a threat of morality and social order and should be subject to surveillance.   Youth services were provided in the forms of nutrition care, clubs and trade training.   In the second period from 1966 to 1972, youth policy underwent a critical change, because of the outbreak of riots in 1966.   The governing alliance of youth policy expanded the social and recreational services for preventing youth delinquency.   Engagement discourse was embedded in the social and recreational policy and constructed youth as a bio-psychological subject who experienced a developmental stage and was driven by their inherent nature toward either constructive or destructive ends.   It was believed that this internal nature of youth was the determining factor of youth delinquency.   Socialization discourse was in a contesting relation to the dominant engagement discourse.   It emphasized that youth delinquency was caused by the mal-socialization of youths.   However, it was not adopted by the government.   In

the period from 1973 to 1979, the surveillance on youth increased, system failure discourse replaced the engagement discourse and was in the dominant position of youth policy. The system failure discourse emphasized that the mal-function of family and school system was the root of youth delinquency. Family life education, school social work and outreaching social work, informed by social scientists and professional social workers were developed and supported by the government to prevent problematic family relationships and school dropouts which would likely lead to the weak bond of families and schools and resulted in youth become delinquent.

The study also found that the colonial government was influential in the formation of the policy. It delimited the development of the policy to the social domain and thus excluded the political and ideological issues from the youth policy. This focused the concern of youth policy on preventing delinquency. Youths were thus constructed as a threat of social order since the riots. The modern form of youth governing is formed with the establishment of this youth policy.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my deepest thanks to Dr. Denny Ho, my supervisor, who showed great patience in reading my drafts, explaining ideas, providing valuable suggestions on the study. He inspired me greatly.

Special thanks to Dr. Wan Chaw Shae, Ms. Helen Ho, Mr. Chi-keung Chu and Mr. Carl Cheng, who spent countless hours with me exchanging ideas and discussing issues related to the study. They provided great scholar advice and personal support to me.

I really want to extend my thanks to my friends. They helped me in many ways. Thanks very much to my study room GH 315 friends, Anthony Man, Teresa Suen, Tam Tat Shing, Gloria Chan, Miranda Man, Jo Lee, Iris Kam and Spencer Ma and my friend Ah Yip. They have showed great support in the sourcing of scholar works. Thanks all of them for supporting the editing works and correcting mistakes. They were wonderful spirits especially in the finishing of the study. Thanks Grace Li who assisted me in all the administrative work.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The objectives of this thesis are to: a) find out how the youth problem was articulated in the period from 50's and 70's; b) to examine how relevant discourses make sense of the youth problem and put forward youth "policies"; and c) to investigate the relationship between youth "policies" and the process of state formation. "Youth problem" and "problematic youth" were posed as an important social issue in the public sphere of Hong Kong since the 1960s. There are two ideas in respect to the explanations about the rise of youth problems. One is demographic change. In the post-war period, Hong Kong was a 'young' society. "Youth" was a majority group in society because of the dramatic rise of birth rate and the immigration of young refugees. About one half of the population was under 21 years old of age before 1971. In the process of westernization, the traditional form of life was rapidly changed. Unavoidably, youth was the age group that is the most influenced by the westernized culture. The issue of preparing the youths to join the society became critical and thus attracted the attention of the colonial government of Hong Kong.

The other ideas about the rise of youth policy were associated with political concerns. Two local researchers, Lui (1996) and Mok (1999) did not regard youth problems as a natural result arising from demographic change. They argued that youth problems were a product of social construction and were highly related to the concept of youth that was articulated in the 1960s. They maintained that the discussion of youth problems and problematic youths in the post-war period revealed the existence of a strong public view on youth that regarded youth as the source of social problems. Following a constructivist view, they delineated the

interactions between various kinds of discourse on youth. Simply put, they argued that the rise of youth policies was the result of the political outcry of the public and finally forced the government to deal with issues from youngsters in order to maintain internal social security.

Generally speaking, these two views reflect the discussion in the field of social theories over the validity of essentialism and social constructionism. We shall go into detail about this discussion in Chapter 2. Here we review local literature to show the significance of this study and our underlying reasons for posing the questions to be asked in this study.

The Study of Youth Policies in Hong Kong

We summarized the academic discussion in Hong Kong into three sections, each of them answering one specific question. These three sections are as follows: 1) what are the relationships between youth problems and youth discourses? 2) what are the relationships between youth discourses and youth policy? as well as 3) are there any relationships between youth policy and the state formation? These three questions are in fact the three objectives of this proposal: a) to find out how the youth problem was articulated in the 60's and 70's; b) to examine how relevant discourses make sense of the youth problem and put forward youth "policies"; c) to investigate the relationship between youth "policies" and the process of state formation. Local studies are discussed to see how the authors of the different studies answered these questions.

a) Youth problems and discourses

It is somewhat clear that many scholars in youth study did not take discursive analysis as an important theoretical framework. The reason is clear as they regard discourses were less important than the analyses of 'objective' factors. Ng (1975)

and Chow, Tang & Chan (1987) studied deviance from the point of view of social control theory and thereby implicitly took a functionalist stance.   They did not recognize discourse as a critical object of study.

Two local students of youth policies took an opposite view.   Lui and Mok argued that the interaction between discourses of the public was important.   It is true that Lui also regarded modernization as the key factor of the rise of youth problems, similar to the functionalists.[1]   But Lui argued that public anxiety was caused by the drastic changes and the huge amount of brand new values fostered by modernization.   This made the public over-sensitive to youth problems.   Lui adopted a sociologcal term suggested by the British cultural analysts, 'moral panic', to articulate this situation.   Mok similarly understood interactions in terms of the exchange between the state and civil society.   He assumed that civil society was manipulated and suppressed by a powerful state.   Youth was identified by the state as a threatening social group and became the target of social control.   In order to show the exercise of state power, Mok focused on the process of defining youth as a social problem, and on the continuous struggle for hegemony between state and civil society.   In other words, youth problems were merely the research of the state's political discourse.

Both Lui and Mok took a constructionist view to examine the discourses of youth problem (see Chapter 2 for constructionist framework).   Lui pointed out that in discourses, youth did not have any static features. Youth was just the epiphenomenon of social change.   Lui explained the rise of the concept of youth by the concept of modernity.   In Lui's view, everything was continuously changing in modern society.   There was a phenomenon called 'becoming'.

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[1] According to Vander Zanden, modernization is a move which changes a traditional community to a industrial society.   For further details, see The Social Experience 1990:649-650.

Becoming has an impact on social stability and brings anxiety to people. The youth problem was the reflection of this anxiety and it served as a channel for ventilating such an anxiety. Where there are changes and anxiety, there is a need for ventilation. The youth problem is just a subject that reflects anxiety caused by social changes. Informed by this view, social scientists investigated social anxiety in the 1960s and 1970s and related it to the drastic changes in values and beliefs. The drastic changes were related to modernity that came with popular culture and the growing influence of the mass media. It was argued that traditional values lost their credibility and thus young people turned out to be the bearers of a new culture. This was threatening. Adults in turn regarded the young people's new orientation as anti-social. In the 1960s, anti-social and destructive behavior of youth became the new focus of the public. Youth emerged as a social problem and became a target of social control (Lui 1996:69). In Hong Kong, the term 'Ah-Fei' was created to describe deviant as self-indulgent, promiscuous and unscrupulous youth. Long hair and rock music became the symbols of the collapse of the mainstream cultural and moral tradition (Ibid:67-68). It seemed that the parental generation faced an identity crisis. The anti-Ah-Fei activities were indeed a movement for maintaining and recognizing the Chinese tradition and ventilating the anxiety caused by the identity crisis. The public was oversensitive to the anti-social behaviour of the youth. Lui illustrated that:

> "Was the 'Ah-Fei' problem so serious? Indeed, if we make a detailed analysis on related news reports, it is not difficult to see that many criminal offenses related to Ah-Fei were not serious offenses. On the one hand, a small quantity of people were involved in these cases, and most of the victims are children of the same age. Besides, there is no evidence to suggest that these offenses are related to organized crimes or triads. To put it in another way, even if there was an increase in juvenile delinquency in the 60's, the response and emotions expressed in the public far exceeds the seriousness of reality. The attitudes of the general public towards 'Ah_Fei' were in fact, in a

sociologist's terms, 'moral panic'"[5]. (*Translation from Chinese text*) (Ibid:66).

Lui's idea implied that youth was a marginal group and was in fact a victim created by the public. Actually, they were the victims and product of an adult movement which defended Chinese cultural and morality in the 1960s. Lui found that, at the beginning, the Government did not have any intention to intervene in the 'youth problem', even when the public urged it to solve it. However, this attitude had dramatically changed after the riots in 1966 and 1967. Leisure and recreational activities were largely developed and supported by the Government for ventilating the excess energy of youth. Lui found that the relation between recreational activities and youth problem became the mainstream discourse in youth service field.

In the 1970s, juvenile delinquency became a new concern of the public. Like the issue of Ah-Fei, youths were still treated as a threat. The establishing of schools, the improvement of the home environment, the spatial design of new towns and the rise of consumption culture brought forth a middle class that was socially and spatially isolated from other social groups. The area of youth control and surveillance were extended from the public area to school and everyday life and the forms of control and surveillance were diversified from direct control, criminal handling to systematical detection of possible deviance in advance. All these changes, in the 1970s, showed that the project of normalizing youth became more and more sophisticated.

In the story of Lui, youth problems emerged from the discourses in the public sphere, including the discourses of social workers, police officers, report on riots, crime statistics, newspapers, features on the radio and television. And such discourses were affected and changed by many socio-historical factors that are

caused by the changing modern world.   In other words, youth and youth problem are the result of social construction in modernity.[2]

Mok's concern was focused on how youth problems were defined by the hegemony.   He pointed out that the establishment of youth policy should focus on *who* determines needs, problems, objectives and principles of development of youth.   Different social organizations participated in competing for consent and hegemony of the local society.   Such social organizations intended to cast their needs, interest and expectations on youths, and youth policy will inevitably be the product of power struggles among the former.[3]

However, this perspective has three problems that are common to the perspectives stressing demographic change.   Firstly, these perspectives lacked empirical evidence to support their claims about the formation of youth problem.   For example, Lui's theory did not explain how moral panic generated the discourses on youth problems and failed to provide evidence to illustrate how moral panic was pertinent to youth problems.   Similarly, Mok gave little analysis of the hegemonic discourses on youth problem.   It is our contention that youth images articulated by the hegemony should be described (Paker 1992:13-14).

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[2] There are many problems in Lui's study.   In our view, more empirical evidence should be found and cited to illustrate the relation between moral panic and the discourse of youth problem.   To understanding how moral panic constructed the youth problem, Lui should have found out what kind of youth problems or images were articulated in the discourse of the moral panic.   However, the discourse of the moral panic was not found in Lui's study.   Similarly, the concept of 'becoming' should also be investigated in the discourse analysis rather than treat it as an abstract concept out of the web of discourses.   For example, what is the image of youth in the process of 'becoming'?   Is it threatening?   In what context, would it be interpreted as threatening?   How were the images of 'becoming' youth related to the public anxiety or moral panic?   Although, Lui is aware that the discourses were created from many sources, he did not explore the details of each discourse and find out the contradiction between them at each particular period of time.   The discourse in popular culture, for example, the Cantonese movies of the 1960s and 1970s, may contain different kinds of discourses.   Even though moral panic discourses occupied a mainstream position, it would not be the only discourse which existed in the 1960s and 1970s.

[3] More comprehensive official documents are needed for providing a persuasive explanation to the formation of the youth problem.   If youth problems are constructed by the hegemonic state, Mok should describe the discourses provided by the hegemony and illustrate how such discourse generated the youth problem.   If contradictions are internally embedded in the discourse he should also explain how the youth problem is defined in the process of resolving contradictions.

Secondly, the theoretical and empirical links between discourses and youth policies are absent. Given that these perspectives stress a strong link between the state power (or the public's power) and youth policies, it is necessary to describe the link clearly and that documents are provided to support a persuasive explanation of the formation of youth policy. Thirdly, the analytical frameworks of the two reviews lack theorization. Mok treated the state as a pre-existing, coherent and a calculative subject and thus ignored that different parts of the state could produce different kinds of discourses on the issues of youth problem. For example, the welfare department's official interpretation may be different to those suggested by the official interpretation suggested by police department. Such a difference would imply different kinds of youth policy. A more theorized method is needed to examine the relationship between youth problems, youth policies and state. I would illustrate how to solve these problems by introducing new analytical framework and method in the later part of this proposal.

b) Relationship between youth discourses and youth policies

Mok traced the change of local youth policy with the concept of hegemony. Hegemony affected the formation of youth policies, through affecting the definition of youth needs, problems, aims and principles and objectives of youth development, the way to fulfill such objectives and the issue of resource allocation for resolving youth problems and fulfilling the needs of youth.

What Mok explained is the dynamics involved in the making of local youth policy. His analysis focused on the forces contributory to the twists and turns of youth policy since the 1960s, and on the kinds of "explanation" underlying our understanding on youth. Further, he attempted to pose the questions as to the reasons for the maintenance and the nature of the economic or socio-political order.

His historical examination of the development of local youth policy making revealed that the term 'youth' itself, the youth problems, the needs, and social roles of youth have been defined and re-defined according to the diverse visions of organizations, in different periods of and changing political backdrop.

Mok also noticed that defining youth is a key to mould youth policy in the service of economic and political purposes. In the 1966-67 riots, youngsters were described as youths lacking proper recreation, so fashion, balls and summer youth programmes were organized to release the excessive energy of youngsters. In the next decade, youth centres were established to nurture young people and outreaching social work programmes were launched to cope with juvenile delinquency. The youth policies in the 1960s and 1970s were preventive and correctional. What underpinned the government in the 1960s and 1970s were colonialism and an ideology of social stability.

This "problem-oriented" ideology continued to dominate in the 1980s. But it primarily served to maintain a booming economy. Social issues, such as the riot in 1981, problems of drug adduction, young gangsters called for public attention. However, an alternative image of youth, recognizing them as pillars of community, emerged with the development of representative and consultative structure. With such political development the state could no longer monopolize the hegemony, and the influence of civil society had grown up. "Youth Policy" was urged for the facilitation of civic participation of youth. However, the urge was turned down by the state and instead the Charter of Youth was established as a substitution.

c) The relationship between youth policies and state formation

Foucault suggested the concept of governmentality for the examination of the changing forms of governing. Foucault tried to argue that the ideologies or

theories put forward by modernists over-estimated the importance of state. The state is not a calculable, deliberate or planful process, instead it is characteristic of changing forms of governing implemented by various parts of the state. The study of the history of governmentality may show us that power is not centralized in the hand of state. The power of governing is a modern complex form of power that involved knowledge, technologies, procedures, institutions, *etc*. In the discussion of governmentality, the term 'state' has two meanings. The narrow sense of the state strictly meant the bureaucratic state. The broader meaning referred to the governmentalized state which was the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations, tactics, *etc*. The latter is the meaning of state in the concept of governmentality.

In the local studies of youth policy, the state was conceived as an entity, with clear and consistent principles of ruling and planning. Mok's analysis is a case in point. One of the most important questions Mok asked is how the process of defining youth needs, problems, aims and principles, which affected the formation of youth policy, was affected by the change of the relationship between the state and civil society. Youth policies were defined in a broad sense. They referred to the priority that involved principles and objectives of youth development, the ways to fulfill such objectives and the issue of resource allocation for resolving youth problem and fulfilling the needs of youth.

Mok suggested that the process of defining youth problem was a continuous struggle of hegemony between the state and civil society. Some kinds of discourses would be the dominant discourses when they get the legitimacy or consent of the public. According to Antonio Gramsci, hegemony could be used in both suppressive and subversive way. When a discourse was widely accepted by

the public, it would be a hegemony and dominate the social agenda on particular topic.   Mok pointed out that the establishment of youth policy should focus on *who* determines needs, problems, objectives and principles of development of youth.   Different kinds of social groups would impose different meaning on youth, subject to their interests, expectations and needs.   In other words, the so-called needs or social roles of youth were not well organized, but were always marginalized in the struggle of hegemony.   The result was that a dominant ideology or social values were imposed on youth, that would be internalized in the minds of young people and made them a conformist or supporter of the existing social structure.   The real needs of youth were ignored or even distorted.

In the review of Mok, it was found that youth emerged after the Star Ferry riot in 1966.   Before the riot, there was no specific category for youths as a particular population group distinguished from child and adult.   Youth only came with the discussion of youth problem in the 1960s.   From the 1960's to the 1970's, the government occupied the dominant position of hegemony to define the needs of youth.   Because of the absence of counter forces, including professional groups, elected council members, parents and youth organizations, the 'problem-oriented' perspective and rehabilitative service were imposed on youth towards serving the capitalist market and ideology.   However, the meaning of youth changed in the middle of the 80's with the change of the political system and the growth of the force of civil society.   A new discourse of 'pillar of the community' was introduced.   Although the government refused to accept the civil society's request for establishing youth policy, the government no longer dominated in agenda setting on the definition of youth and youth needs in the 80's.   Under the pressure of the civil society, the 'Charter for Youth' was established in the 90's.   The

Governor Chris Pattern turned the bureaucracy to a consumer-oriented form.   This drives the game of hegemony to a more liberal way.

There are some shortcomings in Mok's model.   Mok assumed that the state had the absolute power to control youth policies by determining the definition of youth needs and youth problems.   It is based on the assumption that state is a pre-existing and calculating subject.   This assumption ignores a fact that the state could also be affected by the society or public sphere, whether it was intentionally or unintentionally.   Thus, more empirical data of youth image, which are generated by the public, should be collected to compare with the policies documents to see whether the control power of state was over-estimated or not.

Lui was not able to provide convincing argument about the role of the state either.   In the model of Lui, youth problems were mainly generated by the interaction of public, including social worker, police, reports on riots, crime statistic, newspaper, radio and television.   In this interaction, the state took a quite passive role and had no incentive to intervene the youth problem and to affect the creation of youth policies.   However, Tam (1984) argued that from 'the study of the historical development of delinquency policy in Hong Kong, it is not difficult to ascertain that colonialism, elite rule and capital domination were the most important factors in the formulation of related policy…They were facts of racial discrimination, class exploitation and the suppression of the powerless.   Although there has been tremendous change in both the political and economic institutions since the last Century, the undemocratic and exploitative nature has remained unchanged.   It results in extreme disparities of wealth and poverty' (Ibid:65-66).

If we take the formation of youth policies as a part of youth formation, is it possible that youth policy formation were actively intervened by the state in implicit ways.   This aspect of the state should be made clear with strong evidence.

A study by Liu(1981) offered very interesting evidence about the orientation of youth policy, and thereby filled the gap with respect to empirical findings about the political concern of the colonial government.   In a comparison between the youth policy in Hong Kong and Singapore, Liu came to the conclusion that both Hong Kong and Singapore governments regarded youth policy as a form of control on the younger generation.   Whereas the Singapore government's provision of youth services is a form of political control, aiming at political socialization and political mobilization, Hong Kong's provision is a form of social control, aiming at keeping the younger generation from committing crimes and disturbing social stability.   It is intriguing to find that the Hong Kong government attempted to treat youth problems as social problems, and therefore just worked out social measures to deal with problems arising from the youths.   The state as a political institution seemed to get rid of political intervention.   We doubt whether the colonial government had this intention.   It may be the case that the government just employed social control measures to deal with social issues and suppressed any possibility for using political means to mobilize youths to develop themselves into decent citizens.   The purpose of this decision is self-evident as social measures may not trigger off any political mobilization from the youths and the internal security of Hong Kong is maintained.   Leung's study (1999) also echoed this concern.   His analysis of youth policy finally found that most efforts have been devoted to social education and resocialization, both in terms of financial input and types of services delivered.   Social participation, on the other hand, has been

largely neglected.   Hence, the issue about if this is the government's political orientation is one of the issues we would like to deal with in this thesis.

We can summarize our discussion in a number of points.   Firstly, the local studies were largely informed by functionalist framework, and tended to regard youth policies as reaction to social issues and problems.   This however ignores the possibility that youth policies are political in nature.   When the government in the 1970s employed social services and social work to handle issues arising from increasing crime rate, it appeared that the political nature of these measures was beyond the views of social scientists.   But, as Day pointed out that 'in discussing social work and politics together I am assuming that in real life they are associated, that social work is a political activity or that social work acts have political implications' (Liu 1981:4).   We suggest here that in order to reveal the political nature of youth services and policy, discourse analysis could show the political concern and the political struggle involved in the policy formation and implementation stages.

Secondly, the scholars of local youth studies only provided theoretical arguments that pointed to the dynamics of policy formation process.   We argued that more historical and empirical research should be conducted to find out more evidence to support their arguments.   This is one of the objectives of this study.

Thirdly, youth policy must be associated with the analysis of the political domain in Hong Kong so as to manifest the political nature, especially the process of state formation.   As informed by Foucault's theoretical framework, the policy on population management must be regarded as one of the strategies of governmentality.   With this concept, we treat the state as an emsemble composed of various parts and sections, differently influenced by various kinds of knowledge

and scientific discourses. Moreover, we may show that youth policies are also a process of state formation. Throughout the process of dealing with issues associated with youths, the state attempted to relocate itself and other institutions and social groups in different social positions. Some were defined as members of an alliance, some were third parties, and some were the objects on which policies were levied. The hierarchy of institutions or the order of social groups was then mapped out through the discourse of the state. Our study of youth policies then is also a study of state formation.

Structure of the thesis

In the next chapter, we will thoroughly discuss the theoretical development of discourse analysis and the study of youths. We shall show that discourse analysis is a feasible theoretical framework to show the relationship between social policies and social change. In addition, we argue that the framework suggested by Fairclough provides valuable insights in the provision of middle-range theory as the guidelines governing this study. Chapter 3 is on the method and methodology of this study. It offers the underlying principles of the method of discursive analysis employed in this study.

Chapter 4 starts with an analysis of the youth policies in the post-war period of Hong Kong, and points out two dominant discourses about youths in this period. We shall employ a three-tiered framework to illustrate the thematic, ideational and interpersonal aspects of these discourses, and also examine both the internal and external dynamics of discursive struggle. Informed by the framework used in Chapter 4, we focus on the discursive changes in the period after 1966, the year the Kowloon riot broke out. Discursive analysis of this period will illustrate how the governing state maintained a distanced relationship between the colonial

government and the Chinese society, but meanwhile carried out political intervention into the world of youths.

Chapter 6 illustrates the rise of the social work profession and its relationship with the colonial government.   We shall argue that the colonial government made use of the social work profession to intervene in the lives of the youngsters by claiming that young people were the source of social problems, however, it ignored the positive involvement of the students in political movement.   In fact, the social participation of the young people could manifest their contribution to social well-being.   Suppression or ignorance of this aspect of youths could be seen as a political act, since any mobilization of young people towards social participation might politicize the youths and result in more demands for political participation. From the colonial government's view, such a result would jeopardize its legitimacy and undermine the internal security of the colonial state.   Thus, social work measures were more 'safe' for the colonial government to employ in handling young people's issues.   Chapter 7 is concludes the thesis.

- End -

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Discourse analysis is introduced to construct the theoretical framework of this study. The unit of analysis is the discourses on youths and youth policy. Discourse is something dynamic and changing. This implies that youth is not a static concept. The term of youths may have a totally different meaning in different kinds of youth discourses. In this chapter, we move on to the theoretical literature of youth studies to see the feasibility and significance of the application of discourse analysis in this respect. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first two sections discuss the theories of non-constructionist and constructionist approaches of youth studies respectively. The third section introduce the critical discourse analysis, a kind of constructionist but not totally constructionist approaches, and in the final section we offer the reason for the adoption of this approach in this thesis.

The literature on youth studies could be divided into two streams, namely non-constructionism and constructionism (Hebdige 1979; Holland*, et al.* 1998; Cohen 1997; Mitterauer 1986). Non-constructionism refers to the conventional scientific approach in sociology and psychology, which is developed on the foundation of positivism and empiricism. Constructionism is a newer approach raised from 1970s. Its theoretical focuses are on the construction process of social reality. The theorists of this stream are concerned with how statements, languages or discourses are organized to 'reflect' and delineate the reality. The Non-constructionists base their view on realism. They believe that knowledge, especially scientific knowledge, is derived from the objective world. Knowledge

is developed on the sustainable ground of unbiased and accurate information about the actual world. For example, theorists of the conventional approach believe that knowledge could be generated from unbiased observation of the objective world. Knowledge represents truth (or at least tends to be the truth).

Non-constructionists accept the reality as given, that it is possible to be described and explained by objective observers, and with due training in scientific research, the observers can distinguish truth from falsity. Moreover, the distinction between constructionism and non-constructionism could be understood in the criticism about essentialism and realism (Burr 1995). The non-constructionist approach adopts the view of essentialism. It assumes that an inherent and invariant nature is rooted in individuals or hidden behind social phenomena. The aims of studies are to discover the subtle nature and disclose how this nature affects individuals and social activities. Hence, in the study of youth, researchers are to explore the nature of young people and its effects on social phenomena. It is a very general and common conception that youth is a natural stage of life, unchanging across time and space.

However, the constructionists reject this essentialist model of youth and take the so-called "nature" as a consequence of construction process rather than a pre-existed essence outside social activities. For constructionists, the youth does not have any given or predetermined nature, instead it is merely a concept, a social product of a particular history and culture (Corsaro 1997; Fornas and Bolin 1995; Wyn and White 1997).

The constructionists also reject the presupposition of objective facts and argue that the objective world is just a reality constructed by knowledge. Constructionists do not deny the material existence of objective facts. What

constructionists emphasize is that social facts are not purely material existence, but interwoven with social meanings which enable us to make sense of the reality (Lloyd and Lucas 1998). Knowledge then neither represents objective world, nor develops a steady or unchangeable truth. It is value-laden in the sense that concepts impose social meanings on 'social facts'.

These two differences lead these two perspectives to develop two distinctive ways in the study of youth. The following section aims to examine their contribution and limitations in the study of youth.

Non-constructionist Theories

In the conventional youth studies, youths are deemed as individuals going through a life stage or a social category struggling with social influences. The former is taken up by the psychological approach and the latter is usually adopted by the sociological theories. As argued in the previous section, youth is regarded as a life stage in conventional youth studies informed by the presuppositions of non-constructionism. Also youth is seen as a social category. Each conceptualization of youth led to a specific framework for the study of youth.

1) Youth as a life stage

Psychological theories of youth treat youngsters as individuals going through a transitional life stage from children to adults. The transition stage in between is called adolescence, referring to an adaptation period through which youngsters learn how to take up adult responsibility. Two theorists, G. Stanley Hall and Erik Homburger Erikson, adopted this psychological approach.

Hall defined youth as an age group that is going through a biological change and psychological difficulties. He defined youth as a universal and specific

period: adolescence. Adolescence is a troublesome period of 'storm and stress' in which youngsters experience emotional upheaval. In this phase with personal difficulties, the youth experiences a process of development from a state of primitive wildness to civilized maturity. It is exactly the experience of the evolution of modern society, from stone-age wildness to a rational and enlightened modernity. In other words, Hall took the view that ontogeny followed the same route of phylogeny. Adolescence is a period for young people to overthrow the wildness and adopt to be a modern man (Wallace and Kovatcheva 1998:27).

Another influential approach to the notion of adolescence was developed by Erikson in the 1960s. According to Erikson's ego development theory, human life went through a series of stages. These stages were in an invariant and universal sequence. Each stage had a turning point, called crisis, through which an individuals grew up and was enabled to integrate into the society (Erikson 1968).

Under the influence of these psychological approaches, the term adolescent was defined as an age group between 13 and 19 years old facing an identity crisis. Identity diffusion happens in the adolescence period, when the body of a youngster is rapidly changed and sexual drives is awaken. The youngsters are confused by the questions of what they are, what they might become and which occupation they would belong to. It is a period of self-discovery for finding one's personal identity. Identity diffusion makes youngsters become remarkably intolerant and feel discomfort. To act against the identity diffusion, youngsters create cliques, stereotyping themselves, excluding out-groupers and dressing in a distinctive way in their peer group activities (Ryckman 1989:181-183)

If the youngsters could successfully overcome the identity crisis, they could be well prepared for taking the responsibilities of adults through forming an

integrated image as a unique person. However, if they fail, they would face tremendous pressure and become confused individuals. They would take improper forms of life. Behaviours such as dropping out of schools, leaving jobs, staying out all night and even violence and robbery, might be adopted. (Ibid:194)

In short, in their theories, Hall and Erikson treated the youth as a life stage caused by the irresistible forces of nature. Young people experienced an adaptation period, called adolescence, to learn to be proper adults. If a youngster could not successfully adapt the transition, he/she would likely become a delinquency.

2) Youth as a social category

For sociologists, youth is not a life stage or age group determined by the biological or psychological changes of individuals. Instead, youth is a social group experiencing particular social paths and sequences. Sociologists focus on the factors outside individuals, such as social structure and social interaction, and are interested in how these social factors affected the experiences of (problem) youths. For sociologists, delinquent behaviours do not reflect the inherent wildness or mis-adaptation of adolescent, rather it is just a social fact caused by social environment. Two sociological perspectives, functionalism and symbolic interaction theories, are introduced in the following paragraphs.

Functionalists suggested that delinquency is formed by a mismatch between the social structure and value system, rather than by biological or psychological changes of an individual. Robert Merton (1938) developed his strain theory to illustrate how delinquency was created by the malintegration of cultural goals and institutional means.

In his view, modern society created legitimate goals of success, for example accumulation of wealth, and motivated its members to strive for this goal. However, social structure did not necessarily provide sufficient opportunities and institutional means, for example educational qualifications, to all the members of society to reach the cultural goals. This means that some people's path to success is structurally blocked. Losers then experience strain, stress and frustrations and are pushed to find alternative ways to overcome their difficult situation.

The losers have to face their situation. To Merton, an individual could choose a way to overcome their difficulties. In other words, this is a situation in which an individual no longer regards the goal or institutional means as legitimate. An individual becomes deviant when he or she ceases to accept neither the social goal nor the institutional means. Anomie, a state of normlessness, is therefore engendered. The anomie adopted alternative forms of life, which may seem illegitimate and illegal. When one adopts such an alternative way of life outside the approved system, there is the emergency of delinquency (Summer 1994).

In the study of youth, symbolic interaction theorists believe that deviance is learned through face-to-face interaction. Edwin Sutherland (1949) developed his differential association theory in the late 1940s. The theory concerned how kids who grew up in crime-ridden neighborhoods were more likely to be criminals.

For Sutherland, deviance could be acquired through learning, especially through interaction with significant others and intimate others. Members of society were differentially associated with different groups and social environments in which they encountered messages and behaviours that were mixed with both conformity and deviant orientations. If people learnt more from the former, they

would be conformist, whereas people acquired problematic value could become deviants. Conformity and deviance were mutually exclusive.

Sutherland emphasized the influence of intimate personal groups on individual life style. It is found that not just behaviour and attitude of deviants were learnt, but also the techniques of committing crime, motives and drives underlying an criminal action as well as rationalizations and attitudes guiding the action were acquired.

Sutherland's theory (Ibid) focused on the learning process of delinquency. He found that the more frequency and the longer duration of time an individual spent on delinquency gangs, the more likely he/she would pick up the attitudes of deviance. Also, if frequently exposed to criminal environment in the earlier age, a child would be more likely to take on delinquent form of life.

Informed by these theoretical ideas, many sociologists conducted empirical research to support the thesis of learning in deviance and the unstable nature of youths. We would not go into details about their empirical findings, instead we are concerned with the philosophical presuppositions of these perspectives. Generally speaking, the conventional psychological and sociological theories of youth started from an unquestioned beliefs of essentialism and realism, and that the (problem) youth contains inherent nature which objectively exists.

Hall and Erikson's theories started from the notion of essentialism. They treated youth as a biological given. The youth was pre-determined as individuals born with inherent nature and was presupposed to experience a congenital period of adaptation to transcend from children to adult. The biological and sexuality changes of adolescent were naturalized in the explanation of how youngsters were socialized. These changes of body were reduced to objective facts. Therefore,

they ignored the perspective of constructionism, in which social and cultural factors, such as institution, professional system and discourse, take an important part in the construction of the nature, the changes of body and developmental route.

Merton and Sutherland focused on the studies of problem youth. They were concerned with the nature of deviance and the causes of deviance. Merton emphasized illegitimate and illegal life forms of anomie. Sutherland was concerned with the learning process that led to a deviance. Their studies took deviance or deviance behaviour merely as objective facts that contained certain inherent and stable nature. What these theories studied was the people or activities that had already been deemed as deviants or would-be deviants. Merton and Sutherland failed to review the construction process of the concept of deviance, especially they could not explain a phenomenon that why some kinds of behaviours were treated as deviant only in some occasions, but were not applied to all cases.

The conventional psychological and sociological theories treat the (problem) youth as a youngster containing certain inherent nature (rather than the consequence of social construction) and an individual that objectively exists (rather than subjectively defined). Thus, the youth becomes a pre-existed subject outside the cultural environment and the power relation. The non-constructionist approach ignores two things. It ignores the cultural context, for example language and discourse, in which (problem) youth is constructed. Secondly, the governing strategies embedded in the politics of deviant formation are also not included. We name these two neglected issues as the cultural and power dimensions of constructionism.

Constructionist Theories

In order to elucidate the main presuppositions of the constructionist theories, we focus on the social construction theory, semiotics and the method of genealogy.

(a) Social Construction Theory

The social construction theory was suggested by Malcolm Spector and John Kitsuse in the late 1970s in the field of social problem study.   Spector and Kitsuse argued that social problems were the consequence of the process of defining certain activities and actions as 'problematic'.   They emphasized that social problems were implicitly and intentionally constructed by experts or dominant groups through claim-making activities.   Spector and Kitsuse pointed out the importance of claim-making process, as an alternative focus of social problems study, through which social problems were constructed.

Spector and Kitsuse questioned the fundamental assumption of previous theories by examining the objectivity of social problems as real and objective conditions.   Spector and Kitsuse argued that the taken-for-granted objective conditions could not be objectively defined in adequate and accurate terms.   Such inaccurate definition made the previous theories unable to explain why similar behaviours were treated as problem only in some situations but not applicable to all cases.   The realist point of view is not justifiable.   Spector and Kitsuse argued that the conventional studies of social problems were based on putative conditions. Further, in constructing social problems, Spector and Kitsuse pointed out those social problems as objective conditions could not be qualified as scientific matter for academic work.   This realist approach faced four theoretical problems (Loseke 1999).

