

The Contributions of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in the security system of Hong Kong

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The people of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, principally Punjabi Muslims, increased in Hong Kong as the British established firmly their colony there. They were working to the British government and firms in different capacities like Army Personnel, Police Constables, Prison Guards, Watchmen, etc. Though with the passage of time the role of Pakistanis decreased in army, police and prisons, their role as security guards and watchmen increased. Overall if we look at the history of Hong Kong we can notice that during the formative years of Hong Kong the Indian Subcontinent played a significant role in the maintenance of law and order and security of Hong Kong.

Keywords: army, police, security guards, watchmen, Hong Kong

The people of Indo-Pak subcontinent came into contact with Hong Kong for the first time around 1832 AD. Since the subcontinent people played a key role in the British army, the latter sent them to different parts of the world including Hong Kong. The number of South Asians, principally Punjabi Muslims, increased as the British established firmly their colony in Hong Kong. They were working to the British government and firms in different capacities like Army Personnel, Police Constables, Marine Guards, Dockyard Guards, Watchmen, Royal Naval Dockyard Ferry Supervisors, Post Office Mail Launch Guards, etc. etc.

Their role was particularly significant in the army and police in the early days of British. There were many soldiers from the present day Pakistan who lost their lives during British-Chinese border skirmishes in 1912 AD. These soldiers also played a key role in the Battle of Hong Kong against the Japanese. During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong though all Indian subcontinent people did not remain loyal to the British, there were many prison guards who remained loyal and provided British prisoners many facilities.

After the creation of Pakistan special Pakistani Police units were recruited in 1952 and 1961 directly from Pakistan under the supervision of British Police officers and were transported to Hong Kong. They were put in a specially designated camp for Pakistanis where they were provided family quarters with a Pakistani school having Pakistani teachers, a mosque, a butcher for Halal meat. The Pakistani soldiers mainly played the role of riot police, which brought normalcy to Hong Kong during the critical periods.

Now- a-days there are few in the police but still there are many who are serving the prison department. Overall if we look at the history of Hong Kong we can notice that during the formative years of Hong Kong the Indian Subcontinent played a significant role in the maintenance of law and order and security of Hong Kong.

Security Services

Though the earliest Muslims to arrive from the Paki-India sub-continent in Hong Kong were Bohras, soon they were numerically over numbered by Punjabi Muslims, mostly coming from the present days Pakistani territories. They were recruited and brought by the British government to Hong Kong to serve as army soldiers, police personals, and guards in different departments such as marine, jail, dockyard, and post office mail launch. Following these pioneers many more followed as private watchmen and security guards. Explaining the reasons for these recruitments Anita W. Weis refers to Vaid and writes:

"It was only in defence and security services that the British either did not desire or could not find Chinese recruits, and they sought to meet this need by bringing in Indians. To a much lesser extent, the Colonial Government also recruited Indians to staff postal, health and educational services for which Chinese with the required knowledge of the English languages and skills were not available"(Vaid quoted by Weiss, 1991: 426).

The duties of the Pakistani/Indian soldiers and officers in the British Army from the Hong Kong Regiment included the suppression of any kind of resistance from the local Chinese when the occupation of the New Territories started in 1899. Besides that they were also posted on the border with China where on and off skirmishes were taking place (Weiss, 1991: 427).

The Pakistani/Indian security forces in Hong Kong were used as buffers between China and British Hong Kong when problems erupted between them in the New Territories located on the borders of Chinese territories. The construction of a police station was ordered at Tai Po by the Superintendent of Police, Captain May at the end of 19th Century to look-after the territory. In 1898 when the British flag was raised in the New Territories, a contingent of 2,000 Chinese attacked the Pakistanis/Indians who were part of the British military force. It became more important to station the Pakistanis/Indians in the territories as Chinese could not be trusted for their loyalty. When the dispute over the territorial limits in New Territories surfaced, the surveyors' team was called from Pak-India sub-continent to settle the claims of both parties. For a while the British posts were reduced but the Pakistani/Indian troops were posted on the Chinese borders when serious clashes took place in 1912. "The year before, when revolution fermented in China, armed Indian military patrols paraded daily in Hong Kong streets after some local rioting occurred"(White, 1994: 24-25).

