

Transformations of Cultural Heritage of Dragon Boat Racings in Hong Kong Context

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Abstract

Hong Kong dragon boat race as a cultural heritage has undergone a different manifestation and transformation. Through the study and development of Hong Kong dragon boat race is a fisherman formed by the sea, with the inland river in the freshwater area is different, but the agricultural dragon boat activities with the sea fishermen themselves is different for the sake of crops and rain; and Hong Kong's dragon activities focus on god bless, reduce disaster and pray for maritime safety. So there is no activity in the worship of Qu Yuan, the Hong Kong fishermen but the main letter in the days of goddess. But fishermen society in the face of severe fisheries and capitalist society of the invasion of food, in many areas is difficult to maintain the dragon boat activities. But the modern technology and international competition have caused the dragon boat activities to lose the old cultural heritage.

Keywords: Hong Kong; Dragon; Boat; Races

Introduction

The dragon boat races in Hong Kong represent a kind of prominent intangible cultural heritage of the Chinese society. I was interested in the folk beliefs of Hong Kong under Chinese custom and traditional culture. And the study intends to explore about these transformations of culture heritage in Hong Kong.

Dragon Boat Festival, or the Tuen Ng Festival, is a Chinese traditional festival on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month used to commemorate the death of Qu Yuan. He was a national hero and drowned himself into the Mi Lo River in Chinese history for two thousand years ago. People beat drums and threw Zongzi (glutinous rice dumpling) into river to scare away fish from eating Qu Yuan's body when people noticed the news of his suicide. These became traditional events in the dragon boat festival. People then ate rice dumpling and had dragon boat racings during the festival. However, dragon boat festival is now developed as an International event in Hong Kong. It is no longer to have the rituals of dragon boat races during the Dragon Boat Festival. Dragon boat racing is now merely a year-round water sport in Hong Kong [1]. The days dragon boat races are conducted so common that the festival can also be called as the Dragon Boat Festival.

Significance of the Issue

The Hong Kong Intangible Cultural Heritage Office released a report listed 480 items included in the inventory of intangible cultural heritage in Hong Kong in 2014. Moreover, dragon boat racing is no longer an event only held during dragon boat festival. The competitions are performed almost throughout the year in various places in Hong Kong where were ever important fishing ports, such as races in Stanley, Aberdeen, Cheung Chau, Chai Wan, Tai Po and Sau Kei Wan. The dragon boat races are also organized as an International Dragon Boat Races every year with the support of the Hong Kong government. It is interesting that an event of traditional Chinese festival could be developed as an International racing competition. The research questions are as followed:

1. What cultural heritage represented in Hong Kong by dragon boat racing?
2. How these are represented?

3. What are the transformations of the dragon boat racings in Hong Kong history?

4. What does it cause the transformations of cultural heritage in Hong Kong?

Literature Review

Intangible cultural heritage and the dragon boat racing traditions

According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in 2017, "Cultural heritage" includes: "Traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts." and "Intangible cultural heritage" is traditional, contemporary and living at the same time; (20 inclusive); representative; and community-based. Intangible cultural heritage does not only represent inherited traditions from the past but also contemporary rural and urban practices in which diverse cultural groups take part. "They have been passed from one generation to another, have evolved in response to their environments and they contribute to giving us a sense of identity and continuity, providing a link from our past, through the present, and into our future."

In addition, Hong Kong was the place for the interactions of eastern and western cultures under the British administration in the past. Its unique heritage meant that the cultural and arts sector had the potential to reach out of the world, referring to Hong Kong's

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long-established use of the global *lingua franca*. In general speaking, Dragon Boat Festival is to commemorate Qu Yuan, who drowned himself into the Miluo River around two thousand years ago due to the disappointment after being slandered by an insidious officer and dismissed his elevated position by the King (Zi Lan) at his aged 22 [2]. To save him, it is said that hundreds local water people drove and raced boats since the news of Qu Yuan's death spread to the local community. Then, people paddled in the river and beat drums in the aim of scaring away fish and water dragon from eating his body so that the spirit of him would last forever. According to folk legend, the ghost of Qu Yuan talked in front of the fishermen that his spirit was hungry since the river dragon had been eating his rice, and wrapping the rice in silk and tie with the colours of the emperor (red, blue, white, yellow and black) would dread the water dragon and help to prevent the situation.

About the origin of dragon boat festival, it was said the start was long before the death of Qu Yuan. The depictions of dragon boats were described in ancient books, such as nine songs of the Poetry of Chu, which the author was Qu Yuan. It could be proved that dragon boats existed before his death. The festival is confirmed by a modern scholar Wen Yidou that it was existed in China for 4,000 to 5,000 years. The ancient Yue people started the Dragon Boat Festival and became a traditional festival in China with recreational dragon boat race came into it [2]. The first use of rice packets was found in the Jin dynasty (266-316 A. D.) by the peasantry to celebrate the summer solstice. The pyramid-shaped glutinous rice dumpling became a traditional food in dragon boat festival and keep to the modern society. The core area of dragon boat racing was in the southern part of China. In the Chinese Lunar calendar, it was believed that the day of the solstice projected into it was on the fifth day of the month, also called "The correct middle".