The first one is that the meanings of social problems are usually shifted with the changes of institutional claims, framework of social expectations and the amendment of laws. The commonsense use of these words cannot provide precise and unambiguous definition for academics purpose. The second problem is that the scholars taking this theory cannot generate a definite answer on which objective measure and observation can rely. Another problem is that the social problems defined by subjective beliefs of the public are not equivalent to the problems defined in laws. "Marijuana smoking" was used by Spector and Kitsuse as an example to illustrate this point. Although there was a legal change in the matter of marijuana smoking, people had still treated marijuana smoking as a social problem. This means that there is a gap between people's belief and objective measurable condition of social problems. This implies that social problems are not objectively defined. The final problem is about the value-neutral position in scientific studies. Without measurable criteria of social problem, the answer of what constitutes a social problem is totally subjected to the value judgment of experts and sociologists who decide what condition is harmful. However, the concept of harmfulness is a moral term rather than a measurable conditions based on technical criteria.

In short, the concept of "social problems" cannot be defined in precise and unambiguous terms as an objective condition for scientific studies. The study of claim making process was advocated by Spector and Kitsuse as an alternative way of understanding social problems. They defined social problems as "the activities of groups making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some putative conditions." The process of claim making became the core concern of the theory of social constructionism. Spector and Kitsuse explained that 'to ask what are the effective causes of social problems, or what keeps social problems activities going,

is to ask what keeps these various groups going.'   The answers of "what keeps social problems activities going" are interests and values.   Spector and Kitsuse explained how the process was interwoven with interests and values with the distinction of different kinds of groups.   Two ideal types of social groups were introduced. The first one was the disinterested group, also called value group, which was not involved in any material or money advantages.   However, value judgments and value conflicts drove the members of this kind of group to make claims and called attention on certain offensive conditions. Humanitarian reformers, crusaders and do-gooders were categorized into this type of group. Another one was the interest group, which would gain or lose material advantages by any social rearrangement.

Interests and values become the basis drive of claim making process in their theoretical framework.   However, more complex relations would appear in different situation.   Both the value group and the interest group would be affected by both interests and values factors.   For example, the value group would make alliance with some interest groups or even develop their interests for supporting or maintaining their position. The interest group would borrow values or ideals to legitimize their claims in public debate. Interests and values might cooperate or confront with each other, depending on different situations.   Both of them were interwoven with each other in many cases.   Nevertheless, the different patterns of values and interests were created by this dialectic relationship and motivate the claim making process.

There is a debate on the fundamental assumption and theoretical consistence of social constructionism.   Steve Woolgar and Dorothy Pawluch noted that while the constructionists took social problems as the consequence of subjective claim

making on social condition which was originally unproblematic, they made an implicit assumption of constant or unchanged social condition. This implicit assumption led to an inconsistency in constructionist approach. On the one hand, the constructionist approach emphasized the analysis of process activities by declaring that the nature of social condition was an unobservable and a putative phenomenon. On the other hand, the constructionists kept the assumption that they knew what the nature of social condition actually was. Such selective attention to objective condition entailed an inherently inconsistence of the constructionist approach. Woolgar and Pawluch recognized that the constructionist approach was established by defining certain analytic boundaries as real and observable phenomenon, while keeping the others areas as constant or unquestioned conditions. They named this constructionist theorization question as ontological gerrymandering.

The theoretical question of ontological gerrymandering triggered a debate among the constructionists in the mid 1980s. Two groups of sociologist provided two different answers. Strict constructionists argued that the assumption about objective reality should be avoided, as constructionists should only focus on the claims-making activities. The objectivity of reality was irrelevant to their study. However, contextual constructionists kept the use of such assumption for locating the claims-making within the social context. So the contextual constructionists would check whether the claims matched with the actual reality or not for debunking the putative claims-making.

To sum up, the social construction theory opens a new space to rethink the objectivity of social problems, and brings the power relation into the consideration of its theories. However, this theory, including the strict and contextual

constructionism, gives too much weight on the claim-making activities and treats the activities as the source of power manipulation. As a result, it ignores the influences of cultural factors. The question of how the claim-makers are affected by their cultural foundation is not considered in the analysis of the social construction theory. This theory does not entail any consideration of the constructionists over the cultural dimension in the process of problem formation.

(b) Semiotics

The theorists of semiotics deal with the question of representation of meaning. That is the problem of how meaning is constructed through language, as a kind of social product, in particular a cultural one. Unlike the social construction theory, theorists of semiotics argue that social meaning is constructed by the logic, the system or the structure of language rather than by the experts or mass media. Although they share an assumption of anti-realism with the social construction theory, the target of study in the theories of semiotics shifts from the claim-making activities to the language itself (Meinhof and Richardson 1994:1-3).

Affected by Ferdinand de Saussure, the theories of semiotics are based on a foundation that each kind of language has its own particular structure, which largely affects the construction of meaning. This implies that language is not merely a means to express meaning, but also a structure by which we construct meaning and make sense of objective world. Language is not a tool used but a system or structure we involve in. The meaning imposed on objects or activities is out of the control of the author or the speaker but is determined by the system of representation itself. The subject is no longer important in the constructionist approach of Saussure. For Saussure, if we want to know how meaning is

produced, we have to understand firstly what language is, and the system of representation.

This leads to the study of system of representation. For Saussure, the semiotic approach aimed to deal with the problem of representation by the introduction of language system. In Saussure's model of language, language was divided into two parts, namely the signifier and the signified. The former referred to the form, including written word, spoken sound, visual image, and so on, and the latter referred to the idea or concept that expressed through the forms. The combination of these two parts was called sign, which was the entire system of language. The separation of form and concept allows Saussure to break the conventional concept of language, which assumes a natural and inevitable tie between the word or sound itself, and the concept or idea expressed.

The separation of form (the signifier) and concept (the signified) raises a question: if a word (for example, RED) does not necessarily refers to its meaning (redness), how could people communicate with each other? For Saussure, the relation between a signifier and a signified is stabilized by our cultural codes. This allows people to communicate with other social members belonged to a same culture. However, Saussure emphasized that the relation was not fixed permanently instead it shifted historically. Meaning was produced through the making of differences within language, according to Saussure. The establishment of a category is defined in relation to its direct opposite. For example, the meaning of male is organized through its opposition, female. What signifies through the word MALE is not the essence of male, but the difference between male and female. Our concepts are arranged into a classification system that is based on this binary opposite relation. The meaning of good and bad, normal and

abnormal, as well as black and white is subject to and classified by its opponent. The system of sign is subjected to the system of differences. So meaning is predominated and preexisted in our language structure.

However, the relation between a signifier and a signified is not permanently fixed and universal. The relation would change historically and would be different when appears in different cultural system. Both the signifiers and the signified would have different contents under different cultural background. For example, the symbol of red, as a signifier, represents the concept of lucky, the signified, in traditional Chinese language system. However, in modern Chinese language system, it also refers to communism and communist revolution with negative connotation. Red includes a negative meaning that is opposite to its original concept, lucky. The relation between a signifier and a signified is arbitrary but stabilized by our linguistic codes, which is a contingent result of particular culture. Saussure's studies stressed the synchronic dimension of language structure instead of the diachronic dimension of language change. Particular culture has its own set of signifiers and signified and arranges their relation in particular way at a specific moment of time. Saussure's theory has far-reaching effect on the development of semiotics theories in two dimensions. It provides the groundwork for the structuralists and constructionists.

A French critic, Roland Barthes, further developed Saussure's theory in his book, *Mythologies*, published in 1972. In his essay, 'Myth today', Barthes introduced a second-order semiological system, called myth. Such theoretical rearrangement allows the theory of representation to focus on the ideological problems. Barthes divided the process of representation into two levels. The first level, called denotation, was a descriptive level at which people could clearly make

sense of the symbols represented with common consensus. Barthes also called this level language-object. The second level is called connotation, which involve wider cultural and ideological interpretation. This is the level of myth, also called metalanguage.

In 'Myth today', Barthes used a cover picture of a French magazine as an example to illustrate his system of myth. In the cover picture, 'a young Negro in a French uniform saluting with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on the fold of the tricolour' (the flag of French) (Barthes 1972:125). Firstly, we can easily recognize the objects shown in the picture by decoding the signifiers printed. These include a young Negro, a soldier uniform, a raised arm and a French flag. What is primarily shown is a young black soldier salutes a French flag. This is the meaning shown in the primary construction process, called denotation.

However, there is a subtle meaning constructed in the picture and this meaning could not be simply understood at the primary level of denotation. What Barthes did was to develop Saussure's framework and made semiotics theory capable of dealing with the wider and ideological level of meanings. Barthes established the second-order semiological system called connotation. Barthes tried to answer his question of what the message behind the picture of black soldier saluting a French flag was, with his second-order semiological system. 'France is a great Empire, and that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and that there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors'(Ibid). At the level of connotation, the primary meaning of black soldier saluting a French flag functioned as a signifier to signify the French colonialism.

Barthes divided the process of representation into two stages, namely denotation and connotation. Like Saussure, Barthes treated language as the sign that was the combination of the signifier and signified. In the stage of denotation, the signifier (for example the tricolour) coded for the signified (the concept of French flag). And then the signs (for example the French flag) constructed in the primary stage of denotation were reduced to be and functioned as the signifier in the second stage of connotation and used to signify the ideological level of meaning (the French colonialism). The sign in the first stage merely became a signifier in the second.

Semiotics demonstrates how the hidden cultural structure (rather than the social actor) determines the construction of meaning and even the understanding of objective world. According to Saussure, meaning is systematically mapped in the sign system that is organized by a binary pattern of classification. Each community has their map of meaning, and therefore has a different understanding to the objective reality. The sign system constitutes the meaning and at the same time limits it. Barthes further developed Saussure's theory. His distinction of denotation and connotation enabled semiotics theory to focus on the ideological level of representation.

Similar to the social construction theory, the semiotics theorists treat meaning as the consequence of construction work, which is subjectively defined rather than objectively existed. However, they treat the sign system as a closed and static system, which is separately independent to the material world. What happened outside the text is out of the scope of study. Hence the framework of semiotics does not lead to any consideration of the power aspect of social construction. The

semiotics theorists do not develop a tool for analyzing the governing strategies embedded in the politics of representation.

(c) Genealogy

Foucault's method of genealogy is a kind of historical study, which is interesting in the modern form of power practice in which individuals are regulated through the process of invention of knowledge and formation of the subject.   The genealogy researcher would divide the study into two parts: 1) the formation of discourse; 2) the question of knowledge/power and formation of the subject.

Like theories of semiotics and social construction, the genealogical approach shares the anti-realism standpoint of the constructionists.   Foucault did not deny the material existence of objects and actions.   His concern was how meaning was created for material things and, most importantly, how this meaning/discourse affected the power practice of daily life.   As he argued, 'nothing has any meaning outside of discourse"(Foucault 1972).   Things did not inherently mean anything until it became the object of knowledge within particular discourse.   And the most important thing was how this discursive practice interwoven with the question of power.   This explained why genealogy focused on the studies about formation of social problems and even social subjects.

Compared with semiotics, Foucault's approach is only interested in how meanings and understanding are constructed by hidden cultural condition, but is also associated with how power is operated in discursive activities.   Foucault was concerned with how knowledge (rather than just meaning) was produced through discursive practice and how the knowledge was related to the question of power. Foucault took the question of power as the centre of his theory, but he also took a quite different approach to the conventional social actor perspective, for example

the social construction theory. Foucault rejected that power was manipulated by some social groups, for example the profession, upper class and bureaucracy, but was practiced under the rules of discourse. In the discursive analysis approach, the emphasis is not on the importance of social actors, instead the focus is on the influence of discursive practice on the experience of social life. Power is exercised through the production of knowledge in discursive practice, rather than social actors. The practices of actors are driven by discourse. Further, the concept of rational actor is replaced by the genealogical concept of subject. This subject is not pre-existed outside discourse, but is produced within discourse and fragmentized in the numerous daily discursive practices. This brings us to the discussion on the significance of discourse analysis.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse is a system of representation in which power and knowledge are produced and practiced. It is about the rules and practices of a group of statement and text around a particular topic in a particular time period. However, it should not be reduced to be concepts, discussions or languages that are confined within the linguistic world (Parker and the Bolton Discourse Network1999). The usage of "discourse" in Foucault's context concerns about both language and practice. Discourse itself is a kind of practice and social experience. First, through creating knowledge, it constructs and delimits social topics and at the same time prohibits and eliminates the other possibilities. It determines what is right, appropriate and relevance when talking or writing about a particular topic at a particular site in a particular period of time. For example, the non-scientific discourse about health would be excluded when a patient visits a doctor in a clinic in the modern society. The site of clinic and the task of healing determine what kinds of discourse are

appropriate and relevant.   The discourses determine the practice and experience of social life, rather than the actors, e.g. the patient and doctor.

Besides the formation (and exclusion) of knowledge, discourse also intervenes the practice of social life through the formation of social subject.   Social life is interwoven with numerous kinds of discourse.   A person, as a social subject, needs to reproduce and practice these discourses for expression and make any arrangement, no matter he/she consciously adopts them or not.   A subject is constructed through this discursive practice.   It should be noted that a social subject is not only passively constructed by discourses, instead he/she takes an active role in the process of formation of the subject. Following the above example, the patient would know what kind of information is necessary and relevant when visiting a doctor in a clinic.   He would actively tell the doctor what is appropriate and relevant and rule out any alternative understanding of sickness generated from non-scientific knowledge.   In this discursive process, the sick person becomes a patient of modern scientific healing.   A subject of patient is formed.   Scientific discourses penetrate into the body of the patient through medical practice.

With the concept of discourse, we can overcome the problem of conventional distinction between language and practice.   Foucault linked up what was said and written with what was done as a unity.   This enabled Foucault to explain how discourse was closely related to the modern form of power practice.   He pointed to the link between knowledge and power.

The question of power constantly occupied Foucault's work as a main theme. Foucault's concern was how modern form of powers was exercised on it's finality, that is the body, in daily practice, with the production of knowledge; and how the knowledge, such as health, sex and crime, constructed the normal or proper form of

life, and how the knowledge consciously and unconsciously adopted by individuals. He pointed out that this knowledge practices were a new form of power that created self-disciplined bodies during the knowledge penetrated into daily practice. Thus, the relations between knowledge, power and body became the focuses of Foucault's theories. Foucault rejected the institutional form of definition of power, which was conventionally used in Marxism, the social construction theory and other sociological theories. Institutions were just one of the tactics involved in the power game, but were not the only and main source of power. Foucault argued that a new form of power was operated through the creation of knowledge in the modern society. Such modern power was not imposed from above by the state or privileged groups, but was generated from below by the practice of discourse, creation of knowledge and application of certain microtechniques. Modern form of power operated and penetrated in every details of life through organizing, producing and regulating conduct, understanding, trust, concept, and so on. The widespread use of knowledge, especially the knowledge of social science, made such regulating work possible. Knowledge occupied the dominant status of truth. It generated practical impacts on the question of governing. Its technique led people to know more about human life. Its logic fragmentized the social life and made it possible to be regulated. Knowledge, especially the knowledge of social science, constructed a regime of truth of modern society.

This modern form of power should not be simply reduced to a kind of suppressive social control. What Foucault emphasized was that power had a productive and creative manner that was ignored by previous theories. Foucault classified power into two categories, negative and positive. Negative power referred to the suppressive form of power that was imposed by external forces. The aim of the negative power was to seek for monopolized control. The concept

of positive power gave a strong claim on the productive manner of power that was generated within discourse. It normalized life of the individuals through the production and practice of knowledge, discourse and new forms of techniques. Knowledge intervened into the every details of daily life, such as sex, health and education, and regulated the character of the individuals, such as self-confidence and motivation to work. It should be noted that such intervention and regulating were operated with the legitimacy and the consensus of the population. The individuals were actively co-operated into the governing project, such as examination, counseling and confession. In this way, the operation of modern form of power was indispensable to the formation of knowledge that enabled the power to penetrate into the daily life and to get the co-operation of the individuals. The concept of positive power enabled Foucault's theories to illustrate how power was operated through the legitimacy of knowledge and formation of the social subject.

In Foucault's framework, negative and positive power did not imply the distinction of bad and good or right and wrong. Rather, they just referred to a repressive form of power exercised through suppressive forces and a productive form of power operated by knowledge and discourses. Under the guidance of the conception of positive power, the concept of governmentality was introduced to examine the modern forms of governing.

Governmentality is suggested in the later work of Foucault's theory. It brought the theories of knowledge/power and subject into a broader context. First, it bridged the relation between the positive power and the state. This connection explained how positive power emerged and interweaved with the formation of

modern state.   Second, it located the formation of discursive subjects in a broader project of population governing.

Governmentality emerged as a new form of governing since the sixteenth century in Europe. It became a particular and dominant form of governing in the modern society. With this concept, theorists rejected the notion of modern bureaucratic state as a coherent and calculating agency. Instead, the focus of governmentality was on the governmentalized state which was "[t]he ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics" (Foucault 1991). Through this ensemble, particular form of governing has taken shape in the modern society.

By the concept of governmentality, we reveal how population is regulated in the modern society.   Informed by this concept, we find two important characteristics of the modern form of governing.   First, as Foucault argued, it is not convincing to follow the line of thought that deems institution or social group as the source of (repressive) power.   It has been shown in Foucault's study that power was not centralized in the hand of bureaucratic state.   Governing was not a calculable, deliberate and planned process either.   Rather it was a modern complex form of power that practices with and arranged by knowledge, technologies, procedures, institutions, and so on.   No one could control the practice of the state.   Second, sovereignty shifts its concern from the things within the territory to the subjects that inhabited in it.   This means that the population becomes the finality of the modern state.   The sovereignty takes up the governing work of people's 'common welfare', which belongs to and is managed by the head of family, that is the father. Individual betterment, civic affair and public morality are, therefore, inseparable to the new form of state.   Meanwhile, the knowledge

about the problem of population is developed, including demographic expansion, rate of deaths and diseases, cycles of scarcity, ascending spirals of labour and wealth, and so on. All these problems of population are irreducible to the dimension of family and new techniques are developed. One of the important techniques is statistics that allows the new form of state to quantify these specific phenomena of the population. The absorption of family domain not only changes the form of state from a purely political domain to a boarder practice, including the common welfare of every day life, but also transforms the form of power from a purely repressive one to a more complex form of power including the positive power. These changes, in turn, contribute to the formation of the modern state. The concept of governmentality locates the positive power of the state into the wider context of state formation. Furthermore, the governing project on population not only generates the knowledge about population, but also produces numerous knowledge discourses, especially scientific discourse, for creating disciplinary subjects for government. How to govern the population is the same question of how to fragmentize the individual of population and make them disciplinary subjects of knowledge. The concept of governmentality locates the subject formation in a broader project of population.

To sum up, Foucault's method of genealogy is to reveal the history of modern form of governing which is exercised through the practice of discourses, the creation of knowledge and the formation of social subject. Discourse could not be reduced to the rules of representation. It is also a kind of social practice and has impact, through the production of knowledge, on the formation of subject. Knowledge is produced through discourse and gets the legitimacy of ruling. So knowledge and power is interwoven together and become the dominated form of governing, especially refers to population governing.

Nevertheless, Foucault's framework is a grand one, without giving any hints about the methods of linguistic analysis of real texts (Fairclough 1992:56). Moreover, Foucault was charged with 'exaggerating the extent to which the majority of people are manipulated by power; he is accused of not giving enough weight to the contestation of practices, struggles between social forces over them, possibilities of dominated groups opposing dominant discursive and non-discursive systems, possibilities of change being brought about in power relations through struggle, and so forth' (Ibid:56).

Moreover, Fairclough was critical of Foucault's negligence of the concept of practice that means real instances of people doing or saying or writing things.   But practice has the property that it cannot be reduced to the implementation of structure. A form of analysis was suggested by Foucault (1972) that the analysis of structures could derive the rules of formation underlying any texts, and thereby the analysis of real texts was redundant.   Also, practice has the property that 'how structures figure in practice cannot be assumed, but has to be determined' (Fairclough 1992:58).   Lastly, we cannot afford ignoring the possibility that practice ultimately helps to shape the structure.   In short, the examination of structure does not the rule out the necessity of analyzing the real texts on the level of practice.   Ethnomethodological studies have already showed that the analysis of the structure could be conducted in a reverse direction.   The analysis of talk and interaction could help us to infer the form and nature of the structure (Drew and Sorjonen 1997; van Dijk 1997; Wilson 1991; Zimmerman and Boden 1991). The absence of the concept of practice and struggle led Taylor to comment on Foucault's work as 'one-sided' (Taylor 1986:81).   In the next section, we move on to discuss the possibility and feasibility of discursive analysis in policy analysis,

mainly through the introduction of Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Policy analysis has been informed by the framework aimed at understanding the argumentative processes (Dryzek 1993; Healey 1993; Dunn 1993). Fischer & Forester (1993) summarized the contribution of this sort of framework to policy and planning into five points. Firstly, it could provide us the means to appreciate the many ways practitioners formulated and constructed what "the problem" shall be taken practically to be. Secondly, it also helped us to know not only '*what* an analysis claims but when it does, to whom, in what language and style, invoking what loyalties, and appealing to what threat and dangers' (Fischer & Forester 1993:6). Thirdly, the focus on the argumentation process brought forth the importance of agenda-setting power and enabled a more focused consideration of some alternatives and excluded others from practical consideration altogether (Jennings 1993). Fourthly, it enabled us to assess the organizational networking, 'boundary spanning', relationship building and ritualized bargaining (Hajer 1993:43-76). Lastly, we could see more clearly about how 'problems' were represented in many languages, discourses and frames (Rein and Schon 1993).

We recognized the contribution of discourse analysis and the importance of seeing policy as an argumentation process. The problem ensued is to find out the appropriate concepts to carry out social research. In our view, Fairclough offered a systematic framework for us to guide our research.

Fairclough viewed discourse as a form of social practice, a form in which people might act upon the world and especially upon each other, and a form of representation. The former dimension was important since conventional

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linguistics and semiotics normally regarded discourse as merely a form of social representation. Regarding the idea that discourse was socially constitutive, it implied that discourse 'contributes to the constitution of all the dimensions of social structure which directly or indirectly shaped and constrain it: its own norms and conventions, as well as the relations, identities and institutions which lie behind them. Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but also of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning' (Fairclough 1992:64). Discourse, as a constitutive component, implied that it helped to construct social identities. With the construction of social identities, the next effect of discourse was the construction of social relationship. The other effect of discourse was the construction of system of knowledge and belief. In Fairclough's framework, these three effects were associated with the three functions and dimensions of languages, namely 'identity', 'relational' and 'ideational' functions of language. As he pointed out, 'the identity function relates to the ways in which social identities are set up in discourse, the relational function to how social relationships between discourse participants are enacted and negotiated, the ideational function to ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities and relations. The identity and relational functions are grouped together by Halliday (1978) as "interpersonal" function' (Ibid:64-5). In our study, we follow Fairclough's suggestion about the distinction between the ideational and interpersonal functions of text.

We take this part of analysis as the first step of textual analysis (Fairclough 1992:chapter 8). Focusing on the ideational and interpersonal functions of texts about youths, we attempt to figure out the identities of parties involved and the relationships among them in youth policy formation. Taking seriously the constitutive principle of discourse analysis, we should bear in mind that it is not

equivalent to the claim that the discursive constitution of the society emanates from a free play of ideas in people's minds. Fairclough argued that the discursive constitution of society was 'firmly rooted in and oriented to real, material social structure' (1992:66). There were three arguments to support this assertion. Firstly, people were always confronted with discursive ideas, such as family, 'as a real institution with concrete practices, existing relations and identities which have themselves been constituted in discourse, but reified into institution and practices' (Ibid:66). Secondly, there were other practices working closely with the constitutive effects of discourse. They were mutually reinforcing each other. Thirdly, 'the constitutive work of discourse necessarily takes place within the constraints of the dialectical determination of discourse by social structure…, and…within particular power relations and struggle' (Ibid:66). As discourse was closely related to practices, Fairclough in his analysis went beyond textual analysis and moves on to two sorts of practice, namely discursive and social practices.

Regarding discursive practice, analysts should take it as a series of processes of text production, distribution and consumption, and the nature of these processes varies between different types of discourse. The important task, in this respect, is to see the interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text (Fairclough 1999:97). As he pointed out, 'a specific feature of the approach is that the link between sociocultural practice and text is mediated by discourse practice; how a text is produced or interpreted, in the sense of what discursive practices and conventions are drawn from what order(s) of discourse and how they are articulated together, depends upon the nature of sociocultural practice which the discourse is a part of (including the relationship to existing hegemonies); the nature of the discourse practice of text production shapes the text, and leaves "traces" in surface features of the text; and the nature of the discourse practice of

text interpretation determines how the surface features of a text will be interpreted" (Ibid:97). Understanding and interpreting texts should be related to the social context but this task was not equivalent to explanation. Fairclough suggested a third layer of analysis, that is, explanation.

As is pointed out by Fairclough, 'explanation lies in the interplay between the two languages [internal and external languages – see Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:chapter 4] and it can be seen as a process of translation, whereby the (internal) conceptual language is used to re-describe specific empirical material, such as texts. It is an interpretation of the text in terms of the theoretical framework, which crucially involves making invisible categories become visible. In CDA [critical discourse analysis – the author]'s case, this is possible by applying what…we referred to as the logic of critical analysis: a relational/dialectical logic, oriented to assessing how the discourse moment works within social practice, from the point of view of its effects on power struggles and relations of domination' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:67). Fairclough took the discourse on this level of analysis as social practice. He related the discourse as social practice to the discussion of ideology and hegemony. In his view, ideology was 'located both in the structure which constitutes the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures. It is an accumulated and naturalized orientation which is built into norms and conventions, as well as ongoing work so naturalize and denaturalize such orientations in discursive events' (Fairclough 1992:89). The focus of the analysis of ideology was then on whether discourse incorporated significations which contributed to sustaining or restructuring power relations (see also Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Chilton and Schaffner 1997). In other words, power struggles go into the heart of our analysis of the discourse on the youth.

Following the study of power relations, an analysis informed by the concept of hegemony becomes significant. Insofar as hegemony is understood as the power over society as a whole achieved 'temporarily', it implies that the dominant power in society could be changed. Fairclough argued that the power achieved as 'an unstable equilibrium' should be sustained by constant struggle and continuous support. Hence, discursive practice can be seen as one of the site for struggle in which discourses contribute to the reproduction or transformation of the existing order of discourse and the existing social and power relations (Fairclough 1992:chapter 4). In Fairclough's view, the concept of hegemony provided 'a matrix – a way of analyzing the social practice within which discourse belongs in terms of power relations, in terms of whether they reproduce, restructure or challenge existing hegemonies – and a model – a way of analyzing discourse practice itself as a mode of hegemonic struggle, reproducing, restructuring or challenging existing orders of discourse' (Ibid: 95).

Fairclough suggested a three-tier structure of analysis. The first tier was an analysis of the texts by which we could find out the heterogeneity and contradictory features of a text. The second tier was to examine the complex relationships between discourse practice or text production and discourse conventions, and the complex relationships between text interpretation and conventions. This was the level of discursive practice. The third tier was about the analysis of the relationships between the heterogeneity of textual features and the complexity of discourse processes, and processes of sociocultural change. This was the level of social practice.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined the extent to which the constructionist approach overcomes the limitations caused by the objectivity assumption of the deviance

theories and opens a room for cultural and power dimensions of construction analysis. We also argued that in comparison with the social construction theory and semiotics, Foucault's genealogy is the most well developed theoretical tool for analyzing the formation process of problems and subjects (the cultural dimension of constructionist) as well as the governing strategies embedded in the politics of the formation process (the power dimension of constructionist). Moreover, the social construction theory opens a space for rethinking social problems as the consequence of subjectively definition through claim making activities rather than a fact objectively existing. This theory shows us that social problems are implicitly and intentionally constructed by experts or dominant groups. It also brings power dimension into the consideration of the study of social problems and lets the theorists have a room to explain why some behaviour are defined as social problems only in some situation. The analysis informed by the social construction theories, however, only brings us to look into the process of claim making and the claim maker themselves. Consequently, the underlining cultural forces or factors affected the claim making process are ignored. Saussure's semiotics aims to find out how the hidden cultural structure constructs the understanding of the objectively world. In this framework, understanding is a conceptualization process, which is organized and limited by our language/cultural system. This implies that a meaning, for example a claim on a social problem, is just the result arranged by our language structure, rather than deliberately made by the effort of claim makers, experts or dominant groups. In the framework of Saussure's semiotics, all the claim makers or experts are only the subjects involved in language activities that are organized and determined by our cultural structure. The subject is not the determination factors in the claiming process. However, the analytical framework of semiotics is confined to a closed system, with the assumption that there is

nothing outside the text or language system.   That is why the semiotics approach neglects the power dimension of the constructionists.

Foucault's discourse analysis is interested in the power practice in the process of formation of social problems and modern subject through discursive/cultural practice.   To avoid the problem of the social construction theory, Foucault employed the concept of discourse to include the cultural dimension of construction into his concern of modern form of power practice.   Actors or claim-makers are no longer important in the discursive approach.   The subject is only the consequence of and fragmentized by discourse and knowledge.   Besides, Foucault used the concept of discourse and knowledge to replace the concept of language and meaning used in semiotics.   Discourse is more than language. It also implies the practical dimension of power, beyond a static language game. Knowledge is more than meanings.   It constitutes 'the' truths and legitimacy of power, rather than imposing a meaning onto a text.   Such a replacement allows us to include power dimension of construction to the analysis of formation process of meaning. This is how Foucault used the concept of discourse, knowledge and subject to focus on his main theme of the modern form of power practice.

However there are some shortcomings in his framework.   It is too grand to provide us middle-range theoretical concepts to guide our research.   To achieve a feasible framework for our empirical research of the youth policy in Hong Kong, we adopt Fairclough's three-tier analytical framework that points to the necessity of the examination of the texts themselves, discursive practice and social practice. The following chapters will show the result of our application of this framework.

- End -

Chapter 3

Method and Methodology

Introduction

Discursive analysis raises a lot of controversial issues about its methods and methodology. Two general questions have been commonly posed to challenge this particular kind of social analysis. Inspired by linguistics, text analysis, as one form of discursive analyses, tends to deal more often with the abstract structures of written discourse as a fixed object. Similarly, the study of talk has its focus on the dynamic aspects of spontaneous interaction. Both kinds of analyses, however, are questioned about their validity and the extent to which they reflect the reality. Moreover, as van Dijk argued, 'they are both after order, rules, regularities in the detailed analysis of structures and strategies of text and talk. Both are more descriptive, less explanatory and tend to ignore broader (for example cognitive and societal) contexts' (van Dijk, 1997:23).

With respect to the issue of validity, critical discourse analysts, however, would give an intriguing stance. On the one hand, the analysts may try their best to be 'objective', doing research in an unbiased and disinterested manner; on the other hand, they may also be actively involved in the issue and social phenomena they are studying. As pointed out by van Dijk, 'the critical scholars make their social and political position explicit; they take sides, and actively participate in order to uncover, demystify or otherwise challenge dominance with their discourse analyses…Discourse is an inherent part of society and partakes in all society's injustices, as well as in the struggle against them. Critical scholars of discourse do not merely observe such linkages between discourse and societal structures, but

aim to be agents of change, and do so in solidarity with those who need such change most' (Ibid: 23). Frankly speaking, we understand that it is not easy to defend this contradictory position here as this issue is related to a big discussion between modernists and post-modernists. What we can do is to state clearly our theoretical position here that social scientists are no longer able to be 'objective'. But this does not mean that intellectuals should avoid giving judgements about truth and falsity. Fairclough argued that 'intellectuals should not feel embarrassed about making judgements of truth; on the contrary, like other social groups, they have a responsibility to bring the particular perspective they can contribute into the public domain in debates over the great social and political issues (Norris, 1992). Retreating into a helpless relativism when faced with issues such as war crimes in ex-Yugloslavia, which require judgements of truth and falsity, is in my view serious ethical failure, whatever theoretical voices may be used to rationalize it' (Fairclough, 1999:19). This is a strong claim about the political positions for the intellectuals. However, there are few instructions suggested by critical discourse analysts about the criteria of making the distinction between good and bad judgements. Fariclough only suggested that 'an important emancipatory political objective is to minimize such effects and maximize the conditions for judgements of truth to be compared and evaluated on their merits' (Ibid:19). The validity of this study, then, is based on a comparison with other similar research on youth policy. Our responsibility here is to provide as much information as possible about the ways of collecting, analyzing and interpreting data from texts. Of course, the selection of texts studied here requires critical assessment. In the following sections, we provide information about the guidelines, process, criteria and results of our discursive analysis.

Method of data collection

Fairclough developed a method of data collection for his textually oriented discourse analysis. It was suggested that researchers should develop a corpus of discourse samples for the discourse analysis. However, this raised a question of what kinds of data should be included as samples in the corpus. With respect to the study of the process of change, the samples should be typical or representatives of a certain practice to adequately reflect the diversity of the practice and change of the practice. Two suggestions were given. First, researchers should develop a mental model of the order of discourse of the relevant institution examined and the process of change it is undergoing. This task was to create a preliminary mental map for determining what data should be collected as part of the corpus (Fairclough 1992:226-227). Second, researchers should focus on the moments of crisis its traces may embed in texts. Such moment of crisis showed changes in process in which convention might be reinforced and problematized (Ibid: 230).

