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Implications of Concentrated Utilization
of Local Facilities and Services in
Public Housing Estates in Hong Kong

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HOUSING ESTATES IN HONG KONG

by

Angela W.S. Kan

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Neighborhood as a Planning Concept

The question of "Is the neighborhood unit socially valid?" has been discussed for decades by students of urban planning who appear to be still sharply divided on the issue.⁽¹⁾ The adequacy of the neighborhood theory as a planning concept was opposed as promoting specialization, segregation and as an attempt to recreate an idealized form of village-life which is essentially anti-urban. In spite of the oppositions, the essence of the neighborhood principle of building townships into smaller, more manageable units in the form of neighborhoods, containing population sharing facilities and services that are conveniently accessible to the individual households, has been applied to a large extent. As a study made by Goss on British new towns concluded that,

"Despite the shortcomings of many neighborhood units, there is little doubt that most of the new neighborhood units in British new towns represent a qualitative advance over most pre-war housing estates. The neighborhood units built in Britain were the first real attempts on a nation-wide scale to plan residential areas comprehensively with shops, schools, community buildings and open spaces fitted into residential areas as part of a planned pattern"⁽²⁾

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- (1) Supporters are represented by Lewis Mumford, C.A. Doxiadis, Clarence Stein and Frank Lloyd Wright. Critics include scholars as Reginald Isaacs, Jane Jacobs Catherine Bauer and others. For details of the debate, please refer to their writings listed in the Bibliography.
- (2) Anthony Goss "Neighborhood Units in British New Towns" Town Planning Review XXXII No.1 (April 1961) p.66-82

Snow and Others were probably right to state that,

"The question is not whether or not the neighborhood ideal should be fostered, but what is the best approach in terms of planning, to bring about the realization of the neighborhood ideal"(3)

Most of the lately built new towns in Hong Kong are designed as fully integrated self-contained townships with residential accommodation, employment opportunities and a range of community facilities provided - shop spaces, schools, clinics, nurseries, youth centres and children's club. In the more recent housing estates, primary schools, welfare and community organizations are being concentrated in especially designed buildings. The inevitable trend of future development in Hong Kong tend to be the thinning of urban population by dispersal policy to these new towns with planned infra-structure which can hopefully bring forth the "neighborhood ideal".

The Use of Local Neighborhood

Undoubtedly, there is always a gap between what is ideally planned and the actual realization. It is a well-established fact that the local neighborhood is more important for some groups than for others.⁽⁴⁾ It varies according to the resources of the residents themselves. These resources may be economic, psychological, cultural or ecological. The immobile young or old, the disabled, the overburdened and the isolated need the neighborhood most. They cannot

(3) David A. Snow, Thomas Fuller and Ashok K. Dutt "Neighborhood Planning : A Historical and Critical Analysis" Greek Review of Social Research No.14 (Oct. 1970) p.195

(4) H.L. Ross "The Local Community : A Survey Approach" American Sociological Review Vol.27 No. 1 (Feb. 1962) p.75-84

venture very far from their immediate dwellings. They are no more than 'block-dwellers', whereas the relatively better-off, better-educated and the mobile are the 'city-dwellers' and 'city-users'⁽⁵⁾ The 'block-dwellers' need the local neighborhood for the basic necessities of goods and services, as well as for the intangible need of friendship, neighboring, mutual aid and attachment⁽⁶⁾.

In considering the existence of neighborhood, Keller uses "the concentrated use of an area's facilities for shopping, leisure and learning" as one of the four indices⁽⁷⁾. This involves a comparison of the geographic units with the 'catchment areas'⁽⁸⁾ of the following facilities and services for degrees of boundary coincidences: the catchment areas (that is, the spatial distribution of members) of all elementary and secondary schools, shopping habits, commuting pattern for the employed, the neighborhood playgrounds and parks, community welfare and recreational services and so forth.

(5) Alvin L. Schorr Slums and Social Insecurity Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare 1963 p.41

(6) Subject of 'neighboring' has been dealt with in the author's other paper "A Study of Neighborly Interaction in Public Housing : The Case of Hong Kong" Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong June 1974

(7) The distinctiveness of a neighborhood stems from four attributes as classified by Keller as :-

- "a. geographical boundaries;
- b. ethnic or cultural characteristics of the inhabitants;
- c. psychological unity among people who feel that they belong together; and,
- d. concentrated use of an area's facilities for shopping, leisure and learning"

in Suzanne Keller The Urban Neighborhood : A Sociological Perspective Random House : New York 1968 p.87

(8) Ibid. p.94

A high degree of concentrated use of local facilities and services may not result in greater local pride or identity, nor in greater neighborliness or emotional attachments to the area. Some local facilities or services may turn out unexpectedly 'over-utilized', 'under-utilized' or 'mis-utilized' from the original design of the planners. Factors that may affect the local use of the facilities and services are those concerning the characteristics of the users themselves, the types and functions of the facilities, their adequacy and accessibility, the degree of isolation of the neighborhood and the accessibility of nonlocal facilities.

- One of the main reasons for the lack of use of the facilities given by critic Herbert Gans is "the planner's physical bias". He puts it in the following way,

"In planning land uses, the location and design of buildings, streets, other transportation facilities, utility lines and open spaces, the profession sees mainly the natural and man-made physical artifacts of the city. It aims to arrange and rearrange these artifacts to create an orderly - often even static - efficient and attractive community the planner ignores almost entirely the people who live in the community, and without whom there would be no buildings or land uses. He does not plan for them either as individuals or as members of group. Indeed he does not even pay much attention to how they use these facilities. For the planners, people are little more than artifacts. They are expected to function within the housing, land uses and other community arrangements which he provides, and are supposed to sub-ordinate their personal and familial interests to the needs of the neighborhood, the community and the community plan, and to share the planner's goals of order, efficiency and beauty for their community."(9)

(9) Herbert Gans "Planning for People, not Buildings" paper presented to the ALCAN Conference on "The Human Factors in Planning" University College, London, 5th April 1968. Paper also appeared in Environment And Planning Vol. 1 No. 1 (1969) p.33-46.

It is the purpose of the present paper to discuss in detail the need for and concentrated use of local facilities and social services, and the factors behind the non-use of such facilities. General observations will be based on the findings of surveys carried out in two Resettlement Estates in Hong Kong. It may raise more questions than it answers. However, with the following preliminary findings as guidelines, further research into this area should bring about sounder planning principles and more appropriate physical environment to meet the needs of the people concerned. We have to bear in mind always that the objective of planning is to help people solve their problems and to realize their goals.

CHAPTER TWO
 PROVISION OF FACILITIES AND SOCIAL SERVICES
 IN RESETTLEMENT ESTATES IN HONG KONG

It was stated very clearly when the Resettlement Department came into being in April 1954 that squatter clearance and resettlement was not a welfare operation in any sense⁽¹⁰⁾ and that the Department was not a welfare agency. On the other hand, if the Resettlement Estates were to be successful, the persons who were becoming the direct tenants of Government had to be "assisted to build up orderly community; they had to learn self-respect and respect for the rights of their neighbors; they had to be taught to make the best of the simple accommodations provided, to forget the defeatist attitude towards dirt and disease which pervades the squatter areas, to make their small contribution to the Colony's revenue, and to take advantage of such social services as the Colony is able to offer to her people."⁽¹¹⁾

It was recognized that the process of integration can never be made effective merely through restrictive rules and regulations. There must be a positive side to the process of teaching the people what it can mean to be a citizen. To have this materialized, the

(10) "What was required was not primarily to improve the living conditions of that section of the community which happened to be breaking the law relating to the occupation of Crown land: the task was to devise a rapid and practical method, at a cost at least less than prohibitive, of removing, in the interest of the whole community, the fire risk and the threat to public health and public order presented by the worst squatter areas"
 Commissioner for Resettlement Annual Departmental Report 1945-55 p.30

(11) Ibid. p.40

Resettlement Assistants in fact have to be part-welfare officer, part-teacher, part-health inspector and part-rent-collector. So much more was felt to be needed than can be accomplished by the administrative staffs. For this reason, voluntary agencies were encouraged to undertake welfare work of all kinds in the estates by the Social Welfare Office and the Resettlement Department. A brief description of the different marks of resettlement estates is shown in Appendix C.