The Pakistani/Indian security personnel also played a very important role in the Battle of Hong Kong against the Japanese. "In *Hostages to Fortune*, an account of the battle for Hong Kong Tim Carew has high praise for the Indians: 'The Rajputs and Punjabis, martial races both, have produced some of India's finest fighting men. ...both Indian battalions acquitted themselves valorously in the vicious fighting that followed.' David Bosanquet, in *Escape Through China*, underscores their importance as 'two seasoned Indian Army regiments' who held their New Territories battle stations as the Japanese approached" (White 1994: 43).

The Pakistanis/Indians' role in resisting the Japanese invasion was not restricted to the army alone rather they also contributed in volunteers, in the St. John's Ambulance Corps, and the British Army Aid Group (BAAG). In the Hong Kong Field Ambulance Corps beside others the Indian Medical Service and Pakistan/Indian volunteers also greatly contributed (White, 1994: 43-44).

When the battle moved to Hong Kong Island the Pakistanis/Indians found themselves in strange situation because the Japanese were able to win over some of the Pakistanis/Indians to their side by paying them. These hired Pakistanis/Indians were used to provide false information through British loyal Pakistanis/Indians to the British. When the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong started they went all out to win over the Pakistanis/Indians to their side. The Japanese used both carrot and stick policy in order to woo Pakistanis/Indians. On the one hand they behaved well and offered incentives to them; on the other hand those who remained loyal to the British were tortured and murdered. "A secret telegram reported that the Japanese treating Indians particularly well. The Japanese 'try to take every occasion to give concrete evidence of their desire to make friends with Hong Kong Indians. They recently released Indian prisoners-of-war and are training them ostensibly for use as street guards. Treatment going to some of their heads and must expect that some of them will become willing tools of the enemy"(White 1994: 44).

P. McLane, the Canadian Trade Commissioner in Hong Kong before the War was of the opinion that the Japanese were trying their level best to persuade Pakistanis/Indians to join Japan. They were regularly brought to the propaganda meetings of the Japanese by force. On one such occasion the Japanese ordered those Indians who were pro-Japan to move to one corner of the room, when few did so, three of the others were bayoneted (White 1994: 44).

The Japanese were carrying out propaganda in different Pakistani/Indian languages and they were also trying to raise Indian Independence League, the purpose of which was to send them to Pak-India sub-continent to carry out anti-British struggle for independence. Thus the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong put the Pakistanis/Indians in great dilemma. As a result, like other groups in such circumstances, Pakistanis/Indians tried to play safe for their survival. In this situation at best the Pakistanis/Indians can be categorized into "...good Indians, dubious Indians, and Indians just struggling to survive each day under the Japanese occupation" (White, 45). Actually the Pakistanis/Indians had come to Hong Kong to work for the British, who considered them inferior to themselves. When the Japanese occupied Hong Kong the situation did not change for them. Now they were working for Japanese and the Japanese too were considering themselves superior than the Pakistanis/Indians. Consequently some Pakistanis/Indians joined hands with the Japanese and became part of their war machine (White, 1994: 45).

The Japanese occupation of Hong Kong was a harsh period for Chinese in Hong Kong as the commodities were short of supply and there was shortage of even daily food items. This brought a social change in Hong Kong. Earlier the Chinese parents were unwilling to marry their daughters to Pakistanis/Indians (mixed marriages) but the Japanese occupation changed the situation because Pakistanis/Indians continued to work for the Japanese as well, particularly in the Police and Correctional Services Department (Prisons Department). This had enabled them better access to food and other commodities, as a consequence the Chinese' parents relaxed their opposition to mix marriages. Thus it can be seen that many Pakistanis/Indians married Chinese girls during the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong. The Japanese too did not object to such marriages rather those who married Chinese girls were exempted from joining the Indian National Army which the Japanese were raising for the fight against British in Pak-India sub-continent (White 1994: 47).