Inspired by Fairclough's ideas, in this thesis, we develop the corpus of discourse samples that can reveal the discursive changes. We first construct the mental map of discourse. The construction method of a mental map of the discourse order of the relevant institution examined and the process of change is adopted in this thesis and became the initial part of the research. The mental map of the order of discourse is in fact a mental hierarchy of discourse within a period of time. On the order of discourse level, we attempt to delineate different types of discourses and their boundaries, and go further to find out the power disparity between them. This work is done firstly through a search of wide range of firsthand written materials produced by relevant institutions. The searching work is focused on the official annual reports, influential official papers and professional journals of social work. We understand that these materials were produced by the

core members of the youth policy and the main youth services providers, and such materials could provide a hierarchical and historical sequence of social events and discursive change. The search for a hierarchical structure is to map the relationship between discourses at a specific period, while the search for historical sequence provides a foundation for constructing preliminary mental map of dominant and dominated discourses, as well as its transformation and related social events. Besides, supplementary materials and studies of the youth policy and youth services are also introduced to confirm and amend the preliminary mental map. In the study of the period from 1950 to 1979, the Hong Kong annual reports, the annual reports of the Social Welfare Department, a number of white papers and green papers, Social Service Quarterly and The Hong Kong Journal of Social Work become the primary materials for constructing the preliminary mental map. Documents of public speeches, research reports, discussion papers and records of workshop are considered as supplementary data for confirming and amending the preliminary mental map.

This mental map has two contributions to the studying of the struggle between discourses and the change of youth governing. On the one hand, it becomes the map of discourse for identifying different discourses and locating the relation between these discourses. On the other hand, it helps to locate the significant social events for the changes of discourses and works out periodization of the period under study. We finally have an idea of a developmental process with three periods in which new form of discourses and new form of youth governing are established respectively. The identification of youth discourse is based on the distinction of the natures of youth constructed and the knowledge embedded for explaining the causes of problematic youth. We can find out what discourses are employed and discussed in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, according

to the mental map of discourse, we highlighted the discourses that had been employed in influential and official documents by significant institutions and people.   With this in mind, we can locate these discourses in relation to the youth policy and youth services and know which discourses are in dominant position and in subordinated position.   The identification of youth discourses and setting of location of different discourses provided a preliminary picture of discursive changes from the 1950s to 1970s.   This preliminary picture then provides a mental map of the discursive changes and tells us when dominant discourse shifted from one state to another.   The changes of the dominant discourse are critical in this study because they indicate the change of youth policy and the emergence of a new form of youth governing.   These changes are used for identifying the time of changes and dividing the studied target period into three periods according to when the changes happened.   The mental map helps us to identifying discourses and dividing periods of change, but this does not resolve the problem of developing the corpus of discourse samples.   The guideline for identifying samples should be founded on the basis of the identified discourses and changes.

The above analysis provides the mental map of discourses and changes.   This made us know which discourses are significant and in a superior position in youth policy.   For exposing and reflecting the discourses and its form of youth governing, samples should be typical and representative of particular kinds of discursive governing.   First, the samples are chosen in accordance with the discourses identified.   Second, it is better to choose the texts which concluded the particular kinds of discursive governing of youth or which generated new discursive governing and contained what Fairclough called moment of crisis, in which criticism was created against the convention or dominant form of youth governing.   Third, the samples are better to be produced by the significant people,

who had been influential in the public sphere or in the formation of youth policy, for example core members of the youth policy, the main youth services providers, community leaders and scholars.

The above criteria have provided general guidance for choosing samples of discourse corpus. However, more consideration should be included according to the actual situation of fieldwork. In the following, we will discuss the ways of choosing samples. Samples are chosen for detailed analysis for the periods of 1950-1965, 1966-72 and 1973-79. In the period of 1950-1965, the government was not actively involved in the youth services and youth services providers, e.g. voluntary agencies, churches and traditional benevolent societies, were seldom coordinated. The social situation was that service and discussion about youths were fragmentary and existed in various social institutions. This created a difficulty that typical and representative samples were not easy to identify. It is very difficult for us to find conclusive documents that concluded the convention of policy orientation and transformative documents that indicated new orientation of youth policy did not exist. In comparing the samples in the following periods, more texts are chosen for reflecting the diversified development of youth services. Five samples are chosen, three for poverty discourse and two for moral discourse (see Chapter 4). The principle of this design is that the samples should be able to reflect and expose the discourses of government, voluntary agencies, kaifong associations and Confucian organizations. The Government is an influential institution in forming the policy of youth and so a sample is quoted from the Hong Kong Annual Report for representing the attitude of government toward the youth problems. Voluntary agencies were also the main youth services provider and so the samples should be able to reflect the work of voluntary agencies. St. James' Settlement, as a voluntary agency, was founded in 1950 particularly for handling

the problems of street children through the provision of typical welfare services, for example health care, clubs and job training, and so on.   Hence two annual reports of the St. James' Settlement were analyzed as representative and typical samples for reviewing the youth services of voluntary agencies.   Kaifongs associations and Confucian organizations organized various activities and campaigns for promoting their youth policy.   We take two samples that were produced by the leaders of kaifongs associations and Confucian organizations respectively.   These two samples were distributed in the public sphere in the forms of radio speech and newspaper article for two different anti-ah-fei campaigns.

In the period of 1966-1972, the government took an active role in the planning and the expanding of youth services provision.   At the same time, voluntary agencies closely coordinated with the plan of government and interweaved with the works in policy-making and implementation.   The government and voluntary agencies became an alliance of the new youth policy and the influential institutions of the society.   The sample design for this period is that the samples should be able to reflect and expose the discourses of the government and voluntary agencies and the struggle between the discourses.   Two conclusive documents, which conclude the conventions of policy orientation, were chosen as the samples.   One is a chapter of an official report, An Appreciation of Social Welfare Services and Needs in Hong Kong, written by the Social Welfare Department and the HKCSS. The Social Welfare Department represents the government and the HKCSS represents the officially recognized coordinator of voluntary agencies.   Their report did not only represent the policy orientation of government, but also represented the consensus between the core members of the alliance of youth policy. It is important that this report is the first report to describe each particular field of social welfare and its facilities in details (Social Welfare Department & Hong Kong

Council of Social Service 1969: Preface). Therefore, it is a representative document reflecting the dominant policy at that time. The other document is a report of detached work produced by a discussion group on detached work under the HKCSS. The discussion group contained representatives of twelve voluntary agencies and three of the voluntary agencies were directly involved in the experiments of detached work.

The report not only concluded the need and the effectiveness of detached work, but also carefully compared and discussed the problems of youth, objectives and working approaches of different kinds of detached work in which engagement and socialization discourses are embedded. There are four other reports about detached work, including *Report on Detached Work* (1969) and *Report on Detached Work(2)*(1970) produced by The Boys' and Girls' Clubs Association, *Detached Work Report* (1970) produced by Lei Cheng Uk Friendly Centre and *An Experiment in Detached Work: A Report on Field Work and Evaluation* (1968) produced by the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups. However, on the one hand, the narrators of these four reports are less representative than that of the discussion group of HKCSS. On the other hand, the discussion in the four reports are either less systematic and detailed or less related to the socialization discourse, compared to the report of the HKCSS. The report of discussion group of HKCSS was chosen as sample for analyzing the form of youth governing of socialization discourse.

In the period of 1973-1979, the government took initiatives to form a new youth policy for handling the increasing problems of youth crime. However, there was a significant change in planning social policy in the government departments. Policy planning, especially in medical, education and social welfare services,

turned out to be dependent on scientific research and adequate statistical information, which were not sufficiently used in the past (Social Welfare Department 1973:27-28; Research and Development Committee 1975:1). Social research and scientific studies became important in the process of policy change. Two papers of youth study were chosen as samples for studying the change of form of youth governing. One is an influential academic paper, named Social Causes of Violent Crimes among Young Offenders in Hong Kong, finished by a sociologist of The Chinese University of Hong Kong. The government commissioned this study to find out the social causes of youth violent crime and its solutions (Ng 1975:3). The recommendations of this paper greatly influenced the development of new youth services, called personal social work. Another study is a position paper on youth crime and violence, named Criminals are Made not Born, finished by a working group of the HKCSS and the Hong Kong Social Workers' Association. HKCSS is the official recognized representative of voluntary agencies and the Hong Kong Social Workers' Association is a professional organization of social workers. The report was then translated into Chinese and published in a popular local journal of social work field, Social Service Quarterly. It could be concluded that the report represents the attitude of social work institutions.

The method of data collection resolved the problem of development a corpus of discourse samples for the discourse analysis. However, the samples are not existed in isolation and so could not be analyzed as single piece of existing text.

Method of intertextual analysis

Fairclough's model focuses on discursive change. However, the method of data collection does not provide a tool for analyzing the discursive change. The concept of intertextuality is introduced for resolving this problem. Fairclough

emphasized that texts existed in particular conjuncture. The utterances of a text were retrospective to previous utterances in other text and anticipate utterances of texts in the future. Hence each utterance was linked with the others and formed a discursive chain (Fairclough 1992:102). If a text was produced and interpreted in a particular conjuncture, a text is 'full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth' (Ibid: 84). This relation between texts is called intertexuality. A text is transforming the snatches of existing convention and prior texts into the present. The transformation would happen in two ways. It may follow the convention and so (re)produces the previous discourses. It may happen in a creative way and so would change the previous discourses. The concept of intertextuality provides a tool for the analysis of the change of discourses in the process of text production and interpretation (Ibid: 84-85, 102). The introduction of concept of intertextuality made the analysis of the samples or the discourses integrated into the samples that refer to a wider historical context of text. This allowed the discourses analysis to focus on the changing process of the order of discourse.

The concept of intertextuality is borrowed from the thesis for analysis of the relation between discourses and for showing how discourses are changed. Following this premises, we focus on how elements that existed in the previous discourses are transformed and restructured in the following discourses. This work is divided into three steps. The first step is to identify the elements snatched from other discourses and being employed in following discourses. The elements are identified through finding out the share of common wording, causality, categorization and assumptions. The second step is to find the strategies of transforming and restructuring the previous elements and naturalize them into the

new discourses. The work of this step is to articulate how the previous elements are adapted to and being part of the wording, causality, categorization and assumptions of new discourses. The second step focuses on how elements of previous discourses are absorbed through transformation and restructuring. However, it should be noted that the absorption process of elements is also an exclusion process of previous discourses. The third step is designed to illustrate the exclusion process. The third step concerns how the previous discourses are appropriated, distorted and excluded in the process of transforming and restructuring. The aim of this step is to find out which core concepts or assumptions, interwoven with the snatched elements, were eliminated and excluded in the new discourses. The elimination and exclusion of the core concepts or assumption made the snatched elements adaptive to and served for the new discourses, and excluded the previous discourses.

The method of intertextual analysis develops a tool for analysis the discursive changes. However, the discursive changes do not determine within the discursive level and so the analytical framework should also consider the context of society level. The method of social analysis is designed to deal with this question.

Method of social analysis

Fairclough's model focuses on how discursive change is related to social change. It emphasizes that discursive change has its social condition in structural contradiction and struggles at the institutional and societal level. Structural contradiction and institutional and societal struggles are put into consideration for answering the questions of discursive change. The concept of structural contradiction entails an emphasis that discursive change is originated from structural contradiction in the societal level. The previous section has introduced

the concept of intertextuality that texts existed in particular conjuncture. The utterances of a text are retrospective to previous utterances and, hence, formed a discursive chain. Discursive change would happen, when the convention is successfully problematized in the retrospective process of text. Then, people are faced with dilemmas for the convention. The dilemma situation would be resolved only by being innovative, by adopting previous discourse and knowledge in new ways and so contributing to discursive change. However, this discursive change would not happened without the stimulation of social event. Fairclough explained that the immediate origins and motivations of discursive change lied in the problematization of convention, which had its bases on structural contradictions happened at the societal level (Fairclough 1992:96-97).

In this thesis, we employ the concept of structural contradiction for bridging the relation between the discursive change of youth policy and the wider change in societal level. The analysis of structural contradiction consists of two steps. The first step is to identify significant social events that triggered off debates or policy change about youth governing. Such events were the causes or reflection of structural contradiction. It successfully problematized the convention of youth discourse and form of youth governing. The second step is to manifest how new discourse were formed for resolving the dilemmas created by the social event.

Fairclough employed the Gramsci's concept of hegemony to bridge the relation between discursive change and its power struggle at the institutional and societal level. Hegemony was domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society. It was exercised through constructing alliances and ideological means for establishing consents in the society, rather than simply enforcing subordinate relation with force or institutional means. Thus

control, struggle and change took place on a board front, which included the institutions of civil society, for example education, trade unions and family.

We, in this thesis, partially absorb the concept of hegemony for analyzing the relation between the discursive change and the change of youth policy that involved various kinds of institutions. Youth policy here refers to the priority of social services for youth, provided by voluntary agencies, churches, kaifongs associations, schools, government departments and other social organizations. These institutions are the members of alliances of youth policy and more or less affected by and struggle against the dominant ideology of youth discourse. The work of analysis is divided into three steps. The first step is to distinguish the core members in the alliance of youth policy, e.g. the main service provider and policy maker of youth services, from the peripheral members of the alliances. From the 1950s to 1970s, the voluntary agencies and government took the role of main service provider and policy maker. The second step is to review the struggle between the core members and the peripheral members as well as the relation within the core member group. We study the condition when they are cooperated and under some other circumstances they are in a relation of contest and struggle. We are also concerned with how these cooperation and struggle are related to the domination and exclusion of youth discourses in the second step.

Conclusion

This chapter firstly discusses the controversial issues of critical discursive analysis and then introduces the Fairclough's methods of data collection, intertextual analysis and social analysis. Critical discursive analysts are stuck in the question of validity. Critical scholars recognized that they are (or even they should) involved in the issue and social phenomena they study and so not in a natural or

objective theoretical position. This recognition gives rise to the question of validity. There is no absolute answer to resolve this question. Critical scholars may try their best to be 'objective', doing research in an unbiased and disinterested manner and not allowing arbitrary way of discourse analysis.   On the other hand, they may emphasize that validity could be justified by the contribution of maximizing conditions of critical discussion.

Fairclough's methods of data collection, intertextual analysis and social analysis are employed in this study.   The method of data collection resolves the validity problem of sampling.   Mental map of the order of discourses of the relevant institution examined and the process of change it is undergoing is suggested to establish for locating typical or representative samples.   It makes us know which discourses are significant and whether they are in a superior or inferior position in the youth policy.   This information provides a background for choosing typical and representative samples.   The method of intertextual analysis provides a tool for analyzing the discursive change in samples.   It helps us to examine how elements that existed in previous discourses are transformed and restructured in the following discourses.   The method of social analysis brings the discursive changes within the samples into a wider context of societal level. On the one hand, discursive changes do not only happen in discursive level, but also have their social condition in structural contradiction.   Discursive changes are originated form structural contradiction happened on the societal level.   On the other hand, discursive changes are closely related to the power struggle on the institutional level. The struggle among the members of alliance of youth policy affected which discourse would dominate the youth policy.

- End -

Chapter 4

Poor Children, Poor Society:
The period before riots, 1950-1965

Introduction

The major concern in this chapter is the form of youth governing implemented by the government and its allied organizations in the period from 1950 to 1965 - the period shortly after the Second World War and before the outbreak of Kowloon disturbance in 1966. During this period, Hong Kong experienced an expanded process of population caused by the inflow of refugee. The total population rose from 2,200,000 in 1950 to 3,700,000 in 1966 (Hong Kong Government [hereafter HKG] 1954:17; Census and Statistics Department 1969:17). Children and youth constituted one of the age groups that dramatically expanded both in terms of absolute number and in terms of the ratio of the total population. In the 1960s, half of the population was under 21 years old. The age group between 10 and 19 increased and became one of the largest age groups, reaching a new height of 830,000 people and accounting for almost one forth of the population (Census and Statistics Department 1969:17; Research Department, Hong Kong Council of Service [hereafter HKCSS] 1974:10-11).

The colonial government at first thought that the young people might not stay in Hong Kong and would go back to the Mainland China with their parents. To the government, even if the young population expanded and need more social resources to cater their needs, the economic growth in this period might produce sufficient jobs and resources to deal with the rising demands from the youths. This kind of reasoning allowed the government to leave the young population taken care by the market and the Chinese society. Under these circumstances, the

Chinese society suggested a very specific view on youth problem that would be called moral discourse, to be expanded later in this chapter. Another discourse took a different view on youths and treated young people as the consequence of poor performance of the local economy. Generally speaking, the public discourses tended to be sympathetic towards the young people at risk. In this chapter, we attempt to delineate the social and political conditions in this period in order to explore the condition in which two particular discourses, namely the moral and poverty discourses, appeared.

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section is on the youth policy. In the second section, we introduce two popular discourses about youths. The third is to find out the formation of subjects achieved by the discourses through the process of discursive practice in particular text. The fourth is to reveal the power relation that shaped the discourses. The fifth section is the conclusion of this chapter.

Youth Policy

This section shows that the youth policy in pre-riots period was mainly carried out by the voluntary agencies, religious bodies, traditional benevolent societies and non-profit-making organizations. Most of the services were initiated by the voluntary agencies and private organizations.

There was no overarching principle to govern policy for youths. Youth policy was carried out in a fragmentary form mainly through education policy and social welfare services. We in this section portray the fragmented youth policy in the period of 1950-1965.

Youth welfare services aimed at helping children aged form 8 to 21, who were lack of proper care and education, by providing them recreation activities, health

care and trade training (Social Welfare Department [hereafter SWD] 1960/61:8-9; 1964/65:8-9). The youth welfare services helped street children who were not under proper care. They played and worked in the form of illegal hawkers, beggars, shoe shining and thefts on the street. To avoid 'the lure of the streets' and give 'them a more stable background for citizenship', services were provided in the form of clubs activities, interest groups, outdoor programmes and trade training (Ibid 1960/61:8-9).

Most of the services were organized through the children and youth centers and the community centers of the various voluntary youth organizations. The main role of the government was to ensure the provision of youth services was available and arranged funding for the voluntary agencies. The Social Welfare Department recorded that:

> "In this work the Department collaborates closely with the numerous voluntary welfare agencies who do so much to meet the social needs of Hong Kong. Without their participation the task of the Department would, in some fields at least, be of unmanageable proportions. There is very close liaison between the Department and most of these voluntary organizations, and many of them are assisted by annual subventions from public funds" (Ibid 1959/60:3).

Voluntary agencies took a major role in the domain of youth welfare services, not only in terms of the quantity of services provided but also the leadership role in the welfare domain. Voluntary agencies became the largest services provider and were also greatly involved in the matters of co-ordination between various agencies and the distribution of public fund to the agencies (Ibid 1959/60:27; 1964/65:10).

Most of the youth welfare services were provided for the social group aged from 8 to 21, which covered children and youth. The youth was not served as a distinctive social group and was merely understood and regulated with the concept of children. The main welfare services providers, for example, the Boys' and

Girls' Association, the St. James' Settlement, Po Leung Kuk and YWCA, served the youth with the same sort of services exclusively for children.

Since the early 1960s, some of the welfare services had begun to pay more attention to elder youngsters. With the popularization of primary education, the Social Welfare Department directed more attention to the elder youngsters aged 14 and above (SWD 1964/65:8-9; Chow 1966:4). Two voluntary agencies made the same move. The Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups, one of the largest youth services providers in the 1960s, and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme were established in 1961 and started their services exclusively for the youth of age 14 upwards (Stokes 1966:1; Chiu 1966:11). Although there was a tendency of paying more attention to the youth, the majority of the welfare services still treated youth and children as the same group of service target.

Education policy was designed to battle against the problem of illiteracy. The main focus of the education policy was to ensure enough primary school places for the children aged from 6 to 12 (HKG 1965:1-2). The development of post-war primary education was towards the aim of universal primary education (Yau, Leung and Chau 1993:87). Until 1964, the primary school enrolment in day and evening schools was numerically equal to the amount of children of primary school age (SWD and HKCSS 1969).

Receiving education services was on a voluntary basis. The primary work of the government was to ensure sufficient primary school places in government, aided or private schools. However, the government did not provide free or subsidized places to all children of school age. Surely the government delimited its involvement to the direct provision of primary school places. More than half of the available places were provided by private school rather than the government

that offered granted, aided and subsidized places (Education Commission 1963:6, 10; HKG 1965:1-2).

Providing universal secondary education was not the policy of the government. Only around 15 per cent of the primary school leavers could get the places in government and aided secondary schools, or subsidized places in private secondary schools (HKG 1965:1; HKG 1963:133-134). The rest would be settled in non-subsidized places with higher school fee if the parents were willing to support. More than half of the secondary school students were educated in non-subsidized places (Education Commission 1963:6). A special two-year course of secondary education for the children who were under the statutory minimum age of 14 for industrial employment was promoted. However, this arrangement failed (HKG 1965:1-2).

Youth policy was mainly carried out by voluntary agencies, religious bodies, traditional benevolent societies and profit-making organizations. The government avoided direct and active involvement in the provision of youth services. The main role of government was just to assist and encourage the voluntary agencies, religious bodies, traditional benevolent societies and profit-making organizations to take an active role in social services.

The above analysis of youth policy reveals the roles of the government and the non-government organizations in the social services domain. However, this analysis has not manifested the process of youth policy in which the subject of youths was constructed, re-articulated and excluded. Our analysis therefore should focus over this respect and also on the process in which the government and its alliance struggle against other social organizations over the interpretation of youths and youth problems.

Discourses of youth

This section would examine the discourses to find out the ideational elements embedded in the documents about youths and show how youths and youth problems were interpreted. We would focus on four aspects of two discourses prevailing in the period, including the nature of youth, youth problems concerned, the causes of problem.

a) Poverty discourse

Poverty discourse did not treated youth as a distinctive social group. Instead, it focused on the social group called children, ranged from 8 to 18 or 21, which included what we now call children and youth.[1]   The focus of the discourse was on the deprived children who were understood as victims of poverty.   Owing to poverty, the children were forced to earn a living through illegal hawking, begging, shoe shinning and even theft in the street.   Some of the girls were forced to be prostitutes, bar girl and hostess.

The discourse emphasized the children problems in their occupational life and their health situation.   Quite a lot of children took up unskilled work such as shoe shining and hawking on the street.   However, street life was treated as the site where ' [t]hese children may easily provide the raw material for hooligan gangs or become victims of other undesirable elements' (SWD 1954/55:9).   Also, it was believed that the problematic street life made the children easily get into the troubles with police or committed petty larceny (The Reform Club of Hong Kong 1950/51:5).

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[1] The term "youth" was not distinctively defined in the period of the 1950s and even in the 1960s. Usually, the term "children" also referred to what we now call "youth". For example, in the annual report of Social Welfare Department, the term "children" was employed to describe the service target of the Youth Welfare Section, covering the ages between eight and eighteen years (SWD 1957/58:9). Sometimes the term also referred to the age group up to twenty-one years old (Annual Report of the St. James' Settlement 1952). The term "children" was used in this chapter sometimes to refer to the social group of youth.

The discourse also took the issues of health, for example underweight and malnutrition of children, as main problems. It was believed that the poor children were generally shorter and lighter than normal healthy children and suffered from under-nourishment. The problems of underweight and malnutrition reduced the resistance of children against diseases possibly transmitted from their consumptive parents and co-tenants in the overcrowded residential environment (HKCSS 1953:74-75; Annual Report of the St. James' Settlement 1952; 1959).

Poverty was deemed as the root of the problems. The unfavorable economic condition exhausted the resources of many families. The parents could not earn enough money to support their families so that the children took up unskilled work to shoulder the livelihood of their families. Also, the exhausted families were incapable, in terms of financial situation and knowledge, to foster their children towards normal development, although the parents had already tried their best.

The solution suggested in the poverty discourse was to relocate the children in proper occupational positions or social institutions, for example a permanent job for a boy and a family for a girl and to develop healthy and self-reliance citizen.

b) Moral discourse

The moral discourse regarded the youth as immature and untamed people whose morality was easily affected by corrupted social atmosphere. So the young people needed to understand and accept certain moral guidance, especially the traditional Chinese virtues. Otherwise, they would easily be affected by material temptation and so went astray.

One of foci in the moral discourse was on the youths with behaviour and value problems called 'ah-fei'.[2] This kind of problematic young people refers to those

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[2] The term "Ah-Fei" is quite difficult to translate. Lui translated it to teddy boys (Lui 1994:40). A Teddy boy is

threatened the social order and conventional virtues of community. It was believed that robbery, larceny, drug abuse, gang fights and pre-marital sex became serious problems of the community. Delinquency was said to be simply caused by the untamed youths, the ah-fei. On the other hand, the value problem of youth was another issue in the moral discourse. The irresponsible, non-productive, arrogant and hostile attitude as well as modish appearance was also regarded as a serious problem that corrupted familial relationship and social order. The youth problem was regarded as the consequence of moral decay that was caused by the growth of corrupted social atmosphere and the malfunction of family and school education. The corrupted social atmosphere was caused by the numerous kinds of modern entertainment and subculture, including "pornographic novels, newspapers, moving pictures, dancing schools and 'mysterious' coffee houses" (Hong Kong and Kowloon Joint Kaifong Research Council 1966:7). Movies, drama, novels, comics, pop music, pop dance, drugs, radio programmes and even jazz were deemed as harmful to the youth as they bolstered the corrupted social atmosphere. Some entertainment premises, for example bar, massage parlor, dancing center, beauty center, cinema and hostel, especially those related to pornography, were deemed as the hotbed of ah-fei.

It was believed that the modern entertainment and subculture created temptation and made the new generation no longer follow the principle of traditional Confucian virtues. The traditional virtues, for example filial duty,

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refers to the particular British hoodlum in 1950s. They dressed with tight narrow trousers, pointed shoes and long sideboards (Encarta World English Dictionary 1999:1918) and were associated with early rock and roll music (Collins Cobuild English Dictionary 1995:1715). However, "Ah-Fei" was existed in a quite different context. The modish appearance of ah-fei was not only the symbol of rebel, but more importantly was the sign of westernization and rejection of traditional values. So, the term "Ah-Fei" not only involved in the conflict between two generations but also was understood in the context of the conflict between traditional and western values. Moreover, unlike teddy boys, the notion of "Ah-Fei" was not necessary applied only on the lower class youths. It was also applied on young deviants came from upper class.

loyalty, sincerity, propriety, honesty and humility, were therefore undermined (Y.C. Lam 1967:11).

The materialist and calculative values were deemed as the consequence of the corrupted social atmosphere and the competitor to the traditional virtues. The growth of corrupted atmosphere implied the degeneration of traditional virtues. With the lost of traditional virtues, when youth encountered the material progress and temptation of modern life, they would easily went astray. The moral decay, especially referred to the erosion of the Chinese virtues, was the main cause of youth problems. On the one hand, the corrupted social atmosphere threatened the morality of the youths and created a hotbed for the growth of deviance. On the other hand, families and schools failed to take up the responsibility for providing moral guidance to the youths. This was deemed as another main cause of the youth problems as both systems were affected by modern life. Some families and schools became money oriented and materialistic, and were not capable of taking up the responsibility for moral guidance provision. The others were overwhelmed by economic hardship and stress from examination. Because of the malfunction of families and schools, young people were unable to internalize traditional morality and easily turned out to be deviants.

In short, in the moral discourse social atmosphere of good morality was highlighted and traditional virtues were stressed in order to provide the youths with strong values to prevent the outspread of corrupted atmosphere. Education was also identified as the mechanism for the advocacy of traditional morality and virtues.

The following table summarized the poverty and moral discourses in terms of various aspects as follows:

Table 4.1 Characteristics of the poverty and moral discourses

	Poverty Discourse	*Moral Discourse*
Nature of Youth	- Target on deprived children - Victims of poverty	- Target on all youths - Immature people whose morality was easily affected by bad social atmosphere
Problem	- Occupational problem - Health problem	- Values - Delinquent behaviour
Causes of Problem	- Poverty	- Not poverty but …………… - Influence of the corrupted atmosphere caused by the material temptation and western popular culture - Rejection of the traditional virtues - Malfunction of family and school education
Aims	- To prevent delinquent - To relocate the children in proper occupational position or social institution - To develop healthy and self-reliance citizen	- To prevent deviant - To establish a social atmosphere of good morality for the youth to follow

Discourses contribute to the governing of youths through the construction of youth subjects that define what is youth and imply how youth could be governed. The poverty and moral discourses will be further discussed in the next section for revealing the construction of youth subjects.

Formation of subjects

This section would find out how particular kinds of subjects were constructed by the process of discursive practice. The texts produced by the government, the leaders of voluntary agencies, Confucian organizations and kaifongs associations are chosen for analysis. The analytical work revolves around the three aspects of discourse, including textual, ideational and interpersonal aspects.

a) Poverty discourse

We identified the poverty discourse in the documents. This discourse has a strong tendency to construct children, government and voluntary agencies as different kinds of subject and delineate different kinds of relation between these groups. In the poverty discourse, children were the victims of poverty, the consequence of social problems, a vulnerable group in need of help and potentially self-reliant,

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self-respect and independent citizens. The government was constructed as the guidance of children, and was concerned with the children's problems while voluntary agencies were the protector and caregiver of children, directly responsible for welfare services to the children.

We illustrate the poverty discourse by citing a text issued by the government[3] about juvenile delinquency that. The text is cited from a section about social welfare in the Hong Kong Annual Report of 1958. It recorded that:

> "Juvenile delinquency in Hong Kong is less widespread than in comparable towns or seaports in the United Kingdom. The commonest minor offence with which juveniles are charged before the Courts is illegal hawking; among more serious charges, simple larceny predominates. The principal cause is undoubtedly economic; children are often obliged to earn what they can to help the family to exist. It is important to maintain and develop institutions, clubs and other centers where children and young people can be given recreation, instruction and some communal life away from the streets and their overcrowded homes. These centers contribute to drawing them away from the 'protection' of illegal (Triad) societies and from the temptation to take to petty crime" (HKG 1958:184).

The document had a clear theme of juvenile delinquency. The textual aspect of the text created the theme of juvenile delinquency. The ideational aspect of the text was manifested through two parts, namely categorization and causality. The former invented normal and abnormal categories of children and the latter constructed the causality about children problems. In the text, we can find a division of juvenile delinquent into two categories, namely minor offenders and severe offenders. A minor offender referred to the children who committed minor offences that were, for example, illegal hawking and simply larceny. A severe offender referred to the delinquents who committed serious crime.

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[3] Three texts are chosen for analyzing subject formation. The first and the second texts were discussed about youth problems and produced by the government and a voluntary agency respectively. The third text is about the welfare service that was offered by the voluntary agency for helping the children to adapted to the normal life and became self-reliant and independent citizens.

The categorization implied two points. First, the juvenile delinquents brought before the court all belonged to the category of minor offenders. Second, the juvenile delinquents were not treated as a social threat as they just committed 'minor offences' and 'petty crime'.

Regarding the causal relation, two specific points were suggested in the text. The first was straightly expressed in the text that poverty was the principal cause of delinquency of children. The second part was that the delinquency of children was highly associated with complex relations to the family. The text recorded that 'children are often obliged to earn what they can' and committed delinquency 'to help the family to exist'. The ideational tone of this text revealed that firstly children were forced to commit the delinquency, as was expressed by the clause 'are often obliged to'. Second, it implied that the motive of children was positive and made the children pardonable. The verb 'help' implied a positive judgment on the motive of children. The causality not only created the relation between poverty and delinquency, but also emphasized that children were suffered from pressure coming from their poor families. In short, in this discourse children were regarded as victims of poverty and not responsible for any misconduct.

The next step for the narrator of the text was somewhat natural to find out solutions. In our view, the distribution of responsibility is highly related to the parties concerned. We focus on the interpersonal aspect of the text in order to show how the narrator allocated their responsibilities among the parties concerned. In the text, a relational web was created and the parties concerned were the narrator, which were the government, children and welfare service centres.

The discursive strategy employed by the government was clearly official language. The government was seldom referred to in the text. The whole

paragraph was a description of the children problem from a watcher's view. In other words, the narrator was detached from the whole scenario. The children problem was taken as given, not related to any government policy. Besides, in the text, a relation between 'centres' and the children was created, in the sense that the centres were constructed as protectors to prevent children from bad influences of their living environment. The children were a vulnerable group who could not act against the bad influence and so was in need of help and protection. In this text, the government was located at a watchdog position while the centers a protector position and the children a vulnerable position.

The second text was from an annual report of a voluntary agencies, the St. James' Settlement (hereafter refer as the Settlement), recorded the founding of its services that:

> 'Attendance at the Juvenile Court had enabled a long list of children who had been in trouble with the Police to be compiled. Some 250 were from the streets of Wanchai and it was resolved to gather these children together and see what could be done to prevent them from turning to a life of crime…The children were invited to a tea party in this room…Canon Edward Lee told 40 boys and girls, as they eagerly filled their stomachs, of plans to give them in a club what other children get in their homes. With those children and that room St. James' Club was established, with its aim, 'the health, happiness, usefulness and the knowledge of Christ's love for them, to the street children of Wanchai, their parents and their friends'. The Club was the nucleus of the Settlement which continues to pursue that aim. In ten years the Settlement has grown…as an oasis of hope in a desert of despair; providing recreation for people of all ages, looking after the young children of mothers who go out to work, giving technical training to many who lack the skill to earn a living in a highly competitive society, feeding the hungry, curing disease…'(Annual Report of St. James' Settlement 1960:no page number)

The textual meaning of the text was the founding history of the Settlement which included its' background, initial activities and aim of services. We

examined the ideational aspect of the text found that there was a categorization of deprived children, that was divided as neglected children and cared children. The neglected children referred to the children who were not under proper care and so potentially turn to crime. The cared children referred to the children who were properly cared and thus enjoyed a 'normal' life. The life of neglected children was unstable and they always roamed in the street. They were occasionally charged before the court, involved in trouble with the police and not well fed. On the contrary, the life of cared children was quite different. They were under home-liked care. Under proper circumstances, working technique and skill were learnt, recreation was offered, hunger was satisfied and disease was cured. This binary categorization had two implications. First, the delinquency of deprived children was caused by the lack of care and social welfare services rather than moral decay. Secondly, the children were vulnerable group who could not sustain a normal form of living. The children were in need of help.

The narrator also attempted to structure the interpersonal relationship in the text. In it, we found that the narrator re-articulated and transformed the relation between the Settlement, as an outsider and a caregiver and local children as care recipients. On the one hand, it created a poor image of local children who were not well fed and had trouble with police and crime. This implied that the children could not resolve their own problems and needs on their own accord. The children became a vulnerable group that in need of help. In contrast, the founder of the Settlement was created as an independence body that was not related to the system of court and police. Instead, the founder, as a caregiver and welfare service provider, offered their help with 'the health, happiness, usefulness and the knowledge of Christ's love' to the street children in home-liked form. The founder was constructed as a familial helper, and so children could naturally reliant

on the caregiver and welfare service provider, just like children depend on their parents.