Education and Welfare

In the early Mark I and II blocks, the Resettlement Department had no sites to offer to the voluntary agencies to run boys' and girls' recreation centres, milk distribution centres or reading rooms. These agencies could either rent rooms for their activities at the normal rate of \$14 a month for a single room or may have the free use of large roof playgrounds, with large penthouses at either end of the arms of the H-shaped blocks.⁽¹²⁾ The urgent need for schools was met by allocating the rooftops to be used for primary schools, the penthouses at either end being enclosed and converted into classrooms, while the open spaces in between become school playgrounds.

The housing estates built later, with their large concentrations of people, present greater needs and opportunities for welfare work of all descriptions. Since the rooftops were insufficient to meet the need for schools and welfare facilities in the early

(12) The agencies had been paying \$1 per month as a symbolic rent. Starting from 1st April 1974, a new policy of charging 50 cents per sq. ft. has adopted and the rent for each agency varies according to the total area it occupies.

estates, ground floor rooms in the selected blocks of both Mark I and II designs were reserved for these purposes. Structural limitations in the newer designs of resettlement blocks preclude the use of the rooftops for these purposes; and in the Mark IV, V and VI estates, it is likewise impossible to have schools on the ground floors. Specially modified top-floor accommodations have been provided for schools in a number of the Mark III blocks, while free-standing school buildings, each having six-storeys and with 24 classrooms, have been built to serve the Mark IV, V and VI blocks⁽¹³⁾.

As to welfare work in the Marks I, II, and III estates, rooftop and ground floor rooms are used as nurseries, clubs, clinics, casework centres and for many other welfare purposes. In the Mark IV, V and VI estates, however, although some ground floor rooms are available for welfare activities which require little space, these facilities will be largely accommodated in separate Estate Welfare Buildings. One building to every 50,000 persons is the normative standard used. These Welfare Buildings house a variety of services, both government and unofficial, planned and coordinated by the Social Welfare Department and the Hong Kong Council of Social Service.

(13) One classroom for every 450 persons was laid down as the standard for planning of primary schools. If one class consists of 45 students, then 1 seat is reserved for every 10 persons (or 2 seats for 10 persons when the classroom is used both for morning and afternoon sessions). In other words, the standard is set on the assumption that among 10 persons in the population, there will be one or two persons of primary school age. The secondary school is planned on the district level and the standard is one classroom for every 600 persons.

Parks and Playgrounds

Recreation areas are included in all resettlement estates. These may take a variety of forms : fields for football, basketball and other forms of active recreation, children's playgrounds equipped with swings, slides and other attractions, or rest gardens and sitting-out areas. The areas are allocated, surfaced and fenced during the construction of the estate, and then handed over to the Urban Services Department to equip and manage.

Medical Clinics

Medical services in the Resettlement Estates for some years were carried out in a number of vans converted into make-shift 'mobile' clinics run by a variety of agencies. At the end of 1967, the Medical and Health Department introduced a scheme to replace the mobile units by low-cost clinics in charge of qualified medical practitioners located on the ground floors of domestic blocks. Hospitals and polyclinics are planned on the district level.

Commercial Premises, Shops and Cottage Industries

Squatters who had been operating shops and workshops were allocated spaces on the ground floors of the domestic blocks to continue their businesses after resettlement. The modifications introduced in the later blocks built from 1961 onwards produced a variety of shop sizes. These have a wide miscellany of trades such as restaurants, retail stores, shops for fresh meat and fish, hairdressers, and dry-cleaners. Ground floor workshops also accommodate a great variety of enterprises while tenants have always been allowed to carry on certain simple and inoffensive cottage industries in their upper floor domestic rooms such as tailoring, assembling plastic goods, and knitting.

In the above, we have laid down glimpses of the general provision of facilities and services in most of the resettlement estates. We may perhaps note a few characteristics concerning the underlying policy of planning and managing of these facilities and services.

First, facilities and services are described as adequate or inadequate in terms of acreage ratios of thousands of population (as in the number of schools and number of Estate Welfare Buildings to be provided to such number of population on the estate level or district level). Such an approach of using normative standards tells us something about the methods of planners, but it tells nothing useful about the employment or value of such facilities and services.

Second, planners have a strong assumption that the existence of facilities and social services in the environment is unquestionably ascertained, fully utilized and hence positively desirable for the residents.

Third, most of the facilities and services of the estates of Mark I and II blocks were not planned in the strict sense. Spaces were allocated for facilities and services only after the buildings were occupied when there were needs felt by the concerned religious bodies or welfare organizations to set up services for the residents. Government had not played a leading role in providing social services and welfare facilities. Only with increasing demand in the later years were these facilities and services included in the planning stage.

Fourth, with no distinctive boundaries in some estates, especially the estates of the Mark I and II blocks, the management of open spaces and public areas might get 'out-of-hand' easily. Lacking proper surveillance, they might become 'tumorous' or even 'cancerous' to the neighborhood.

Fifth, the management and control of the facilities within the housing estates are sometimes unnecessarily splitted among different governmental departments, i.e., the management of parks and recreational grounds within the boundary of the resettlement estate by the Urban Services Department rather than by the Resettlement Department. This complicates the problems of estate management and may consequently lead to improper surveillance of the facilities.

These observations and others will be discussed in the later chapters. In the meantime, we will turn to the two Resettlement Estates on which the arguments are to be based.

CHAPTER THREE
SHEK KIP MEI AND TSZ WAN SHAN
RESETTLEMENT ESTATES

The data used in this paper are drawn mainly from the small-scale community studies made in two Resettlement Estates - Shek Kip Mei Resettlement Estate and Tsz Wan Shan Resettlement Estate, conducted during the period May to July 1973⁽¹⁴⁾. A brief description of the geographical location, historical development, numbers and kinds of facilities and services of the two Resettlement Estates will be given in the following. Sampling methods and lists of questions that are related to the utilization of facilities and services are described in Appendix A. A profile of the socio-economic characteristics of the households in our sample is presented in Appendix B.

Description of the two Resettlement Estates⁽¹⁵⁾

The Shek Kip Mei Resettlement Estate⁽¹⁶⁾ is centrally located in the built-up areas of Shamshuipo in Northwestern Kowloon. It was the first estate of multi-storey accommodations built at the public expense for general resettlement purposes. The construction of the

(14) The Surveys were originally designed by H.K. Tsoi, F.K. Wan, Z.K. Kwok and the author.

(15) For the sake of convenience, the old term of 'Resettlement Estate' (they are re-named as the 'Group B Estate' after April 1, 1973) will be used in the present paper.

(16) Subsequently the abbreviated 'SKM' is used to denote the Shek Kip Mei Resettlement Estate.

first eight 6-storey blocks, H-shaped in plan, was undertaken during the last three months of 1954 as an experiment of a long-term program to solve the grave squatter problem facing the Colony. The whole estate was originally composed of 23 H-shaped and 3 I-shaped, six- or seven-storey Mark I blocks with a total population capacity of 62,000. Communal wash-places and lavatories are located in the cross-piece of the H. An access balcony runs all the way around the outside of each floor and back-to-back rooms open off it. Due to the central location, SKM is easily accessible by public transportation.

Since October 1972, when the Shek Kip Mei Rehousing Scheme was started, SKM has been undergoing a period of transition. This involves the removal, in five phases, of the domestic tenants, shops and workshops, rooftop schools, welfare organizations and hawkers so as to enable the 29 blocks to be converted or redeveloped to provide self-contained accommodation units. The moving of the tenants of the first phase of rehousing to new accommodation in Pak Tin Estate was completed by the end of March 1973⁽¹⁷⁾. The total population residing in SKM when the Survey was undertaken, was estimated to be 51,000⁽¹⁸⁾.

(17) The first phase involved the tenants of six blocks, numbered 23 to 28 and included 11,000 domestic tenants and 44 shops. When the Survey was undertaken in July 1973, Blocks 3 and 4 were under registration for rehousing, involving 5,000 domestic tenants and 25 shops.

(18) Residents of Blocks 3 and 4 were included in our sample.