Hong Kong Mule Corps

The Hong Kong Mule Corps was established two years before the World War II. This corps was consisted upon the mules, attached to the carts and guided by the Indian drivers and was an essential part of the military transportation services in the hilly tracts of Hong Kong. The Mule Corps was established in 1912 when the General Officer Commanding South China requested a Mule Corps from Upper India to be stationed in Hong Kong. It was to "...operate on a peace scale, with troops bringing their own artillery, rifle ammunition, camp equipment, and Indian followers"(White 1994: 30).

The purpose of such arrangement was to make the Mule Corps self-reliant which was given forty mule carts which would accompany the troops. This Pakisani/Indian unit with British Officers was not to depend on the Chinese supply, who were unreliable. This self-reliant Unit became an essential part of the defence strategy of Hong Kong. The Pakisani/Indians were needed in Hong Kong as Chinese coolies were expensive and unreliable and were also prone to strikes while the Pakistanis/Indians were immune to such things. In 1921 the Mule Corps was consisted upon 580 men, including one pack battery. The following year, the Government of Hong Kong requested extra seventy Pakistanis/Indians for the pack battery. The Mule Unit and Pack battery was supposed to be an essential part of the defence of New Territories (White 1994: 31).

"At that time, the Hong Kong Mule Corps was still administered by India rather than by the Hong Kong government. It had originally been designated the Detachment 30th Mule Corps, but in 1921 the Hong Kong Mule Corps Detachment was listed under the B Mule Corps Depot as part of the Indian military establishment (White 1994: 31).

The Mule Corps drivers were sent from Pak-India sub-continent because in Hong Kong amongst the Pakistani/Indian population men were not available for the job. It indicates that at that time the Indians/Pakistanis were well assimilated in the job market of Hong Kong. The local Hong Kong Indians/Pakistanis who were recruited in the Mule Corps were paid very low salary, "HK\$ 19 per month, plus bonus and clothing, and several dollars for living quarters....The year 1924 saw 18 locally engaged Indian civilians joining a combined unit of seven British, 114 enlisted Indians, 200 mules, and four horses...."(White 1994: 31-32).

In order to attract Indians/Pakistanis to the Mule Corps incentives were offered to them in 1925. They were entitled to Good Service and Good Conduct Pay and were also given mosquito nets, blankets, and kits. "Leaders, or *daffadars*, received HK \$24 a month plus 79 cents a day. Drivers received about half that. Mule Corps members were considered so essential that their families were often given permission to join the Indian men in Hong Kong. However, if families showed up without official blessing, they were forced to return at their own expense"(White 1994: 32).

Initially the Mule Corps was consisted upon Dogras, a northern Indian hill tribe, which was replaced in 1931 by Punjabi Mussulmans. It was also suggested that Dogras should be replaced in entirety by Punjabi Mussulmans instead of gradually as the belief was that the Pakistanis/Indians work better if they belong to the same background. When the modern mechanical transport was introduced in the Hong Kong military then a suggestion was floated in 1929 for the reduction in the strength of Mule Corps but it was still to continue in the hilly terrain of the New Territories where animal transport had much advantage. (Barbara-Sue White 1994: 32)

"The Hong Kong Mule Corps Peace Establishment in 1939-40 included 360 mules, 12 riding ponies, and three officers' chargers. The Mule Corps included two British officers and two British non-commissioned officers. The rest of the corps were Indians and comprised four officers, five *daffadars*, nine *naiks*, 35 lance-*naiks*, and 127 drivers. There was 180 Indians in the corps, but to meet their need they were accompanied by two grooms to take of the 12 riding ponies, one carpenter, eight saddlers, six shoeing smiths, two blacksmiths, one tailor, two hammersmen, two bellowsboys, five cooks, and five sweepers" (White 1994: 32-33).