Similar construction of interpersonal web could be found in the annual report of the Settlement. The text reviewed the results of its trade training service that was used to help the children to adapt to normal life and became self-reliant and independent citizens

> 'The work of the Practical Training Centre…has continued…the boys work in two different departments - woodwork, electricity, auto-mechanics, printing, photography - and they receive appropriate theoretical instruction as well. The girls learn handicrafts.' (Annual Report of St. James' Settlement 1962/63:6).

What happened to the students, particularly the boys, when they have finished their training here? Several students obtained jobs at some of the bigger garages. A dozen were given jobs as lineman trainee in a media firm 'Rediffusion' while others joined business firms in the City. As is reported,

> 'most of them seem to have done well. Obviously the boys themselves must show their employers that St. James' boys are worth having. Our boys will have to learn that they must not expect too much immediately they go out to work. They are not trained mechanics or electricians or printers. They will have to go through the apprenticeship stage…We shall know more about the concrete results of our training as the years go by and the boys grow up. Meanwhile the staff members felt that the boys leave the Settlement more mature, and with a better idea of what they want to do and what their abilities are' (Ibid)

The key measure to help children was trade-training service. In the text, the narrator introduced the training services at the beginning and then discussed the achievement of the services and the employment situation of the boys. This implied that deprived children were malleable.

Analyzing the ideational aspect of the text, we found a division of children into two categories, normal/settled and abnormal/non-settled children. The settled

children referred to self-reliant and independent students, who were settled with skillful and stable jobs in proper institutions with a prospect of further development and promotion. The non-settled children means the delinquents and street children who did not receive trade training nor had a job skill or stable job, getting stuck in an unstable and unsustainable mode of living. The word 'boys' was frequently employed to refer to settled students with an implicit meaning that they went through the apprenticeship stage' and had a chance of a further and promising development. In the text, this meaning was repeatedly laid emphasis on by using the clauses like 'grow up', 'more mature' and 'the boys…with a better idea of what they want'. These clauses implied that the settled children were approaching the qualities of self-reliance and independence. This was a strategy to value highly the settled students who had left the training centre.

With respect to the causality of delinquency, the narrator in the text focused on the process through which self-reliant and independent citizens were produced. It was emphasized that the qualities could be achieved through a process of employment adaptation. Children would be self-reliance and independent, when they were settled in a stable employment. These qualities were not created through trade training, which was only for giving essential training to the students. The important factor for training students was employment adaptation through which students learn to perform and behave as adults. The process from students to employees and from boys to adults implied that the children were in the process of approaching the self-reliant and independent qualities of citizens.

Similarly, the narrator of the Settlement's report constructed the interpersonal aspect in terms of family-like relationships between the Settlement and the students. The training centre was named as 'we' and students as 'boys' and 'our boys' instead of 'trainees' or 'students'. These naming took the voice of parents and

made their relations more like family relationship. This could be illustrated by the narrator's evaluation of the Settlement's work on youth. The narrator was proud of the job performance of the boys and proclaimed that '[m]ost of them seem to have done well. Obviously the boys themselves must show their employers that St. James' boys are worth having'. The achievement of the St. James' boys was said to be equivalent to the achievement of the offsprings of St. James' family and so was worth to be proud of. The Settlement was constructed as a parental subject who was concerned with and anxious about the future of its 'boys'. A strong sense of achievement was expressed once the boys were able to perform well in the workplace.

b) Moral discourse

We found in this period the moral discourse that constructed the subject of youths, and the location of kaifong associations, Confucian organizations, the government and parents in the provision of youth services. A youth was regarded as a moral subject who was either a deviant or a potential deviant. Deviants were a threat of social order and source of social problems and a punishable subject. A potential deviant was a cultivatable subject who could be prevented from being deviants through moral education. The kaifongs associations and Confucian organizations were constructed as moral authority. The government and parents were supposed to be participants who were responsible for resolving work of deviants.

We chose two texts for detailed analysis of the moral discourse. The first one is a speech presented by a leader of kaifongs associations in a morality campaign that aimed at promoting morality to prevent deviance and delinquency. The second is a newspaper article written by a leader of a Confucian organization

running an anti-ah-fei campaign.   The article is a discussion about prevention measures against youth problems.

We move on to the analysis of the first text.   The textual aspect of the text created a theme of the promotion of morality.   The title of the radio speech was 'Why the Promotion of Morality Campaign is needed'.   The text started with the problems of corrupted social atmosphere and than illustrated the necessity to promote morality.

Turning to the ideational aspect of the text, we identified two causalities that provided the causal relation between the corrupted social atmosphere and individual corruptness as well as the causal relation between the moral decay and the youth.

> 'Three months ago, we discussed about the problems of social atmosphere.   We have agreed that the problems are very serious. The corruptness of boys and girls, the darkness of family life, the conflict among people and cheating happen all the time.   The society seems to be civilized.   However, the spirit and tao tak (means moral and morality) of people is becoming empty. General people might think that this is not their business, when these misfortunes befall on others.   But this atmosphere will affect you, like a flood and fire, if it is widespread. Who does not have a family?   Who does not have children?   When your family breaks up and your children are corrupted and go astray, you will realize the pain.   The sickness from the heart should be treated by the medicine from the heart.   The bad atmosphere is created by the evil of heart and loose of desire.   The only solution is to correct the heart, control the desire and promote tao tak…When a person do not well attend and care for his family, the wife and children would easily become prostitute and ah-fei as social deviants.   So when a person becomes a drug addict, it would give rise to a squad of deviant that undermine the social order.' (W.Y.Lee 1963:9)

In this part, we found that it brought out the problem of moral decay and also the argument that there was a causal relation between the corrupted social atmosphere and individual corruptness.   The causal relation was succinctly

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expressed in the way that "this atmosphere will affect you, like a flood and fire, if it is widespread…When your family breaks up and your children are corrupted and go astray, you will realize the pain" and "[t] he bad atmosphere is created by the evil of heart and loose of desire".   In addition, the corruptness of social atmosphere was treated as the root of the breakdown of established order and social relation.   Its concomitant was the corruptness of individual spirit and morality. The individual corruptness in turn became the cause of corrupted atmosphere. This idea was shown in the clauses, like "become prostitute and ah-fei".   The individual corruptness was both the cause and consequence of moral decay.

We noticed that there was discursive strategy that bridged the relation between the moral decay and the youths.   Problem youths, as a kind of corrupted individuals, were not only the objects affected by moral decay but also the source of moral problems and moral decay.   The ideational meaning implied a subject position for youths that youths were both the consequence and a source of social problem.

> 'About the two words, I agreed with the explanation of Zhuang Zi (莊子) and Wong Bi (王弼) that tao is the common of things and tak is the particular positions of the things. In the other words, tao is a road that you must walk along.   Tak is the way that you know how to walk along the road.   More clearly, tao tak is the proper way that you finish what you has to finish. Lead us to make this clear with a metaphor…Our society is the road.   We need to walk along the road.   The tao tak and regulation of the society is the traffic regulation of the road.   So, if you want to lead a good life, you should follow the regulation as well as advice your relatives and friends and educate your children to ensure that they follow the regulation.   Otherwise, the traffic accidents of others would also affect you…I have said that the campaign is started from today.   From now on, many significance and famous people would explain the importance of tao tak. Hope that all of you would note the newspaper and so stayed tuned to our programmed.' (Ibid :9)

Regarding the interpersonal aspect of the text, we found the construction of the relation of the narrator and youth as moral authority and 'educates'. The text was ordinarily written in Chinese. Part of the text employed the genre of old Chinese writing that invoked the traditional authority in order to support the authority of the narrator[4]. Besides, the text borrowed the authority of tradition through quoting the knowledge about *tao tak* (means morality) from the traditional Chinese sages, Zhuang Zi and Wong Bi. The narrator firstly concluded the view of traditional sages in the genre of old Chinese and then again and again explicated the old Chinese sentences through explanation, direct conclusion and metaphors. This discursive strategy allowed the narrator to have a room to take up the role of an explicator of obscure teaching. The narrator acquired his own legitimacy through self-construction of his identity as the champion of traditional virtues and morality. The narrator took up the role as the 'teacher' who clearly understood the problems of tao tak and knew the ways to resolve it.

On the contrary, the youths were constructed as the education targets of the morality campaign. The youth, as a potential group easily corrupted by the moral decay, was treated as a vulnerable group who needed to be educated to avoid becoming an ah-fei. The speech was directly expressed that 'you should…advice your relatives and friends and educate your children to ensure that they follow the regulation'. Children, like other members of society, should receive education of tao tak and follow moral guidance.

The second text quotes from a newspaper article written by a leader of Confucian organization for an anti-ah-fei campaign. The title of the text is 'Invite Martial Art Organization to form Anti-Ah-Fei Groups.

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[4] For example, '他們認為道是物之所共由，德者是物之所自得'

The textual meaning of the text was the problem of ah-fei.   The main body of the text divided into four parts.   The first part explained what ah-fei was.   The second part explained the cause of ah-fei.   The third part discussed the measures against ah-fei.   The fourth part discussed the method for preventing ah-fei.

'…As a member of board of director of the Confucian Academy and member of missionary committee of Confucius Hall, I am invited as a participant (of the 'anti-ah-fei campaign').   The followings are my opinion.

1) What is ah-fei?   Ah-fei is the product of modern life.   Before the war, there was no ah-fei in Hong Kong.   It is an epidemic originated from foreign movies and bad atmosphere.   Ah-fei wears tight narrow trousers with a modish hairstyle.   They are irresponsible and reluctant to have a regular job.   They are skittish and like to whistle. They take liberties with women. They committed in the crimes of robbery and rape.   They provoke gang fight with weapons.   They are the enemy of security and the threat of family and neighborhood…

2) What is the cause of ah-fei?   The main cause of ah-fei was lack of education and the influence of traditional Chinese culture.   The lack of education lead to the lack of morality and misbehaviour…Moral education and punitive measures should go hand in hand in resolving the ah-fei problem…

3) How to eliminate ah-fei?…Severe punishment is needed to prevent potential offences.   Otherwise, it would appease the evil of society and so jeopardize the good…The kaifong associations should be invited to eliminate ah-fei.   After the war, the kaifong associations took an important role for assisting the government to provide social welfare services.   The support of kaifong associations is a must for effectively carrying out the eliminating work. The kaifong associations should invited the martial art masters for organizing 'anti-ah-fei groups' which would assist the anti-ah-fei work of the government…the 'anti-ah-fei groups' would arrest the ah-fei and hand over them to the police.   The martial art field should lend a hand. The aims of martial art are for defence, health and protecting local community.   In the old days, many ancient heroes took the responsibility of helping the weakness and asserting the right.   Now, the eliminating work of ah-fei is just fitted for the aims of martial art…The government should adapt to changes by amending relevant law to impose severe punishment on ah-fei. Punishing standard for the juvenile delinquents and ah-fei should be equalized with those of adult criminals for effective ruling…

4) How to prevent youth becoming ah-fei?   To prevent youth turning into ah-fei, parent should make their children study more

of Chinese traditional culture and read the works of classical philosophers, motto of great people in history and biography of great people to cultivate the heart and soul, discipline their behaviour and at the same time nurture the good in them and so the evil would be subsided…The government must take the major responsibility of preventing youth turn to become ah-fei through providing libraries and adult recreational centres…On the other hand, the authority should take the initiative to ban the erotic dancing hall, gambling, massage parlor, pornography, etc. The only way to prevent ah-fei is to eliminate the crime from its' roots.' (Tang 1964)

This passage revealed the ideational aspect of the moral discourse. It categorized the youth into two groups, deviants and potential deviants. The deviants, called ah-fei, were deemed as the source of social problems. In the first part of the text, it was clearly stated that ah-fei 'take liberties with women', 'committed in the crimes of robbery and rape' and 'provoke gang fight with weapons'. However, ah-fei were not only involved in crime, but also undermined traditional morality. They adopted corrupted values and attitudes and were 'irresponsible and reluctant to have a regular job' and 'skittish and like to whistle'. The last sentence of the first part of the text concluded that ah-fei 'are the enemy of security and the threat of family and neighborhood'.

While the abnormal youth were constructed as deviants and the source of social problems, the normal youth were regarded as potential deviants who tended to be attracted by immoral social environment. The title of the fourth part, '[h]ow to prevent youth becoming ah-fei?' supposed that youth would be ah-fei if prevention work was not carried out. Two types of prevention work were relevant and feasible. The first type was the cultivation of 'the heart and soul', which could take the evil away from the heart. The second type was the elimination of the temptation from corrupted social environment. Normal youths were vulnerable to the evil and temptation and likely to become ah-fei. They simply were

potential delinquents. The categorization presupposed that youth were potential deviants and potential source of social problems.

The moral discourse also marked the positions for the parties concerned. Like the parties identified by the poverty discourse, they were the narrator, the government, kaifongs association, martial art groups, parents and the youth. In the moral discourse, the narrator remained the moral authority by pointing its position to 'a member of board of director of the Confucian Academy and member of missionary committee of Confucius Hall'. The narrator was also the guest of the anti-ah-fei campaign. This implied that the narrator was recognized as moral authority.

The government, kaifongs association, martial art groups and parents were constructed as concerned social groups that were responsible for the works against ah-fei problems. The narrator established a platform of intervention and frequently urged the government, kaifongs associations, martial art groups and parents to take actions against the ah-fei problem. Among the concerned social groups, the government was supposed to take up the primary position in the campaign, as shown in the statement that 'government must take the major responsibility of preventing youth turn to become ah-fei', 'the authority should take the initiative to ban…' 'kaifongs associations should invited the martial art masters' to 'assist the anti-ah-fei work of the government', and so on.

The kaifongs associations, martial art groups and parents were regarded as concerned groups. The kaifongs associations were located as the foundation for the campaign, they were the major organization responsible for the well-being of local community. There was an expression that 'the kaifongs associations took an important role for assisting the government to provide social welfare services.

The support of kaifongs associations is a must for effectively carrying out the eliminating work'. The martial art group was treated as responsible for 'protecting local community', 'helping the weakness and asserting the right'. It was a traditional understanding that the 'eliminating work of ah-fei is just fitted for the aims of martial art' and 'martial art field should lend a hand'. Parents were assumed to well educate their children and so should take part in the work of family education.

However, the above roles of the kaifong association, martial art groups and parents were in secondary position, compared to the primary position of the government. For example, the role of the kaifongs associations was to invite the martial art groups to assist the government. Both the kaifongs associations and the martial art groups were the concerned social groups that were located in the assistant position in the campaign. The family was responsible for the prevention work against ah-fei through providing family education. In short, the major role of the prevention work should be taking up by the government. This was clearly proclaimed in the text that the 'government must take the major responsibility of preventing youth turn to become ah-fei'.

Youth deviants and potential youth deviants were constructed as punishable subject and cultivatable subject respectively. Deviants, called ah-fei, were the threat of the social order. The text suggested that the government should amend juvenile ordinance and allow the court to impose severe punishment juvenile delinquency. Even physical punishment was welcome to act against the deviants. Deviant was regarded as villains who should be punished without mercy. In contrast, the potential deviant was deemed as cultivatable subject who could be cultivated to be a moral people. It was suggested that family education could prevent the youths from becoming an ah-fei because it could 'cultivate the heart and soul, discipline

their behaviour and at the same time nurture the good in them and so the evil would be subsided'.   People with a strong view on morality could be produced through proper education, especially the education of Chinese virtues.

The two discourses produced two different sets of subject. The poverty discourse constructed children as a subject that was the product of poverty. Children were the victims of poverty, a consequence of social problems, and a vulnerable group in need of help.   But they were potentially self-reliant, self-respect and independent citizens.   The moral discourse constructed the youth as a moral subject that was either a deviant or a potential deviant.   A deviant was a threat against social order and the source of social problems. Potential deviant was a cultivatable individual who could be prevented from being a deviant through moral education.

The two discourses also constructed two sets of subject position for the government, voluntary agencies, parents, kaifongs associations and Confucian organizations.   The government was the watcher who was concerned with the children problems but was not directly and closely involved in it.   Voluntary agencies were protectors and familial caregivers of the children, directly responsible for the provision of welfare services to children.   Parents were also regarded as victims of poverty and a vulnerable group in need of help.   On the other hand, the moral discourse constructed the kaifongs associations and Confucian organization as moral authority.   The government and parents were supposed to be the participant who was responsible for working against deviance.

The two sets of subjects constructed by the poverty and moral discourses are listed in the following table:

Table 4.2 Poverty and moral discourses on construction of subjects

	Poverty discourse	Moral discourse
Normal youth	- Victim of poverty - Vulnerable children in need of help - Potential self-reliant and independent citizens	- Potential deviant needed under control and guidance - Vulnerable group threatened by moral decay - Cultivatable individual in need of moral education
Problem youth	- Victim of poverty - Vulnerable child in need of help - Consequence of social problems - Potential self-reliant and independent citizen	- Deviant - Threat of morality and social order - Punishable individual - Both consequence and source of social problems
Government	- Watcher concerning youth problem	- Supposed participant who were responsible for the resolving work of deviant
Voluntary agencies	- Protector and familiar caregiver	- Nil
Parent	- Victim of poverty - Vulnerable group in need of help	- Supposed participant who were responsible to the resolving work of deviant
Kaifong association and Confucian organization	- Nil	- Moral authority

Different discourses and different sets of subject position were not simply coexisted. They were in a relation of contest and struggle that determined the form of youth governing. The next section would discuss the power relation between the discourses.

Social practice

We would in this section examine the power relation between the poverty and moral discourses. The poverty discourse took the dominant position in the youth policy in the 1950s. The moral discourse appeared and boomed in the early 1960s. The boom of moral discourse re-articulated and raised a struggle with respect to the form of youth governing in the youth policy.

Poverty and moral discourses created two forms of youth governing. The youth governing of poverty discourse emphasized the socio-economic change and

autonomy of youth.   The principle of youth governing articulated in the moral discourse was the defense of morality, control on the normal youth and punishment on the deviant youth.   The struggle of discourses was also the struggle about the form of youth governing.

The struggle of discourses had its social condition on institutional and societal levels. The struggle of discourses occurred in the contests between social institutions.   The poverty discourse embedded in the Social Welfare Department and the voluntary agencies which controlled the youth policy and were responsible for the implementation of youth services. The moral discourse embedded in the kaifongs associations, Confucian organizations and news agencies who neither took a role in the youth policy nor as the main youth services providers.   The struggles between the poverty discourse and moral discourse were therefore struggles between dominant institutions of youth policy and local organizations.

In the early 1960s, the kaifongs associations and Confucian organizations organized various anti-ah-fei activities and campaigns in the forms of public forums, radio speech, speech contests and essay competitions to fight against the ah-fei problem with the support of newspapers editors, pastors, Urban Council members, schools and radio broadcasting companies (Wan Chai Kaifongs Association 1963).   At the same time, the ah-fei problem became the concern of the public.   Robbery, larceny, drug abuse, gang fight and pre-marital sex about the youths were frequently reported in newspapers.   The youth was closely associated with violence and crime in discussions of the public sphere.   In 1964, the public concern about the ah-fei problem reached the peak when all newspapers discussed the problem everyday (Lui 1994:43-44).

The kaifongs associations, Confucian organizations and newspapers re-articulated the youth problem as a moral problem and urged the government to intervene the youth through moral education. Direct government intervention was requested to abolish the corrupted social atmosphere, harmful popular culture and entertaining activities. A report of joint kaifongs associations requested that the government should take measures to "abolish all pornographic novels, newspapers, moving pictures, dancing schools and 'mysterious' coffee houses " (Hong Kong and Kowloon Joint Kaifongs Research Council 1966:7).

The public asked the government to intervene the ah-fei problem and the moral problem of youths. However, the government rejected such a request and reluctant to take initiative to intervene the moral aspect of youth problem. The Colonial Secretary, the Chief Justice, the Commissioner of Prisons and the Commissioner of Police were unwilling to define youth problems as a moral problem and shifted the discussion to juvenile delinquency. They also emphasized in different occasions that juvenile delinquency was not a serious problem since little evidence showed a steady rise of juvenile crime (Lui 1994:47-48). Even the governor, Sir David Clive Crosbie Trench, addressed similar opinion towards the youth problem at a speech of youth festival:

> 'Concretely speaking, in a socially secured period liked the present moment, I believed we should give young people a great dual of freedom, and lead them decide for themselves what to achieve and how to achieve it…What I have just said may surprise few people who recognized it as a approval for young people to ganged up. I have to clarify that. There is no need to interfere the will of young people in forming their peer groups, though it does not mean that I approve misbehaviour and delinquency…In other words, I personally agree that youth should be allowed to seek company freely and engage in appropriate matter without the unnecessary interferences from the adult which are made out of goodwill. However, I believed that strict and clear law should be made and practice as soon as possible for preventing improper acts.' (Trench 1965:1-2)

Like various officials, the governor was reluctant to accept that youth problem was a serious problem and moral problem. The request from the older generation was identified as an overreaction towards the youth and might jeopardize the freedom of the youth.

The moral discourse successfully aroused a new form of articulation about youth in the public sphere but could not get the consensus of the voluntary agencies and the Social Welfare Department. The poverty discourse still took the dominant position in the youth policy and its services.

Conclusion

In this chapter we explored the forms of youth governing in the period from 1950 to 1965. The youth policy was mainly carried out by the voluntary agencies, religious bodies, traditional benevolent societies and profit-making organizations, rather than the government itself. The poverty and moral discourses constructed two kinds of youth subject. The former treated the youth as a victim of poverty and a vulnerable group in need of help. The latter treated the youth as a threat to social order. Two kinds of youth subject appeared in the two forms of youth governing. In the poverty discourse, it was believed that youth problem was just a socio-economic problem. Juvenile delinquency was the consequence of poverty. The youths would become self-reliant and independent citizens given that sufficient welfare services or education were provided for them. The moral discourse regarded the youth problem as a problem of moral decay. The youths were either deviants, who were corrupted by the moral decay and would disrupt the morality and security of the society, or potential deviants who needed the control and guidance of traditional virtues to prevent them from becoming deviants.

Poverty and moral discourses were involved in the youth governing. The youth governing suggested by the poverty discourse emphasized the socio-economic change and autonomy of youth. The youth governing of moral discourse emphasized the defense of morality, control on the normal youths and punishment on the deviant youths.

The two discourses were in a relation of contest and struggle that happened at the institutional level. The poverty discourse embedded in the alliance formed by the government and voluntary agencies. This alliance controlled the youth policy and dominated the provision of youth services. The moral discourse embedded in the kaifong associations, Confucian organizations and news agencies which had great impact in the public sphere.

The moral discourse was a new discourse that posed a challenge to the poverty discourse that was in the dominant position. However, this challenge did not create a change in the form of youth governing in the youth policy and services. The poverty discourse maintained the dominance position in the youth policy.

- End -

Chapter 5

Youth as a Threat: Learning from riots

Introduction

In this chapter, we focus on the interpretation of the youth in the period from 1966 to 1972.   This is the period in which we found the occurrence of the disturbances in 1966 and 1967.   The end of this period is marked with the discussion of juvenile crime wave prevailing in 1973.   In this period, Hong Kong experienced an expansion of young population both in terms of its absolute number and its proportion to the population as a whole.   Young people, understood as those failing into the age group between 10 and 19, increased from 830,000 in 1966 to 950,000 in 1971, while the total population rose from 3,700,000 in 1966 to 3,900,000 in 1971 (Census and Statistics Department 1969:17; Census and Statistics Department 1991:36-37).   The increase of the youth population did not come as a threat to the colonial government until the occurrence of the 1966 riots. On 4th April 1966, a young man started a hunger strike to block fare increase and his social action attracted wide support from the media and the youths.   Later demonstrations turned into riots.   They were understood by the colonial government as a threat to the internal security and economic health of the community.   With this understanding, the government started to study the youth as most of the participants in the disturbances were young people who were comparatively poorly educated, poorly housed and poorly employed.

The riot in the 1967, however, was related to the Cultural Revolution broke out in the Mainland China.   A large group of local trade unionists and students was involved in petitions and demonstrations in 1967.   The activists also

employed violent actions in this campaign.   The colonial government finally found that the young people might need more social and physical space to handle their lives, and thus more youth policy were suggested in the ensued period.   This chapter is to examine how the colonial government deals with the end products of the two riots.   We shall argue that there was the formation of new form of youth governing that indicated a change from a socio-economic concern with emphasis on environmental influence on youth to a socio-psychological concern in which the inherent nature inside the body of the youths is stressed.

This chapter is divided into five sections.   We first delineate the youth policy in this period. The second section examines the discourses on youth that is understood as the way the colonial government constructs the scenario related to the situation of Hong Kong young people.   We are concerned with the formation of the youth as subjects on which social control exercises its influence.   This is the major concern in the third section.   The fourth section is to study the power relation between discourses in the light of the concept of social practice.   The fifth section is the conclusion of this chapter.

Youth policy

The two riots, especially the 1966 one, triggered the colonial government to think about the issue of internal security.   The official report on the 1966 riot revealed the major role of the young people in the disturbance and suggested more measures for the pacification of the unsettled youths.   In our analysis, we found out a specific discourse that laid the groundwork for the formulation of social policies that were targeted at the youth.   This section is to delineate this youth policy.

The youth policy after the 1966 and 1967 riots consisted of three parts: social welfare services, education services and recreation services.   Most of the actual

services were provided by voluntary agencies and other social groups. The government took an active role in the planning and expanding of youth services provision.

One of the emphases of the youth policy in this period was the way through which young people spent their leisure time. It was stressed that the phenomenal growth in population and the congested environment in Hong Kong give no space for youth. And so the main objective of youth service provision then was "to provide opportunities for young people to test their capabilities and their character in constructive and healthy recreation and service."(Hong Kong Government [hereafter HKG] 1967:142)

In the 1966 and 1967 riots, a large number of youths were involved in the incidents. The public, since then, became more aware of the youth as one of the social threats. The youth then became a subject of concerns after the 1966 and 1967 riots. The colonial government, voluntary agencies and other social groups expanded and speeded up their work and the provision of services for the youths (Division of Children & Youth [hereafter DCY], The Hong Kong Council of Social Service [hereafter HKCSS] 1970:10).

In the welfare sector, the aim of youth welfare services was to provide constructive ways for young people to spend their leisure time. The two main service providers were the government and the voluntary agencies. These services were in the forms of 'interest groups, uniformed groups, libraries, holiday camps, work camps, youth hostels, playgrounds and award schemes for individualized training and competition'. (Social Welfare Department [hereafter SWD] and The Hong Kong Council of Social Service [hereafter HKCSS] 1969:172-177).

Starting from 1966, summer youth programmes had been coordinated by the Children and Youth Division of the Hong Kong Council of Social Service. The Division managed to balance the existing resources by studying the location of the centres to insure a broad distribution of the available programmes. Publicity for volunteer recruitment and programme promotion was channeled through schools and public place announcement and through other media, to encourage children and young people to participate in the programmes. In 1965, only 2,312 youths and children joined the summer youth programmes. In 1969, the total number of participants was 1,258,612. Social welfare services were provided to young people in need of caring (SWD 1969/70:9-10).

While the voluntary agencies provided most of the services, the government played an important role in formulation of youth policy by initiating welfare services expansion. It provided facilities such as social centres, provided professional training of staff to voluntary organization, and even gave assistance through subvention to most of the youth programmes. In other words, it co-operated with the voluntary agencies in various ways, encouraged them to expand and extent the existing services (SWD and HKCSS 1969:172,181).

Education policy underwent some changes in this period. Private enterprises provided most of the primary and secondary services. In general, education services continue to expand. The education policy target set in the early 60s was met in 1970/71. By then, a sufficient number of primary school places was said to be provided to all children of primary schooling age. Primary school attendance was made compulsory in 1971. It was a fact that the expansion in school places relied mainly on privately run schools. Of the 2,861 schools in 1971, 1,960 were private schools, and only 137 were government schools (HKG 1971:299).

Expansion in primary school places resulted in a shortage of secondary school places.   The education policy was merely to maintain 15 to 20 per cent of primary school leavers to proceed to secondary education (SWD and HKCSS, 1969:5). The government did not regard universal secondary education as particularly essential to the education policy.   Those who wanted to receive education but received no aid from the government had to pay higher school fees in private schools.   The secondary education policy was elitist in the sense that it only allowed a small proportion of students to acquire government education resources. (Hinton 1977:156-158)

The shortage of secondary education created a potential social threat against social security, as it was understood as the factor that left a group of young people unattached.   Schools were considered the place where young people obtain training to equip themselves for healthy and enjoyable occupations in the labour market.   However, the shortage of education opportunities in the secondary school sector meant the rise of untrained young people.   The colonial government had to allocate this group of people to a 'safe' domain so as to maintain internal security, or the young people would end up in riots or social problems that finally threatened the internal security of the colony.   Welfare measures turned out to be the means for this political purpose.

Youth welfare services became a substitute for formal education, for recreational activities could usefully occupy young people's leisure time (SWD and HKCSS 1969:178).   The provision of recreational services was the responsibility of the Urban Services Department.   It was part of the policy for providing social and recreational services for children and youth (Ibid:172). The department provided recreation facilities such as swimming pools, parks and open spaces for

leisure activities. It also provided programmes for public entertainment that sometimes served as a part of the summer youth programmes. The department organized variety shows, film shows, band concerts, and so on. The Urban Services Department also co-operated with other organizations to organize festivals for the public.

In short, in the period from 1966 to 1972, the government began to work out a youth policy with the concern over the ways the youth spending their leisure time. Social and recreational services were its primary measure to deal with this task. While most of the youth services were still provided by voluntary organizations and social groups in this period, the government did take an active role in initiating the expansion of social and recreational services for youth. Our analysis of youth policy reveals the roles of the government and the non-government organizations in service provision and its expansion. In the next section, we will proceed to the examination of the discourses with which the youth policy was worked out. We shall focus on the formation of the youths as subjects and see how different discourses were constructed, re-articulated and excluded and in the process how the government and its alliance contended against other social organizations in terms of the interpretation of the youth and youth problems.

Discourses on the youth

This section is about the contents of the discourses on youth that appeared in the period from 1966 to 1972. We focus on the engagement and socialization discourses that manifested in the documents about youth and show how youth and youth problem were interpreted. Informed by our theoretical framework that has been introduced in Chapter 2, we concentrate on the discursive articulation of the four aspects of youths in the discourses, including the nature of youth, the young

peoples' problems, the causes of social problems arising from youths and its social impacts. The two discourses are namely engagement discourse and socialization discourse.

a) Engagement discourse

Engagement discourse treated the youth as an inflammable age group of population experiencing a psychological life stage, ranged from 12 to 21. The youths were fuelled and driven by energy and initiatives. Engagement discourse emphasized that the youths could be either constructive or destructive. The character and behaviour of the youths was subjected to the way of engagement of the energy or initiative (Ibid:172). If the youths channeled the energy or initiative into constructive ends, they could foster individual interest and establish healthy character. Otherwise, youths engaged in destructive ways and became deviants and even delinquents. In short, the young people were said to be full of unbridled psychological energy that could easily become destructive, particularly when such energy and initiative did not engage into proper outlets in the pursuit of energy release. However, they could be constructive, if such energy or initiative were engaged into healthy outlets of release or pursuit. An official document recorded that:

> 'It is recognized that the energy and initiative of young people can be either constructive or destructive, and services thus offered must act to direct such energy and initiative toward constructive ends.' (Ibid:172).

Regarding the problem arising from this nature of youths, the discourse focused on the issue of mis-engagement of the youths. In the discourse, energy or initiative was easily attracted by the destructive activities, when the youths had nothing particular to do. All of the young people were considered potential

deviants.   The direction and channels for the young people to release energy or initiative became the key issue in the policy concerned.

Although in principle the mis-engagement problem was universal to both upper class and lower class youths, it was believed that the problem was more serious in the working class (Ibid:178).   The reason was related to the poor living environment of the working class that was not favorable for the youth to meet the need of directing energy or initiative into constructive outlets. The working class youths, living in congested urban areas, were unable to find proper space and activities to release their energy or initiative and could only roam in public area in search of opportunities to release their energy or initiatives (Mental Health Association of Hong Kong 1967:3-4).   Aimless congregation and roaming activities were potentially dangerous because the energy or initiative of youth was easily directed to destructive ways, for example quarrel, gamble, crime, gang fights and even riots.   This understanding was shown in a survey that was conducted by social workers through interviews with 24 boys staying in boys home for offences arising out of the Kowloon disturbance.   The social workers recorded that:

> 'The interviews felt that the type of employment many of the boys were in held little for them by way of future security or advancement and this, coupled with the long unorthodox hours they worked, as well as the low pay they received, contributed to the feeling of aimlessness and boredom which was part of the motivation behind their involvement in the riots.   Because of the demands of their employment they lacked opportunity for normal teenage fun, so used the riots as one outlet for this need' (Commission of Inquiry 1967:106).

In the engagement discourse, the mis-engagement problem was identified as the result of the failure in fulfilling inherent needs of youths.   When the inherent need of directing the energy or initiative was unfulfilled in a constructive way, the

youths would engage in deviant activities and even commit offences, especially in the leisure time.

The failure in need fulfillment was concluded as the major cause of mis-engagement and delinquency. Because of the lack of healthy recreational opportunities for directing the energy and initiative, the youth used the riots as the outlet for the fulfillment of their needs. The aim of engagement discourse was to convince the public that directing the energy or initiative of youth into constructive ends was the right measure to prevent destructive activities.

b) Socialization discourse

In the socialization discourse, youths were regarded as social individuals who were experiencing a psychological life stage between 12 to 23 years of age and had an inherent psychosocial need to create bonds of association (DCY 1970:5). However, the youths were vulnerable to the behavioral patterns and values of group activities that were highly associated with delinquent values and culture arising from unhealthy social environment (DCY 1970:2; 1970:5; Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups 1969:76-77). As social individuals, youths were easily susceptible to social environment.