Tsz Wan Shan Resettlement Estate⁽¹⁹⁾ is the largest resettlement estate in Hong Kong, and is planned to house a total population of 170,000. It is situated on the Southern slope of the Temple Hill located on the Northeastern part of Kowloon. It is served by five bus and two mini-bus routes⁽²⁰⁾. It consists of four types of blocks, Mark III (8 storeys), Mark IV, V and VI (all 16-storeys), built in various shapes. Construction work has been carried out in stages and the first block was completed in April 1964. By March 1973, the total population was about 146,000 occupying 63 blocks in the Estate.

The blocks are of a completely different design from that of the SKM Resettlement Estate, with room access from an internal corridor. Each room is a self-contained unit with its own private balcony, water-tap and toilet (for Mark III blocks, toilets are shared between two rooms).

For administration and management purposes, the TWS Resettlement Estate was divided into six sections, each under the charge of an Assistant Resettlement Officer assisted by a certain number of Resettlement Assistants. The entire estate has been under the charge of two Resettlement Officers until the turn of this year.⁽²¹⁾

(19) Subsequently the abbreviated 'TWS' will be used to denote the Tsz Wan Shan Resettlement Estate.

(20) The five bus routes are from Tsz Wan Shan to Chuk Yuen, Hung Hom, Jordan Road Ferry, Tsim Sha Tsui, and Lam Tin Estate. The two mini-bus routes are from Tsz Wan Shan to Wong Tai Sin and Mong Kok District.

(21) The Housing Department has recently decided to split the larger housing estates into smaller manageable and independent estates. Tsz Wan Shan Housing Estate will be the first one to be subdivided. News of such decision was released in the press on 6th January, 1975.

Provision of Facilities and Social Services in the two Estates

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show the number of primary schools and welfare services in SKM and TWS for a period of six years. The contrast between the two Estates is obviously shown in the drastic displacement of rooftop schools and boys' and girls' clubs in SKM and the steady growth of these facilities and services in TWS.

Relatively speaking, TWS has a younger population than SKM.⁽²²⁾ Children who moved with their parents into SKM twenty years ago are grown-ups now, and due to various reasons such as marriage and congestion, out-migration has been taking place continuously in the 'aged' estates such as SKM. Such movement of population and change of age structure over the years will render functionless some facilities and services that might have served the area impressively. Besides, the standards of these facilities are incomparably lower than those offered by the ones built later. The rooftop schools which were so popular in the 60's are now at their brinks of survival. The same situation is also facing many of the children's, and youth centres. The number of youth centres had declined from 13 to 5 in SKM within the space of five years.

In May 1973, SKM still had 11 rooftop schools, 5 children's clubs, a welfare centre, a vocational training centre, a library and a nursery which was temporary closed. In the vicinity, a

(22) In TWS, 42.9 per cent of the population was under age 15 while 36.6 per cent of population in SKM was under that age in 1971. From unpublished data of the 1971 Census, Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department.
For age distribution of the survey samples please refer to Appendix B.

government primary school was opened in 1959, and a polyclinic was constructed in 1958, which was supposed to provide a wide service area in Shamshuipo. The Kaifong Welfare Association has a long history of serving this neighborhood.

In TWS, 14 annex schools including one for handicapped children had been completed by 1973 to provide a total of 24,780 primary school places. Three day nurseries and eight kindergartens provide places for over 3,000 children. As to welfare organizations and facilities, there are the Savings and Loans Association, Family Planning Association, youth centres, libraries, reading rooms and twelve medical clinics run by different welfare agencies. The TWS Kaifong Welfare Association has been established to promote the welfare, recreation and sporting facilities of the neighborhood. A six-storey Estate Welfare Building has been providing coordinated social welfare services to the residents.

Table 3.1 Primary schools in Shek Kip Mei and Tsz Wan Shan Resettlement Estates

(As at 31st March of each year)

<u>Year</u>	<u>SKM</u>				<u>TWS</u>			
	<u>No. of schools</u>	<u>No. of classrooms</u>	<u>No. of places</u>	<u>No. of enrollment</u>	<u>No. of schools</u>	<u>No. of classrooms</u>	<u>No. of places</u>	<u>No. of enrollment</u>
1967-68	18	78	--	--	8	192	--	--
1968-69	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1969-70	18	83	5,758	4,462	11	240	21,180	20,411
1970-71	16	--	4,350	4,621	11	--	21,180	20,885
1971-72	12	--	3,616	2,518	14	--	24,740	24,470
1972-73	11	--	3,094	1,893	14	--	24,780	24,489

Source: Commissioner for Resettlement. Annual Departmental Reports 1967-68 to 1972-73.

Note: All schools included in SKM are rooftop schools and those in TWS are annex schools

Table 3.2 Welfare services in Shek Kip Mei and Tsz Wan Shan Resettlement Estates

(As at 31st March of each year)

Year	Welfare Centres	Children & Youth Centres	Library & Reading Rooms	Family Planning Association	Nurseries	Kindergartens	Clinics
<u>SKM</u>							
1967-68	1	13	1	-	-	-	-
1968-69	1	13	1	-	-	-	1
1969-70	-	11	1	-	-	-	2
1970-71	-	10	2	-	-	-	2
1971-72	5	6	1	-	-	-	2
1972-73	1	5	1	-	1	-	2
<u>TWS</u>							
1967-68	-	1	-	1	2	-	6
1968-69	-	2	1	1	3	-	6
1969-70	1	1	3	1	2	-	10
1970-71	1	1	3	1	3	4	11
1971-72	1	4	2	2	2	8	10
1972-73	6	4	3	2	3	8	12

Source: Commissioner for Resettlement, Annual Departmental Reports 1967-68 to 1972-73.

* include boys' & girls' clubs, youth centres, play and recreation centres.

CHAPTER FOUR
CONCENTRATED UTILIZATION OF
LOCAL FACILITIES AND SERVICES

As noted earlier, the extent of utilization of neighborhood facilities is an important criterion for the delineation of neighborhood. In this chapter, we will see if the neighborhood unit exists in providing convenient services to the community. We will first discuss the ecological pattern of the two Estates. A number of ecological parameters related to the daily activities, such as working and schooling, are chosen as indicators. It is followed by the presentation of the catchment area of the basic services such as shopping of daily commodities and medical services. The ecological parameters and basic services are both considered as 'primary' in the sense that they are indispensable to the residents. We will then move to the discussion of the usage of 'secondary' facilities and services such as parks and playgrounds, libraries and reading rooms; secondary groups such as youth centres, Estate Welfare Building and Kaifong Welfare Association, which are equally important to provide enrichment to the dull life of these vertical slums.

The 'catchment area' will vary from one facility to another. One may have children attending schools in the Estate, may shop and go to clinics in the Estate. He may also have other children going to secondary schools in distant areas and may go for entertainment in other districts. Similarly, the usage pattern of parks and playgrounds, youth centres, libraries and reading rooms in the neighborhood may take different forms. Some facilities may be completely

ignored by the residents. Some people may never use the facilities despite their knowledge of them because of the absence of need. There may be hidden demands among others, but due to various unforeseen reasons, they may never make use of the facilities. The more the local facilities and services are patronized, the higher will be the degree of self-sufficiency, the more viable, enriching and healthy is the neighborhood, and the closer is the planning ideal being realized.

Ecological Patterns

Seven parameters are chosen to assess the ecological networks of the two Estates under study. They are shown in Table 4.1. They include the percentage of primary school and kindergarten attendance, percentage of secondary school attendance, percentage of employment, percentage of walking to school/to work, percentage of spending less than 15 minutes to go to school/to work. The districts in which the Estates are situated are used as the geographical boundaries for delineation⁽²³⁾.

Apparently the high percentage of primary school and kindergarten attendance reflects that the neighborhood facilities are very well utilized. As to secondary education, about half the

(23) The aged SKM and the middle-aged TWS are residential complex with no planned provision of employment opportunities within the Estates. Therefore it is more meaningful to extend the boundary to their adjacent areas. The district in which SKM is located includes Shamshuipo, Cheung Sha Wan and Lai Chi Kok. The district in which TWS is located includes Wong Tai Sin, Wang Tau Hom, San Po Kong and Chuk Yuen. The district delineation is based on government's decisions of administrative districts.

secondary students in both Estates go to schools in other districts. With so many intertwined factors in the educational system, the provision of secondary schools is a Colony-wide problem, and distribution of enrollment by district of residence can hardly be accomplished by simply planning the number of schools in the district. There is not much difference in schooling offered by the districts in which the two Estates are located. However, there is a higher percentage of students in SKM walking to school than in TWS.