Orthodoxly, the dragon boat was about 130 feet long and equipped with dragon heads, scales and tails. According to Eberhard, the dragon boat festival has no connection with the story of Qu Yuan, but should be associated with rice sacrifice to the river demons. The origin of dragon boat festival could be the one version of producing rain and bring fruitfulness. Groot claimed it is a festival purpose for rain in the summer solstice festival in Chinese Lunar Calendar. It is believed that rain was produced by a struggle between different dragons in the heavens. Hodus also claimed that the original idea of the festival was to sacrifice to the river gods for rain to ensure a good harvest in the agricultural society in the past. The other version of the festival was represented by different tsu groups in Chinese ethnic communities. Aijmer claimed that the earlier dragon boats carried different flags were representing to different tsu groups with their own temple spirit as reported by Miao Shen. The different ethnic groups came to the competitions to win luckiness in the year. Winners would be protected and Gods bless them in that year.

According to folk customs, "Dragon" in China represented the highest and strongest position. The emperor who kept the law and order was symbolized as the dragon of the nation to protect and defend from outside attackers. Dragons also represented positive spirits which could motivate the spirit of paddlers tactically. The idea of fertility also related with dragon boat racing as "Dragon" was believed to live in water or clouds. Dragon supposed to bring rain and water to the land during growing season in the fifth day of fifth month when the crops required rain.

Methodologies: How to Help for Findings

The study intends to have understanding and analysis of the dragon boat racings in Hong Kong. To have an extensive cultural

and historical investigation to find the distribution of the dragon boat racing and ritual in Hong Kong, the research aimed at getting more systematical understanding concerning features in the proper culture of various Chinese ethnic groups related to the dragon boat festival and collecting materials concerning the entire aspects of folk beliefs of traditional Chinese customs.

The research is conducted by historical comparative analysis. Explanation and identification of causal configurations and procedural outcomes of interest are basically the major concern of the inquiry. Historical and Comparative research examines the dragon boat racing as a historical event in Hong Kong context. The method creates explanations and involves comparisons of development processes of dragon boat racing across times and places. Based on the history of Hong Kong society, the study of historical sequences through describing historical changes and clarifying classifications are important to the comparative historical analysis. The research findings can be collected from materials of historical sources.

Comparing and integrating the data of the transformation and the content of dragon boat races in Hong Kong can be done through case studies. This way is an in-depth study of a situation and helps to provide a more realistic investigation through literature review, interview, observation and participation (active or passive). It requires a firm and clear focus on the issue, as the topic of this research is expected to compare the past and present dragon boat races, and discusses the transformations of cultural heritage of dragon boat races in Hong Kong.

Interviews are adopted and unstructured. The interviewer prepares a list of topic to be covered in mind, and an interview guide. Question would be asked in open-ended format that respondents are given more freedom to answer in whatever they like. Probing questions and follow-up question are used to clarify and gather further data. The Cha Kwo Ling community is chosen to conduct the interview. It is one of the major fishing communities in Hong Kong and they held their own dragon boat racing events in the past. This place is selected to be investigated the traditional transformation of dragon boat races. In addition, Suakeiwan was the place holding the first international dragon boat racing in 1976. The community maintains its own dragon boat racing now-a-days. The area can provide many stories of the changing fishing industry and dragon boat races. The two territories had their own Tin Hau temples respectively.

It is a qualitative research and we aim to acquire more in-depth understanding of the topic, the transformations of dragon boat racing in Hong Kong. Data are verbal which enable to tap subjectivity of meanings, values, beliefs and social norms. The research is less structured and more flexible in research design. This research method is open-ended that researcher observes whatever happened related to the research area. This method accelerates exchange between researcher and information that increases the relation of the study, and allows the researcher go beyond the prepared questions, and investigates further depending on the responses of interviewees.

In the study of the handbooks dragon boat races, this documentary analysis can also help to obtain different historical sources from past studies instead of sole sources. Triangulation can be processed for the need to increase the subjectivity and reliability of findings. The major sources of this research would be books, journals, and booklet from past studies and competitions to understand the history, traditions and past situation in dragon boat racing events. The information was acquired by notes, records on ritual proceedings, and personal participation. Methodological triangulation is applied with different data collection

methods. The researcher conducts observation as a participant. In the participant observation, the researcher took part in the actual activities of the dragon boat racing and the festival ceremony. The first-hand information of the local community was obtained as its background. It is extremely technical and outsiders do not easily know much of it, and it is more conducive in observing action. Data is collected in natural setting in context. As being a member of the dragon boat races, the researcher can have exact understanding and information about subjects of dragon boat racing. It has a deeper understanding of the subjects, such as the operation of dragon boat races and participatory ideas. Modification of research ways would be made according to the changes among the subjects. The researcher participates in the students' dragon boat team of the Education University of Hong Kong, both males and females can join the team. It is a team not formed with traditional fishing communities. The coach of the team is one of the committee members of the Hong Kong China Dragon Boat Association who held various dragon boat racing events. The culture in the team and their training in modern era of dragon boat races are explored.