The discourse focused on the problem of aggressive behaviour and anti-social values of youth that were believed to be adopted from unhealthy social environment and condition where gambling, violence and other anti-social behaviours and values prevailed. Aggressive behavior and anti-social values made the youths incapable to aspire to average norms and become maladjusted members of the society (DCY 1970:2-3). It was believed that the young people who usually gathered in the streets and playgrounds, especially those who were not in school, would tend to learn and adopt aggressive behaviour and anti-social

values. Staying in these public areas exposed young individuals to unhealthy social environment, and in particular to the influences of triad activities and anti-social culture. In the socialization discourse, the right measure to prevent the youngsters from being socialized into delinquents was: the creation of a good and healthy environment where one can achieve a conventional adaptation so as to learn the ways of being a normal member of the society.

The following table summarized the engagement and socialization discourses in a few aspects as follows:

Table 5.1 Characteristics of the engagement and socialization discourses

	Engagement discourse	*Socialization discourse*
Nature of Youth	- Experiencing a developmental life stage - Filled with energy or initiative - Could be constructive or destructive	- Experiencing a developmental life stage - Vulnerable to delinquent social environment
Problems	- Mis-engagement of youth	- Anti-social values and aggressive behaviour of youth
Cause of problems	- Unfulfillment of inherent needs in constructive ways, especially in leisure time - Lack of healthy leisure activities - Refusal of healthy leisure activities	- Bad socialization caused by unhealthy social environment and condition
Aims	- Targeting on all youth, but special attention would be paid to the groups which were suffered from the lack of youth services for engagement - Preventing mis-engagement - Directing the energy and initiative to engage into constructive ways	- Targeting on individuals in delinquent and partially delinquent groups - Preventing deviance, particularly anti-social behaviours, values and activities - Achieving conventional adaptation

Discourses contribute to the governing of the youth through the (re)construction of youth subjects which define what is the youth and imply how the youth could be governed. The engagement and socialization discourses would be further discussed in the next section for revealing the construction of the youth subject.

Formation of subjects

We, in this section, aim to find out how particular kinds of subjects were constructed by the two discourses through discursive practice. Two documents of the Social Welfare Department and The Hong Kong Council of Social Service were chosen for analysis. The analytical work would be divided into three aspects of discourse, including textual, ideational and interpersonal aspects.

a) Engagement discourse

A text is chosen for analyzing the subject formation of engagement discourse. It is a chapter of an official report titled 'An Appreciation of Social Welfare Services and Needs in Hong Kong' issued by the Social Welfare Department and The Hong Kong Council of Social Service. The chapter, titled Social and Recreational Services for Children and Young People, is a thorough description of the youth welfare services and a recommendation of further development of the services.

Our textual analysis of this document found the theme of social and recreational services for children and youth, which serves as the main frame to achieve cohesion of the chapter. The chapter was divided into five parts. The first part described the whole policy of the services and its aim. The second part further described the existing services carried out by various agencies. The third part assessed the adequacy of the services. The forth part proposed the future development of the services. The last part is the summary of the proposals. Generally speaking, the document was full of official language by which the government officials were portrayed implicitly as rational and detached evaluator of the welfare policies for youths. This strategy served to cover up the ideational tendency inherent in this sort of documents.

In order to show the specific interpretation of the youth- by the government, we turn to analyze the ideational aspect of the text and finally found two categories of youth, namely constructive and destructive.

This classification was revealed as follows:

> 'It is recognized that the energy and initiative of young people can be either constructive or destructive, and services thus offered must act to direct such energy and initiative toward constructive ends. But an equally important aspect against the historical background of Hong Kong is the motivating and training of young people to live constructively in all areas of their lives, creating in them a sense of social consciousness and ability to express their views and interests and to participate fully as responsible members of the community' (SWD and HKCSS 1969:172).

This text brings out two points. Firstly, energy and initiative might drive youths into constructive or destructive ways of life. Secondly, the youth were a transformable subject from destructive to constructive and the transformation was associated with 'services thus offered must act to direct such energy and initiative toward constructive ends'. This implied that the end-state of the youth could be determined through the provision of particular kinds of activities in which the young people learnt to act as responsible members of the community.

Here comes in an ethical principle. Youths were categorized as 'constructive' only when they can express 'a sense of social consciousness and ability to express their views and interests and to participate fully as responsible members of the community'. Participation in social life was regarded as constructive and also a sign of being a good citizen. The text further explained the meaning of constructiveness that:

> 'Organizations and groups in various forms cater most directly for the varied interests, needs and aspirations of young people…Physical, intellectual, artistic and social interests are provided for through such media as boys' and girls' clubs, interest groups, uniformed groups, libraries, holiday camps, work camps,

youth hostels, playgrounds, award schemes for individualized training and competition…These 'clubs' and 'interest groups' aim at the enhancement of the social functioning of the individual, but in a group setting. This means promoting a balanced growth and development in healthy pursuits together with other members of the group helped by a group worker' (Ibid:172-173).

The constructiveness of the youths could be produced through engaging the activities of clubs and interest groups in which not only 'the varied interests, needs and aspirations' of youth could be fulfilled, but also achieved 'a balanced growth and development'. The constructiveness of the youth brought out three points. First, the youths who were engaged into constructive activities tended to be good citizens. Youths were potential good citizens. Second, the achievement of good citizen should go through a 'natural' process of growth and development. The youths were then regarded as bio-psychological subjects who should experience developmental stages. Third, the youths counted on social services provided by the government and voluntary agencies to create a condition for themselves for constructive development. In other words, the youths were a vulnerable group in need of help.

The text also constructed the subject positions for the destructive youth. It was believed that the destructive youths were closely related to the detachment of organized constructive activities. The text recorded that:

'…there are a number of children and young people, mostly but not exclusively form the lower socio-economic group, who spend their time in or around parks, public teahouses or simply on the streets. These people are not attached…to organized youth clubs and groups, and very often, they develop pre-delinquent or delinquent behaviour. They pose a problem to the community as some of them, if left to their own aimless way of life, easily fall under the bad influences of triad societies and gang activities. The 1967-68 Annual Report of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Police stated that…persons prosecuted, 4% were in the 8-13 age group, 7% in the 14-15 group and 22% in the 16-20 group. In other words, one-third of the criminal population is under 20 years old' (Ibid:179).

The destructive youths were understood as those detached from the constructive activities organized by the government and voluntary agencies. Initially, the youths just 'spend their time in or around parks, public teahouses or simply on the streets' and lived in 'their own aimless way of life'. However, they would likely to 'develop pre-delinquent or delinquent behaviour' and 'easily fall under the bad influences of triad societies and gang activities'. Finally, they would commit crime. The above representation implied three points. First, the destructive youths were a vulnerable group who could not decide their personal development and were easily affected by their living environment when their energy and initiative were not properly directed into constructive ways. The destructive youths were regarded as a vulnerable group that was suffered from the lack of social and recreational activities and in need of help. Second, the destructive youths were a threat to social order. Large proportion of crime was caused by the destructive youths. Third, the youths were potential deviants and destructive, and their future were either occupied by the constructive activities and developed as a good citizens or roamed on street and lived in aimless ways.

The prevention of destructive youth was further discussed in the latter part of the text that:

> 'As mentioned above, it is neither practicable nor necessary to aim at extending youth programmes to all young people…not all are in need of these services nor do all wish to join organized groups. Therefore in offering such services, it is recommended that the following groups be given priority: a) those of school age not attending school or attending school part-time; b) those attending school where constructive extra-curricular activities are not adequately provided; c) those who for economic reasons lack social or recreational opportunities; d) those who are in especially congested areas or in areas no well served by children and youth work agencies now' (Ibid:180-181).

The text recommended that the related department should focus on the vulnerable youth group that was more likely becoming destructive youths. The

text pointed out three characteristics of the youth group. The first one refers to the fact that vulnerable youths had much leisure time. They were the non-school and part-time school students. The second feature was that they did not receive adequate services of constructive activities. The third was the young people's working class background. For different reasons, working class youths suffered from lack of social and recreational services, faced with economic problems and lived in congested living environment that was not suitable for directing their energy and initiative in proper ways. Many lived in the non-served area. Youth were vulnerable because of lack of proper schooling and poor social conditions in their residential areas.

Another aspect of the text that attracts our attention is its interpersonal tone. It is a discursive way to construct complex relationships between the narrator, the audience and the third party possibly involved in an issue. In our case, the narrator is the government, the audience the public and the third party refers to the voluntary agencies, kaifong associations, parents and schools. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the interpersonal aspect of a text reveals the line of argumentation -- the narrator attempts to construct the web of relationships between the parties involved. In our case, the analysis of the interpersonal aspect of a text may reveal how the colonial government mapped the location of itself, the youth, the voluntary agencies within the political domain. We found that the colonial government did attempt to construct a hierarchy of agencies for those who were involved in the planning and implementation of youth policy.

In the first page of the text, there is a general description about the relation between the government and voluntary agencies that:

> 'It is Government policy to provide, and to encourage the
> provision of, additional social and recreational facilities which
> are beneficial in affording opportunities or the moral, mental and

physical well-being of children and young people not otherwise adequately provided for in existing organizations, without losing sight of their membership of families. In addition to implementing this policy through various departments, it is part of Government's programme to provide direct services through the Social Welfare Department and to co-operate with, encourage and assist (where necessary by subvention) voluntary organizations in the expansion and extension of present services…Government and voluntary agencies work in close co-operation in facilitating and developing youth programmes' (Ibid:172).

The government and voluntary agencies were constructed as the main members of the alliance of youth welfare policy. The text is an official report finished by the Social Welfare Department and The Hong Kong Council of Social Service. The Social Welfare Department was the responsible department of the government. The Hong Kong Council of Social Service was the representative of voluntary agencies. Hence the report represented a mixed voice of the government and voluntary agencies. The text further proved this relation. The text recorded that '[g]overnment and voluntary agencies work in close co-operation in facilitating and developing youth programmes'. It could be concluded that the report represented the consensus and the common mission between the government and voluntary agencies. Both were treated as equal partners in the alliance of youth welfare policy. However, it is necessary to notice that the language used in this text showed the implicit status discrepancy between the government and voluntary agencies. The words 'Government policy', used in the first sentence, implied that the government had a clear idea that the policy remained an official one and should be controlled by the government itself. The relation between the government and voluntary agencies was further discussed in the latter part of the report.

'In the field of children and youth work, the role of the Social Welfare Department is to initiate and to provide facilities such as clubs, community and social centres in areas where these are

needed, and to afford training opportunities and professional leadership to staff of voluntary organizations, part-time workers and volunteers. The bulk of youth programmes are provided by voluntary organizations, most of which are assisted very substantially through Government subvention.' (Ibid:181)

In other words, even though the expansion of 'additional social and recreational facilities' was taken up partly by the government department and partly by voluntary organizations through co-operation, encouragement and selective funding assistance, in respect of policy making, the government was constructed as the policy maker and initiator of the policy and took the initiative to expand the welfare services. The government remained the key policy maker whereas the voluntary agencies took a passive role in this respect. Regarding services provision, the voluntary agencies were constructed as the responsible services provider. 'The bulk of youth programmes' was provided by the voluntary agencies.

The text also mentioned other members of the alliance of youth welfare policy, for example the religious bodies and traditional benevolent societies. The following text constructed the relation among these other members, the government and voluntary agencies.

> 'However, up to present time the bulk of work in this field has been done by voluntary agencies, 21 of which are brought together with 4 Government departments in the Children and Youth Division of the Hong Kong Council of Social Service. Services for children and young people may be classified under four broad headings: a) those provided by voluntary agencies serving non-uniformed groups; b) those provided by voluntary agencies serving or running uniformed groups; c) those undertaken by religious/church bodies; d) those undertaken by traditional benevolent societies and associations. In the case of c) & d), recreation and/or welfare work is a secondary function of these organizations, rather than a primary function as in a) & b)…Some traditional benevolent societies and organizations (e.g. kaifongs, district and clansmen associations) also sponsor recreational activities for children and young people. In recent months…there has been a notable growth in the number of

kaifongs who have felt that children and youth work is an important responsibility which they should undertake. It is the intention of the Social Welfare Department and the voluntary agencies to continue to co-operate with the kaifongs in this field of work during the planning period.' (Ibid:174-176).

In this text, the government distinguished two groups, namely voluntary agencies serving non-uniformed groups and those serving uniformed groups, from another type that is composed of religious bodies and the traditional benevolent societies and associations. The narrator clearly expressed that the voluntary agencies were more close to the government in the implementation of youth welfare policy and both played a more significant role in youth work in comparison to the religious/church bodies and traditional benevolent societies. Obviously, the Social Welfare Department and voluntary agencies were regarded as the core of the policy alliance while the religious/church bodies and traditional benevolent societies were deemed as supplementary members of the alliance and were located in peripheral position. This is what we called the hierarchy of agencies. We argue that in the youth policy domain the colonial government meanwhile achieved state formation in re-arranging the institutional status for each type of intermediate associations. The government was located at the core of policy domain while the intermediate associations were allocated at different levels of the state. In this case, voluntary agencies that were responsible for the provision of welfare replaced the traditional benevolent associations and took a key role in partnership with the government. The kaifongs associations, that were the major partner of the government in respect of political control over the Chinese community, lost its political status after the 1966 and 1967 riots.

In respect of interpersonal aspect, the text also showed how the narrator constructed different subject positions for the schools and parents and bridged the relation between them and the youth welfare services provider.

'Recreational or welfare services for young people are not a substitute for formal education, but in the absence of sufficient school places, the need for activities which can in themselves be beneficial to children and usefully occupy their time becomes a matter of critical importance. The greatest need for action arises where leisure time and abundant energy find insufficient healthy and enjoyable occupation. These situations, and the need to meet them, apply not only to the poor; even where families are better off, children need guidance and constructive activities to help them toward responsible adulthood. Experience in other communities suggests that the affluent and the educated have their own share of, and make their own troublesome contributions to, society's weaknesses.' (Ibid: 178)

The text created the relation between the youth welfare services provider and the school. It clearly expressed that 'the absence of school places' created 'insufficient healthy and enjoyable occupation' for fulfilling youth need. Under this condition, the youth welfare services providers, including the government and voluntary agencies, needed to provide youth welfare services for occupying the youth's leisure time and directing the abundant energy of the youths. This brought up two points. First, the school was constructed as the main place where the youths could find 'healthy and enjoyable occupation'. Second, there was a lack of resources to increase school places, and thereby youth welfare services became important in the work of time occupation and energy directing. In other words, it was unwise to expect the schools were able to handle the youth problems.

The relation between the youth welfare services provider and the parents was also found in the text. It revealed that the problem of 'insufficient healthy and enjoyable occupation' affected the families that their children suffered from the lack of 'guidance and constructive activities'. No matter how rich or well educated the families were, their children still needed guidance that could be learned from constructive activities. This implied that parents were an

incompetent nurturer of the youth.   They could not bring up their children toward 'responsible adulthood' without the help of youth welfare services providers.

b) Socialization discourse

A text is chosen for analyzing the subject formation of socialization discourse. It is a report of a discussion group on detached work under the auspice of The Hong Kong Council of Social Service.

The textual meaning of the report created a theme about the development of the detached work services.   The theme was constructed through the cohesion of the report, which was divided into thirteen sections.   The first two sections introduced a group discussion of detached work.   The third and forth sections articulated the problem of the detached youths.   The fifth and sixth reviewed and analyzed the work approach of existed local detached work services.   The seventh section recalled the history and recent criminal report as social background articulating the seriousness of detached youth problem.   The eighth, ninth and tenth sections further discussed the detached work carried out by different voluntary agencies.   The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth sections were the conclusion and recommendation about the future development of the work approach and possible co-operation between voluntary agencies.

We examined the ideational aspect of the text and found a division of 'detached youth' into two categories, namely the 'clubable'[1] and 'non-clubable' youths.   The meanings of the 'detached youth', 'clubable' and 'non-clubable' youth was introduced in the text that:

> 'The Discussion Group considered a number of reasons which led
> to the introduction of detached work in Hong Kong and the

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[1] The term 'clubable youths' is invented by the text for referring to the detached youth who would be potentially recruited by the club services organized by the government and voluntary agencies. This term is borrowed for ideational analysis in this thesis.

working party is of the option that the following factors are relevant: a)…; b) that the existing youth service have not been effective in reaching out to young people whose need for youth activities is considered to deserve a higher priority, e.g. children and young people who are not in schools, young factory workers and "youth in the streets"; c) that the pattern of youth work tends to be "club centred"…and appears to be inadequate to meet the needs of young people on its periphery; d)…; e) that the existence of a section of young people who, by the nature of their social behaviour and values, would not readily accept or conform with the club activities provided…The social implications arising from this assumption and the effect of this social problem may alienate some of these young people from the community and the result of their exposure to this background can but only lead to the development of maladjusted individuals in our society.' (DCY 1970:2-3)

In the text the discussion is around the need for 'the introduction of detached work in Hong Kong'. In the text, detached youths were referred to the youths who were not served by the youth services. There were two meanings of the detached youths. The first meaning referred to the youths who were detached from the existing youth services, in the sense that they were not served in the 'club-centred' services. The second meaning referred to the youths who were detached from the community. With this understanding, the detached youths were further divided into two categories, namely the 'clubable' and 'non-clubable' youths. The clubbable youths were the general youths who could be potentially recruited by the clubs and groups of youth welfare services centres even if they were the 'children and young people who are not in schools, young factory workers and "youth in the streets"'. The non-clubable youths were a particular type of youths who performed aggressive behaviours and held anti-social values and 'would not readily accept or conform with the club activities provided'.

This categorization was further revealed in the discussion of process of change in which normal detached youth became deviants and delinquents. The text described the process of change that:

'In the Hong Kong situation, it is recognized that there are elements of our youthful society who are known to congregate in groups in the streets and playgrounds in various overcrowded districts as a result of their social and recreational needs. For some of these young people in these overcrowded housing conditions, the streets and th 112 rounds are the only places where they are likely to mee friends and associates, and where they may be able to take part in group activities of a varied nature…Young people belonging to the street groups are not exposed to the social environment and conditions but they are also vulnerable to behaviour patterns and values of an "anti-social" nature. Group behaviour tends to be of an aggressive nature, moral values are weak and social values reflect their inability to aspire to average norms…Petty crimes, extortion, common assault, gang fights and criminal acts of a violent nature are known to have been perpetuated by the individuals and groups of these young people…The individuals and groups from these gangs are known to be associated directly or indirectly with the triad societies…Triad affiliation and membership is viewed with significance by the young people from the street groups as it provides protection for them…In the light of these observations…there are a fairly large number of young people who cannot easily be catered for by the existing youth service – either the young people are uninterested, or are unable to adapt themselves to a youth club setting. It is therefore conceivable that these young people have to find outlets for youthful energies and the street corners and the open playgrounds are obvious places where they can fulfill this need. The social implications arising from this assumption and the effect of this social problem may alienate some of these young people from the community and the result of their exposure to this background can but only lead to the development of maladjusted individuals in our society.' (Ibid:2-3)

The details of clubable and non-clubable youth were further shown in the above discussion over the process of change in which the normal detached youths became deviants and delinquents. This was also a change from the clubable youths to non-clubable youths. In the text, a creation of a three-stages developmental model was noticed.

The first stage was related to the emergence of the street group of youths by making reference to the 'overcrowded housing conditions', 'the streets and the playgrounds' - 'the only places' where the youth met 'their friends and associates'.

It was said that this grouping behaviour was driven by the 'social and recreational needs'.   It was a natural consequence of people needs.   The youths might benefit from this group because they 'may be able to take part in group activities of a varied nature'.   In this stage, the detached youths were still clubable youth and not yet adopted any anti-social behaviour pattern and values.

In the second stage, the youths adopted anti-social behaviour pattern and values. Because youth were 'vulnerable to behaviour patterns and values of an "anti-social" nature', under the affect of the social environment and conditions, the youth group's behaviour 'tends to be of an aggressive nature', their moral values became weak and their social values became incapable 'to aspire to average norms'. 'Petty crimes, extortion, common assault, gang fights and criminal acts of violent nature' naturally became their common behaviour.   In the third stage, youths were associated directly or indirectly with and even affiliated to triad society.   In the last two stages, the detached youths adopted anti-social behaviour pattern and values and became non-clubable youths.

The process of change implied four subject positions of clubable and non-clubable youths.   First, both clubable and non-clubable youths were regarded as vulnerable groups threatened by unhealthy social environment and in need of help and protection.   Because of the congested living environment, the youths were forced to join the street life for fulfilling their inherent needs.   However, the youths could not protect themselves when they and their peer groups were exposed to the unhealthy social environment and conditions.   In the text, the youths were 'vulnerable to behaviour patterns and values of an "anti-social" nature' under this exposure.   This implied that the youths were in need of help to direct themselves in another way to fulfill their inherent needs and were also in need of protection

against bad influence.   Second, the clubable youths were deemed as potential

deviants.   The vulnerability implied that detached youths would likely become

deviants, especially without the help or protection of club services.   Third, the

non-clubable youths were constructed as deviants with anti-social behaviour

pattern and values.   It was believed that the non-clubable youths were maladjusted

members of the community.   The non-clubable youths were not ready to accept

and conform to the average norm and club activities and so became non-clubable.

Fourth, the non-clubable youths were regarded as a threat against social order, and

were not only associated closely with crimes and violence but also associated

directly or indirectly with and even affiliated to triad society.

The meaning of threat was further revealed in discussion of the background of

the expansion of social and recreational services.   The text recorded that:

> 'Public concern and opinion on juvenile crime have been
> forthright and severe.   The major incidents of significance are
> the public disturbance in 1966 and 1967 which affected the
> community as a whole.   In both incidents, there were a fairly
> large number of young people who were involved in the
> disturbances.   The social unrest of the young people which
> erupted particularly in the 1966 riots was a matter viewed with
> much gravity.   As a result of these disturbances, a greater
> emphasis was placed on youth work and services…In the last two
> years, there emerged a gradual increase in the number of crimes
> committed by young people and the cause of public concern was
> the violent nature of these criminal activities which included the
> use of various implements which inflicted grievous bodily
> injuries and deaths.' (Ibid:5)

The threats of the youths had two meanings, political threat and social threat.

The former was referred to the 'major incidents' 'which affected the community as

a whole'.   The disturbances and riots in 1966 and 1967 were the examples of the

political threat.   It was believed that the youths took a major role in these

disturbances and riots not only in terms of number of participant involved, but also

were the main source of gravity.   The social threat referred to the crime and

violence happened in particular criminal cases in which particular people were injured and dead.   The youths were increasingly involved in this criminal case.

The clubable and non-clubable youths were further unfolded in the discussion of the purposes and objectives of detached work that:

> '…although the focus of detached work is centred on the unruly and aggressive youth with behavioural problems, a number of "clubable" youths would also be contacted in the melee and the function of the detached worker is to refer the "clubable" youths to the nearest youth club or youth centre…The object of detached work, also termed as street gang work…, has been defined as "work with young people in a conflict of expectations between those who offer with service and those – the young people – who want and need it but who are unable or unwilling to accept it on the conditions on which it is offered."   The purpose of detached work has been described as "a systematic effort of the worker, through social work or treatment techniques within the neighbourhood context, to help a group of young people who are described as delinquent or partially-delinquent to achieve a conventional adaptation."   These goals include the control and prevention of delinquent behaviour and activities, value change and the provision of access of opportunities.' (Ibid:5)

The objectives and working approaches for the clubable and non-clubable youths were different.   In the detached work services, the clubable youths would be transferred to 'the nearest youth club or youth certre' for receiving the club services and normal development.   However, the non-clubbable youth would receive treatment services for 'conventional adaptation', even they rejected to accept the services.   The treatment services would target the delinquent behaviours and values as objects to be changed and would provide opportunities for normal life.

The implications of these objectives and working approaches are three-folds. First, the clubable and non-clubable youths were deemed as potential good citizens. The clubable youths could quit their street life and get normal development under the help and protection of club services.   The non-clubbable youths could 'achieve

a conventional adaptation' through changing their problem behaviour pattern and values with the help of treatment services. Second, the non-clubbable youths were constructed as convertible individuals who could be changed back to normal persons in terms of behaviour pattern and values, even if they were socialized by social environment and condition of unruly and aggressive nature. Third, the non-clubbable youths were deemed as ignorant people who did not know and even rejected what they really needed. In the text, it was described that the non-clubable youths in a way really 'want and need' the detached work services, but were 'unable or unwilling to accept it on the conditions on which it is offered'. Obviously, the non-clubable youths were constructed as individuals who could not self-determined what they really needed.

In short, the youth was constructed as a socio-psychological subject who had three important elements snatched from three other discourses. Like the engagement discourse, the socialization discourse transformed the prior discourses and restructured them to generate its subject of youth. The first element was sociological discourse, which constructed the youth as a socio-psychological subject who experienced a process of socialization, through he/she learnt the social norm from the living environment. The behaviour pattern and values were the consequence of socialization. The second element came from poverty discourse, which constructed the youth as a vulnerable group in need of help. The third element came from moral discourse, which divided youth into two groups, deviant and potential deviant and regarded the youth as a (potential) threat of social order. These three elements of engagement discourse would be further discussed in the next section.

The text constructed the relation among the narrator, government and voluntary agencies. The narrator was a discussion group convened by the

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Division of Children and Youth of The Hong Kong Council of Social Service, a recognized representative organization of voluntary agencies, to propose a voluntary agency to conduct an experiment of detached work. Twelve of the members of the discussion group were the representatives of voluntary agencies and only two members were the representatives of government departments, including the Social Welfare Department and Secretariat for Home Affairs. The narrator was the discussion group in which most of the members were representatives of voluntary agencies. The text did not mentioned about the role, action and opinion of the government representatives. It is reasonable to assume that the representatives of the voluntary agencies, as the initiator, convener and majority of the discussion group, assumed the major role in the discussion. The narrator was the discussion group which represented the voice of the twelve voluntary agencies. The subject position of government was not clearly expressed, but the government was at least the listener of the discussion of detached work. The relation between the discussion group and voluntary agencies was expressed in the following paragraph.

> 'The Discussion Group is of the conclusion that there is a dire need for the continued sharing…the future development of detached work both among the agencies who have embarked in this field of youth work and those who are interested or attempting to undertake this form of youth work…The Discussion Group considered it appropriate to make the following recommendations: a) that in principle detached work should be recognized as a form of youth work to be undertaken for future development; b) that member agencies should be encouraged to enhance interagency co-operation to discuss, share and exchange their knowledge, experiences and problems on detached work through established channels between supervisory and field work staff; c) that member should consider the desirability of joint collaboration for the future development of detached work by pooling resources of staff, personnel and experience to underrate a joint programme to develop training, supervision, distribution of field work areas, and financial support through a central unit of administration under the aegis of the Division.' (Ibid:8)

In the text, the discussion group was constructed as the advocator of the detached work and the voluntary agencies were constructed as subject of persuade. In the conclusion of the text, recommendations were put forward that 'in principle detached work should be recognized as a form of youth work...', 'member agencies should be encouraged to...discuss, share and exchange...on detached work...' and 'member agencies should consider the desirability of joint collaboration for future development of detached work'. The word 'should' constructed the discussion group as an advocator who recommended certain possibility for further development of detached work. On the other hand, the voluntary agencies were in the position of being persuaded.

The two sets of subjects constructed by the engagement and socialization discourses are listed in the following table.

Table 5.2 Engagement and socialization discourse on construction of subjects

	Engagement discourse	*Socialization discourse*
Normal youth	- Bio-psychological subject filled with energy and initiative and experiencing a developmental stage - Transformable subject from destructive tendency to constructive - Potential deviant with inherent destructive tendency - Vulnerable youth in need of help - Potential good citizens - Usually active participants of constructive activities	- Socialized subject - Detached youth - 'Cubable' - Potential deviant - Vulnerable group threatened by unhealthy social environment - Vulnerable group in need of help and protection - Potential good citizens
Problem youth	- Bio-psychological subject filled with energy and initiative and experiencing a developmental stage - Deviant - Vulnerable youth in need of help - Threat of social order - Aimless people who did not had particular thing to do in leisure time	- Socialized subject - Detached youth - 'Non-clubable' - Vulnerable group threatened by unhealthy social environment - Vulnerable group in need of help and protection - Ignorant people rejected what they really needed - Deviant with anti-social tendency - Threat of social order (including political order and social order) - Consequence of social problems - Potential good citizens - Convertible individual

Government	- Core member of the alliance of youth welfare policy - Consenter of the policy - Policy maker - Policy regulator	- Minority of the discussion group of detached work - Listener in the discussion group
Representative voluntary agencies of the discussion group of detached work	- Nil	- Majority of the discussion group - Initiator and convener of the discussion group - Advocator of the detached work
Voluntary agencies	- Core member of the alliance of youth welfare policy - Consenter of the policy - Main responsible services provider - Policy regulator	- Subject of persuasion
Religious/church bodies and traditional benevolent societies (e.g. kaifongs, district and clansmen associations)	- Supplementary members of the alliance of youth welfare policy	- Nil
Parent	- Incompetent nurturer	- Nil
School	- One of the main responsible services providers for providing healthy and enjoyable occupation	- Nil

Different discourses and different sets of subject position were not simply coexisting but were in a relation of contest and struggle that concomitantly determined the forms of youth governing. The next section would discuss the power relation between the discourses.

Social practice

We, in this section, would see how a new form of youth governing was established through the analysis of the power relation between the engagement and socialization discourses. The engagement discourse had taken a position in the youth policy since the occurrence of the disturbance in 1966 while the socialization discourse appeared at the end of the 1960s. Thereafter, the engagement discourse existed in a subordinated position to the socialization discourse. We focus on

three aspects of the struggle between the two discourses. The first is to examine the absorption and exclusion of the discourses in the pre-1966 by the two discourses. The second part would unfold the power relation between the engagement and socialization discourses. The third part reviews the process of discursive change in structural contradiction and institutional level.

a) Absorption and exclusion of previous discourses

Subject formation of the youth involved a process of re-articulation, transformation and exclusion of pervious discourses and knowledge. The subject constructed by the engagement and socialization discourses were related to various elements that were picked up from previous discourses.

The engagement discourse transformed the pervious discourses and knowledge and restructured them to generate a bio-psychological subject of youth. It is necessary to point out that discourses are not developed from scratch, instead they absorb and transform the previous discourse with the purpose of winning more alliance. Existing dominant discourses are more easily accepted by both the public and the critical social notables in the community. In our case, the youth was constructed as a bio-psychological subject through the incorporation of the discursive elements snatched from three other discourses. The engagement discourse transformed and restructured prior discourses to generate its subject of the youth. The first element was the developmental discourse in which the youth was constructed as a bio-psychological subject who experienced developmental stages. During this process, the inherent nature drove the youth towards either constructive or destructive end. It was believed that, in the developmental stage, the youth experienced a natural process, called growth or development, and became a mature adult and good citizen. However, the inherent nature, the abundant

energy and initiative created uncertainty in the developmental process because the youth could be driven by this inherent nature towards constructive or destructive end. The developmental knowledge created the foundation for the establishment of engagement discourse and its bio-psychological subject.

The second element came from poverty discourse, according to which the youth was a vulnerable group in need of help. The youths could not solve their personal problems on their own and needed continuous support from welfare services. The engagement discourse borrowed the concept of vulnerable victim and transformed it into its developmental knowledge. Hence the youth was regarded as vulnerable group who could not determine their way of development towards constructive end and would likely became delinquent without the help of social and recreational services. The concept of vulnerable victim was integrated to the regulating problems of inherent nature.

The third element came from moral discourse, which divided the youths into two groups, deviants and potential deviants. The youths either became the threat of social order or would potentially become the threat. The engagement discourse borrowed the binary concept of deviant and potential deviant and integrated it to its inherent nature of youth. The youth became a subject who was either constructive or destructive. The constructiveness and destructiveness were depended on whether the youths could properly direct their inherent energy and initiative or not. They could properly direct it to constructive activities and become constructive people. Otherwise, they became destructive. So the youths were either deviants or potential deviants. The determining factor was the availability of external support for the youths to choose the right ways of personality development.

It should be noted that the absorption of the elements of pervious discourses in engagement discourse was not an evolution process of developing a more comprehensive discourse or youth subject, but a political process in which pervious discourses were appropriated, distorted and excluded.

The engagement discourse accepted the concept of vulnerable victim. However, it excluded the main concept of poverty discourse that unfavourable economic environment was the root of youth problem. In the poverty discourse, the youths were forced to earn a living through illegal ways. Juvenile delinquency was the consequence of poverty. The youths were socio-economic subjects who suffered from the poverty environment that was out of their control. Thus they were in need of help to solve their economic problems. But the engagement discourse excluded this meaning through re-articulating the concept that the youths were vulnerable because they were likely to develop pre-delinquent or delinquent behaviour when their energy and initiative were not properly directed, and so they needed social and recreational services. The emphasis of environment effect was eliminated in the process of re-articulation.

The engagement discourse accepted the binary concept of deviant and potential deviant. However, two important concepts in moral discourse were excluded by the engagement discourse. The first concept was that unhealthy social environment, in terms of moral decay or bad social atmosphere, was the root of youth problems. In the moral discourse, deviants and potential deviants referred to the youths who were infected or would be potentially influenced by the moral decay. The second concept was that moral guidance and traditional virtue should be applied for regulating youth morality and preventing youth problems. However, the engagement discourse excluded these two concepts and re-articulated

the binary concept that the transformation to deviants or potential deviants was related to the ways the youths could properly directed their inherent energy and initiative. The root of deviance was not the social environment, but the bio-psychological nature inside the body of the youths. The emphasis of environment effect and morality was excluded by the engagement discourse.

Similarly, the socialization discourse transformed the pervious discourses and knowledge and restructured them to generate a socio-psychological subject of the youth. The socio-psychological subject had three important elements that came from three other sources, including socialization theory, poverty discourse and moral discourse. The first element was socialization theory, which provided theoretical base to construct the youth as a socio-psychological subject. The socialization theory emphasized that the youths were experiencing a developmental stage in which they internalized social norms through significant people and social environment to become mature adults and good citizens. However, the youths might learn some anti-social behaviour pattern and values from the unhealthy living environment. This created an uncertainty in the socialization process. The knowledge of socialization created the foundation for the establishment of socialization discourse and its socio-psychological subject.