Table 4.1 Ecological patterns among respondents
in SKM and TWS

<u>Ecological</u> <u>Parameters</u>	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
Percentage of primary school and kindergarten attendance in the district*	93.8%	98.3%
Percentage of secondary school attendance in the district*	50.0%	49.7%
Percentage of walking to school	84.7%	73.5%
Percentage of spending less than 15 minutes to go to school (one-way)	50.0%	47.4%
Percentage of employment in the district*	52.5%	39.6%
Percentage of walking to work	42.5%	18.1%
Percentage of spending less than 15 minutes to go to work (one-way)	16.5%	6.4%

* The district in which SKM is located is the Shamshuipo District which includes Shamshuipo, Cheung Sha Wan and Lai Chi Kok also.
The district in which TWS is located is the Wong Tai Sin District which includes Wong Tai Sin, Wang Tau Hom, San Po Kong, and Chuk Yuen also.

Whether or not the housing estate is centrally located bears a mark on the provision of employment opportunities. This is obviously shown in the three ecological parameters associated with employment. 52.5 per cent of economically active members in SKM compared with 39.6 per cent of those in TWS are employed in the district. In addition, a great proportion of the former (42.5 per cent) can go to work on foot and 16.5 per cent of them can reach their place of work within 15 minutes. Because of the relatively isolated location of TWS, a number of those employed in the same district have to take public transportation and have to spend hours in queuing and squeezing before they can reach their place of work.

This raises the question of communication between the planned community and the urban built-up areas. It is evident that complete self-containment is beyond the potentiality of many of the planned communities or new towns. Even with the large Kwun Tong new town, where various housing schemes provide labor force, and industrial sites provide job opportunities, there is a tremendous amount of manpower exchange between Kwun Tong and other districts.⁽²⁴⁾ Self-sufficiency can scarcely be realized in practice. Therefore, the linkage and accessibility of the neighborhood with the outside districts is one of the crucial factors that determine the viability of the neighborhood with respect to employment.

(24) See papers:
Ambrose King and Y.K. Chan "A Theoretical and Operational Definition of Community: The Case of Kwun Tong" Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, July 1972;
Chan Ying-keung "The Rise and Growth of Kwun Tong: A Study of Planned Urban Development" Social Research Centre, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, August 1973.

Table 4.2 shows the percentage distribution of the opinion of the respondents towards the adequacy of transportation services in SKM and TWS. Almost half of our respondents living in the comparatively isolated and populous inhabited TWS considered the transportation services as inadequate, and almost three-quarters thought that new bus routes should be opened⁽²⁵⁾

Table 4.2 Percentage distribution of the opinion of respondents towards questions related to transportation services in SKM and TWS

	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
1. Do you consider the transportation service in the district as convenient?		
Convenient	90.5%	25.8%
Average	7.0	26.2
Not convenient	2.0	47.7
No opinion	0.5	0.3
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
Total	(200)	(302)
2. Do you think new bus routes ought to be opened?		
Ought to	21.7%	72.7%
No need	78.3	27.3
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
Total	(189)	(289)
No answer	(11)	(13)
3. Do you think the mini-bus services are adequately meeting the need of the residents?		
Adequate	97.8%	73.9%
Inadequate	2.2	26.1
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
Total	(186)	(280)
No answer	(14)	(22)

(25) 117 out of 289 respondents in TWS thought that new bus routes from Tsz Wan Shan to Shamshuipo, the western part of Kowloon should be added.

From the experience of TWS and many other resettlement estates with similar locations and population sizes⁽²⁶⁾, we must avoid repeating the same conditions in the new towns to be opened up soon in the New Territories. Unless we are certain that there are enough employment opportunities in these towns and that the skills of the inhabitants can be mechanically fitted in with the demands of the industrial enterprises (in other words, that there is certainty of the highest order of self-sufficiency) in these new towns, otherwise accessibility ought to be included as one of the priorities in the plan.

Primary Facilities and Services

The three parameters shown in Table 4.3 are somewhat weak bases of insight into the use of basic services in the housing estates. Our limited data indicate positively that the two Estates are viable functional entities. Over 80 per cent of the households in both Estates utilize the local medical services; 98.5 per cent in SKM and 73.0 per cent in TWS buy their medicine and drugs in the Estates; 97.0 per cent and 87.0 per cent in SKM and TWS respectively purchase their daily commodities in the Estates.

Unlike those in the Government Low-cost Housing Estates and the Estates of the former Housing Authority where commercial shops are let on contract to approved trades only, shops of the resettlement estates are allowed to operate any trades or services, and the

(26) Transportation problems also top the list of grievances of residents in huge housing estates such as Sau Mau Ping and Lam Tin, the second and the third largest housing estates in Hong Kong. The "Lam Tin Community Service Seminar" sponsored by the Council of Social Services held on 16th March, 1974 came up with the same result that transportation is the greatest problem in Lam Tin Estate.

tenants are free to sublet or to alter their businesses. In such cases, we may probably apply the balance theory to explain the situation that without any formal control, in due course, the supply may naturally strike a balance with the need of the area. It has been nearly twenty years for SKM and ten years for TWS since their construction. Therefore it is not unusual that the businesses have adjusted themselves well to suit the needs of the residents.

Table 4.3 Concentrated usage of primary facilities and services among respondents in SKM and TWS

<u>Service usage parameters</u>	<u>Estate</u>	<u>Usage of local services^a</u>	<u>Usage of nonlocal services^b</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Going for doctors and clinics	<u>SKM</u>	85.9%	14.1%	100.0% (199)	(1)
	<u>TWS</u>	82.6%	17.4%	100.0% (298)	(4)
Buying of medicine and drugs	<u>SKM</u>	98.5%	1.5%	100.0% (199)	(1)
	<u>TWS</u>	73.0%	27.0%	100.0% (296)	(6)
Shopping for daily commodities	<u>SKM</u>	97.0%	3.0%	100.0% (200)	(0)
	<u>TWS</u>	87.0%	13.0%	100.0% (301)	(1)

^a services within the boundary of the Estate

^b services outside the Estate

On the other hand, the problem of inadequate provision of primary services is usually found in new estates. Shops that provide various types of goods for the residents move in rather late. Except for the 'pigeon holes' the pioneers often find an empty estate when they first move in. They may have to go back to the

former district where all the commodities and services are provided; or else they may have to suffer the high price charged by the few or the only shop in the new neighborhood. (27)

Table 4.4 Concentrated usage of secondary facilities and services among respondents in SKM and TWS

Facility and service usage parameters	Estate	Usage of local facilities and services	Usage of nonlocal facilities and services	Nonusage due to absence of need or knowledge	Total	No answer or inappl: cable
		vices	vices	knowledge		
Playground and recreation area	<u>SKM</u>	32.5%	2.4%	65.1%	100.0% (166)	(34)
	<u>TWS</u>	49.6%	-	50.4%	100.0% (254)	(48)
Library and reading room	<u>SKM</u>	12.2%	26.1%	61.7%	100.0% (115)	(85)
	<u>TWS</u>	29.3%	10.0%	60.7%	100.0% (229)	(73)
Kaifong Welfare Association	<u>SKM</u>	4.1%	-	95.9%	100.0% (197)	(3)
	<u>TWS</u>	4.0%	-	96.0% (47.2%) ^b (48.8%) ^c	100.0% (301)	(1)
Estate Welfare Building ^a	<u>TWS</u>	30.0%	-	70.0% (44.0%) ^b (26.0%) ^c	100.0% (300)	(2)
Youth centre ^a	<u>TWS</u>	6.6%	-	93.4% (64.5%) ^b (28.9%) ^c	100.0% (290)	(12)

^a No data for SKM

^b Absence of knowledge

^c Absence of need (know but never go)

(27) A survey conducted in the new Upper Pak Tin Estate in summer 1974 by the Neighborhood Advice Council reveals that residents of Pak Tin have been waiting two-and-a-half years for Government to supply them with clinics, nurseries, playgrounds, traffic lights and supermarkets. See Hong Kong Standard 20 Nov. 1974.