Research and Findings

The dragon boat story came from throwing triangular leaf-wrapped rice cakes into the water on the Double Fifth. People paddled in the rivers and beat drums in the aim of scaring away fishes and water dragons from eating Qu Yuan's body so that the spirit of him could last forever. The tradition was changed that the dragon boat races had originated in efforts to recover Qu Yuan's body. The social anthropologists who were expert on rites and ceremonies could tell the clearer stories about their rituals. They can make an advocate of strict observance of ritualistic forms or characterized by or adhering to ritualism (Figures 1-5).

However, the source of information about the dragon boat festival during traditional times in the Hong Kong region was rare. Before



Figure 1: Aberdeen dragon boat races in 1880 (The photo as evidence).

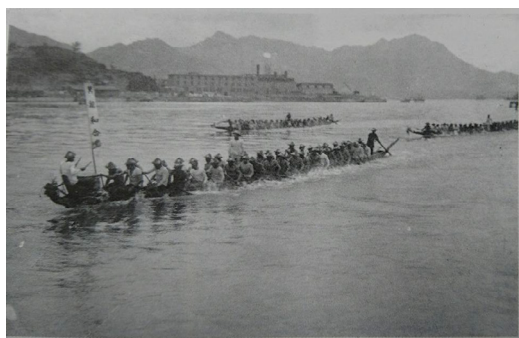


Figure 2: The dragon boat racing in Sai Wan Ho probably organized by the fishing community in 1924.



Figure 3: Dragon boat races became common activities in Hong Kong society after the Second World War in Hong Kong (photo in 1969).



Figure 4: Thanks to the gods made by the Taoist priest.



Figure 5: The rites of dragon boat include many procedures and complicated ritualism

the British administration in Hong Kong, the fishing communities were not well developed and the population size was small. Starting from the beginning of colonial Hong Kong, the dragon boat festival or the dragon boat races were not common. It is not sure whether the dragon boat racing existed in the Hong Kong region before the British administration. Aberdeen may be the first place to have dragon boat racing under the British administration. These were established later when the fishing communities were developed. More Tanka people moved to Hong Kong (Island) and its borders when more economic activities and opportunities were initiated and developed. Therefore, the matured fishing communities were established during this stage in the end of the Nineteenth Century. There were four large fishing ports established in Hong Kong during this period where they were Shaueiwan, Aberdeen, Cheung Chau and Stanley (sometimes Tai O instead of Stanley). The earliest found evidence of dragon boat racing in Hong Kong was found at Aberdeen in 1880. The dragon boat race held in the Eastern District in the year of 1919 was the other dragon boat racing recorded in Hong Kong with the purpose of celebrating the opening of Ming Yuen Playground in Tsat Tsz Mui of Northpoint. The performance was obviously not for the Tuen Ng Festival and it was merely a celebrating activity.

The dragon boat festival has been treated by many scholars and there were many versions of festival. It was ever regarded as a summer solstice festival. Or, the purpose of it was to produce rain for farming, where rain was produced by a struggle among different dragons in the

sky as stated from Chinese legend. The original idea of the dragon boat racing was to sacrifice the river gods for rain. Fishermen in Hong Kong, of course, dislike this. As rain is related to river dragons, the dragon boats were representation of these gods. Such that, this view expressed that the Quyuán story had no connection with the dragon boat festival in Hong Kong. It was merely being related to a rice bread sacrifice to the malevolent river demons. The ceremonies should be regarded as the symbolic aspect of the transplantation of rice. The activities connected with the divergent phases of the cultivation of rice must have been vested with value-creating meaningfulness. The interpretation of ceremonialism was the symbolic aspect of the transplantation of the rice in rural societies. The festival was rooted in the ancient traditional culture of the dragon boat racing. In fact, the dragon boat festival had spread out in all directions from the Hunan areas to many near Asian areas. It had been enjoying general popularity for a long time.

On the contrary, the fishing people were discriminated by the Chinese society for a long time. And the ceremony taken by fishermen was generally not expensive. Therefore, the society of Hong Kong during the early stage of the Twentieth Century made the dragon boat racing merely help their jubilation. However, the fishing society took these serious. They emphasized ritualism because the dragon boat was not merely an instrument for them in making fishery and the dragon was their God. For example, they could not keep the dragon month empty and always provided some cereal sucking (keep in the mouth without chewing). It is an important ritual among the societies of boat people.