The second element came from the poverty discourse that constructed the youth as a vulnerable group in need of help. The socialization discourse borrowed the concept of vulnerable victim to identify the problematic youths as the vulnerable group who were forced to join street life by the overcrowding living condition. The youths were easily affected by unhealthy social environment and acquired aggressive behaviour pattern and anti-social values in the absence of

recreational and treatment services.   The concept of vulnerable victim was integrated to the socialization need of youth.

The third element came from the moral discourse that divided the youths into two groups, deviants and potential deviants.   The youths either became a threat to social order or a potential threat.   The socialization discourse borrowed the binary concept and integrated it to the socialization need of the youth.   The youth became a subject who either acquired anti-social behaviour as well as values, or would acquire this anti-social culture under the threat of the unhealthy street environment. The consequence of socialization depended on whether the youths were engaged in proper activities and stayed away from the unhealthy street environment.   If being engaged in proper activities and away from unhealthy street environment, they could be constructive people.   Otherwise, they turned out to be delinquents.

The absorption of the elements of previous discourses into the socialization discourse was also a process of appropriation and distortion through which core elements of the pervious discourses were excluded.   The socialization discourse accepted the concept of the vulnerable victim snatched from the poverty discourse and, at the same time, it excluded the main concept of the poverty discourse that unfavourable economic environment was the root of youth problem.   In the poverty discourse, youths were vulnerable because they were forced to join the street life in the congested urban area and so exposed to the threat of anti-social culture and norms.   This the reason for the youths to expect recreational and treatment services.   The re-articulation of the vulnerable concept shifted the emphasis from environment effect to the result of individual socialization.

Like the engagement discourse, the binary concept of the deviants and potential deviants was incorporated into the socialization discourse, but excluded

the idea that unhealthy social environment with moral decay was the root of youth problem. This discourse also left unattended the idea in the moral discourse that moral guidance and traditional virtues were effective and essential in regulating the youths' morality and preventing youth problem. In socialization discourse, the root of the deviant was instead attributed to the socio-psychological behaviour pattern and values that could be observed.

It was concluded that, in the political process of youth subject formation, the bio-psychological and socio-psychological subjects constructed by the engagement and socialization discourses respectively absorbed certain elements from poverty and moral discourses. Hence these new youth subjects were still regarded as vulnerable victims in need of help and (potential) deviants. However, the youths were no longer emphasized as vulnerable victims of unfavourable social environment. Instead, they were treated as a vulnerable group who could not properly regulate their inherent nature or ignorant people who could not adapt to average norms. In the other words, here excluded the socio-economic and moral concerns that emphasized on the external environmental influences on youths. Instead, bio/socio-psychological concern, which emphasis the internal and individual aspects of youth problem, was adopted by the engagement and socialization discourses.

b) Struggle between engagement and socialization discourses
The engagement and socialization discourses did not simply co-existed but were involved in a power relation. The engagement discourse took a dominant position in the youth policy since the occurrence of the disturbance in 1966. The socialization discourse was raised at the end of the 1960s but existed in a subordinated position to the socialization discourse. The boom of the engagement

and socialization discourses raised a struggle in the form of youth governing of the youth policy.

In the engagement discourse, youths were divided into two groups, namely those attached to and those detached from the organized activities. The suggested solution was to direct the youths into organized social and recreational activities. In the engagement discourse, the narrator did not develop any knowledge to explain the relation between detachment and destructiveness. Instead, it took the relation as given.

Nevertheless, the socialization discourse tried to bridge the relation between the detached and destructiveness and to further develop the knowledge of the detached youth. In the socialization discourse youths were divided into two groups, namely 'clubable' youths who could be recruited into the organized social and recreational activities and 'non-clubable' youths who were badly socialized and adopted anti-social norms. It claimed that the direct cause of the 'non-clubable' or anti-social youths was the nature of socialization, rather than the mis-engagement of activities. There was no dispute between the socialization discourse and the bio-psychological knowledge about inherent energy and initiative. However, it re-articulated the latter as one of the necessary factors in creating anti-social youths. The socialization discourse restructured the story of anti-social youths that youths were forced to join the street life because the congested living area was not suitable for them to release their energy and failed to meet their inherent need. Street life and street groups were a natural consequence rather than a problem. However, in Hong Kong situation, youth would be exposed to unhealthy social environment and so received bad socialization. Socialization was the cause of problem youth.

The socialization discourse took three tactics in the discursive struggle. First, it distinguished itself from engagement discourse and took the knowledge of socialization as its core notion. Secondly, in this discourse, there was no contradiction with the engagement discourse since the core bio-psychological concept had been employed as an assumption. These discursive tactics created a possibility to share the dominant position of youth policy with the engagement discourse.

c) Social events and change of dominant discourse

The dominant discourse in youth policy changed from overtly discourse to engagement discourse in the mid-1960s. This change did not occur in vacuum but was highly associated with the historical conjuncture in the 1960's. We, in this section, attempt to link the discursive struggle to the social condition in which structural contradiction and political struggle took place on the institutional and societal level. Our analysis could show the reasons for the dominant position of the engagement discourse in the youth policy.

We argue that the social disturbances in 1966 and 1967 were the political expression of the structural contradictions inherent in the relationship between the colonial state and the Chinese society. It was reported that a fairly large number of the youths was involved in these disturbances and even became the main source of gravity in the disturbance in 1966 (DCY 1970:5). These disturbances were the result of a structural contradiction between the vulnerable subject of youth/children created by the dominated poverty discourse, and the youth delinquents who played an important part in the disturbance. The disturbances problematized the convention and created a dilemma for the conventional mode of explanation.

The Kowloon disturbance appeared in 1966, in which young people kicked over litter bins, broke traffic signs and parking meters, lighted bonfires, obstructed the roadways, threw stones and other missiles at police, smashed the windows of stationary buses (Commission of Inquiry 1967:120). The disturbance was out of the experience of existing convention and so created dilemma situation that would be resolved only by being innovative, by adopting previous discourse and knowledge in new ways. This contributed to discursive change.

A commission of inquiry finished a report, Report of Commission of Inquiry, and found that the youths, aged from 16 to 20, were 'the main source of the violence' (Ibid:103). The report also found that the 'curiosity and excitement' of the young people were the principal motives for joining the riots. The young people were neither motivated by any social and economic discontents nor controlled by any political or triad forces (Ibid:112-114). They were not driven by immorality, anger, animosity nor ideological influences, but boredom and aimlessness, as well as the motivation of seeking fun (Ibid:120, 143). The poverty and moral discourse could not explain the motivation of joining the disturbance.

The Report of Commission of Inquiry did not provide a definite conclusion on the underlining causes of delinquency (Ibid:146-147). However, the report adopted a new explanation that one of the underlining causes of joining the disturbance was inherent nature of youth. It was believed that youth were filled with energy and emotion and so they were always ready 'to have a go', particularly when they had nothing to do. The disturbances showed the potential destructive aspect of such youth nature, when the youth released their 'surplus energy and emotion'. The 'youthful animal spirits with inadequate outlets for their energy

and emotions' were regarded as the root of delinquency (Ibid:118-147).   This new explanation was the early notion of engagement discourse.

Discursive change did not only have its social condition in structural contradiction, but also had its struggle on the institutional and societal level. Discursive change occurred in the contest between social institutions.   The government bought the new engagement discourse and alerted that the aimlessness and boredom among youth and the inadequacy of youth activities were the sources of delinquency and violence (SWD 1967:1, section 1).   In order to prevent the emergence of delinquency, the government took initiatives to expand the existing social and recreational activities, through the voluntary agencies as providers (SWD 1968:1, section 3).   For example, the scale of summer youth programme was rapidly expanded from 2,000 youths and children in 1965 to 1,200,000 in 1969 (SWD 1970: 9-10, section 30).   An annual report of a voluntary agency recorded that:

> 'The year 1967-68 might almost be called the year for Youth, so much has been discussed, planned and promoted in this field. Never before in the history of Hong Kong have the needs and activities of youth had so much publicity and so much active concern shown by the community as a whole.   The disturbances of the Summer 1967 made everyone poignantly aware of the immensity of the challenge of youth to the community and the urgent need to give heed to it.' (St. James Settlement 1968, no page number).

With the expansion of the social and recreational activities, the engagement discourse became more popular and more influential.   This also promoted the using of social and recreational activities to the public as a method of youth governing.   In the 1960s, social and recreational activities still were not popularly accepted by the older generation who thought that social and recreational activities were just a form of play (Ko 1968: 21; No author (cited from *New Education*) 1976:3.).   Many parents thought that such activities would waste the time of youth

and affect the progress of school learning (Stokes 1966:2; Chiu 1966:11). However, kaifongs associations and schools accepted the engagement discourse and adopted recreational activities as a tool for preventing delinquency in the late 1960s.[2]

The disturbances also raised the interest of voluntary agencies that were predominantly run by social workers.   As part of the alliance of the youth policy, the voluntary agencies shared the engagement discourse as an explanation of youth problem.   In a local journal, a social worker recorded that:

> 'For the last twelve months or so it has been impossible to open a local newspaper, to listen to the radio, to switch on the television or get into conversation with any public spirited person without hearing lectures on the subject of Youth as though something new and original had suddenly been invented in Hong Kong.   Do we have a "youth problem" in our midst?   What do we mean when these words "youth problem" are used?   Do these terms mean "the problems created by youth" or "the developmental problems of being a youth", or a combination of both connotations' (Ko 1968:16).

'Youth' became the one of the most haunting topic in the public after the riots. Social workers invested a lot of energy on the topics about the needs of the youth. The Social Service Quarterly continuously published five features about the youth from the summer in 1967 to the summer of next year in which the issues were totally about youth services and leisure time activities.   These discussions within the social work profession tended to accept the engagement discourse.   Later, we found that this engagement discourse dominated the social work field and informed most of the practice in youth activities and the summer youth programme (SWD and HKCSS 1969:172-179).

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[2] see   1)*An Appreciation of Social Welfare Services and needs in Hong Kong 1969*, p.176, section 13.15; 2)'Interview with Betty Mair: The recreational and sport activities in Hong Kong', in *Social Service Quarterly*, vol.58, Autumn 1976, p.3; and 3) in the 'Appendices' of *What can I Do in My Summer Vacation?*, it was showed that eight kaifong associations joined the 1969 summer youth programme as sponsoring organizations.

The government and the voluntary agencies, as two main allying members of youth welfare policy, came to a consensus that youth problem was the problem of engagement of inherent energy and initiative of the youth and determined to promote the social and recreational services as tool to resolve the problem. Socialization discourse was put forward at the end of the 1960s and embedded only in the voluntary agencies through the discussion of detached work experiments. Although the voluntary agencies underpinned the socialization discourse and the detached work and recognized them as a particular form of youth work, the government and its policy alliance ignored them.

Conclusion

This chapter exposed the forms of youth governing which was divided into three parts, including the types of youth policy and policy alliance, the types of dominant subject of youth, and the measures employed, in the period from 1966 to 1972.

In this period, the government began to generate a youth policy with focus on the problems of how youth spent their leisure time and did take an active role in initiating the expansion of the social and recreational services as a measure for handling the problem. The government and the voluntary agencies were the main members of the alliance of youth policy. Government took the role of main policy maker and regulator, while the voluntary organizations were the main services provider.

Engagement discourse and socialization discourse formed a bio-psychological and a socio-psychological subject of youth respectively. The former emphasized that the youth experienced a developmental stage and were driven by their inherent nature toward either constructive or destructive ends. The latter emphasized that the youth experienced a process of socialization in which they learnt the social

norm from their living environment and so were forming their behaviour patterns and values.   These two discourses excluded the socio-economical and morality concern which emphasis on the environmental influence on youth and turn to a socio-psychological concern which emphasis the inherent nature inside the body or the consequence of individual socialization.   In the other words, the engagement and socialization discourses focused on the internal bio/socio-psychological aspect of youth and treated it as the determinative factor of youth problem, rather than the external social environment aspect.

The engagement and socialization discourses were not simply co-existed. They involved in a power relation.   The engagement discourse had taken a dominant position in the youth policy since the occurrence of the disturbance in 1966.   The socialization discourse was raised at the end of the 1960s, with an attempt to share the dominative position in the youth policy with the engagement discourse.   However, it failed in the struggle and excluded form the youth policy.

The social and recreational services were employed by the youth policy as the main measures to prevent deviance and delinquency.   This measures was to make sure that the youths were engaged in constructive activities during their leisure time, otherwise they were likely engaged in destructive activities, especially when they had nothing particular to do.   The employment of the social and recreational services made the form of youth governing emphasize on the time and body aspect of the youth.

- End -

Chapter 6

Scientific Discourse, Professionalisation and Youths

Introduction

A public discussion of juvenile crime wave appeared from the late 1960's and cooled off by the end of the 1970s. Crime rate increase was interpreted as the lost of control of the youth. The public persuaded the government to envisage the growing population of youths who needed more education and work opportunities. In fact, the size of the young people slightly decreased in this period. Although the age group between 10 and 19 increased from 951,000 in 1971 to 1,004,000 in 1981 and the total population rose from 3,940,000 in 1971 to 4,990,000 in 1981, the proportion of this age group to the total population decreased from 24 per cent to 20 per cent (Census and Statistics Department 1991:36-37). Seemingly, the increasing crime rate should not be seen as the direct results of population growth. The government in practice believed that the problems arising from the young people were more complicated and need more effort in diagnosis and treatment. We found that the colonial government relied less on moral discourse and political measures, instead took more professional effort to integrate the youths into the mainstream society.

We, in this chapter, are to look into this process of scientific intervention into the young people's world. We shall argue that the form of youth governing has been transformed from a bio-psychological concern that emphases the inherent nature inside the body of young people to a socio-psychological concern that emphasized the mal-functioning of social systems, and also from a view that related youth problems to gaze on body and time to another that focused on the relation between the youth on the one hand and family and school on the other.

This chapter is divided into five sections.   We first delineate the youth policy in this period and point out its basic features.   The second section is about the relevant discourses of the youth.   In this section, we introduce two popular discourses about youth, namely system failure discourse and the structural discourse.   The third section is to find out how particular kinds of subject were constructed by these discourses through the process of discursive practice.   In the fourth section, we examine the power relationship between the discourses.   The fifth section is a conclusion of this chapter.

We also notice that the student movement was prosperous in the 1970s.   It played an important role in both political and ideological struggles against the colonial government, aiming at changing the local society and advocating nationalism, liberalism and Marxism.   We shall argue that the student movement manifested the structural contradiction that the colonial government encountered in this period.   On the one hand, the colonial government had to train local elites to rule the colony, but on the other the education system failed to win the loyalty of most of the elites.   Under the influence of the student movement in the West, a group of university student became social activists who embraced anti-colonial ideology.   However, this group of elitist social activists had not been absorbed into the political domain or recognized its contribution to the local political development.   The colonial government even took political measures to suppress them.   In addition, when the government attempted to deal with the political and ideological problems of youth, issues arising from the university students and young workers were excluded from the discussions and discourses of youth problems.   This sort of exclusion and its implication would be discussed in the last two sections of social practice and conclusion.

Youth policy

In face of the rising number of youth delinquency, the government stuck to the old method of expanding the sector in the conventional youth welfare services, education services, police services and recreation services. It was believed that the expansion in these domains was sufficient to cope with the rising demands owing to the huge youth population. Thereafter, the Social Welfare Department and voluntary agencies provided more services to the youths. The objective in mind was to create more mature, responsible and contributing members for the society who had enjoyed a balanced development and a strong sense of civic responsibility (Social Welfare Department[hereafter SWD] 1977:1). Accordingly, there was a change in education policy in the period. It was considered that the expansion of primary school places was based on an elitist assumption that only a small number of students could enjoy higher secondary education. Thus, the government only aimed at providing three years of secondary schooling for youth aged between 12 and 14, and aided secondary places for 40 percent of 15-16 age group by 1979 (HKG 1973:7-8; HKG 1976:54).

Junior secondary education accelerated its expansion after primary education was made free and compulsory in 1971. The objective of introducing nine years free education was achieved in 1978 when all primary six-leavers were allocated Form 1 places in the public sector and tuition fees were abolished for all pupils in the first three years in secondary schools (HKG 1973:54, 56-57). The primary objective of secondary education was to cultivate qualified young people for taking up professional, technical, administrative and executive roles. It was to equip students with skills and knowledge to have a proper role in the society. (HKG 1973: 8). It also served to fight crime. The youths aged between 12 and were not allowed to enter into employment under the labor law. Without sufficient

secondary places, primary school leavers would easily become unattached youths who were considered as potential criminals. Education, as a kind of proper guidance, will guarantee that the youths would behave properly (Committee on Education 1975). However, the expansion on secondary education was not great enough to deal with the needs aroused among the youths. The government was reluctant to provide resources for all the youths in need of education. The number of government schools never exceeded one third of the total number of schools in the period from 1973 to 1979. The increase in number of secondary school places were only achieved through giving grants to non-profit-making private schools.

In the sector of social services, the Social welfare Department and voluntary agencies continued to organize summer youth programmes in 1978. There were more than 500,000 participants in these programmes (Social Welfare Department [hereafter SWD] 1979/1980: para. 82). A significant change was in the scale of provision. More children and youth centres were built to provide space for the youths to enjoy healthy recreation activities. Youth and children centers, previously provided at a ratio of one centre to 50,000 people, were offered in accordance with the policy ratio one centre for 20,000 people (SWD 1979:7).

Another spectacular change was the introduction of personal social work in youth policy. The government regarded social service methods as obsolete since the existing services were not adequate to serve the needs of individual youth. In actual practice, personal social work consisted of three areas: school social work, family life education, and outreaching services (SWD 1977:1).

For school social work, professional social workers were to provide guidance for secondary school students and training in counseling, guidance and social work technique were given to teachers in primary schools to make them Student

Guidance officers. The Family Life Education aimed at preserving and strengthening family as a unit. The services were provided using lectures, exhibitions, film and slide shows, group counseling and workshops to families for educational purposes. Outreaching social work services were provided through a team of trained social workers who established direct contact with the youths in places where the detached were frequent, such as playgrounds, parks, street corners and housing blocks. The services aimed at helping the youths who were detached from homes and schools (SWD 1979:19).

General speaking, social welfare provision in this period experienced an expansion. Voluntary agencies continued to provide most of the services in the basic service areas while new social services provision were mainly taken up by voluntary agencies. In this period, the government initiated the expansion of basic services and expanded the scope of welfare policy in respect to the prevention of delinquency by introducing personal social work scheme.

In addition, youth services expanded in all other areas. The police was one of the agencies that participated in youth services. The Royal Hong Kong Police Force established the Junior Police Call in July 1974. The Junior Police Force aimed at improving the mutual understanding between the police and the youth to foster police-youth partnership to fight crime. The basic idea was to increase the youth's awareness of their responsibility in the community and build up a civic mind. Junior Police Call provided activities and training for youth. It organized activities and training for its members and held interest classes and clubhouses. Part of this plan was to organize clubs in secondary schools, a yearly "fight youth crime campaign" and community services.

An unprecedented move by the Junior Police Call was to use mass media in promoting its message. It launched its first TV weekly programme in 1974 with an estimated combined audience of 1 million. A Chinese radio show co-produced by the police and the Radio Television Hong Kong was launched in 1975. Within one year of its establishment, the Junior Police Call had a membership of 118,451. In 1980, the membership increased to 250,000 (Royal Hong Kong Police Force 1990:5).

Another relevant services was provided by the Urban Council, which continued to provide recreational facilities such as football pitches, culture and sports complex, swimming pools, and so on. Since 1973, they Urban Council provided 150 acres of open spaces. Other customary recreation services were also provided to meet the needs of the huge youth population.

To conclude, the youth policy in this period has a new focus on juvenile delinquency, that is, the cultivation of a civic mind in individuals and the development of a sense of responsibilities in them. Both the government and voluntary organizations remained the main services provider in this period. We noticed that the introduction of personal social work in youth sector was a new move of the government. The above analysis of youth policy reveals the roles of the government and the non-government organizations in services provision and its expansion.

Discourses of youth

The introduction of personal social work to the youth policy was the concomitant of a new discourse on the youth. We argued that the dominance of the system failure discourse created a favourable condition for the acceptance and implementation of those ideas and suggestions implied by this discourse.

Although there was the structural discourse that manifested in the documents about youth and show how youth and youth problem were interpreted, the dominance of the system failure discourse had not been affected. In the following section, we will illustrate the struggle between these two discourses. Before this, we delineate the two discourses by examining the four aspects of the discourses, including the nature of the youth, the problems concerned, the causes of problem and the objectives of the discourses.

a) System failure discourse

In the system failure discourse, youths were regarded as immature individuals experiencing formative stages of development in which their morality, values, personality and behavioural patterns were vulnerable to surrounding influences. In order to enjoy normal process of development, youths, as children and school students, should engage in socialization and receive guidance from schools and the family system before being employed. Nevertheless, there was failure in school and family systems. In the discourse, the youth problems were related to the failures. School failure was referred to the problems of school dropout of those children aged below 14, the legal working age. These dropouts and graduates were not allowed to work and had nothing to do after dropout. Dropouts were more likely to become delinquents under the destructive influences outside school. It was believed that the dropouts or school leavers would likely be affected by the triad society in the public space and attracted to engage in delinquent activities. A report from the welfare agencies recorded the possible ways for dropouts to become delinquents:

> 'Finding their home boring and their school uninteresting, our juveniles tend to spend more time on the street than anywhere else. Hence, it is no coincidence that they come in contact or in conflict with undesirable characters, notably members of unlawful societies. … For one reason or another, our juveniles

become one of such a group or society. … At the end … our juveniles are requested to take a more active part in delinquent acts.' (Research Sub-Committee, Neighbourhood Advice Council 1973:5)

Regarding family failure, we found in this discourse the idea that it came from the failure of the parents to provide proper care, attention and guidance, the failure to use appropriate methods to enforce disciplines, putting too much or not enough restriction on the children and being too demanding, inconsistent and unreasoning (SWD 1977:19; Committee on Education, 1975:17). This failure would make the youths stay away from their parents and led to disagreeable character of youth. It was believed that delinquency was the result of the family failure. Delinquents usually came from broken families, single parent families, working parents families or families with a large number of children which could not offer sufficient care (Research Sub-committee, Neighbourhood Advice Council 1973:4-5; Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime, 1973:7).

There were various factors of the failure problems. The first one was personal inadequacy, including low motivation of schooling, learning difficulties, behavioural misconduct and the feeling of frustration and lack of interest in school life. This personal inadequacy would lead to bad performance in class and resulted in youth dropout from schools. The second factor was the insufficient secondary school places especially for the youth under 14 years of age. Limited places in secondary education left some youths aged from 12 to 14 unattached to school life. However, the children could not have a job because of the limitation imposed by the labour law (Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime 1973:6,10,11; Working Group on Crime & Violence, HKCSS and HK Social Workers' Association 1973:4). The third factor was the parents' inability. It was believed that the parents were less able to give proper guidance and supervision to

their children because the parent were illiterate, exhausted by their work and lost in the changing world (Working Group on Crime & Violence, HKCSS and HK Social Workers' Association 1973: 5).

The solution offered in the discourse was to enhance the social functioning of school and family systems in order to tackle disengagement and mal-socialization of youth.

b) Structural discourse

Another discourse found in the period was the structural discourse in which youths were regarded as social members who encountered structural constraints owing to the mismatch between social goals and institutional means. Informed by the sociological insight suggested by the American sociologist Robert Merton, the structural discourse provided a view that youths were socialized and motivated by the cultural structure which promoted social goals of success but discouraged by limited institutionalized means for them to achieve the goals. Moreover, it was said that the cultural structure were overwhelmed by materialistic social goals that only motivated youths to pursue money and wealth. Consequently the youths hungered for non-essential goods, entertainment services and even sensual gratification. These social goals corrupted the youths to become materialistic people and were far away from the 'traditional philosophy' and 'Christian teaching'. To make it simple, they became 'normless' people (Working Group on Crime and Violence 1973:4). The situation exacerbated when the institutional structure did not offer adequate institutionalized means to realize their goals. Institutional means, such as education, was limited and only a few young people could share the fruits of economic prosperity while many youngsters encountered economic hardship and injustice in workplace. Prospects for advancement were limited

(Ibid:4). Nevertheless, the government policy helped little in changing the brute fact of uneven distribution of wealth. The social structure was tarnished with exploitation on young workers, inadequate social welfare, limited social security and unjust taxation system. In the structural discourse, the social structure was not for the benefit of the working youths but worked for the interest of the vested interests (Ibid:3, 6-7).

In short, the cultural and institutional systems of Hong Kong were overwhelmed by the 'economic values and financial considerations' and became an unbalanced society (Ibid:2). With this structural factor, the cultural structure was therefore dominated by materialistic social goals while families and schools could not maintain proper norms and values. The institutional structure had been corrupted and served mainly for the vested interest in the pursuit of wealth accumulation. The government appeared to be biased in accumulating wealth for its host country. The civil servants, especially the police and firemen, made money through corruption. This poor condition left the young workers exploited by the factory owners (Ibid:3-4, 6).

The way out mentioned in this discourse was to reform the cultural and institutional structures through the promotion of morality, redistribution of income and wealth, and open up the government system to allow more public participation.

The following table summarized the system failure and structural discourses in terms of four aspects as follows:

Table 6.1 Characteristics of the system failure and structural discourses

	System failure discourse	*Structural discourse*
Nature of Youth	- Experiencing a developmental life stage - Vulnerable to surrounding influences	- Social member affected by structural forces - Motivated by materialistic social goal - Victims of uneven distribution of income

Problem	- System failure of school and family	- Morality problem of social goal - Lack of institutional mean or policy for redistribution of wealth and income
Cause of problem	- Youth inadequacy - Inadequacy of secondary school places - Inability of parent	- Unbalanced society overwhelmed by materialistic social goal
Aim	- Enhancing the social functioning of school and family system - Resolving the problem of system failure - Preventing disengagement and mal-socialization	- Performing the cultural and institutional structures through promote morality, redistribute income and wealth and open the government system for public participation

Following the analytical process suggested in the previous chapters, we move on to discuss the contribution of discourses to the governing of youth through the (re)construction of the youth subjects. The system failure and structural constraint discourses are to be further discussed in the next section for revealing the construction of youth subject.

Formation of subjects

This section will find out how particular kinds of subjects were constructed by the particular discourse through discursive practice. Two research reports about the causes of delinquency were chosen for analysis. The first report was based on a research conducted by a social scientist of The Chinese University of Hong Kong. The second one is a report on youth problems issued by the Hong Kong Council of Social Service and Hong Kong Social Workers' Association. The analytical framework for the analysis of these reports has threefold, namely the textual aspect of the discourses, the ideational and interpersonal dimensions.

a) System failure discourse

For the analysis here, we chose an academic study report, titled Social Causes of Violent Crimes among Young Offenders in Hong Kong, which is written by a

social scientist of The Chinese University of Hong Kong. The study is commissioned by the Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime, which was appointed by the government, responsible for finding out the social causes of youth violent crime and offering its solutions.

The textual aspect of the text created the theme of social causes of youth crimes. The theme was created through the cohesion of the report, which divided into eleven chapters. The first two chapters expressed the background of studying social causes of youth crime and theoretical perspective implied in the study. The next seven chapters explored the causal relation between the offenders and different social bonds. The last two chapters were the summary and recommendations of the study. The whole report was developed around the theme of social causes of youth crimes.

Focusing on the ideational aspect of the text, we found the constructed causalities between delinquency and social bonds.[1] In the report, the narrator attempted to construct a link between the offenders and family bonds. This is illustrated in the following two paragraphs.

> '…it is found that the offenders were more likely than non-offenders to come form broken homes where one parent died, being deserted or divorced. The relationships between their parents were also reported to be less favourable. Significantly more parents of the offenders were reported not living together regularly. The offenders, in general, had less favourable and consistent relationship with their family members than had the non-offenders. They communicated less freely with their parents and were less inclined to consult their parents when they were faced with various problems…more mothers of the offenders were working and they appeared to provide relatively less supervision for the offenders…we find that fathers of offenders were more inclined to use physical punishment. Consequent to this method, offenders were more likely than

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[1] The term 'cause' in the report was used in broad sense. The report defined the term that '[a]ny factor which may increase the probability of the occurrence of delinquent behaviour is considered a cause'. (Ng 1975:7) So the term 'causality' and 'cause' applied in the analysis of the report would also be used in this broad sense.

non-offenders to have negative attitudes towards parental control." (Ng 1975:139)

"It is assumed that one who has tighter bond with his family and his peers will be controlled more by his significant others. In such a case whether or not one commits a crime depends on how the family or peer groups to which the person belongs observe the societal values and norms…in the case of family bond, there are indications of weaker bond between the offenders and their families. Most of them were reported to come from families without parental integrity, with unfavourable parent-child relationship…so the weaker the family control over the young, the more likely they are to become delinquent. However…family condition…could…be considered a long term factor to the cause of crime.' (Ibid:144)

The first paragraph revealed that the offenders were likely produced by three factors, including parental problems, parent-child relationship and poor methods of supervision. It was expressed that the offenders more likely came from families without parental integrity, such as single parent families and families with bad parental relationship. Besides, bad parent-child relationships led to communication problems that would result in committing offence. Insufficient supervision for youth and improper forms of children care was also treated as the factors leading to offence. These factors were associated with family failure in keeping parental bonds and control. The second citation illustrated how academics conceptualized the causality between delinquency and family bonds. Given that tight family bonds could be maintained and operated, the parents, as young people's significant others, would have more control on young people in the respect of the youths' values and norms. The offenders, more likely than non-offenders, came from the families that did not have tight parental bonds attaching their children.

The constructed causality implied three subject positions of the youth. First, the youths were family members who were bonded and moulded by family control mechanism. No matter offenders or non-offenders, the youths were regarded as

the social consequence of family bonds through which youngsters were affected and controlled by 'their significant others' and where they acquired societal values and norms. Second, the youths were vulnerable to the delinquency tendency. The texts expressed that the 'weaker bonds' between the youths and their families would produce offenders. This implied that the youths were vulnerable to the bad influences that would drive them to be offenders and so they needed control from their families. Third, the normal youths were constructed as potential offenders. The texts implied that tighter bond of family was necessary for preventing offenders. The youths were regarded as individuals who either were already offenders or had a tendency of becoming offenders.

There are also two constructed subject positions for parents in the texts. First, parents were regarded as a significant guidance of youth. The second paragraph recorded that most offenders were reported to have come from 'families without parental integrity and unfavourable parent-child relationship'. Parents were in a key position to determine the efficacy of the family bond. If the parents improved the parental relationship or parent-child relationship, they could tighten the family bond and so could prevent offence. Second, parents were deemed as incompetent nurturers who could not maintain the tight family bond. It was implied that the families of offenders were incapable to maintain and operate the family bond on their youth. They not only had difficulties in intra-parental relationship, but also were incapable to offer adequate parental care and attention to the children. Some fathers even used physical punishment that turned the youths to offenders.

The subject positions of the parents and voluntary agencies were further discussed in the chapter of recommendations.

> 'As family condition may become one of the long term causative
> factors of delinquency, we suggest that apart from providing
> remedial services to needy families, the family service agencies

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should consider the provision of knowledge on family life education to parents so that they may better understand the needs of their children. Also by so doing, parents may acquire more knowledge and skill in supervising their children.' (Ibid:149)

The text further elaborated the subject position of the incompetent nurturers, with more focus on the parents who lacked knowledge and skill in supervising their children. The recommendation was that family service agencies should educate the parents who in turn could 'better understand the needs of their children and 'acquire more knowledge and skill in supervising their children'. The recommendation from the text implied that parents in general did not know what their children need and what skill should be applied in youth supervising. Also, the test constructed parents as a potential executive arm of youth supervision in families. Although the general parents did not acquire the knowledge and skill of youth supervision, it was possible that the parents could become significant and effective people who could prevent children from committing offence with the help of family life education. Apparently, voluntary agencies were constructed as a knowledge authority and educator. It was suggested in the text that 'the family service agencies should consider the provision of knowledge on family life education to parents' for better understanding of 'the needs of their children'. In other words, the voluntary agencies had significant knowledge about the real need of the youngsters and the skills of supervision that the parents were ignorant of. In the report, the narrator bridged the relation between delinquency and school bond:

'The parents of the offenders' group valued education less and provided inadequate supervision for their children: the offenders themselves seemed less motivated to study because they had had less favourable relationship with schoolmates, performed rather poorly in class, had lower self-images and gained little satisfaction from school life. All these factors contributed to their dropping out of school. As a result of this, it seems to be rather unlikely that they would internalize the societal values transmitted to them through school. As judged from the data

gathered, <u>the bond between school and the offenders was relatively weak. Once they were out of school, they were more strongly motivated towards adventure endeavours, in the larger society</u>.   These youngsters admired "the brave" and those who are "willing to venture".   Nearly half of them found school "dull and uninteresting" or "not worth mentioning".   The need for adventure may lead to delinquent acts.' (Ibid:70, original underline)

The text offered an articulation of the causality between offenders and school bonds.   The relation could be explained with a few stages.   First, the weak bond of the school led to youth dropouts.   Second, the dropouts were likely engaged in 'adventure endeavours' outside schools.   Third, these adventure endeavours would lead to delinquency, and so the weak bond of the schools would likely cause offence.

The constructed causality created three subject positions for the youths.   First, it constructed the youths as potential offenders.   It was implied that they could be prevented from becoming offenders through strong school bonds.   Second, it was constructed that youths were immature individuals moulded by the school control mechanism.   In the text, it was expressed that the dropouts and maladjusted students unlikely received 'societal values transmitted to them through schools', so the bonds and school control were weak.   The youths were supposed to receive social control in the form of internalized values and norms.   Third, the detached youths were deemed as maladjusted individuals in schools.   It was believed that the dropouts were caused by personal difficulties in their adjustment to school life. They probably had 'less favourable relationship' with their schoolmates, poor performance in class, 'low self-images' and 'little satisfaction from school life'.

The causality also constructed two subject positions for schools.   Schools were treated as both a responsible and incompetent institution in achieving youth engagement in education system and in transmitting social norms to youths.   On

the one hand, schools were expected to act as a responsible institution that kept the youths in the education system for receiving societal values.   On the other hand, schools were treated as an incapable institution that failed to motivate the youths in school to participate in activities.   On the contrary, schools even made them frustrated.   In short, schools were incompetent to keep strong bond on the youths.