The population of Pakistanis/Indians fluctuated with the changes of Government of Hong Kong policies, however, by the turn of the century when in 1901 the first official Hong Kong Census Report was published the Pakistani/Indian population was reported to be 1,453, which included 1,108 men and 345 women. When in 1931 the Census report was released it reported 4,745 Pakistanis/Indians in Hong Kong. It included 3,989 males and 756 females. "Out of over 3,000 Indians (including Pakistanis) then in Hong Kong, about 1,200 were in the army, while almost 400 were members of the Hong Kong Police. Around 125 Indians were enrolled in the Civil Service, including government physicians, veterinary surgeons, engineers on the Kowloon-Canton Railway, prison officers, school teachers, clerical workers, telegraph operators, and technical workers (White 1994: 34-35).

Police Service

The British started recruiting the Pakistani/Indian Punjabi Muslims as a necessity as their earlier recruitment of Indian and British soldiers proved unsatisfactory. They also tried local Malay and West Indians but they too proved to be unsatisfactory, while the British were cautious to employ the local Chinese as constables. A British officer named C. V. Creagh, a Deputy Superintendent of Police in Hong Kong, who had earlier served in Sind played a major role in bringing the Punjabi Sikhs to Hong Kong in order to solve the ongoing problems. Anita W. Weis writes that "Vaid suggests that Muslims were recruited from Jhelum, Multan and Cempbellpur (near Attock) districts to counterbalance the domination of Sikhs, so that by 1871 there were 182 Sikhs and 126 Muslims in the Colony's police force"(Vaid quoted by Weiss 1991: 430).

During their service in the Hong Kong Police force the Pakistanis/Indians served the government with honesty, dedication and courage. Many of them even lost their lives while performing their duties. The first recorded murder of a Pakistani/Indian policeman was that of Lall Kahn (most probably it was Lal Khan) who was killed by a Chinese in Wan Chai while performing his duties. The Chinese was later executed. The Pakistani/Indian policemen continued their sacrifices in the line of their duty. Since the establishment of the Department to the beginning of 2nd World War forty-two policemen laid their lives while on duty. Amongst these forty-two, twenty-three were Pakistanis/Indians, nine were Chinese, seven were British, and one was unspecified (White 1994: 109 & 113).

Initially the British officers themselves would go to Punjab and advertise the recruitment for Hong Kong police. There were no hard and fast rules for recruitment on the basis of age as in those days no body kept

the records of their dates of birth. So many underage boys would tell their age much older than their usual age and get recruited. After recruitment they would usually travel to Calcutta and then after one month sea journey would reach Hong Kong. After arrival in Hong Kong they were used to be put at the Police headquarters in the Central Police Station on Hollywood Road. At the police headquarters the Muslims were provided a space to use as mosque while the Sikhs were provided a place to use as *gurdwara* (temple). (Malik, Interview 2013).

Later the recruitment policy was little bit changed and the serving Punjabi Pakistani/Indian policemen were required to recruit more men while coming back from their leave in Pak-India sub-continent. The standard rule was that after 05 years a policeman could go on eight month leave, while returning to rejoin the police force he would recruit and bring more people to Hong Kong. According to one source of Anita W. Weis, in 1941 there were around 800 Punjabi policemen in Hong Kong. Anita argues that word Punjabi was used for both Muslim and Sikh Punjabis and normally they were in equal numbers in the force. During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong the policemen did not receive their regular salaries but were provided food, shelter and occasionally small sums of money by the Japanese. During the occupation the Muslim police stations were as following: MongKok, Hung Hom, Kowloon City, Western, and The Peak; Central remained half Sikh and half Muslims (Weiss 1991: 431-32).

The Japanese Occupation of Hong Kong during the 2nd World War had put the Pakistani/Indian policemen in dilemma as their loyalties were doubted by the British after the War. When the War was over the British started investigation of the Pakistani/Indian policemen for their behavior during the war. According to Mike Wallace, of the Royal Hong Kong Police Force, the records of all Pakistani/Indian policemen were reviewed and they were graded as black, white or grey. Those who were declared black that meant they were not loyal and they were immediately sent back home. Those who were declared white were considered loyal and were allowed to continue their service. Those declared grey were investigated for their cooperation with the Japanese during the occupation (White 1994: 113-114).