Secondary Facilities and Services

Five parameters shown in Table 4.4 are chosen to indicate the usage of secondary facilities and services in the two Estates. They are the patronage of playgrounds and recreation areas, libraries and reading rooms, activities and services provided by the Kaifong Welfare Association, the Estate Welfare Building and the youth centres. Tables 4.5 to 4.9 show the various reasons given by the respondents for not using the different types of local facilities and services. These may help us to understand the functioning of the present facilities and services and their implications for future planning in the new housing estates.

Table 4.5 Percentage distribution of the reasons for the children of the respondents not going to playgrounds and recreation areas in SKM and TWS

Reasons	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
Environmental insecurity	35.6%	40.0%
Fear of falling into bad company	18.8	22.6
Children too small and no elder ones to accompany them	18.1	18.4
No time	15.4	11.1
Don't like outdoor activities	8.1	3.7
Too far away from home	0.7	3.2
Other reasons	3.4	1.1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total*	100.1% (149)	100.1% (190)

* Note that these are the total number of responses
 No. of respondents in SKM = 100
 No. of respondents in TWS = 120

Generally speaking, the degree of patronage of secondary facilities and services is unexpectedly low as compared with that of the primary facilities and services in these Estates. The percentages of nonusage due to absence of knowledge or need (know but never go) are excessively high for all the listed facilities and services.

An average of 60 per cent of the children of the respondents in both SKM and TWS do not use the playgrounds, recreation areas, libraries or reading rooms in the Estates. (See Table 4.4). Because of the accessibility to other districts, a higher percentage of children in SKM than in TWS diffuse their patronage to nonlocal facilities. 'Environmental insecurity'⁽²⁸⁾ and 'fear of their children falling into bad company' are the most stated reasons for not allowing their children to use these facilities. (See Tables 4.5 and 4.6). Over half the respondents (54.4 per cent in SKM and 62.6 per cent in TWS) prohibit their children's going to the playgrounds and recreation areas, and the majority of the respondents (33.6 per cent in SKM and 49.3 per cent in TWS) discourage their children's using the libraries and reading rooms in the Estates because of these two reasons. Even the excuses that their children are too small and no elder ones in the family can accompany them to the playgrounds (18.1 per cent in SKM and 18.4 in TWS) or the worry about the absence of proper supervision in the libraries and reading rooms (18.0 per cent in SKM and 17.6 per cent in TWS) are fear-laden statements.

(28) The concept 'environmental insecurity' here refers to the sense of insecurity caused by the belief that the area is infested with bad elements.

Though we do not have enough solid data to show that the resettlement estates have turned into 'crime-trodden slums', we cannot deny the fact that the people are extremely 'fear-stricken' and the sense of insecurity has developed into a sort of phobia which is intensively disturbing the peace of mind of the residents. The 'crime-phobia' has accounted for the considerable desertion of public places where strangers will be easily encountered; and has robbed many children of their chance of enjoying the facilities and services provided for them. The problem of security will be further discussed in the next chapter.

Table 4.6 Percentage distribution of the reasons for the children of the respondents not going to the libraries and reading rooms in SKM and TWS

Reasons	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
Environmental insecurity	15.6%	37.1%
Fear of falling into bad company	18.0	12.2
Children too small and worry about the supervision of these facilities	18.0	17.6
Home environment good enough for studying	4.7	11.2
Too far away from home	16.4	8.8
Facilities inadequate (too noisy etc)	17.9	2.9
Opening hours too late	1.6	2.0
Don't know that there are such facilities	7.8	8.3
Total*	<u>100.0%</u> (128)	<u>100.1%</u> (205)

* Note that these are the total number of responses
 No. of respondents in SKM = 71
 No. of respondents in TWS = 135

In the same manner, activities and programs sponsored by the secondary groups such as the Kaifong Welfare Association, the youth centres or the agencies in the Estate Welfare Building are usually indifferently received. Over 90 per cent of the respondents in both SKM and TWS are not using the services at all. (See Table 4.4). An exceptionally high percentage of respondents (47.2 per cent, 44.0 per cent and 64.5 per cent of the respondents in TWS) do not even know that there are such facilities provided despite the fact that they have been living together with the facilities for almost ten years.

Table 4.7 Percentage distribution of the reasons given by the respondents for not joining any activities sponsored by the Kaifong Welfare Association in SKM and TWS

Reasons	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
Don't know its existence	7.2%	46.5%
No time	47.5	24.2
No interest	29.7	8.5
Don't like the activities	5.1	7.6
Don't know how to join	3.3	1.9
Too far away from home	0.4	6.6
Environmental insecurity	3.6	4.7
Other reasons	3.3	-
Total*	<u>100.1%</u> (276)	<u>100.0%</u> (211)

* Note that these are the total number of responses
 No. of respondents in SKM = 188
 No. of respondents in TWS = 145

Table 4.8 Percentage distribution of the reasons given by the respondents for why they have never been to the Estates Welfare Building in TWS

Reasons	<u>TWS</u>
No time	41.1%
No interest	18.7
Don't know what services are provided	14.0
Environmental insecurity	13.1
Don't know how to join	6.5
Too far away from home	3.7
Other reasons	2.8
Total *	99.9% (107)

* Note that these are the total number of responses
No. of respondents = 78

Table 4.9 Percentage distribution of the reasons for the children of the respondents not going to youth centres in TWS

Reasons	<u>TWS</u>
No time	29.3%
Environmental insecurity	22.2
Fear of falling into bad company	17.2
Children too small and no elder ones to accompany them	16.2
No interest	7.1
Too far away from home	6.1
Other reasons	2.0
Total *	100.1% (99)

* Note that these are the total number of responses
No. of respondents = 63

With longer length of residence, the majority of the respondents in SKM might have heard about the Kaifong Association; however the participation rate is as low as that of TWS (only 4 per cent of our respondents in SKM and TWS have ever joined the activities). 'No time' and 'no interest' account for as high as 77.2 per cent in SKM and 32.7 per cent in TWS of the stated reasons. (See Table 4.7). As a matter of fact, these are the main reasons for respondents who have never been to the Estate Welfare Building in TWS as well. (See Table 4.8). If it were not for the clinic located in the Building, the rate would surely be lower⁽²⁹⁾. Again the 'environmental insecurity' and 'the fear of children falling into bad company' are repeatedly stated as factors hindering the full utilization of youth services in TWS (accounting for 39.4 per cent, see Table 4.9). Other commonly mentioned reasons for the low participation rate in youth centres are the 'time factor' and the worry of no elder ones to accompany their children to these centres'.

This is indeed a gloomy picture. It is sad to see some of the facilities and services not functioning in their full speed and capacity; and to see certain rooftops and playgrounds being abandoned and taken up by bad elements. It is depressing to learn that the children are deprived of their opportunities for outdoor activities, to meet people of their own age and to enjoy group life. And worst of all is watching some of the neighborhoods turning into lifeless, degenerating and crime-halluciated milieus.

(29) Among the 90 respondents in TWS who said that they have ever gone to the Welfare Building, half of them go there for medical services provided by the clinic situated in the Building; a quarter of them go to the library; 8 per cent go for the family welfare services, 4 per cent go for the youth activities and 3 per cent go for the family planning services.

This is the time for social engineers to pause and reconsider the real meaning of the existence of these facilities and services and to search for a new approach to make them work effectively. It is more realistic to wipe off the dishonest mask of pretended order and to face up to the bare facts.

Lack of publicity is the often-cited explanation for the under-utilization of secondary group activities such as those sponsored by the Kaifongs, the youth centres and other organized community activities. Undeniably, publicity or promotion is important, but is this the root-cause? Can we really drag the people out of their dwellings when they have no time? And no interest? Will any people practically send their kids to 'come' over to 'receive' our services when the environment is so insecure and they are so hysterically frightened? Have we ever sincerely asked ourselves when a program is designed, 'what good is it?' or 'who wants it?'. Did we ever find out genuinely what 'images' have been created in the minds of the ordinary people about the youth centres, and Kaifongs, playgrounds and reading rooms? What 'perceptions' do the 'small citizens' hold towards the social engineers who are the representatives of the authority?