The report constructed the subject of the narrator and its relation with the youth in the chapter of introduction:

> 'However sound the foregoing view-points may be, there has not been any solid empirical finding to support them.   It is also rather unfortunate that very few studies on crime have been done in Hong Kong.   The earliest one we can cite is an exploratory study on juvenile delinquency in Hong Kong…in 1966…However, the author warned that there might be quite a number of methodological short-comings in that study…1) The specific group of students did not match the offenders in many ways.   Thus, one could not explain why a large population of youngsters with similar…background…did not commit crime; 2) there were great differences in ages between the offenders and the students…; 3) as the information regarding the offenders was provided by case-records only, the subjectivity of the recorders might bias the information obtained.   For these reasons, the reliability of the findings of that study is in question despite its being a valuable study on delinquency itself.' (Ibid:2-3)

The narrator was constructed as a knowledge authority, a social scientist that acquired knowledge and methods to find out the truth and laws behind social phenomena.   The authority image was built up by employing a lot of expert terms, for example 'solid empirical finding', 'methodological short-comings', 'subjectivity' and 'reliability of the findings', which came from and for the in-group of scientific discipline.   The subjects of knowledge authority and social scientists were further built up in the comments on previous studies.   This subject construction was achieved through two parts.   First, the narrator presupposed that truth and laws existed but were hidden behind the empirical world.   The text criticized 'the foregoing view-points' of lacking support of 'solid empirical finding'.

This implied that the claims should be supported by empirical evidence.   Second, social scientists and scholars were able to find out empirical evidence.   It was pointed out that the failure in the previous studies were the result of employing inadequate methodology in sampling and problematic selection of information sources.   Through critiques, the narrator constructed an adequate social scientist and knowledge authority in the field of social science.   In addition, the youths were constructed as the 'object' of scientific studies and the narrator was treated as an authority of youth study.

Besides, the report constructed two subject positions for the government in the following paragraph:

> 'The Government, being very much concerned with the rising crime rate in Hong Kong, set up a sub-committee on social causes of crime in March 1973 to identify the root causes of crime and to recommend ways of reducing them. While surveying the relevant statistics and local research on crime and gathering opinions from the public, the sub-committee felt that a large scale research project would be most useful in studying the contributing factors of crime.   The Social Research Centre of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, therefore, was commissioned in early crimes committed by juvenile offenders in Hong Kong.   In this report, we shall present some of the major findings of that study and shall also make various recommendations.' (Ibid:3)

The government was given two images.   First, the government was the defender of law and order to fight against juvenile crimes.   It was clearly expressed that there was a rising juvenile crime rate in the early 1970s and the establishment of a sub-committee to 'identify the root causes of crime and to recommend ways to reducing them' showed the determination of the government in fighting crimes.   Second, the government was the policy maker who needed scientific finding and recommendations to work out adequate crime-fighting measures.   The sub-committee recognized its inability in identifying the root causes of crime and incapability to make any recommendation after reviewing

relevant statistics, consulting local research and public opinions. This made the sub-committee seek help from the academic institutions.

b) Structural discourse

We now turn to examine the structural discourse. A text is chosen for analyzing the subject formation in the structural discourse. The text was a position paper on youth crime and violence, titled Criminals are Made not Born, finished by a working group of the Hong Kong Council of Social Service and the Hong Kong Social Workers' Association.

The textual aspect of the text created the theme of social causes of youth crimes. The theme was created through the cohesion of the paper, which divided into four sections. The first section was an introduction that reviewed other opinions towards youth crimes. The second section was structural analysis, which divided into the society into three systems, namely economic, cultural and political systems. This part bridged the relation between different social systems and youth crimes. The last two sections were the conclusion and recommendation based on the analysis in the second section.

Regarding the ideational aspect of the text, we found three constructed causalities between youth crime and the economic, cultural, and political structures. These three structures were interrelated to each other. However, as argued in the text, Hong Kong was distorted as an unbalanced society in which 'economic values and financial considerations dominate the thinking and working of all systems and subsystems'. The 'economic values and financial considerations' developed from the economic structure overwhelmed the cultural and political structures (Working Group on Crime and Violence 1973:2).

The Hong Kong economic structure was treated as one of the root cause of youth crime. Two paragraphs were quoted from the part of 'Economic System' in the analytical section of the paper for showing the causality.

> 'The high value which Hong Kong places upon money makes the accumulation of as much wealth, as quickly as possible, the personal goal of most people…generally the erratic behaviour of the market created an illusion of easy riches. The equitable distribution of wealth in Hong Kong is handicapped by the uniformly low taxation (15% maximum on declared income) but the skilful evasion of tax by higher income groups is common knowledge. It adversely affects social development and the welfare of the common people. On the other hand, advertising and selling pressures have created an unprecedented hunger for non-essential goods and entertainment services. Faced with all kinds of temptations in the shop windows and sexual stimulation in the mass media, some of our young people will risk any crime to achieve material or sensual gratification because they learnt that the end justifies the means. Since the end of all "business deals" is to make money, does it matter how is it conducted?" (Ibid:2-3)
> "Even for those (youth) who are gainfully employed, they are pressed by the sharp rise in the cost of living. Coupled with this is the unequal distribution of the fruits of our economic boom; proportionately, a few benefit much more than the mass of the population…Their frustration arises out of the limitations of the work situation: long hours at low pay in a routine unsatisfying job. Such injustices could lead workers to give up their jobs or reject employment altogether and strike out against society.' (Ibid:4)

We noticed in the two paragraphs the causality between youth crime and economic structure. The causal relation was further explained by two factors. The first factor was the materialistic social goal. The economic structure promoted a social goal of 'accumulation of as much wealth' and thereby aroused materialistic temptations and undermined the morality of youth. The second factor was uneven distribution of income. The economic structure did not offer an effective means, such as progressive taxation and fair employment relation, to redistribute the wealth or income of the society and so the youths could not share 'the fruits of our economic boom'. These two factors drove the youth to adopt

alternative means to make money for achieving the social goal of wealth accumulation.

Such causality created two subject positions for the youths. First, the youths were created as victims of economic structural forces. On the one hand, the youths were vulnerable to the materialistic social goal. On the other hand, they suffered from uneven distribution of wealth inherent in the economic structure. The youths were in a passive position with respect to goal formation and goal achievement. Second, the problematic youths were constructed as a natural consequence of the problematic economic structure. On the one hand, the youths were moulded as materialistic people and conformed to the materialistic social goal. On the other hand, the economic structure created injustice since it did not allow the youth to share 'the fruits of economic boom' and left them suffered from 'the sharp rise in the cost of living'. The youths were therefore frustrated by the economic structure and turned to commit crime to achieve the goal.

Focusing on the interpersonal aspect constructed in the text, we found the relation among the narrator, government and youth located in a specific web.   The narrator was constructed as a critic and analyzer of social values and government policy.   The narrator criticized the problematic social goal which created material and sexual temptations to youth and corrupted them.   It was further pointed out that social policies were in the interest of the rich and so failed to redistribute income and wealth from the rich to the poor.   The government was the target of attack.   As argued in the text, 'equitable distribution of wealth…is handicapped by the uniformly low taxation…It adversely affects social development and the welfare of the common people'.   The verb 'handicapped' implied that the tax policy of government did not competently achieve 'equitable distribution of wealth'.   As a result, the welfare of common people was affected.   There was an

implicit argument that the government failed to take the responsibility of forming a just social policy.   Then, the youths were regarded as victims of problem social goals and the handicapped government policy; they suffered from the materialistic social goal, which corrupted their morality, and also from the government policy which favoured the rich.

The second structure was the cultural structure, which was elaborated in the part of 'The Cultural System' in the analytical section of the paper.

> 'With traditional philosophy forgotten and Christian teaching ignored, ours is a society without a norm.   In fact, the common ethical value is "everything for money" which has created a situation where poverty is despised but not prostitution…Due to the rapid social change which have taken place in the past generation, many families have been under severe stress.   The extended family has been giving way to the nuclear family…The authority of the father and respect for the elders have been eroded. Parents are no longer so certain about the directions which they should give to their children…parents are less able to give proper guidance and supervision to their children…Supporting community services have not been sufficiently developed yet to help families undergoing such changes…the inadequacies of our present educational system due to the pressures of examinations, the intense competitiveness…education in Hong Kong is like a vast factory for mass production with inadequate preparation for life experiences, such as work and marriage.   The human quality is lost; the focus is not on the development of the individual as a unique person…Children with problems in the classroom and dropouts from the system are not followed up…Children with problems can usually be detected at an early age in primary school; preventing programmes should begin there and specially trained counselors and career masters must be available in primary, secondary and vocational training school.' (Working Group on Crime and Violence 1973:4-5)

We could find an explanation about the causal relation between the cultural system and the domination of the social goal that corrupted the morality of youths and drove them to be delinquent.   It could be divided into two parts, the decline of morality and the failure of the family and school system.   It was clearly expressed in the text that morality was undermined.   The traditional philosophy and

Christian teaching declined while the social goal of "everything for money" dominated. Hong Kong society became 'a society without a norm'. However, the family and school system, as an important institution for maintaining and infusing morality, failed to upkeep their functions. The family system was greatly influenced by the rapid change of modernization , which made the parents no longer able to 'give proper guidance and supervision to their children'. At the same time, schools were run as a factory, unable to take care of the development and personal need of the youths. Youth dropout from school became the problematic youths. Schools did not take up the mission of transiting values and guidance. On the one hand, materialistic social goals were dominant. On the other hand, family and school system failed to uphold morality. It was the cultural system maintaining materialistic social goals, resulting in the corruption of youths' morality.

Turning to the interpersonal aspect constructed in the text, we focused on the relation among the narrator, schools, families and the youths. The narrator remained the critic of school and family system, pointing out that the cultural system was dominated by social value as "everything for money". The society became normless. The mal-functioning of the family and school system was the reason for the emergence of the problematic youths. After pointing out the problem and the inefficacy of existing institutions, the narrator then provided solutions, such as strengthening supporting community services for parents and providing counseling and career services for the students. Families were constructed as an inefficacious but responsible institution that failed to provide guidance and supervision to the youths. It was believed that the impacts of modernization retarded the families from taking up the role of supervising the youths. The parents found it difficult to adapt to the modern life and so were in

need of help from social welfare services. Schools were deemed as an incompetent responsible institution to maintain youth engagement in education system and to transmit social norms to the youths. Students were overwhelmed by examinations and became living in factories in which they were dehumanized. The youths were then the victims. They became a vulnerable group to the dominant materialistic social goal.

The third structure was the political structure, which was elaborated in the part of 'The Political System (Public Affairs)' in the analytical section of the paper. The political structure referred to the public affairs agencies, including police, fire service and social security.

> 'Hong Kong Government's plans and decisions…giving the impression that Hong Kong exists not for the benefit of its people but for the Government to accumulate a reserve in London…Efforts to create a sense of belonging and responsibility have not been particularly fruitful. The principle of governing with the consent of the governed is ignored…If making money is a way of life in Hong Kong, corruption is also part of that way. Every aspect of life, both within Government circles and outside, is affected by it…The public tends to believe that a uniform is the symbol of power and corruption. No public relations effort can change the blackened image of our Police until and unless an independent and thorough investigation is completed to reveal the connection between gambling, prostitution, drugs and other vices…In a similar manner, senior Fire Service Officers have been linked with the extortion racket. As young children and teenagers are growing up, they are well aware of these practices and the way in which they are condoned or accepted as Hong Kong's way of life…They (most families) are regularly spending close to their total income; the income from more than one member is necessary in order to make ends meet. For destitute families, the Public Assistance Scheme provides minimum necessities…But, the overall effect of our economic system is a feeling of basic insecurity for the masses…Under all the aforesaid circumstances, when a large number of our young people are feeling insecure and frustrated but hold the law in contempt, there are two extreme courses open to them. One is to abuse drugs to forget the whole thing or to drop out from the "rat race"; the other is to go out and grab what one wants by violent or devious means.' (Working Group on Crime and Violence 1973:6)

Following our analytical structure, we focused on the causality between youth crime and political structure.   In the text, youth crime and government planning, corruption and social security were linked up.   It was said that the public regarded governing planning as a means to accumulate reserve for its mother country rather than for the benefits of the community.   This inhibited the growth of a sense of belonging and responsibility.   It seemed that the political structure was driven by the pursuit of 'making money'.   Corruption became the manifestation of this underlying political doctrine.   This forced the youths to condone and accept corruption as part of their life and felt frustrated.

As for the social security system, only 'minimum necessities' for 'destitute families' were provided.   In face of this, the youths had the sense of insecurity and frustration. The lack of sense of belonging and responsibility pushed the youths to take the way of delinquency.   They either took 'drugs to forget the whole thing' or accepted 'violent and devious means' as legitimate ways to grab what they wanted. In short, government planning, corruption and the insufficiency of social security made the youths lack the sense of belonging and responsibility and feel insecure and frustrated toward the society.   This feeling finally drove the youth to the way of delinquent.

The interpersonal relationship constructed in the text gave us a very specific picture about the role of the government.   The narrator was a critic of political system, somewhat critical of the motivation of government planning that was seen as working for the accumulation of reserve that would be sent back to Britain rather than for the benefits of the community.   The narrator also showed disappointment with the problem of corruption.   In the narrator's view, the colonial government failed to protect destitute families but allowed corruption to prevail among the civil

servants. The government was constructed as greedy, corrupted and irresponsible whereas youth were treated as victims of the political structural who were powerless to change the greedy, corrupted and irresponsible government.

The two sets of subjects constructed by the system failure and structural discourses are listed in the following table.

Table 6.2 System failure and structural discourses on construction of subjects.

	System failure discourse	*Structural discourse*
Normal youth	- Socio-psychological subject - Bonded and moulded by control mechanism - Potential offender - Vulnerable to their delinquent tendency - Scientific subject of study	- Social subject - Victims of structural forces - Vulnerable group motivated by materialistic social goal - Victims of uneven distribution of income - Dehumanized school factory product
Problem youths	- Socio-psychological subject - Not bonded and moulded by control mechanism - Offender or potential offender - Threat of social order - Vulnerable to their delinquent tendency - Maladjusted individual in school - Scientific subject of study	- Social subject - Victims of structural forces - Vulnerable group motivated by materialistic social goal - Victims of uneven distribution of income - Delinquent as natural consequence of abnormal social structure - Consequence of social problems - Dehumanized school factory product
Government	- Defender of law and order - Youth policy marker who need the help of scientific finding and recommendations	- Irresponsible and failing enforcer of just social structure e.g. equitable economic distribution - Corrupted institution - Wealth accumulator for its mother land
Voluntary agencies	- Knowledge authority and educator in the problem of youth supervising	- Critic and analyzer of social structure and government policy
Parents	- Significant guidance of youth - Incompetent nurturer lack of knowledge and skill - Problematic tradition parental authority - Potential executive arm of youth governing in the family	- Inefficacious responsible institution failed to transmit guidance and supervision to their youth - In need of help from social welfare services
School	- Incompetent responsible institution for keeping youth engagement in education system and for transmitting social norms to youth	- Incompetent responsible institution for keeping youth engagement in education system and for transmitting social norms to youth
Sociologists	- Knowledge authority and social scientist who acquire knowledge and method for finding out the truth and laws behind social phenomenon without bias - Adequate scholar	- Nil

Different discourses and different sets of subject position were not simply coexisted. They were in a relation of contest and struggle which determine the form of youth governing. The next section would discuss the power relation between the discourses.

Social practice

This section would see how new form of youth governing was established. We focus on the power relation between the system failure and structural discourses, and the struggles between these two discourses and other discourses which existed in the pervious period.

The boom of system failure discourse appeared in the early 1970s when youth crime was seen as a great problem to the society. The system failure discourse was widely accepted by the people from the universities, The Law Society of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Bar Association, Kowloon Chamber of Commerce, Hong Kong Council of Social Service, Hong Kong Federation of Students, police and various government departments, and so on. (Research Sub-Committee, Neighbourhood Advice Council 1973; Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime 1973; Committee on Education 1975). It then took a dominant discursive position in the youth policy in the late 1970s with the support of local scientific studies. The structural discourse emerged in the early 1970s however only existed within the social work field.

This section would divide into four parts. The first part would reveal the power relation between the system failure and structural discourses and other discourses that existed in the pervious period. The second part would analyze the relations between the system failure and structural discourses. The third part would review process of discursive change in structural contradiction and

institutional level.   The forth part would discuss how the development of youth discourses and the absence of discussion about the boom of student movements that affected the development of youth policy.

a) Absorption, integration and exclusion of previous discourses

The subject formation of youth implied the form of youth governing.   However, particular kind of youth subject was not simply constructed by a particular kind of discourse.   It involved a process of re-articulation, transformation and exclusion of pervious discourses.   The subject constructed by the engagement and socialization discourses were compacted by various elements that borrowed from previous discourses and knowledge.

The boom of system failure discourse was raised at the early of 1970s, while youth crime were treated as a great problem to the society.   The system failure discourse emphasized that constructed the youths as social individuals who were experiencing a stage of development and was socialized by the school and family system.   It was believed that if school and family failed to keep the engagement, youth would be affected by other influences outside school and family and so would likely become delinquents.   This version of youth subject had a great change and was equipped with scientific knowledge in the influential academic study report, Social Causes of Violent Crimes among Young Offenders in Hong Kong, which affected the development of 'personal social work' in the late 1970s.

The popularity of the system failure discourse was enhanced by the introduction of the social control theory from the sociologists.   This perspective constructed the youth as a socio-psychological subject who was bonded by different control mechanisms.   The social control theory emphasized that people became deviants when they were relatively free from intimate attachment,

aspirations and moral belief and were no longer bonded by control mechanisms. This plot of social control theory was quite similar to the plot of system failure discourse in three aspects. First, in the social control theory, the youths were located in a passive position, who needed to be bonded and controlled by various control mechanisms. Similarly, the system failure discourse treated the youths as immature individuals who needed to be socialized and engaged in the family and school system. Theorists of social control theory also regarded weak bonds as the cause of problematic youths. This causality was compatible with the suggestion by the system failure discourse.

The adoption of social control theory transformed the system failure discourse to a scientific discourse. The claims made in the discourse turned out to be scientific findings with the support of empirical evidence. Such integration was also the result of a political process in which pervious discourses were excluded.

In the theorized system failure discourse, there were the concept of engagement, youth as a socio-psychological subject, and the necessity of bonding with the family and school system. All these concepts were adopted by the engagement discourse. In the engagement discourse, the concept of engagement was based on the supposition that the youths were bio-psychological subjects who inherently needed proper engagement in leisure time. However, in the system failure discourse the assumption of bio-psychological inherent needs was modified and the significance of leisure time engagement was no longer for meeting inherent needs but for establishing social relation, not killing time.

Again, we noticed the use of the concept of socialization in socialization discourse. The detached youths were seen as a socio-psychological subject and vulnerable to the unhealthy environment influence in the public space. However,

the system failure discourse rejected the limited focus on the detached youth and the unhealthy environment influence in the public space. Instead, it focused on the general youth and emphasized the efficacy of socialization in family and school system, besides the concern of triad influence in the public space. The narrow concern of detached youth and the unhealthy environment influence in the public space was so excluded.

There was an application of the binary of social bond in the system failure discourse. The system failure discourse believed that the youths had a tendency of becoming delinquents, especially when they were free from social control mechanisms. So the youths were either delinquents or potential delinquents. Clearly, this discourse adopted some elements from other discourses.[2]

The structural discourse transformed the pervious discourses and knowledge and restructured them to generate a social subject of youth. This social subject had three important elements that were snatched from four other sources, including functionalist theory put forward by sociologist Robert Merton (1938), the moral discourse, the poverty discourse and the engagement discourse.[3]

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[2] The youths were constructed as a socio-psychological subject who had three important elements which were snatched from three other knowledge and discourse. In other words, the system failure discourse transformed the prior knowledge and other discourses, and also restructured them to generate its subject of youth. The first element was social control theory, which constructed youth as socio-psychological subject who was bonded and moulded by different control mechanisms such as social bond and relation. So the strength of the social bond was correlated to delinquency. The second element came from previous texts of system failure discourse which emphasized that the malfunction of school and family systems was the root of delinquency. The third element was drawn from the socialization discourse, which constructed the youth as a socio-psychological subject. The youths were experiencing a process of socialization in which they learnt the social norm form their living environment. The behaviour pattern and values were the consequence of socialization.

[3] The functionalist theory of Merton, constructed the youth as social subject who lived with structural constraints, produced by the value system and social structure of the society (1938). The value system created legitimate goals of success, for example accumulation of wealth, and motivated its members to strive for these goals. However, the social structure did not necessarily provided adequate institutionalized means, for example educational qualifications, for all the members of society to reach the cultural goals. This meant that, for some people, path to success was structurally blocked. These people would feel strain, stress and frustrations and would be pushed to find alternative ways, which might seem illegitimate and illegal, to overcome their difficulty. Merton illustrated how delinquency was created by the mal-integration of cultural goals and institutional means. The structural discourse borrowed the framework of value system and social structure and its explanation of the cause of delinquency. However, it put less emphasis on the problem of mal-integration of cultural goals and institutional means. Instead, it emphasized that the materialistic cultural goal itself led to problem of morality and emphasized that the social structure failed to resolved the problem of uneven distribution of income (rather than the problem of inadequate means for upward mobility). Merton's theory created a tool of structural analysis for the structural discourse (see also Cloward and Ohlin 1988.)

The absorption of the elements of pervious discourses into structural discourse was also a process of appropriation and distortion, in which core elements of pervious discourses were excluded (Fairclough 1992).

The structural discourse accepted the concept of moral decay form the moral discourse and, at the same time, it excluded the main concept of moral discourse that moral decay was caused by the alienation and distortion of traditional virtue and reinforced by the decayed youths. Structural discourse believed that moral decay were the consequence of problematic cultural structure. The alienation and distortion of traditional virtue and the decayed individuals were also treated as part of the consequence of problematic cultural structure. The cause of moral decay was changed by the structural discourse. This implied that the problem youths were no longer simply treated as corrupted subjects, but corrupted subjects who were moulded by the force of problem cultural structure.

The structural discourse accepted the concept of vulnerable victim of economic environment. However, an important concept of poverty discourse, which was associated to this concept of vulnerable victim, was excluded by the structural discourse. The concept was that the meaning of vulnerable victim was referred to the problem of survival and the threat of poverty. The vulnerable victims of economic environment were referred to the deprived children who were underweight and lack of nutrition, struggled with poverty and forced to earn a living in the street. The structural discourse excluded the concern of survival and

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The second element came from the moral discourse, which believed that delinquency was caused by moral decay and alienation from traditional virtue. The structural discourse borrowed the concept of moral decay and integrated it into its structural analysis that moral decay were caused by the value system of society, which corrupted the morality of youth and motivated them to strive for the materialistic social goal. Moral decay became the consequence of problem social structure and integrated with the Merton's structural framework.

The third element came from the poverty discourse, which constructed the youths as vulnerable victims of the economic environment. The structural discourse borrowed the concept of vulnerable victim and integrated it into its structural analysis that youth were vulnerable victims of social structure that, on the one hand, provided inadequate means for the youths to share the economic prosperity and, on the other hand, failed to resolved the problem of uneven distribution of income. The concept of vulnerable victim were integrated into the structural framework of Merton.

poverty, and shifted the concept of vulnerable victims of economic environment to refer to the problem of inadequate means to share the economic prosperity and uneven distribution of income. This shift implied that the youths were no longer poor children who needed to be sympathized with, but the vulnerable victims of unjust social structure. Clearly, as Fairclough (1992) argued, such a change was associated with the conjuncture. When Hong Kong became an affluent society in the 1970s, regarding juveniles as the victims or products of poverty was less convincing then treating them as the products of economic prosperity. In the 1970s, the narrator found the reasons for juveniles from an affluent social structure. As long as poverty no longer prevailed, the narrator explained juveniles by making reference to problematic social structure.

b) Double relations of system failure and structural discourses

The system failure and structural discourses did not simply co-exist. They were in a relation of contest and struggle for winning dominant position in the youth policy. At the same time, these discourses shared certain common beliefs, which excluded political and ideological discussions of youth, especially those closely associated with the boom of student movement, outside the youth policy. Besides the contesting relation, there was an allied relation existed between the discourses. Hence, there were two relations. One was the contest and struggle within youth policy. Another was an exclusion of political and ideological discussions outside the youth policy.

The system failure and structural discourses were involved in a power relation. The boom of system failure discourse was raised at the early of 1970s, while youth crime were treated as a great problem to the society. The system failure discourse was widely accepted (Research Sub-Committee, Neighbourhood Advice Council

1973; Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime 1973; Committee on Education 1975). We can say that it took a dominant position in the youth policy in the late 1970s. The structural discourse also emerged at the early 1970s but only prevailed within the social work field. But this was the consequence of a struggle in the form of youth governing of the youth policy.

The structural discourse participated the heated debate about juvenile crime that was dominated by the system failure discourse and intended to influence the youth policy through publishing a position paper about youth criminals. The structural discourse distinguished itself from system failure discourse through adopting the Merton's theory as its analytical framework of delinquency study. This framework focused on the structural influence of social structure and value system that constrained and determined the social development of the youth on the structure level. This implied that the youths were vulnerable victims of structural forces and normality of the youths was pre-determined on the structural level. The adoption of Merton's theory made the structural discourse different from the system failure discourse. The former focused on the macro-structure of social structure and value system, while the latter focused on the meso-structure of family and school system. The difference in terms of the level of analysis distinguished structural discourse from the system failure discourse.[4]

The structural discourse took two tactics in the struggle. First, it distinguished itself from system failure discourse by the adoption of the theory

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[4]The structural discourse tried to bridge the relation between the macro-structure of society and the problem of system failure for keeping up with the on-going discussion of system failure. The structural discourse divided the society into three systems, including economic, cultural and political systems. These three systems took up the function of social structure and value system. The problem of system failure was located as part of the problem of cultural system which failed to prevent the growth of materialistic social goal and maintain the 'traditional philosophy' and 'Christian teaching'. The failure of family and school systems was the failure to transmit morality and good social norms to the youth. In the structural discourse, the failure of family and school systems was one of the causes of the failure of value system, but not the cause of the youth delinquency. Youth delinquency was determined in macro-level of society, such as the failure of social structure and value system, but not at the micro-level of social systems.

suggested by Merton. Second, it developed the relation between the macro-structure of society and the problem of meso-level system failure. These discursive tactics helped the structural discourse participate the heated debate about youth delinquency that was dominated by the system failure discourse.

It should be noted that the system failure and structural discourses were, at the same time, in an allying relation for they shared certain core beliefs, which greatly influenced the development of the youth policy. These views on youth problems have five features. First, youths were closely associated with criminal problems. Second, youth problems were caused by the problems of mal-engagement and mal-socialization. Third, these mal-engagement and mal-socialization were closely related to the failure of family and school systems. Fourth, the roots of delinquency could be discovered through scientific analysis. Fifth, adequate school and welfare services could prevent delinquency in the long run.

The system failure and structural discourses adopted the concept of engagement and socialization and so focused on the discussions on youth delinquency. They did not react to the political and ideological discussions of the student movements. The youth policy remained developed within the boundary of social domain in the sense that it was regarded as social in nature, having nothing to do with any political mobilization and development. This certainly delimited any discussion about the political mobilization and participation of the youths into a small domain. We argue that this was an indirect means to depoliticize the youth problems. Identifying youth problems as social problems, the youths were thus constructed as (potential) delinquents. The implication of this development of youth policy would be further discussed in the fourth part of this section.

c) Social events and change of dominate discourse

The dominative discourse of youth policy was changed from engagement discourse to system failure discourse. Discursive change had its social condition in structural contradiction and struggle at the institutional and societal level.

The structural contradiction emerged in the social events of the increase of serious crime that involved male youths since the late 1960s.[5] Since 1968, the number of serious crimes significantly increased. For instance, the total number of male criminal prosecuted for violent crime persistently increased from 1,000 in 1968 to 5,800 in 1972. The proportion of the male youth criminals, aged from 12 to 20, increased from 39 per cent to 50 per cent of the total number of the male criminals. The proportion of the elder male youth criminals, aged from 16 to 20, increased from 29 per cent to 37 per cent (Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime 1973:14). Youth criminals were divided into two categories, juvenile, aged below 17, and young person, between 17 and 20. People falling into both categories were increasingly involved in serious crimes. Serious juvenile crimes, for example robbery and theft, persistently increased and reached its highest number in 1974/75. However, the number of serious juvenile crimes was far less than the crime committed by young persons. In 1974/75, 5441 young persons were prosecuted for serious crimes, while 1714 juveniles were prosecuted. The number of young people involved in serious crimes was three times of juveniles (Lee 1977:105). In the Hong Kong Annual Report it was recorded that '[a]t present the main crime problem concerning young people continues to be within the 16 to 21 years age group' (HKG 1974:109). One of the main problems of these young persons, between 16 and 21, was their association to quasi-triad youth

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[5] Serious crime was referred to offences against lawful authority, against public morality, against the person, against property and serious narcotic offence. (Lee 1977:101)

gangs. These gangs pose problems to law and order and many triad offenders were usually convicted of other crimes (HKG 1973:112).[6]

The emergence of youth crimes created a structural contradiction. Obviously, the rapid expansion of social and recreational services in the late 1960s and early 1970s could not stop the increase in serious crimes. And the theory of engagement discourse could not help to give a clear idea about the causes and solutions for this criminal problem. Official and public discussions shifted to paying a lot of attention on the problems of the increasing serious crime and problematized the conventional belief that the youth problem was the problem of malmanagement of youth energy and the absence of engagement opportunities. The youth was no longer a bio-psychological subject who would participate destructive activities because of boredom and fun seeking. New discourse was needed to explain the persistent serious criminal behaviour of the youth for making new forms of youth governing.

To deal with the new youth problem, a committee, named Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime, was appointed by the government to find out the root of youth crime and produce recommendations for prevention in 1973 (Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime 1973:1). After considering academic reports, statistic materials, newspaper record and public opinion, the Committee made six influential conclusions that affected the studies of the system failure discourse and structural discourse. First, the committee recognized that male youth was the main source of violent crimes, especially those who had little education and came from working class family. This limited the theme of the following discussion of crime on the low educated and working class youth. The

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[6] Lui argued that the increase of crime record in early 1970s was artificial consequence of the increase of police control on youth activites and the effect of the Fight Violent Crime Campaign organized by the government, in stead of the 'real' increase of the youth crime. (Lui 1994:55-60)

influential report of Social Causes of Violent Crimes Among Young Offenders in Hong Kong, conducted by Ng, was therefore limited its target on male youths. Second, the committee accepted that causes of youth crime were multi-factorial. No single factor could sufficiently create delinquency. Delinquency was caused by various interrelated factors. This broke the domination of the conventional belief that delinquency was caused by the mal-engagement and created a space for the intervention of new discourse. On the other hand, the concept of multi-factors was widely adopted by ensued research and discussion of youth crimes. Third, the failure of family and school systems was recognized as the main cause of youth crime. This allowed the system failure discourse take a dominant position in latter studies and discussions. Fourth, the problem of corruption was treated as one of the factors of crime. This opened a possibility that youth crime came from institutional structure of the government and created a room for the critique of structural discourse. Fifth, the adequacy of school and welfare services could prevent delinquency in the long run. This opened up the possibility of establishing personal social work. Sixth, the roots of delinquency could be found through statistic and scientific interview. The belief on science determined that the formation of youth policy should base on scientific evidence or statistical analysis (Ibid:3-5, 10-12). The concept of male youths as main source of crime, multi-factor, system failure, corruption, adequacy of school and welfare services and the belief of statistic and scientific interview, on the one hand, became the materials that were employed in the later discussion of youth crime and, on the other hand, led the discussion of youth crime. The increase of youth crime, as a social event, successfully problematized the convention and, through the Sub-committee, opened new condition for the invention of new discourse.

Discursive change did not only have its social condition in structural contradiction, but also had its struggle or the institutional and societal level. The following part of this section would show how discursive change occurred in the contest between the government and the social work institutions. The contest unfolded three points. First, a conflict occurred between the government and social work institutions in the formation process of the youth policy. Second, the co-ordination between the departments became close and took an important role in the process of youth policy formation. Third, scientific study became an important element of policy making.[7]

After the occurrence of crime wave in the early 1970s, there was a struggle between the government and the Hong Kong Council of Social Service and Hong Kong Social Workers' Association in the early 1970s which was settled in the late 1970s. This struggle between the government and social work institutions was

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[7] It should be noted that the support of scientific validity became significant in the 1970s. Various papers, articles and speeches about youth crime acquired scientific elements or claimed themselves the result of professional empirical working evidence. Interview and statistic analysis were widely applied to make their argument more scientific. The study paper "The Road to Delinquency", "A Study of the Success and Failure of Ex-training Centre Inmates", "A Study of the Growth and Development of Juvenile Offenders", "Report on Attitudes Towards Crime", "A Study of a Group of Active Juvenile Probationers" were examples which employed various social science theories for supporting their arguments and to claim validity. Besides, numerous journal articles and speeches were also presented with statistics, scientific interview or analysis and urged for further scientific studies to find out the real causes of youth crime. Scientific discourse boomed since the early 1970s.

A white paper, *Social Welfare in Hong Kong*, published in 1973 reflected this scientific change. It recorded that: "While, in the final analysis, decisions on social welfare priorities may be matters of political and social judgment, it is obviously desirable that, so far as possible, such decisions should be based on adequate information about the extent of the need and about the cost and likely effectiveness of any alternative proposals for development. And having established new services, adequate statistical information about them is equally desirable. This form of evaluation has not been sufficiently achieved in the past. It is essential that it is done in order that those involved in social welfare can stand back from their work and see exactly what the results are, and whether the objectives set are in fact being realized…To meet this need, a new unit has been established in the Social Welfare Department with responsibility for research, statistics and evaluation in the social welfare field." (SWD 1973:27-28) The white paper clearly expressed that in the past the statistics and adequate information were not sufficiently used in the process of policy making. This made the welfare policy unable to 'see exactly what the results are, and whether the objectives set are in fact being realized'. The scientific change did not only happen in the conceptual world. The department was equipped with a new unit, which was responsible for research, statistics and evaluation for putting this change into practice.