After the creation of Pakistan in 1951 the Government of Hong Kong sent a request to the Government of Pakistan for the recruitment of Policemen from Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan agreed but put two conditions for the recruitment: One, that the salaries of the policemen should be raised; and two, that either the Muslims or Sikhs should remain in the police force but not both groups together. The Government of Hong Kong sent back all Sikhs to India in 1951, which paved the way for the recruitment of first Pakistani policemen batch after the creation of Pakistan in 1951. In the first batch 150 men mostly Punjabis and Pakhtuns were brought to the colony in 1952. The recruitment of Pakistanis continued for another ten years but in 1961 the final batch consisting upon 46 men proved to be the last contingent from Pakistan (Weiss 1991: 434 & Malik, Interview 2013).

Initially Pakistani policemen performed the regular duties but after few years they were totally reserved for emergency services of the police department after the establishment of Emergency Unit (EU), which was basically a riot control force. There were two sections of the EU, one in Kowloon and the other in Fanling and both were exclusively manned by Pakistani policemen until 1964. However, the said year all the Pakistani EU personals were shifted to Fanling and Kowloon EU was manned by local Chinese (Khan, Zulfiqar Hussain alias Danny & Abdul Zahir, Interview 2013).

October 1967 was the turning point in the life of Pakistani Emergency Unit. In 1967 riots had broken out in the colony and the British government in Hong Kong called the Pakistani Emergency Unit to restore calm. Three Pakistani policemen were injured at Sham Shui Po before they were called to Tsuen Wan along with Gurkhas to control the law and order situation with clear instructions not to fire on the mobs. However, the Emergency Unit used automatic machine guns on the rioters, which killed many of them. Two Pakistani policemen were also seriously injured. The press severely criticized the Pakistani Emergency Unit for excessive use of force and brutality. Later two Pakistani policemen were killed by the Chinese border police at Sha Tau Kok, which compelled the Pakistani Consul General in Hong Kong to complain to the Chinese government to stop killing Pakistanis. The Chinese government responded by saying that they had killed only the Europeans as the Pakistani policemen were serving the British Government (Malik, Interview 2013).

After the October 1967 riots the Fanling Pakistani Emergency Unit was essentially immobilized before it was finally disbanded in 1970. After that the unit was divided into small unit and stationed at different locations. In 1987 there were around 50 Pakistani police men left in the Hong Kong Police services, (Weiss: 435). While at the writing of this paper the only known police man from Pakistan is Muhammad Munir Khan, who is Senior Police Inspector, at Tsim ShaTsui Police station. Besides him recently a Pakistani girl born in Hong Kong has joined the police force (Khan *et al*, Interview 2013).

For many years the Pakistanis/Indians were served their native food in all Pakistani/Indian mess but in the 1970s the separate mess for Pakistanis/Indians were abolished and they were integrated into the Chinese mess in order to avoid the allegations of preferential treatment to the Pakistanis/Indians. (Liaquat Ali, Interview 2013). The Pakistanis were so an important part of the Police Department of Hong Kong that at their Fanling camp where around 200 Pakistani policemen were living along with their families, Mr. Brian Welch, a senior welfare officer founded a Pakistani school in 1965 within the camp premises so that Pakistani children can learn in their own languages in a Pakistani cultural environment. Initially the school started with thirty-five students with a single class and a Pakistani female principal Zakia Sultana. With the passage of time the number of students increased many folds. The medium of instructions in the school was Urdu and subjects like science, history, geography, religious study, and general knowledge were taught. English was taught as a second language. Cantonese was taught for speaking purposes so that the children have no problem in communicating with the local communities. The school was later upgraded upto class VI. (White, 216 & Khan *et al*, Interview 2013)

Prison Department

The Pakistanis have also played an important role in the Hong Kong Prison Department. The recruitment policy of the prison guards was the same as of police force. They worked as guards and the first batch was brought in 1880 to work in the Victoria Prison. "The Stanley Prison, built in 1935, eventually came to be closely identified with the Muslim prison guard community; out of a total 500 personnel there when it opened; some 200 Muslims (plus 100 Sikhs) were working there." The Muslim guards were so important to Stanley Prison that they were provided a land where they constructed mosque for their prayers while the same was denied to the Sikhs for the construction of their gurdwara (the Sikhs temple), for their own prayers (Weiss 1991: 432-33).