There are various temples enshrined Tin Hau (the Heaven of Queen). The temples were built among the coastal areas around Hong Kong. This could show that Tin Hau, also known as Ma Tsu, was being consecrated among different fishing communities in Hong Kong. According to the legend, Ma Tsu worship can be traced to a goddess, who appeared in Fukien (福建) during the Sung Dynasty (around the thirteenth century). Ma Tsu often rescued people during misfortune at sea and became highly deemed for her supernatural virtue. She was bestowed titles by the emperors of dynasties and came to be respected as a protector against sea disaster. She was particularly adored as a guardian goddess for voyages, and various temples were constructed enshrining her [3,4].

It was mentioned that there was small scale of dragon boat racing event at Tai Po in Hong Kong before the Second World War. In the past, Tai (傣) ethnic people were expected living in Hong Kong regions. They worshiped gods (祀神), ate rice dumplings, and performed dragon boat racing events. Fishermen used small fishing boat as dragon boat by beating drums and striking gongs (敲鑼打鼓) in order to drive out evil spirits (驅魔逐妖) for protection and being safe. The boat people were nomadic and were discriminated by those living ashore. In the traditional Chinese history, the Tanka people were not provided with rights in living on land. They lacked permanent landed places and had the potential physical mobility by boat-dwelling. The Tanka people were illiterate and their economic dependence was put upon people who were fish merchants. These factors prevented the emergence of linkage among the Tanka [4]. Therefore, the fishing people making their own communities were not common. Many fishing related organizations established were done by the land people, such as fish dealers of shop owners nearby.

The study of fishing communities in Hong Kong showed that the fishing associations were open to anyone who might consider the characteristics of the boat people who had the potential for physical mobility and had the tendency to establish various bonds [4]. The

requirements to become members of fishing organizations were not so strict and the members were those who paid the membership fee. They must secure the necessary funds for activities of dragon boat festival. It was important that they could join in the various events of the Dragon Boat Festival annually.

The old traditional villages of Tai O gave a good example of explanation about the complicated formation of fishing related communities in the Hong Kong regions. It had been a hundred years ago that the organizations of the dragon boat festival were established by the trading guilds and the fishing organizations. But the fishing organizations were not organized by fishermen. They were mainly fishing merchants, such as wholesalers of fish, tailors, goldsmiths, owners of paperwork shops and so on. The people welcome the dragon boats in their village as if the boats were a symbol of good fortune [4]. In conclusion, among the borders of fishing communities in Hong Kong, we could not find the shadow of celebrating Quyuén and the tradition of the boat people did not contain any worship service related to Quyuén also.

How is the dragon boat racing of Hong Kong in the past? The rites and originations in the Hong Kong region were quite different from one another. Some places were large in scale and their rites were complicated and certain areas were held the dragon boat racing in different seasons in Hong Kong. There were several parts of rites in different communities, but some areas were relatively small in scale and these rites were rather simple. It roughly reflected the formation of the fishing communities and identity in Hong Kong. Whether the fishing communities or organizations were formed heavily depended on prosperousness of boat people. They would like to organize themselves for the reasons that they earned more money and they trended to make up themselves for protecting their rights and revealing the attainment in their societies. The fishing people could change their status only possible in Hong Kong. They had no rights living on land in China, but Hong Kong could provide these possibilities. Therefore, they could transform their status from fishermen to fish merchants, or related industries.

Moreover, there were many temples and mausoleums which were strongly related to the dragon boat festival in Tai O. In ceremony during the Dragon Festival, some temples were significant in their religious life. These sowed the status of some bodies originated from fishermen and changes to hold the land properties. Their landing should be prohibited in China but they could do so under the British Administration. The opportunity was made possible with their economic condition obviously.

The old wooden head of the dragon boat was made over 100 years ago in Tai O. It held the history of the Dragon Boat Festival and was stored in Hau Wang temple. The shape of the head was obviously different from recent shapes of various dragon heads. It was reported that the dragon boat race was not held in Tai O and religious ceremony by deity boats was practiced in the olden days. This ceremony is kept on today and got famous internationally. The ceremony was called Tai O Dragon Boat Water Parade and it was merely practiced by three deity boats. These large boats of three important organizations in Tai O conducted the ceremony before the dragon boat racing began as usual. It is one of the 480 items included in the Intangible Cultural Heritage Inventory of Hong Kong.

The important meaning of the ritual ceremony processes in traditional China was noteworthy in the river regions. There were some prominent features of the social structure about dragon boat racing in the freshwater regions of the traditional Chinese communities.

Generally speaking, the dragon boats belonged to special clearly defined regions. This point deserves special emphasis.

However, Hong Kong was surrounded by sea water, not fresh water. The several ways of people's life had different dialects and the traditional culture of the water dwellers which formed a part of the circle of the coastal culture of the southeastern China. The living place of Qu Yuan was a freshwater river and the traditional culture of dragon boat festival should be performed in the rural areas of inland. Basically, these were the activities and rituals of inland rivers and should not be the ceremony of people living in coastal areas like Hong Kong. But gradually, these were transferred to the sea coastal regions by the Tanka people. The dragon boat races were started by these dragon boat rituals and transformed as racing festivals in various places.