A social research also recorded this change: "Social research is gaining importance in recent years when society at large, begins to realize that social research can provide solutions, or at least, clues to solutions of the many social problems we are facing to-day. It is used to study the extent by which social service including medical, education and social welfare can meet the need of society. Furthermore it is a useful means of obtaining information on existing services which may form the basis for improvement and for formulation of future plans." (Research and Development Committee 1975:1) The research paper expressed three points. First, social research became important in the early of 1970s. Second, it was believed that social research could help to provide solutions of existed social problems. Third, social research was adopted in the field of social services, including education and social welfare, which were closely related to the formation of youth governing.

also a struggle between the system failure discourse and the structural discourse. The system failure discourse won at the end. The government and social work institutions compromised to accept the system failure discourse and used it to design a new form of youth governing.

To deal with the youth crime wave, an internal committee, named Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime, was appointed by the government in 1973 to find out the root of youth crime and produce recommendations for the government to change existing policy and promote new policy (Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime 1973:1-2). The function of the committee implied that the government was going to make changes on the existing youth policy. However, the membership of the committee was limited for departmental representatives.[8] This made the social work institutions feel dissatisfied (Working Group on Crime and Violence 1973:6; Lee 1973:9-10). A position paper of Hong Kong Council of Social Service and Hong Kong Social Workers' Association recorded that:

> 'The principle of governing with the consent of the governed is ignored. The Committee on Social Causes of Crime is an example of this – how can a Committee which is attempting to deal with something so fundamental as the social causes of crime adequately function without representation from the community?' (Ibid:6)

This exclusion implied that the government was in conflict with the social work institutions in the matter of whether social work institutions should be the policy maker while social work institutions took a main role in the youth services provision and as a policy regulator in the youth policy alliance. The problem of exclusion was not settled. The Hong Kong Council of Social Service was just one of the consulted social institutions and did not take any important role in policy

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[8] The representatives including the members from Chief Secretary's Office, Social Welfare Department, Prisons Department, Education Department, Home Affair Branch, Police Department and Census and Statistics Department.

formation. The Hong Kong Council of Social Service and Hong Kong Social Workers' Association formed a social work alliance to participate in the discussion of youth crime. They adopted a new discourse, structural discourse, as their position and produced a position paper, "Criminals are Made Not Born" for expressing their views, while the system failure discourse was widely adopted by various social groups and the committee. The position paper, on the one hand, adopted some of the conclusions made by the committee and rearticulated them to structural discourse and, on the other hand, it strongly condemned the government. The problem of corruption particularly was emphasized and treated as main cause of youth crime. In the first paragraph of the conclusions of the paper, the government was criticized that:

> 'Of the three major systems and subsystems which we have examined, we see "corruption" as the single factor which permeates them all…It is not surprising that the younger generation growing up under these kinds of influences would tend to believe that the end of making money justifies the means. What is surprising is that so many are still properly socialized and educated to become law abiding and productive citizens of Hong Kong.' (Ibid:7)

Corruption prevailing within the government was treated as main cause of the youth crime. The government and other social institutions did not take this view and therefore the structural discourse did not have any influence on the formation of new form of youth governing, and was excluded by the system failure discourse. The committee could not found out the main causes of youth crime, after considering statistics, local research and public opinion. The committee determined that "a large scale research project would be most useful in studying the contributing factors of crime". The Chinese University was then commissioned to conduct a study of youth crime, named Social Causes of Violent Crimes Among Young Offenders in Hong Kong, which were finally finished in 1975 (Ng 1975:3).

The study had two impacts in the struggle of discourse. First, it legitimized the system failure discourse with scientific knowledge and so structural discourse was legitimately excluded. In the literature review of local studies in the study report, the position paper of "Criminals are Made Not Born" was not categorized as literature of local studies but only treated as 'public views on crime'. It was criticized as lack of 'solid empirical finding' (Ibid:1-2).[9] Second, it recommended new form of youth governing, including the provision and expansion of family life education, school social work and out-reaching youth programmes, which was adopted by the government in the new development of youth services, called personal social work, in the late 1970s.

It seemed that the conflict between the government and the Hong Kong Council of Social Service was settled and the two joined together to develop the new form of youth services with the support of system failure discourse. A green paper, titled Development of Personal Social Work Among Young People in Hong Kong, was published in 1977 and reflected this change. The green paper was published for consulting the public opinion on the new form of youth services, called personal social work, as proposed by the academic report of the Chinese University. The beginning of the green paper recorded that:

> 'In July 1977 a Programme Plan on personal social work among young people was completed. The Programme Plan covers the five-year period from 1978/79 to 1982/83 and was prepared in close consultation with interested Government departments and the Hong Kong Council of Social Service.
> 2. The information contained in this Green Paper is a summary of the main recommendations in the Programme Plan…'(SWD 1977:Foreword)

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[9] The paper of "Criminals are Made Not Born" was also interweaved with this scientific discourse, while it present their structural analysis with the language of social science and with the diagrams show the normal and abnormal structure of different societies. However, the paper was not adequate in terms of scientific validity. So it was failed to defense the structural discourse, while it was attacked by the scientific study of system failure discourse.

The foreword of the paper clearly expressed that the proposed personal social work was the result of the 'interested government departments' and the 'Hong Kong Council of Social Service'. This implied three points. First, the conflict was settled and the Hong Kong Council of Social Service took a role of policy makers at least in the latter period of policy formation. Second, the Hong Kong Council of Social Service adopted the system failure discourse that was embedded in the proposed personal social work and excluded the structural discourse. Third, the formation of the proposed welfare services involved various departments. At least two of the three proposed measures were initiated with the consensus among the departments, rather than the Social Welfare Department or the Hong Kong Council of Social Service. The chapter of family life education of the green paper recorded that '[t]he government (Social Welfare Department) has given emphasis to this activity since the late 1975 on the recommendation of the Sub-Committee on Social Cause of Crime' (SWD 1977:19). This clearly expressed that the family life education proposed in the green paper was the work of Social Welfare Department and other government departments appeared as Sub-Committee on Social Cause of Crime. Another document also mentioned the formation of the proposed youth service that '[t]he work of the Group and Community Work Division has also been discussed on many occasions and the co-operation of the Director of Education and the Director of Social Welfare in, for example, the project to establish and increase the role of the School Social Worker has been one area of mutual co-operation which received support from the top' (Combes 1976:3). The proposed school social work in the green paper was initiated 'from the top' by the discussion among the departmental directors. It seems that the Hong Kong Council of Social Service did not take an important role in policy making while the important part of the plans seems to be determined by the government departments.

The government and the Hong Kong Council of Social Service accepted the system failure discourse in the late 1970s. The government and Hong Kong Council of Social Service, as main members of youth policy alliance, made consent that the malfunctions of school and family and mal-adjusted personal development were the main sources of delinquency and violence. To prevent delinquency, the policy alliance took initiatives to develop personal social work, which provided direct personal guidance and help to the youth 'whose individual needs and problems cannot be met by the basic community services and who are not attracted to organized activities' (SWD 1979:19).

The new youth policy particularly developed three measures for preventing youth delinquents, while the social and recreational services were expanded to develop the potential of normal youths. The three measures were family life education, school social work and out-reaching youth programmes. It was a fact that these measures existed before the personal social work was proposed but they were neither financially supported nor maintained by the government.

The three measures were interweaved with the system failure discourse. The family life education aimed at 'preserving and strengthening the family as a unit'. The provision of the services was to deal with the problem of 'broken families, inadequate parental care and attention, inappropriate methods of enforcing discipline and strained relationships among family members' which could have 'serious consequences on the development of young people' (SWD 1977:19). The school social work provided social work services 'to help pupils whose academic, social and emotional development is in jeopardy' in school setting for minimizing school dropouts (Ibid:4 and 10). The outreaching social work was 'to help young people when they are outside the sheltered environment of home and school and

thus are most at risk' (SWD 1979:19). The service encouraged the youths 'to bring forward their personal and family problems, help them to understand these problems, and provide counseling, guidance and constructive outlets for energy with a view to improving their behaviour and integrating them into normal social group activities' (HKG 1977:13). The development of the three measures was based on the system failure discourse that family and school were inadequate to fulfilled the need of the youths and incapable to deal with their problems. The formation and provision of the personal social work not only indicated the consensus between the government and social work institutions, but also indicated the acceptance of the system failure discourse as new dominative discourse.

The government and voluntary agencies, represented as Hong Kong Council of Social Service, made a consensus that the problem of youth crime mainly came from the problem of family and school failure, and that with the help of social welfare services, this failure problem could be resolved and so delinquency could be prevented. The system failure discourse and its socio-psychological subject of youth therefore dominated the youth policy and the development of new form of youth services.

The structural discourse lost its battle to influence the youth policy. Although it was adopted by the Hong Kong Council of Social Service and Hong Kong Social Workers' Association, the structural discourse was only manifested in the social work field and was not adequate in terms of scientific validity to compare with the scientific report of system failure discourse. The concerns of structural factors and morality and the social subject constructed by structural discourse were, therefore, excluded.

e) Exclusion of the discussion about student movement

This part would discuss how the development of youth discourses and the exclusion of discussion of the boom of student movement affected the development of youth policy. The student movement referred to the movement mobilized by university students. It became larger in size and greater in terms of influential power in the 1970s. It played an important role in both political and ideological struggles for changing the local society and advocating nationalism, liberalism and Marxism.

The student movement took a leading role in the critique of the colonial government and establishing models for social action, at a time when the fear of politics widely spread. It achieved results in issues like the fight for legal status of Chinese language and the petitions for the establishment of Independent Commission Against Corruption. Many participants of student movement latter became the major forces in social reforms (Cheung *et al.* 1991; HKFSA 1983:Preface).

The student movement also had an important impact on the ideological dimension of national identity and social critique. For example, in the 'Defend Diaoyutai Movement', a widely mobilized campaign, the student movement successfully arose the public support of Chinese nationalism. This nationalism constructed the Chinese identity of Hong Kong people as an ideology was used as the ideological foundation for criticizing the colonial administration (Lui & Chiu 1999:106-107). Also hundreds of youth periodicals were published as part of the student movement. Many of these periodicals were interweaved with and even advocated nationalism, liberalism and Marxism and had important effect in social change (Ng 1998).

Apparently, the student movement was the result of a structural contradiction embedding in the colonial administration. Although the higher education aimed at training elites, the education system failed to keep the loyalty of elites to the colonial government. On the contrary, it created social activists who embraced anti-colonial ideology. In our view, the colonial government never recognized the contribution of the student movement, nor took it as political problems. It only ignored its existence in the discussion on the youth policy.

It is not strange to see that the system failure and structural discourses were even in allied relation and conformed to the implicit strategies of the colonial government in the sense that the social movement was de-politicalized throughout the formulation and implementation of youth policy. Obviously, the alliance of youth policy deliberately excluded these political and ideological problems and designed the youth policy to focus only on the social problems of youth delinquency. That is why the development of youth policy was confined within the boundary of social domain and was mainly concerned with the prevention of youth delinquency, rather than mobilizing political participation or developing ideological discussion (Liu 1981). And the youths were thus constructed as (potential) delinquents, rather than social activists. In short, the youth policy was designed for handling social problems of the youths and for the construction of the youths as a threat against social order while the issues of the political mobilization and participation of the youths in community building were ignored. This certainly was a means for the government to depoliticize the young population with the absence of policies of mobilization of youths.

Conclusion

This chapter exposed the form of youth governing in the period from 1973 to 1979. It was exactly the period from the start of the youth crime wave to the end of 1970s. In this period, the increase of youth violent crimes aroused the public concern, while the convention of social and recreational policy was problematized. Youth policy and the discourse interweaved with the policy were forced to change. System failure and structural discourses emerged in relation of contest and struggle for determining the change of youth policy. System failure discourse regarded the youth as a socio-psychological subject who should pass through developmental stages, during which family and school systems had great impact. Structural discourse deemed the youth as a social subject whose social development was determined by structural forces. These two discourses excluded the bio-psychological concern of youth that emphasized the inherent nature inside the body and dominated the youth policy in previous period. These two discourses developed their own explanations on the problem of youth crime. System failure discourse treated youth crime as the consequence of system mal-function. If the family and school system could not properly socialize the youth or keep the youths engaged in the systems, the youths would be free to deviate. Structural discourse treated youth crime as the result of unbalanced macro-structure of society overwhelmed by materialistic cultural goal.

The boom of the system failure discourse rose in the early 1970s when youth crime was treated as a great problem to the society. The system failure discourse was then accepted by the government and was support by local scientific studies. It took dominant positions in the youth policy in the late 1970s. The structural discourse also emerged in the early 1970s. However, it only existed within the

social work field, since it failed to provide adequate scientific knowledge to support its argument and was so excluded from the youth policy.

We should be aware that the contest and rivalry did not conclude the whole relation between the system failure and structural discourses. Alliance between them can be seen as the exclusion of the discussion of student movements. The student movement was the result of a structural contradiction that brought out political and ideological problems to the government. However, the system failure and structural discourses, on the one hand, rejected any discussion about these problems and, on the other hand, only focused on the social problem of youth delinquency. This exclusion indicated two points. First, the contest and struggle between the two discourses were confined within the social domain of youth problems and so excluded the discussion coming from political and ideological domains. Second, the two discourses conformed to the political line of de-politicization of youth domain by the absence of mobilization policy for the youths. That is why the youth policy only aimed at preventing youth delinquency and constructed the youth as a (potential) threat of social order since the 1966.

The new policy of personal social work focused on the functioning of family and school system and the relation between the youth and these social systems. The personal social work developed three measures, namely family life education, school social work and outreaching social work. The three measures were interweaved with the system failure discourse. The family life education and school social work aimed at strengthening the control of family and school system on the youths through the support of social work to the parent and school and so preventing the mal-socialization of family and dropout from school. The outreaching social work designed to provide counseling and guidance for the youth

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who were outside the sheltered environment of home and school and thus were most at stake. The development of the personal social work was based on the system failure discourse that family and school were inadequate to fulfill the need of the youths and were incapable to due with their problems. The employment of system failure discourse made the form of governing emphasize on the social relation between the youths and their control mechanism.

- End -

Chapter 7

Conclusion

We divide this chapter into four sections, including fieldwork finding, the formation of the forms of youth governing, the theoretical implication of this study and the significance as well as shortcomings of this study. The first section summarizes the empirical findings of this study. The second section is to conclude the changing forms of youth governing. The third section is to discuss the theoretical implications of this study. In the last section we discuss the contribution and the shortcomings of this study.

a) Fieldwork finding

This section is divided into three parts, namely the state formation, subject formation and the tactics of intervention. In chapter four, we focused on the period from 1950 to 1965 - the period shortly after the Second World War and before the outbreak of Kowloon disturbance in 1966. During this period, Hong Kong experienced a rapid expansion of population, especially the population of children and youth, caused by the inflow of refugees and economic improvement caused by industrialization. The youth policy was mainly focused on the services of education, relief work and caring work for the poor children. It was mainly carried out by voluntary agencies, religious bodies, traditional benevolent societies and profit-making organizations. The government avoided direct and active involvement in the provision of youth services. The main role of government was merely to assist and encourage the voluntary agencies, religious bodies, traditional benevolent societies and profit-making organizations to take an active role in social services. Two discourses were in a relation of contest and struggle that happened

on the institutional level. The poverty discourse could be found in the alliance formed by the government and voluntary agencies. This alliance controlled the youth policy and dominated the provision of youth services. It constructed the youths as victims of poverty and vulnerable groups in need of help. And even juvenile delinquents were treated as children forced by external factors 'to earn what they can to help the family to exist', they were the victims of unfavorable economic situation (Hong Kong Government [hereafter HKG] 1958:184). The main members of the alliance of youth policy tended to be sympathetic towards the young people at risk. The government believed that youth should be allowed to seek company freely and engage in appropriate matter without the unnecessary interferences from the adult out of goodwill. The youths, in certain extent, were self-reliant and independent citizens whose peer group life did not need to be interfered (Trench 1965:1-2). The moral discourse spread in the kaifong associations, Confucian organizations and news agencies that had great impacts in the public sphere. The moral discourse constructed the youth as either a threat or potential threat to the social order. They were either deviants, who were corrupted by the moral decay and disrupted the morality and security of society, or potential deviants who needed the control and guidance derived from traditional virtues to prevent deviance. The youth services, dominated by the alliance of government and voluntary agencies, mainly focused on the resolution of the problems which was believed to be caused by poverty, for example the problems of health, illegal hawking, street roaming and the lack of care and schooling. Youth services were provided in the forms of nutrition care, clubs and trade training to, on the one hand, take the children away from the street in which they could easily get involved into troubles with police and would commit petty larceny and, on the other hand, to help the children to become self-reliance and independent citizens (Reform Club of

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Hong Kong 1950-1951:5).   These social services emphasized on the provision of regulated physical space in the street life, and the development of body, in terms of health care of the natural body and acquired skill of the social body.

In chapter five, we focused on the period from 1966 to 1972. This is the period started from the occurrence of the disturbances in 1966 and 1967 and ended before the discussion of juvenile crime wave prevailing in 1973.   In the period, Hong Kong experienced a rapid expansion of the youth population in terms of absolute number of people and in proportion to the whole population.   The increase of the youth population did not come as a threat to the colonial government until the occurrence of the 1966 riots, in which a fairly large number of youth was involved and became the main source of gravity (Division of Children and Youth 1970:5).   The government and the voluntary agencies became the core members of alliance and closely coordinated to develop the planning and expansion of social and recreational services for preventing the problems of internal security, liked the riots in 1966 and 1967 (Social Welfare Department and The Hong Kong Council of Social Service 1969:172-174).   The government took an active role in initiating the expansion of social and recreational services and the voluntary agencies took a main role in the services implementation.   The engagement discourse was adopted by the alliance of youth policy and so appeared in the social and recreational services.   It constructed the youth as a bio-psychological subject who experienced a development stage and so driven by their inherent nature toward either constructive or destructive end.   It was believed that this internal nature of youth was the determining factor of youth problems. The youth services, dominated by engagement discourse, focused to resolve the problems of directing youth's inherent energy and initiative, which was believed to be the root of youth problems of aggressive behaviour and anti-social value.   Youth services were

provided in the forms of social and recreational services through clubs activities and summer youth programmes to, on the one hand, direct the children away from boredom and aimlessness which would likely lead to the engagement in destructive activities and, on the other hand, creat constructive activities for the youth to engage and so could prevent delinquency. The social and recreational services emphasized on time management, which was narrated in the form of the occupancy of leisure time, and the occupancy of body, which was the engagement of constructive activities.

In chapter six we moved on to the discussion on youth policy in the period from 1973 to 1979. This is the period started from the heated discussion of juvenile crime wave to the end of the 1970s. In the early of the 1970s, Hong Kong experienced a growth of youth crime. Since 1968, the number of reported serious crimes and the total number of prosecuted male criminals for violent crime persistently increased. Serious juvenile crimes, such as robbery and theft, persistently increased and reached its highest number in the period of 1974 and 1975. The government departments closely coordinated to respond to find out the root of youth crime and produce recommendations for the government to change existing policy and promote new policy (Sub-committee on the Social Causes of Crime 1973:1-2). On the other hand, scientific authority was invited to identify the causes of youth problems and provide recommendations by the departments. The government and scientific authority became core members of alliance in the process of policy formation. While voluntary organizations were still the main service provider, the institutions of family and schools were developed as executive arms of youth governing through the provision of services of family life education and school social work. The system failure discourse was adopted by the alliance of youth policy and so embedded in the newly invented social services, namely

personal social work. It constructed the youth as socio-psychological subject who were passing through developmental stages during which family and school had great impact on them. The system failure discourse explained that youth crime was the consequence of system mal-function. If the family and school system could not properly socialize the youth or keep them engaged in the systems, the youth would be free to deviate. The newly invented youth policy was dominated by the system failure discourse and so focused on the problems of family and school failure, which was believed to be the root of youth criminal problems. The newly invented youth services, personal social work, was provided particularly to prevent delinquency through the services of family life education, school social work and outreaching social work for, on the one hand, preventing problematic family relation and school dropouts which would likely lead to the weak bond of family and school as control mechanism and so youth would likely became delinquent and, on the other hand, providing counseling, guidance and constructive outlets of energy for the youth who are outside the sheltered environment of home and school and thus are most at risk (HKG 1979:19). The services of personal social work emphasized on the dimension of social space, which is the relation or bond of family and school, and the occupancy of body, which is the engagement in family and school as control mechanism.

To sum up, we have delineated the three contesting discourses in the three periods. The struggles between these discourses revealed how the government to achieve political ends throughout these periods. In the next section, we attempt to point out the political ends of the colonial government in respect of youth policy. These were state formation, the main features of youth subject formation, and the government's intervention tactics into youths.

b) Formation of form of youth governing

The period of 1950-1979 could be regarded as the formation period of youth governing. In this period the government already laid the groundwork for the determination of the early form of youth governing that greatly influenced the development in the ensured periods.

In respect to the form of governing, we found that the tactics of the colonial government had three features, including state formation, youth subject formation and intervention tactics.

Regarding the state formation, the changes of alliance of youth policy revealed the route of formation of governing state in which various institutions were involved in the process of population governing. In the 1950s and 1960s, the state of youth governing was separated into three layers in a functional differentiation model. This upper layer was the colonial government that was responsible for policy making and the provision of finance. In this layer the government concentrated its own power in the determination of youth policy. The middle layer was the executive layer that was responsible for policy implementation. The layer involved various kinds of social institutions, including voluntary agencies, religious bodies, traditional benevolent societies and profit-making organizations. Compared to other institutions, voluntary agencies were the largest services provider in this layer and so became the core member of the governing state. However they could not share any political power with the colonial administration. This differentiation was a political form of division of labour, by which the colonial government did not decentralize its power with other parties, but at the same time could keep a clean hands over the intervention of the state into the young population.

The lower layer was the autonomous layer that was composed of schools and families, a private domain on which the state policy was not applied to.[1]   This layer was run by families and private schools, where the government remained detached politically and socially.   These three layers model enabled the colonial government to articulate the youth problem, on the one hand, through the employment of middlemen in the executive layer and, on the other hand, to avoid arousing direct conflicts between the colonial government and the Chinese society which would have been of the case if the government directly intervened in the private domain of the local society.

However, this three-layer state model was restructured and shifted to become two layers model since the 1970s.   This restructuring had two moves.   First, the upper layer was equipped with scientific knowledge and so scientific authorities, by the invitation of academics into the policy-making domain, for example research section of departments, Census and Statistic Department and scholars. Concomitantly, the decisions on youth policy were not only based on political and social judgment, but also on the results of scientific analysis and the recommendation from academics (Social Welfare Department 1973:27-28).   The second move was the absorption of families and schools into the middle layer. Since the early 1970s, the public urged the government to intervene in the private domain of the family and school for the reason that youth problems were created by the mal-function of the private domain.   Families and schools were no longer treated as autonomic private institutions that are capable of dealing with their own problems.   Instead, they were discursively constructed as an incompetent nurturer

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[1] It was believed that modern government should be limited and so allowed society had its autonomy. So certain social issues would categorize as belonging to the private domain and so is outside the intervention of state policy. For example, Chinese culture was regarded as belonging to private domain in Hong Kong by the colonial government.

and incompetent institution that should have kept the youth engaged in the family and education systems and infused social norms to the youths. The family and school turned out to be the executive arms of youth policy and were absorbed as a part of the executive layer under the policy of family life education, school social work and outreaching service.

The moves of the functional differentiation model had great impacts on the form of youth governing. First, the scientific move enabled the upper layer, constituted by the government and scientific authorities, to monopolize the authority in defining the normality of youth. This implied that with the scientific discourses, the members of the upper layer determined what normal and abnormal youth was. In other words, it determined the subject formation of the youth and eliminated the alternatives of youth formation. For example, it was hard for parents to reject that school dropout was a problem, as dropouts are proven 'scientifically' as the root of delinquency with the support of scientific knowledge. Second, the absorption move eliminated the autonomy of members of lower layer, which enabled the family and school to reserve or generate alternative discourse of the youth and youth subject in the past. The absorption move did not simply combine with the middle and lower layer as one entity. It was also a process through which parents and teachers were educated and normalized to conform to the policy of governing state and became part of it. For example, parents were influenced by the knowledge provided through family life education and so believed that school dropouts should be prevented in order to create a path for the 'normal' development of their children.

The process of governing state formation involved more institutions in the project of youth governing. However, at the same time, it reinforced the

centralization of power in the upper layer.   These shifts made the colonial government, as the core member of the upper layer, had more influence on the youth policy.   So the youth policy of governing state was greatly influenced by the colonial policy of the government and so greatly affected the subject formation of the youth.

The formation of youth subject, in the period of 1950-1979, revealed an underling policy of normalization.   The colonial government hesitated to intervene in the private domain of Chinese culture to avoid conflicts between the government and the Chinese society.   Hence, in youth policy the government avoided touching on the problems of morality and did not intend to develop any ideologies, substantial values or political participation activities to the youth. With this constraint of cultural consideration, the concern of the youth problem was delimited to social problems, such as whether the youths were committed to crimes. The normality of youth was determined by legal postulations, rather than moral criteria.   That is why, in the period of 1950-1965, the problems of health and trade training replaced the problems of morality and became the main concerns in social services. It is also the reason for the fact that the governmental departments rejected to recognize morality threats as a youth problem.   We have shown that in the official discourse, the governor emphasized the youth as self-reliance and independent subjects and clarified that there was no need to interfere with the peer group life of youth, provided that such activities did not involve delinquency (Trench 1965:1-2).   After the outbreak of riots in 1966 and 1967, the government recognized that the youth delinquent problem had become serious and there was the need to develop social services for preventing delinquency.   The legal stipulation of normality was adopted by social and recreational policy thereafter. The aim of this policy was to keep the youth engagement in constructive activities

in order to prevent delinquency. The youth was constructed as either a social threat or potential threat to the social order and therefore there was a need to keep the youths under guidance and supervision. In the period of 1973-1979, the legal criterion of normality was still adopted and applied on the discussion of violent criminal behavior. The youth was still constructed as either a social threat or potential threat to the social order. The responsibility of the families and schools was to keep the youths under close supervision of the family and school.

The determination of youth subject interweaved with, although not totally determined by, the colonial nature of the governing state. Problems of morality, ideology and political participation as well as political mobilization of the youths were excluded from the decision-making domain about youth policy within the political structure. This exclusion was further manifested through the case of student movements that was not mentioned and so was even excluded from the discussion of youth policy. The student movement was prosperous in the 1970s and reflected the structural contradiction arising from the colonial state structure, as it indicated that the education system failed to keep the loyalty of elites to the colonial government. More social activists embraced anti-colonial ideology. The exclusion of student movement from political discourses reflected an underlining policy of the colonial government that political participation and ideological development of the young people were not considered as a part of normal development of youth. On the other hand, delimiting the discussion of morality issues to the Chinese society provided a room for the intervention of middle or lower layers. That is why the morality of youth, on the one hand, was not discussed in the youth policy, and, on the other hand, the roles of social workers, parents and teachers were significant and influential at the level of services provision and policy implementation.

To summarize, the changes of the youth subject revealed three points. First, there was a legal criterion of normality embedded in the formation of youth subject since the outbreak of riots. Second, the implementation of the legal criterion of normality excluded morality, ideological and political considerations of youth development and the colonial government was mainly concerned with the maintenance of internal social order. The youth policy constructed the image and definition of the normal youth as conforming citizens and treated the ordinary youths as potential delinquents.

The changes of intervention tactics employed in youth policy also showed the increasing of youth surveillance in which time, space and body of youth were included as the field of intervention. The earliest concern of the government focused on the physical space of streets. The intervention tactics was to take the children away from streets. After the riots, the tactics was turned to put emphasis on the leisure time engagement of the youth. So whether the leisure time of the youth was arranged to engage in organized activities became the focus of policy. At the same time, the body was to inevitably become the object of control, resulting in the arrangement of locating children and youths in centres. In the 1970s, the engagement policy was restructured and expanded with two tactics. On the one hand, the engagement tactic was carried on and expanded as the basic activities to keep the youth in normal development. On the other hand, the services of family education, counseling and guidance penetrated into the social space of family, school and street peer to identify and change the youth at risk. So the normality of youth was double-checked by the two tactics and was under the surveillance of youth policy which penetrated into the various aspect of the youth's everyday life.

The formation of governing state, normality construction of youth subject and intervention tactics should not be regarded as independent parts, instead they are mutually reinforced and created the form of youth governing in which population became the finality of the modern state, but the common welfare and individual betterment were naturally included in the field of state intervention. Discourses were generated to construct subjects and provide knowledge for governing youth and techniques, especially scientific techniques, for intervention. It could be concluded that the three parts of youth governing were mutually reinforced. This has two meanings. First, it refers to the relation that one of the parts of youth governing would limit the possibilities of the other two. Second, each part was the condition of existence for the others. The form of youth governing, or named governmentality in Foucault's term, is the ensemble formed by the three parts.

We should note that the feature of the governmentality in the period of 1950-1979 - the formation period of youth governing of the Hong Kong society – is the fragmentary nature of the colonial state. The history of youth governing could not be reduced as a calculated, deliberate and planned process determined by the colonial government, instead the policy and practice of the governing were arranged by discourses, knowledge, technologies, relations among institutions. It is true that the development of the 'social' policy of youth was greatly influenced by the nature and historical background of colonial government. However, the policy-making was conditioned by the relations among institutions, available discourses and techniques. No agency could indeed control the practice and change of the form of youth governing, which was the historical product of various events, discourses and struggle among institutions.

c) Theoretical implication

The local studies of youth policy either ignored the power dimension of policy formation and implementation or overemphasized that power was determined by the macro-structure at institutional level and understated the importance of cultural aspect of power and simply treated culture as a tool for manipulation.   Our study is going to bridge the relation between macro-power, which were associated to macro-structure, and micro-power, which embedded in the micro-practice of youth policy through borrowing the theory of Fairclough's three-dimensional model, which provides a tool for review the relation between the micro-power of discourse and the macro-power of social structure.   The conclusion of this study is that the power of youth governing was not determined by the colonial government or governing state of which the colonial government is a part, but was created, transformed and exercised by the form of youth governing, which was the ensemble of formation of governing state, construction of youth subject and intervention tactics employed.

d) Shortcoming

My study struck into the controversial problem of validity of critical discursive analysis.   Fairclough's method of study, as a model of critical discursive analysis, is also subject to this criticism.   Objective and comprehensive requirement of validity is suggested in the Fairclough's method of sampling, which was borrowed in my study.   Fairclough's method of sampling emphasized that samples should be typical and representative and adequately reflected the diversity of practice and changes of practice (Fairclough 1992:227).   The requirements of 'typical', 'representative' and 'adequately reflects the diversity' implied that Fairclough's critical discursive analysis tends to be an objective and comprehensive study.   We should aware that the objectiveness and comprehensiveness, applied to my

historical study, would imply a representation of total history and so created two problems about my theoretical position. First, for critical discursive analysis, objective or comprehensive is unachievable in implementation. The theoretical position of the critical discursive analysis emphasizes that social study is involved in the processes of representation and interpretation, which interweaves with the social and political positions of the researcher. Hence, social research is not possible to be objective and comprehensive. Second, objectiveness and comprehensiveness are not desirable for the theoretical position of the critical discursive analysis. The objectiveness and comprehensiveness implies the claim of reliable and absolute truth, which excludes alternative discussions and does not help to open more possibilities of criticism. This rejection of objectiveness and comprehensiveness creates a question about the validity of critical discursive analysis. Critical discourse analysts may try to be 'objective', doing research in an unbiased and disinterested manner, and avoid arbitrary representation and interpretation of social study to react the question of validity.

Another way of answering the question is to state clearly the social, political and theoretical position and bias of the researcher so that the process of representation and interpretation is unfolded and the myth of unbiased and absolute truth would be demythicized. In short, critical discourse analysis, on the one hand, rejects the objectiveness and comprehensiveness and, on the other hand, avoids the arbitrary representation and interpretation through trying to be 'objective' and revealing the positions of social study.

Like the other studies of critical discursive analysis, our study could not avoid the question of validity, especially when this study is conducted within an institution which is expected to look for the truth. What we can do is, on the one

hand, to state clearly that my theoretical position that is informed by the critical discourse analysis tradition and so rejected to claim objectiveness and comprehensiveness of the representation of the youth history and, on the other hand, to adopt Fairclough's so-called scientific method that enables the sampling of our study to be 'objective' and so answering certain questions of validity about this study.

Another shortcoming is also related to the question of validity of sampling. In the process of data collecting, popular culture was one of the field of my study. For example, the influential Cantonese movies by Po-chu, Chan (陳寶珠) and Josephine Siao (蕭芳芳), produced in the late 1960s, were collected for analysis. We looked for the youth discourses embedded in movies. However, this created several question about sampling and the interpretation. How do we choose a film as a sample of analysis? If the choice is based on its typicality, it is difficult for us to justify which film is more typical than the others. If the choice is based on the social impacts of the film, there is little commonly accepted measurement to determine the influential power of a film. Another question is about the choice of genres for analysis. There were Cantonese films in the late 1960s, the films of 1950s about poor children, and the martial art film of Bruce Lee in the 1970s. Also, we had influential films by James Dean, e.g. Rebel without a Cause, that was popular in Hong Kong. There is little ground for us to choose one genre as the typical form of film for study.

Another problem is about interpretation. Unlike the formal documents, the films were fiction in nature. Story-telling usually contains more potential ambivalence than formal documents and was somewhat open to interpretation.

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There is no convincing argument to justify any interpretation of story. Finally we gave up using films as the resources for articulating discourses.

Scope for Future Research

We suggest here that the study of youth policy should go into the examination of the nature of the state and the webs of social forces constituted the space of micro-politics. While policy analysis would focus on the policy formation process, we found that the examination of the argumentation process and the relevant texts would give us more information about the interplay of discourses and political actions. In our study, we lack a part of search for oral history about policy formation. Given more verbal accounts of the process in policy formation and discursive struggles, we could gain confidence about our interpretation of the historical process of the development of youth policy. Moreover, after the handing over of the colonial state to the Chinese government, the nature of the government changed. The extent to which this change brings forth changes in youth policy also deserves more academic attention. This is another topic on which critical discourse analysis is applied.

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