During the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong the guards did not leave Hong Kong and they were not encouraged as well by the Japanese to join INA rather they were allowed to continue their duties as prison guards. In this changed situation these guards were now keeping a watch on their former masters, however, during these difficult days of the British prisoners, the guards took good care of them which were later recognized by the British after the end of war. After the war they were paid their salaries and were allowed to continue their services (Khan *et al*, Interview 2013).

The guards in the prison service were given long leave between 1945 and 1950 on rotation basis and used to go back to the Pak=Indian sub-continent. Very few amongst them did not return back and took early retirement. The new prison guards were recruited on local terms instead of expatriate terms as was the practice earlier because many Macanese and Chinese were being hired. Though the salaries were equivalent to those hired overseas, they were not paid return journey ticket while going homes on long leave. The number of Pakistani in 1957 who were hired on local terms were fifty five (55), while those who had been hired earlier on expatriate terms were 100. The last Pakistani expatriate prison official retired in 1974. Almost all the Pakistani prison guards returned home after retirement. Later the number of Pakistanis decreased dramatically and those who were hired were not even fully Pakistanis rather most of them were local boys who though called themselves Pakistanis, they could not speak Urdu or Punjabi (Weiss 1991: 433).

The prison guards were allowed to bring their families to live with them in the family quarters. It seems due to this reason few married the local Chinese girls though there were no official restriction on intermarriages. The children of the prison guards used to study at the Sir Ellis Kadoorie School, where they were commuted by a

bus provided by the government of Hong Kong. In spite of facilities provided hardly few continued their studies into higher degrees (Malik, Interview 2013).

Between 1950s and 1960s the Kowloon mosque became the Centre of religious and social activities for the Pakistani prison staff. There they could see the dockyard police as well as many Pakistani watchmen who increasingly were entering Hong Kong. The Stanley mosque which was earlier the center of religious and social activities for the prison guards was visited lesser and lesser as the number of Pakistani guards dwindled after the 60s (Weiss: 436 & Mufti Arshad, Interview 2013).

Security guards and watchmen

After the police and prison services became scarcer and scarcer Pakistanis found new avenues in the security field. More and more Pakistanis became security guards and watchmen at local firms. Actually this field was not new for Pakistanis as earlier they used to do these jobs in China and Vietnam but after 1949 revolution in China Pakistanis moved out of China and found new opportunities in Hong Kong. From Vietnam the Pakistanis moved out after the break out of war between the Vietnamese and French forces. They also moved into Hong Kong as entering into Hong Kong before July 1969 was very easy. Besides the new arrivals some old Pakistanis also joined these jobs, these were those Pakistanis who retired from the prison or police services but were married to local Chinese women. They stayed on and to augment their meagre pensions started working as security guards or watchmen. The local Chinese were very eager to employ the Pakistanis as security guards and watchmen and used to contact local Pakistani leaders for such people. Anita M. Weiss explaining the reasons for such preference to the Pakistanis believe that there were two reasons for it. First, many Pakistanis had served in the Hong Kong Police and had earned respect amongst the local Chinese – that respect also had translated into fear which became a quality for these Pakistani watchmen. Second, since there were still many Pakistanis in the Police service, the Chinese believed that in case of any problem the policemen would readily help their kinsmen and countrymen (Weiss 1991: 436 & Qari, interview 2013). Bukhari believes that since majority of security guards and watchmen were Pakistanis the Chinese always looked for such people for recruitment as they believed that in case of any trouble all these watchmen will help each other (Bukhari, Interview 2013).