Admittedly, not all the resettlement estates are bad neighborhoods, and not all the playgrounds are 'under-utilized' or 'mis-utilized'. Many welfare services are meaningful and should be brought to the knowledge of more potential recipients. Nevertheless, one would not hesitate to find out the cause and the cure whenever there are symptoms of a malignant disease and try to prevent its growth and spread to other parts of the body. By the same token, accusation of the malfunctioning of facilities and services is in some instances justified, and prompt action should be taken to look into the matter.

CHAPTER FIVE
MAJOR CAUSES FOR THE NONUSE OF
FACILITIES AND SERVICES

The concern of this chapter is to analyse the major causes for the nonuse of facilities and services provided in the housing estates. A number of points have to be made clear before we go into the topic.

First, we will limit our discussion to the nonuse of secondary facilities and services which include the playgrounds, recreation areas, libraries, reading rooms and secondary activities run by youth centres and Kaifongs. These are usually related to as the leisure activities.

Second, 'nonuse' is used inclusively to stand for 'under-utilization' (that is, facilities and services not fully used by the desirable number of persons) and 'mis-utilization' (that is, facilities and services not properly used by the desirable kinds of persons).

Third, our purpose is not to pinpoint precisely which basketball court in TWS has been trespassed by certain gang. Neither are we interested in tracing the particular reasons why a certain rooftop in SKM is infested by drug addicts. Here we are generalizing the experience of SKM and TWS to a higher level of interpretation.

This leads to our last point: that though we discuss only the general and major causes of the nonuse, readers are reminded that other minor factors such as location and accessibility may be also important to determine the success of certain facilities in the neighborhood.

The Overall Picture

Whether the potential users possess the 'needs' or 'hidden needs' is decisive to the usefulness and the justification for the existence of these facilities and services. When the secondary facilities and services do not coincide with the leisure preferences and satisfaction of the majority of potential users, needs for such facilities and services will not arise. The behavioral patterns of human beings are adaptable to the situation. Other facilities and services, other than those provided by the planners and social engineers, will be exploited. One striking example is the competitive pressure mounting from the flourishing television programs which have become so popular in Hong Kong ever since the importation of television within the past decade. To the understanding of many of the users, these may not be better or more healthy than the facilities and services provided. But somehow these competing activities possess certain advantages that neither the parks and playgrounds, nor the organized activities possess.

However, competing activities and their advantages cannot explain completely the reasons for the nonuse of these facilities and services. Besides, the behavioral pattern of these activities does not necessarily mean that there is no 'hidden need' for these services. Other environmental and institutional factors will be examined to give us a more comprehensive picture. As discussed in the previous chapter, the reasons most often mentioned for the nonuse of facilities like playgrounds and recreation areas, libraries and reading rooms, are 'environmental insecurity' and 'the fear of falling into bad company'. For the nonuse of service like the Estate

Welfare Building, Kaifong Association and youth centres, 'no interest' and 'no time' are the most often verbalized reasons.

Environmental insecurity has become an acute problem in these few years in Hong Kong. The feeling of daily security should be restored in order to regain the people's confidence in the society and trust in each other. Law and order should be maintained to ensure that people can use the public places and community activities at leisure without restraints. Only in this way can we save our neighborhoods from deterioration and enable the people to have safe homes and peace of mind.

The insecurity of the environment and failure of the secondary group activities are also accounted for by other institutional factors. These involve the management practices, the maintenance levels of the facilities, the relevancy of the program and service to the need of the people, and above all, the relationship between the management and the people.

The Security Problem in the Neighborhood

The general increase of crime prompts many people to stay away from public places, to avoid strangers, and to keep away from groups or organized activities. The public image of the resettlement estates especially to the outsider (someone who does not live there) is frightening and stigmatized. With their overall physical shabbiness, the high degree of congestion and the heterogeneous population from all walks of life, they are commonly believed to be the 'cradles' for the nourishment of gangs, triad societies, drug addiction and other evils.

A considerable proportion of the residents themselves considered that their neighborhood is 'crime-trodden' as shown in Tables 5.1(i), 5.1(ii) and 5.1(iii). Over half of the respondents (57.3 per cent in SKM and 56.3 per cent in TWS) thought that their neighborhood is insecure. The majority of them (58.2 per cent in SKM and 76.3 per cent in TWS) feel worried or frightened when coming home late at night. One-third of the respondents in SKM and half of the respondents in TWS believed that their neighbors have been crime victims.

As to the types of crime that occur in the Estates, our data show that vandalism and gang fights account for 61.7 per cent of the crimes in SKM; whereas in TWS, robberies, account for 44.9 per cent of all the crimes. Robberies, thefts, and sexual assaults are crimes that require direct confrontation of the victim by the offender (or offenders). They usually take place in the quiet corners of the staircases, corridors, inside the elevators and the garbage disposal rooms (see Table 5.1(v)). For crimes like vandalism, gang fights and drug addiction, the residents may not be directly involved, but mere onlookers. A gang of teenagers may be loitering in the corridors or tarrying on the vacant rooftops. They cause disturbances to the residents who dare not to say a word for fear of vengeance. Organized gangs from two different housing blocks may have a big gang fight in order to decide which one should control a certain playground or recreation area in the Estate.

Table 5.1 Percentage distribution of the opinion of respondents in SKM and TWS towards questions related to security of the neighborhood

	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
(i) How do you consider the security in your neighborhood?		
Extremely bad	11.6%	18.0%
Bad	45.7	38.3
About average	35.7	39.3
All right	7.0	4.3
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>99.9%</u>
Total	(199)	(300)
No answer	(1)	(2)
(ii) Do you feel worried or frightened when you/any of your family member are/is coming home late at night?		
Feel worried	58.2%	76.3%
Do not feel worried	41.8	23.7
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
Total	(194)	(291)
No answer	(6)	(11)
(iii) Have any of your neighbors been crime victims?		
Yes	33.5%	50.3%
No	57.0	42.1
Do not know	9.5	7.6
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
Total	(200)	(302)
(iv) What are the common kinds of crime occurring in your neighborhood?		
Theft	5.9%	20.3%
Robbery	18.3	44.9
Vandalism and gang fight	61.7	26.0
Drug addiction	9.1	0.3
Gambling	5.0	0.6
Sexual assault	-	7.9
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
Total*	(219) ^a	(316) ^b
(v) Where are the usual places of occurrence of these crimes?		
Staircases or corridors	39.7%	51.3%
Vacant units or rooftops	19.0	6.0
Garbage disposal rooms	-	8.6
Elevators	-	20.1
Public lavatories or bath rooms	3.1	-
Playgrounds, hillside or open spaces	36.1	9.3
Other places	2.1	4.8
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.1%</u>
Total*	(194) ^c	(269) ^d

* Note that these are number of responses

a No. of respondents in SKM = 114

b No. of respondents in TWS

c No. of respondents in SKM = 110

d No. of respondents in TWS

Generally speaking, many crimes are crimes of opportunity rather than premeditated. And few criminals will operate within the buildings where they live as they are easily recognized. Crime rates are high in resettlement estates because most of the public areas are under incomplete surveillance by the residents themselves, and this provides good opportunities for offenders to commit crime. When we run down the list of crimes in Table 5.1(iv), we find that the crimes typical of each Estate are reflections of the physical structure and management of the housing blocks and their surroundings.

The 'single-loaded corridor' design of the blocks in SKM as well as the higher degree of neighborliness⁽³⁰⁾ among the residents provide ready opportunities for natural surveillance of the corridors, and the public areas like the communal bathrooms and lavatories. On the other hand, the 'double-loaded corridors' in TWS are, by contrast, devoid of surveillance opportunities⁽³¹⁾.

(30) See author's another paper "A Study of Neighborly Interaction in Public Housing : The Case of Hong Kong", Social Research Centre, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, June 1974.

(31) Oscar Newman Defensible Space : Crime Prevention through Urban Design, The MacMillian Co., New York, 1972. In this book, the author talks about using defensible space design to structure the living areas to inhibit crime. He discusses in detail the designs that facilitate the surveillance of outside area and the building interiors from within the apartment. The single-loaded corridors would offer higher opportunities of surveillance than the double-loaded corridors. The double-loaded corridor denotes a building with apartment units positioned on either side of a central corridor; and the single-loaded corridor designates a building design in which apartment units are located exclusively on one side of the corridor and face an exterior wall which is glazed or, in mild climates, left open to the weather. The open corridor allows designers to locate windows in the apartment wall facing the corridor to achieve cross-ventilation of the apartment unit. The provision of windows allows for excellent surveillance opportunities as well.