Exorcism (驅魔) was important for the traditional society when scientific knowledge was not common. The ghosts or monstrosities were taken the blame for the loss of any bad things like getting sickness or meeting with disastrous damages in the fishing or rural societies. Not offering thanks to the gods was identified for these. To exchange



Figure 6: The leaders of Cha Kwo Ling Lap Yi Lung.



Figure 7: The temples holding the dragon boat rituals in Tai O for one hundred years.



Figure 8: The god shrine during the dragon boat parade of Tai O.



Figure 9: Vegetables were fed to the dragon under sacrificial ritual (Dragon head of Tai O).



Figure 10: Cha Kwo Ling Lap Yi Lung was titled the Dragon King in the 1980s.

toasts for the gods by dragon boat rituals were the ways to drive out devils which were generally believed in Chinese culture or tradition. Therefore, the dragon parade or races could help to do so in Chinese legend. It was the common organization that united the different villages belonging to a certain dragon boat. The group was represented by a boat taking part in the ceremony. It was similar with the fishing communities within the Hong Kong regions. Cha Kwo Ling Lap Yi Lung was a typical example. The fishing community represented the whole region taking part in the dragon boat racing annually (Figures 6-10).

The social structure of the dwellers and the dragon boat festival were observed. People were firstly divided into the organizations according to boat regions in the fishing communities. The crews of the dragons were naturally the key representatives of the group. The fishing communities united the different villages belonging to a certain dragon boat. Dragon Boat Festival played a key role in maintaining the cooperation of in Chinese fishing communities from the actual construction of the boats themselves to the cycle of rituals which accompanied their use [1]. The festival to them, had the social function and symbolic meaning that a series of essential values which was ultimately what the festival celebrates in the community, such as its ideology and worldviews, social identity, historical continuity, and physical survival [1] (Figures 2 and 3).

It is believed that the power of Dragon Boat racing would help in curing and preventing diseases. In 1953, one Roman Catholic fisherman in Aberdeen mentioned that although the age was too old to join the dragon boat races, he still had one or two turns at the Dragon Boat for the aim of helping his family the stay away from sickness. What are the ritual ceremony processes of the dragon boat racing in the past, and what is the meaning? The ritual process of the dragon boat festival included many dragon boat rituals and various activities of ceremonies.

The re-vitalization and sacralization of dragon boats were regarded as the hybrid belief complex [4]. Outsiders should not make confusion before making their conclusion. In addition to the dragon boat racing, the traditional ceremonies of the dragon boat festival were many which basically included:

Birthday of Tin Hau (Tiānhòu dàn 天后誕),

Push dragon (Tui lóng 推龍),

Picking green (Cǎi qīng 採青),

Please God (Qǐng shén 請神),

Installing God (Ānshén 安神),

Drink dragon (Hē lóng 喝龍),

Picking trophy (Cǎi biāo 採標),

Burning cloth (Huà yī 化衣), and

Throw a cup (Zhì bēi 擲杯)

The performance of these rituals and the staging of the dragon boat races demonstrated a community's piety and fidelity towards the gods. They were part of an annual cycle of ceremonies which, combined, served to protect the fishermen while at sea and the community from unfriendly spirits, and to bless the village with prosperity and happiness. In anthropological terms, the Dragon Boat Festival involved both sacred and profane elements (i.e., a ceremony with religious significance accompanied by events of a secular nature often marked by revelry) which were made manifest in public celebration and feasting.

The dragon boat racing was transformed for many years in Hong Kong. The decline of the fishing communities made the dragon boats' cultural heritage not be sustainable. The areas in Hong Kong where the dragon boat festivals were held were many, such as Tai O, Cheung Chau, Aberdeen, Stanley, Shau Kei Wan, Causeway Bay, Yau Ma Lei, Castle Peak, Tai Po and Sai Kung. Some could not sustain to maintain the Dragon Boat Racing now-a-days.

In Chinese mythology, dragons were always male. Women were not allowed to participate in any ritual activities because of the ancient belief that women were unclean, especially during menstruation and women were discriminated. When ladies first started racing, it was done in Hong Kong fair society was attained. They took to the water in phoenix boats (鳳艇). That is to say that female can only join in the dragon's bride - assumed a phoenix. Now-a-days, these are seldom seen phoenix boat (鳳艇). In the Stanley Dragon Boat Racing 1961 held by the Stanley Kaifong Association, there were executive committees for the issue of women race and performances. In olden day, races running were open for local teams only. Men were also banned if their parents had died within 49 days (say 7×7 days). By the end of 1970s, ladies were allowed to participate commonly in Hong Kong, too.