The security guards salary package and other perks were better than the watchmen as the later earned less but normally these watchmen were farm workers or recruits back home in Pakistan and earned very little there. They also had not prospects to prosper as mostly they were illiterate and unskilled but they had seen their fellow countrymen who were working in Hong Kong earning much more than them. Thus they were attracted to Hong Kong; usually they would either sell their property or borrow money to arrange for their plane ticket or travel in frigates. These men would generally travel alone without their families. Occasionally they would bring their families once the children were school going. Very few married the Chinese local girls (after they converted) most preferring to marry when go back to Pakistan. Explaining the reasons for such matrimonial alliances Anita M. Weiss writes,

“To understand the reasons behind such marriage patterns, the social fabric of working class Pakistani life must be taken into consideration: these men are living workaholic lives in close living quarters in Hong Kong so as to enrich their families back home. Given such filial orientations, they would not be expected then to defy tradition and marry outside of their family’s wishes, nor would many of them want their wives to mix in Hong Kong’s culture. Most watchmen do return to Pakistan when they retire, or earlier if they can. In a group of young watchmen one day, none of them could recall any instance of any friends marrying in Hong Kong (though they do date Chinese and Philippina women), but they had heard that when it happens the woman converts and there is no celebration function. A young man asserted that most Pakistanis also do not want to marry Chinese or Philippina women because ‘they will wear a skirt or dress after marriage, and nobody likes their wife to dress like that’” (1991: 437).

According to an estimate circa 1991 there were around 7,000 to 9,000 Pakistani watchmen in Hong Kong. They were a good source of income for their Pakistani families back home. Almost every factory in Hong Kong had

Pakistani watchmen. They were mostly conversant in Cantonese along with their own language which was either Pashto or Punjabi. Mostly also knew Urdu and few knew a little bit English. (Anita M. Weiss 1991: 437). Most of these watchmen were single while their wives and children lived in Pakistan. Generally many of them also had two jobs thus remained on duty almost 24 hours. The factories normally provided them dormitory style accommodation as well where they shared room and kitchen. Cooking was done either by themselves or by hiring a cook who was responsible for cooking (Sagar, Interview 2013). In the 1960s and 1970s in Heng Seng Bank majority of watchmen were Pakistani origin as these watchmen used their network to employ more kinsmen if ever a new vacancy was available (Bukhari, Interview 2013). But this clan and family network to find jobs was not restricted to Hang Seng Bank, it was used to find jobs in different areas particularly in seeking low paid jobs (Pakistan Labor Families Network, Untitled Document N.D.).

Those watchmen whose children were born in Hong Kong used to send their children to Sir Ellis Kadoorie School as it was free and was historically reserved for non-Chinese students. Others, whose children were in Pakistan, they would bring their sons when they would reach age 10, put them in a private school for a year and then shift to Sir Ellis Kadoorie School. These children used to study up to form V, when they will go out to look for a work as messenger boys or night watchmen; mostly working to become security guards later. Some of them also became Civil Servant as their knowledge of English was better than the local Chinese (Mustafa, Interview 2013).

In the labour job market Pakistanis usually get jobs through kinship or friends' network and they get jobs quite easily. It is evident from a Pakistani young man story who changed in couple of years many jobs without any difficulty. Amongst the Pakistanis women are mostly housewives and they do not work outside their homes (Pakistan Labor Families Network, Untitled Document, N.D.).

Over a period of time though some of the Pakistanis have reached the highest positions in the job market, overwhelming majority is still working as elementary workers, the lowest category of work in Hong Kong census. According to 2007 Census and Statistical Department report 31.1 per cent Pakistanis are working as elementary workers, which include street vendors, security guards and watchmen, freight handlers, construction labourers and hand packers while only 16 per cent of Pakistanis work on the higher positions like managers and administrators. According to the same report the median income of Pakistanis across gender is HK \$ 10,000 as compared to Indians which is HK\$17,500. Further analysis shows that the unemployment rate of Pakistanis is highest amongst the South Asians which stands at 20.9 per cent as compared to Nepalese and Indians which is 16.0 per cent and 11.4 per cent (Crabtree & Wong 2012: 4-5).

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