On top of that, the gigantic blocks (sometimes adjacent blocks are linked together by common corridors) in TWS loaded with several exits provide good opportunities for offenders to escape. As reflected in our data, the occurrences of robberies, thefts and sexual assaults in public areas like the corridors, staircases and lavatories are much lower in SKM than TWS. The present proposition that a housing project composed of high-rise double-loaded corridor buildings is much more vulnerable to criminal activities than its walk-up counterparts, will have to be confirmed by further research.

In addition, there are many sorts of 'deserted', 'un-managed' areas like the vacant rooftops⁽³²⁾ and playgrounds where crimes can take place. Without proper management and surveillance they are infested by undesirable people and in turn are avoided by the ordinary citizens, thus further inducing the control of these facilities by the former group. The final outcome would be encroachment and mis-utilization of these facilities and services by certain group of people; and under-utilization by the persons for whom these facilities and services were originally designed. Above all, they may serve as black spots where illegal transactions may take place and new members be recruited⁽³³⁾. Unpopular facilities are troubling

(32) After the closing down of many rooftop schools and welfare centres in Mark I and II blocks, many of these rooftops are unlocked, deserted and used by drug addicts for 'chasing the dragon' or served as the gathering places for teddy boys and girls.

(33) This can be confirmed by the not yet published data of the 'Social Causes of Violent Crimes among Young Offenders' carried out by the Social Research Centre, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1974. About one quarter of the respondents who associated with triad societies had their first contact in the playgrounds and another quarter of them in the neighborhood.

not only because of the waste and missed opportunities they imply, but also because of their frequent negative effects of 'mal-functioning', a consequence that town planners would never have thought of.

The Behavioral Patterns and the Displacement of Facilities and Services

A. Playing Habits

No systematic studies have ever been made in Hong Kong to ascertain the playing habits of children and teenagers in order to plan facilities and services according to the orientation of the users rather than that of the planners. Children need a variety of places in which to play and to learn. They need opportunities for all kinds of sports, games, exercise and physical skills. Planners provide their ready answers in parks, playgrounds, open spaces, youth centres and community centres. However, what children mostly need is an 'unspecialized outdoor home base'⁽³⁴⁾ in which to play and to hang around. A lot of outdoor life for children adds up from bits. It happens in a small leftover interval after lunch. It happens while they are waiting to be called for their suppers. It happens in brief intervals between supper and homework, or homework and bed. These home-base play periods occur at incidental times and must be conveniently sandwiched in. Games, such as shot marbles, jump rope, hide and seek, play stoop ball, clapping cards,

(34) Jane Jacobs The Death and Life of Great American Cities: The Failure of Town Planning, Pelican Books, Penguin Books Ltd. 1965, p.91 (first published in U.S.A. by Random House 1961)

write with chalk, trot out their possessions, horseplay, role-playing games like teacher-student, doctor-patient, cooking, wedding and even talking, pushing, shoving and climbing on rails etc. are most often seen being played near the home. Corridors in the high-rise public housing estates, which are in a sense streets piled up in the sky; the spaces around the corners and the staircases are the most convenient places for such unspecialized home-base play.

The fear-stricken parents would rather have these sorts of unspecialized home-base games in the corridors or spaces near the staircases which enable them to have close and visible surveillance on their children every now and then, than have the children playing in the streets, playgrounds or joining any organized programs run by secondary groups. It is not unusual to find cases where parents buy television sets, despite their knowledge of the hindrances that they would cause to their children's study in the unpartitioned and congested dwelling unit, in order to keep their children at home.

B. The Influence of Television

The television program is a strong competitor for the playgrounds, youth centres, reading rooms and other secondary and specialized activities in the neighborhood.

Television is a fantasy-oriented recreation which provides challenge and excitement, involving the persons in vicarious role-playing and various sorts of fantasy that result in a different orientation towards the self. This type of excitement also commonly promotes status symbols, such as motorcycles or folk heroes which

are not generally held in high esteem, or accepted by recreation planners or administrators as creative, constructive or wholesome use of leisure time in public places⁽³⁵⁾.

Table 5.2 shows the percentage distribution of the usual kinds of the leisure activities the respondents in SKM and TWS thought their children would do after school or after work. Though we do not know from the simple question whether these are the activities desired by the parents or actually practiced by their children, they can still serve as rough indicators. An average of as high as three-quarters (77.1 per cent of those in school and 61.3 per cent of those working in SKM; 86.3 per cent of those in school and 80.2 per cent of those working in TWS) of their children stay at home after school or work. A great majority of them pass their time by watching TV while the number playing in parks and playgrounds and the joining of secondary activities is relatively low. It is evident that the television programs have become a significant part of the life of the people in Hong Kong.

Table 5.2 Percentage distribution of the usual kinds of leisure activities that the respondents thought their children would do after school or after work

Leisure <u>Activities</u>	<u>SKM</u>		<u>TWS</u>	
	<u>After school</u>	<u>After work</u>	<u>After school</u>	<u>After work</u>
Resting at home	26.9%	22.6%	30.2%	30.0%
TV watching, radio or record listening	40.4	36.7	47.1	45.1
Reading magazines or novels	9.8	2.0	9.0	5.1
Going for movies	4.1	14.5	0.8	7.3
Roaming in the street or going to tea-houses	2.9	8.1	0.8	5.5
Playing in parks or play- grounds	1.6	0.4	3.4	0.4
Outdoor activities (like swimming and ball games)	7.8	6.0	4.0	3.3
Joining secondary group activities (like St. John's and Boy Scouts)	3.7	2.8	0.5	1.8
Other activities (like sewing, majong playing, parties)	2.9	6.9	4.2	1.5
Total*	100.1% (245)	100.0% (248)	100.0% (378)	100.0% (273)
No. of respondents	(130)	(134)	(205)	(156)
Not applicable	(70)	(62)	(73)	(145)
No answer	(0)	(4)	(24)	(1)

* These are total number of responses.

C. Displacement by Demographic Change of the Population

The demands and standards of people are subjected to change. A ready example to be found is the displacement of rooftop schools in the Mark I and II blocks. With the aging of the population in the older estates and the building of new ones with higher standards, more and more of these primary schools lost their functions. Similar situations were faced by welfare centres with somewhat 'out-dated' services such as sponsorship and foster parents schemes, distribution of milk and provision of meals. The displacement of older services is a natural consequence to the change of social and economic structure of the society under industrialization and economic development. However, services of different types and higher standards are still needed. The deserted rooftops of the older marks of the resettlement estates should be made use of, rather than lying fallow or turning into spots that are dangerous to the block. Due to the proximity and convenience, the re-creation of appropriate services under good management on the deserted rooftops of the older marks, may be much more well-received and trusted than that of the youth centres which require youngsters to walk through dangerous neighborhoods.

Institutional Factors

It has been repeatedly emphasized that negligence and lack of surveillance are the major factors contributing to the under-utilization of facilities and services. These in turn have to do with the maintenance levels, the relevancy of the program, the management practices and the relationship among the institution, its staff and the people. The last two points will be elaborated in the following.

A. Attitudes towards the Services

Services in a neighborhood are different in function and in the way that the people relate to them. At one extreme, services such as work, education and medical care are so vital to the individual and the neighborhood that they have little choice but to accept them. Services that agencies from outside offer to the residents, notably the family welfare services, youth centres, programs for the aged, neighborhood and community development organizations and so forth are treated with a mixture of curiosity and suspicion. Since they are not basic necessities, they are essentially ignored. At the other extreme are the law, the management, the bureaucracy, the police and the government. They are usually conceived as agencies that exist to exploit them. Ambivalent as to their usefulness and skeptical as to their authority, these agencies are viewed with considerable hostility. If possible, contact with them is minimized and avoided.

The attitudes that the residents hold towards different types of services explain the nonuse of services, especially the second and third groups of services mentioned in the above. The interaction and relationship between the 'management' and the 'tenant' (as in the mass housing program), the 'planner' and the 'user' (as in the environmental planning program) or that of the 'social engineer' and the 'client' (as in the welfare and youth program) are crucial for the assurance of continuous and fruitful use of these facilities and services.