I was a participant of dragon boat races in Hong Kong. There were majority of men and women seldom participated in these races in Hong Kong. Women were discriminated. The fitness trainings are important for sportsmen and they should well train themselves by sit-ups, push-ups and many machine trainings. Physical fitness is crucial for the team spirit and performance of the dragon boat racing so that every member of the dragon boat should keep themselves fit enough in participate the competitions. However, being women was not common being forced to train hardly during the training programme. These were not allowed for men participants. Females were always being preferential treatment during the activities of dragon boat training. Women were not required



Figure 11: Cha Kwo Ling Lap Yi Lung was abdicated and worshipped annually.

to help for the transportation of the dragon boat from the store place to water and returning back during training. The modernized society of today's Hong Kong, gender relationship still has discrimination seriously whether you agree with.

Later, the dragon boat races were hijacked by wealthy people in Hong Kong. Dragon boat racing events were a tradition of fishermen, and it was too general to think that only local fishermen could organize and participate in the competitions. Going through the history of dragon boat racing events, it could be seen that some wealthy people had taken over the events and used these as different forms. Refer to the booklet of the Aberdeen Dragon Boat Racing in 1965; it was found that some committee members of the competition were not local fishermen. Wealthy people (businessmen) became key persons in the committee. But still only fishermen appeared on the "Representatives of Participating Dragon Boat Clubs" of the booklet which showed that only fishermen could join the races in 1965.

Refer to the race booklet of Stanley Dragon Boat Races 1961 and Aberdeen Dragon Boat Races 1965, the introduction of Dragon Boat Festival was exactly the same. The introduction part mentioned the brief idea on the relations of Dragon Boat Festival and Qu Yuan. However, the two parts did not mention the importance and the cultural meaning of Dragon Boat Festival and dragon boat racing of the local fishing village, or even in Hong Kong. This could show that the two organizing committees did not really understand the history of the festival and races in these two places (Figure 11).

Rich men started to become some major committee members of dragon boat racing events while the local fishermen appeared at the lower level of the committee which was expected originally an event only organized and participated by local fishermen. The above situation showed that dragon boat racing events had hijacked by wealthy businessmen and local committees. This revealed the discrimination between the land people and the boat people. Furthermore, the fishing business deteriorated and the members of fishing organizations lessened fishermen members. The dragon boat races in Hong Kong started to be internationalized in 1976. The cultural heritage of dragon boat races transformed very much during this stage. The domination of the management of the races came from business. These financial assistances of the races were the interests of Business Company and being a part of annual financial budget of some prominent companies. These public good activities were their public welfare. The instrumental function of charity was advertisement more than preserving cultural heritage. The television broadcasting programme always conducted the company's dragon boat team participated the races by direct broadcasted programme during the dragon boat racing, such as the HSBC's team and the TVB's team.

Modernization of dragon boats and dragon boat racings jeopardized cultural heritage seriously. Due to the decline of economic

development of the fishing villages in Hong Kong in 1970s, the Hong Kong Tourist Association (HKTA) reintegrated and cooperated with some fishing communities to organize dragon boat racing event together. Some communities could not organize their own dragon boat races. They held the first international dragon boat races in 1976 in Hong Kong with the support of Hong Kong government and Cathay Pacific. The main persons of the organizer were no longer the local fishermen since they did not have the money and manpower to organize the races. The dragon boat racing entered the modern era that teams can be divided into different groups depending on organizers of the races, such as Chinese, expatriates, men, women, youth and mixed categories. New forms of dragon boat racing popularized in Hong Kong due to its popularity. More categories joined into the races and treated it as a sport activity, e.g. corporate teams formed by companies, professional teams from registered sports teams. It was no longer the traditional cultural heritage for ritualizing the Gods and bless for health or good luckiness. The dragon boat races became carnival gathering of international or famous companies in Hong Kong.

Standardization of dragon boats further transformed Chinese legend. Originally, the dragon boat was long and narrow which was propelled by some fifty paddlers. Each fishing society had their own dragon boats with their own design and decoration. The largest dragon boat, called "Big Dragon", in Hong Kong was designed for 56 paddlers. The dragon boat was guided by a steersman (舵手) who used a steering oar standing or sitting at the stern. Also, there was a person sitting or standing at the front or the middle of dragon boat for the purpose of timekeeping (Figure 12).

Traditionally, there were regulations in dragon boat racing competition and the implications were not restricted in the past. The International Dragon Boat Federation (IDBF) has created international regulations and standard of dragon boat racing competitions. Their standard race was a crew with 22 people, including 20 paddlers, 1 steersman, and 1 drummer. Usually, dragon boats would be provided by the organizer while some competitions provided standard paddles for the race. There were large dragons, middle dragons and small dragons now-a-days but the standardized medium dragon boats become more common.

The hull and carvings of traditional dragon boats were made by teak and camphorwood respectively. Stability, density, durability and high oil content making teak had the best properties for a marine application for dragon boat. Teak are expensive and large teak planks have major problem that the wood would shrink when exposed to humid and dry conditions alternately. This might result boat leakage. The problem of leakage was prevented by burying the dragon boats under the mud to keep the boat moisture so as to prolong the life of the boat. Therefore, the dragon boat and the dragon head were store separately.



Figure 12: Thanks to the gods made by the paddler.

In order to solve the difficulties in storage and maintenance of building materials, the modern dragon boats are made by fiberglass due to certain peculiarities of teak. In the modern society, due to the popularity and the length and weight of dragon boats, they are usually stored on land in dragon boat training centers or in transporting companies. The dragon boats would not be exposed directly to the Sun, rain and salt that may add to the problems of just contain their maintenance and shorten the life spans. There are some benefits of using fiberglass as a building material that with a half of the weight of dry teak dragon boat and they are easy to build with one same mod. Moreover, the maintenance was easier. The weight difference of the left and right side of the dragon boat are controlled within 30 pounds of each fiberglass boat while the differences of teak boats could reach hundreds of ponds. These differences may jeopardize the performance of running of the dragon boat. The mold could be easily kept in immaculate condition by lifting a dragon boat in the mold when it is partially or completely finished until it needs to make a new one. By this procedure, the mold could prevent from dust or damage by sharp object. Molding is the way of producing and reproducing standardized dragon boats now-a-days.

In the late 1960s, foreigners in Hong Kong developed the interest in dragon boating and formed their own dragon boat team. The Stanley Dragon Boat Festival Racing Competition was first introduced an expatriate race category in the mid-1970s. In 1976, the first international dragon boat race was held in Hong Kong by the Hong Kong Tourist Association (HKTA) and the Association of Hong Kong Fishermen. The expatriate started to pay attention to dragon boating. In 1987 and 1990, the foundation of British Dragon Boat Racing Association (BDA) and European Dragon Boat Federation (EDBF) were set up in Hong Kong. By 1991, the Dragon Boat Federation (IDBF) and Asian Dragon Boat Federation (ADBF) were constituted. International dragon boat association is set in different regions of the world, and is run based on the format of other water sports. Dragon boating has caught the interest and attention and being widely spread to other parts of the world as water sport that are not in Chinese tradition. It is no longer related to cultural heritage.

In some dragon boat racings today, some fishermen participants burned pieces of coloured paper first and threw them to water. They retained these traditions of dragon boating. This is symbolic as giving money to the spirit in water. In the modern Stanley Dragon Boat Races, some traditional ceremonies still process. It could be found that in a session the dragon boats paddled forward and back for three times in the direction of facing the Tin Hau Temple where they were blessed. There is a symbolic meaning of bowing by the dragon.

In the past of Hong Kong, there was a taboo that women could not touch and paddle dragon boats for a long history. Phoenix then appeared for women to paddle in. In the recent days, there are still some dragon boat that are treated as the spirit that women cannot touch. However, in most of the dragon boat races men and women are using the same dragon boats now-a-days. Phoenix boat 鳳艇 are seldom being used in the modern dragon boat races. There are also mixed gender races held in the competitions.

The races now-a-days are institutionalized that clear regulations and formulated referees manage the races. During the modern races performing, these flagged buoys mark the tracks, starting and ending points with calibration points. The running tracks are stationed and points were anchored. At the starting point, straight line is marked by a rope. There is also a rope for drummer and steersman to hold their boat in a proper starting position in each lane. Therefore, every team of dragon boats is treated more equal.

Why are people joining dragon boat racing now-a-days? People joining dragon boat team considered as a sport and some for leisure. The other teams are in the promotion of business by dragon boat racing. The team presents it as a water sport. When being members in the team, some show their intention to treat dragon boating as an intensive water sport or some for their own interests. Some started dragon boating because of the promotion of school sports team if they are students.

For people who are participating in the dragon boat team, it is often to talk about the theory of paddling techniques and the rules of dragon boat. In the meantime, they have regular training sessions to execute and excel the techniques within the team. Usually there would be three training sessions a week, including one land training (focus on power building) and two water training (focus on correcting technique). The team believed that with sufficient training will build a better condition to endure race demands. The dragon boat team concerns about the power, endurance, technique and unity. They believed that only muscle power could get the boat up to speed, and endurance would help the boat to keep the pace. As a result, teammates or coach focus on muscle and strength as training targets.

For the foreign audience of dragon boat races, it is reported in a research that only one third of the respondents aware of the races before the departure of their hometown. Most of the respondents were found that they had little understanding of the meaning or culture behind dragon boat festival in Hong Kong [3]. This showed the large ignorant of the existence and meaning of dragon boat racing and dragon boat festival exactly. For local race viewers, it is common to hear a question "Why there is dragon boat racing when it is not in Dragon Boat Festival?" from both adults and kids. This showed they do not know the meaning and development of the dragon boat racing now-a-days. The team talked about the team works and techniques to maximize the power through different trainings, so that the team could achieve the highest stroke frequency. They did not talk the history and the meaning of dragon boat racing in Chinese culture.

The team believed that the effort and performance of all team members sat on the dragon boat is decisive as the power and frequency of each member differ. When talked about dragon boating, they consider the four main techniques in dragon boating, which are the reach, catching of the water, the pull, the exit and the recovery. In every water training and debriefing session, their talks focus on discussing these processes to help the dragon boat to move as fast as possible. They tried the entry angle in different race distances, length of the pull, the power and position of the paddle, etc. It is complete instrumental function of dragon boat races and is not cultural heritage more.

Discussion and Conclusion

There is a long tradition of Dragon Boat racing in China. The fishing organizations celebrated the rites of the Dragon Boat Festival. Hong Kong was a special place under the British administration. In some senses, the upholding of traditional china values even when China itself had had abandoned them was as much a British imperial heritage as the creation of the modern man in Hong Kong. In addition, the dragon boat racing was its ceremonial variation for men. The ceremonial aspect of Dragon Boat racing is lost in the modern sport. The races were part of complex ceremonials often coinciding with the Summer Solstice. Legends and historical records on Qu Yuan worship were reviewed but interestingly enough, there were no temple built for Qu Yuan in Hong Kong. Moreover, the important findings of Shiratori in Hong Kong were not commonly mentioned that the boat dwellers

who lived in the areas of islands and took part in the actual activities of dragon boat festival showed no signs of concern about the Qu Yuan legend [4]. The fishermen mainly believed the Heaven of Queen (Tin Hau) in Hong Kong.

The boats ranged in size considerably and there are records of Dragon Boats with 80 or more paddlers. Modern Boats tend to be smaller. Most Dragon Boat races use the 20 paddler plus a Drummer and a Steerer. 10 paddler models are also available and sometimes raced. The ownership of dragon was changed also that the fishermen organizations occupied their own dragon boats in the old days. Now-a-days, the dragon races are corporatized and many business companies provide dragon boats for racing. The dragon boat teams do not own their boats but they practice and participate in races by renting fiberglass made dragon boats. More interestingly in 2017, the dragon boat races are for the celebrating the Twentieth Anniversary of Hong Kong retrocession to China [5-7].

Urbanization

Cha Kwo Ling Lap Yi Dragon was the winner for a long time. But the fishing community of Cha Kwo Ling changed and declined in the 1980s, due to the change of economic structure in Hong Kong and the disintegration of their fishing communities. Their dragon team was not sustainable. Today, the dragon boat is kept for exhibition only and it is no longer in serving for dragon boat racing. The ritual is kept and the ceremony of giving thanks to the gods is conducted and continued annually. Owing to the disintegration of fishing communities in Hong Kong, each fishing organization could not keep their own dragon boat to represent their own gods [8,9].

As modernization and materialization processed in Hong Kong, the importance of Taoist beliefs decreased [1], The dragon boat festival declined in the late twentieth century. There were only a few fishing communities held dragon boat racing during the early 1970s [10-12] (Figure 3).

The fishing communities of Hong Kong were being encouraged by the Hong Kong Travel Association (HKTA) to revive dragon boat racing. Nine Hong Kong local fishing communities formed. The Urban Council and the HKTA provided financial support and re-constructed dragon boat racing in 1970s. In order to increase the publicity of the races, the team from Japan was invited with the sponsor from HKTA and Cathay Pacific. The first dragon boat racing event supported by the Hong Kong government finally attracted 300 participants [1]. Moreover, international tourists were activated [13-15].

The HKAT agreed with the fishing communities on the Taoist rituals in dragon boat racing for ensuring the authenticity of the festival. The dragon boats of the competition were not built according to the traditional construction ways and designs. The building materials were teak and camphor wood now-a-days. The tradition Taoist ceremony was kept uncommonly. But the rituals could be sustained [16-18].

Modernization

Many places of traditional and ritual ceremonies of the Dragon Boat Festival could not be kept on. The dragon boat ritual was no longer representing the rituals of wards off disease and it was a help celebrating programme for the modern business. (Such as Red Bull Race - brand building process through dragon boat racing activity) The dragon boat racing in Hong Kong is developed as an International competition could be used to generate a favourable image of Hong Kong and at the same time generate international publicity [1]. Traditional rituals, superstitions, and human sacrifice are ignored [19].

Standardized and sportization

Now-a-days, dragon boat racing is common in Hong Kong and it is organized as a water sport. Hong Kong played a key role in the spread and development of standardized dragon boat racing. The races are not only held on Dragon Boat Festival, but throughout the whole year [20].

Dragon boat racers participate in dragon boat races as a sport while tradition meaning and rituals are not being paid attention. Today, people concern mainly about standard rules, training methods and techniques when talking about dragon boat racing. Traditional Taoist ceremonies and taboos of dragon boat racing are being downplayed in modern forms, for example ritual ceremony is simplified or cancelled, and people who are not from fishing communities could join the races. There are more teams formed from non-Chinese, non-fishermen, or even women.

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