B. Management Practices towards Facilities

Good planning and good management always go hand-in-hand to provide good neighborhood. Inadequate management may be caused by a number of factors ranging from the quality and training of the managing staffs, the problem of inter-organizational coordination within the Estates to the inter-departmental functions and coordination on the higher or district level. In the following, attention will be drawn to a few points concerning management which need to be further investigated.

Provision and management of facilities and services in each housing estate are usually delegated to several governmental departments such as the Police Department, the Urban Services Department, the Social Welfare Department, the City District Office, and other private agencies such as the welfare organizations, the bus company, the Kaifong Association and others.

Understandably, clashes of interest may arise among the agencies. While the Estate manager is thinking of the welfare and convenience of the residents in the Estate itself, the outside agencies have to think and plan in terms of the overall situation in the Colony. For instance, the Estate manager may fight on behalf of the residents to open more bus routes from the Estate to other districts, but be defeated simply because of the insufficient profit made to cover the additional expense by the bus company. Similarly, the Estate manager may request an additional police depot in the neighborhood, but be denied because of the much more urgent need in other districts than the Estate. This

involves the functioning of the whole administrative machinery which is very significant, and yet without further investigation would give a view that is one-sided.

Another point needs to be considered further: Is there any unnecessary splitting of functions among two administratively independent departments in the management of certain facilities? Until the setting up of the 'tidiness team' in the Resettlement Department⁽³⁶⁾, the responsibility for controlling hawkers rested solely with the Urban Council and the Urban Services Department. Since then, the control and resite of hawkers within the Estates have been gradually taken up by the former Resettlement Department. In the same manner, the management of open spaces such as playgrounds and rest gardens are still officially under the Urban Services Department. However, the cleaning of these areas is delegated to the staffs of the Housing Department. This splitting of functions shared between two Departments may lead to some technical problems. Unexpected negligence may sometimes arise through incomplete supervision or unclear demarcation of functions being apprehended by the staffs of each department concerned. There may be negligence simply caused by the problem of distance and communication between the central office and the staffs who are stationed in various Estates to control the facilities. Administrators should note that some facilities are more efficiently managed on the Estate level while others are better fostered on the district level.

(36) Tidiness teams were being set up beginning September 1969. The first three teams each consisting of 20 laborers led by two gangers and a chargeman, were centrally based and were on call by any estate to demolish new illegal structure. By 1972, the number was increased to a total of 17 and 11 posts of Resettlement Assistants to act as team leaders were created.

Another point worth noting by the policy-makers is that management problems have to be handled with care. Due to the accumulation of historical mistakes of improper management in the first place, the intrusion of bad elements and their growth in subsequence, some facilities can hardly be managed at all. In some places they are managed not by rules laid down in black and white, but by the rules of 'human relationship'. Occasionally, illegal action such as gang fights and drug trafficking can be prevented because 'a face' (respect) has to be given to the person who has visible or invisible power in that neighborhood. The person may be the renowned housing manager, the respectable Kaifong leader or even the notorious gang leader in the neighborhood. Even some gangs may give 'a face' to the gardener who has looked after the playground for a long time. Through their influence, the residents of the neighborhood can have peace and security. Though the action may take place in other neighborhoods instead. On top of that, there is always a hidden danger when the authority and management system have to rely on the 'person' who may be transferred to other neighborhood or whose power may decline in the course of time. Not that 'human' or 'public relations' is unimportant in the field of management; however, too much dependency on it can hinder the movement of the whole system and would lead to mal-practices as well. This is another field that need to be further examined before any definite solution will be discovered.

In the above, we have attempted to locate the root causes for the nonuse of facilities and services from three aspects : the behavioral, environmental and institutional.

CHAPTER SIX
SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

In this paper, we have accepted the concentrated use of an area's facilities and services as an indication of the viability of the neighborhood concept in the planning of housing estates in Hong Kong.

Facilities and services are divided into two broad types, namely the primary and the secondary. The former involves a number of ecological parameters related to daily activities such as working and schooling, and basic services such as medical care and shopping habits. The latter is represented by the facilities and services for leisure activities such as parks and playgrounds, libraries and reading rooms, and such secondary groups as the youth centres, Estate Welfare Building and Kaifong Welfare Association.

On the average, the indicators of primary facilities and services pointed to a high level of utilization. The inadequacy of employment opportunities provided within the district give rise to transportation problems acutely faced by the isolated and populous housing estates. Motivated by the unexpectedly low utilization of neighborhood facilities and participation in secondary group activities, we attempted to analyse the real causes accounting for the nonuse.

Environmental insecurity has produced creeping fears and negative feelings towards public areas where strangers might be encountered. With the rapid development of television in the last

decade, people would rather retreat to their homes for pastime activities than endanger their lives in the neighborhood. They rear their children under close scrutiny. They do not trust places that cannot be reached visibly. In most cases, the children are only allowed to associate with children on the same floor and games in the corridors are the only outdoor activities for them. These points are enlightening as to the evaluation of the usefulness of the facilities and services that are planned at a distance to the residents. We have to re-consider the basic unit of neighborhood in terms of planning services of this sort.

Institutional factors in general, management practices and the reactionary attitudes of the people in particular are contributing to the negligence and the creation of distorted images in the minds of the potential users. They call for the re-examination of the basic philosophy and attitudes upheld by town planners, housing managers and social workers. They also ask for comprehensive inter-organizational review of the interrelated policies governing the sphere of management of the housing blocks and the adjoining environment.

Some Theoretical Implications

A. The Facility-centred Theory of Social Change⁽³⁷⁾

Many of the early reformers of the city believed that if poor people were provided with a set of properly designed facilities, ranging from housing, better work places, parks and playgrounds they

(37) The term is being employed from, Herbert Gans "Planning for people, not buildings", paper presented to the ALCAN conference on The Human Factors in Planning, also appears in Environment and Planning, Vol. 1, No. 1, (1969) p. 33-46.

would not only give up their slum abodes but also change themselves in the process. The founders of the playground movement believed that if the poor could be provided with playgrounds and community centres, they would stop frequenting the cafes, brothels, and movie houses in which they spent their leisure time and would desert the street corner gangs and clubs which they had created for social life. On the contrary, these beliefs have no true basis in reality.

One mistaken assumption of the physical planners is the importance of facilities in everybody's life. For most people community facilities are relatively unimportant. The number of people who use such public facilities as playgrounds and libraries is always small and limited to a selected group of people. That the existence of community facilities is guarantee of its proper utilization and thus desirable for the people, is another wrong supposition. Planners have overlooked the fact that the facilities might be mis-utilized and turned into an evil to the neighborhood, despite the good intention of the planners. Although a few may be so attracted to the facilities that their life is changed by it, the majority of people use a facility only rarely, and it becomes important to them only when it becomes part of their social environment. For example, teenagers may not loiter around playgrounds as individuals, but a gang may come in as a group and make it its gathering place.

What affects people is not the raw physical environment, but the social and economic environment in which that physical environment is used. If the planner wants to affect people's lives, it is the integrative social, economic, and political environments

for which he must plan. Only when urban renewal embraces human renewal through education, social casework and community organization, the poor could be helped and their way of living changed while their homes were being renewed. Jane Jacobs puts the matter in a vivid way,

"It is fashionable to suppose that certain touchstones of the good life will create good neighborhoods - schools, parks, clean housing and the like. How easy life would be if this were so! How charming to control a complicated and ornery society by bestowing upon it rather simple physical goodies. In real life, cause and effect are not so simple Good shelter is a useful good in itself, as shelter. When we try to justify good shelter instead on the pretentious grounds that it will work social or family miracles we fool ourselves Reinhold Niebuhr has called this particular self-deception 'the doctrine of salvation by bricks'"(38)

B. User-oriented Facilities and Services

Why are there so often no people where the facilities are and no facilities where the people are? How then does one go about planning for people?

Very often normative standards are set in terms of acreage ratios of thousands of population. Planning standards are applied for housing, schools, playgrounds, hospitals, clinics, libraries and other recreation facilities. The standards themselves are not based on expert knowledge or empirical analysis. Quantity is used as the yardstick for adequacy and advancement. As we all know plainly, a good school building does not necessarily generate a good education.

(38) Jane Jacobs op. cit., p. 122-123.

Instead of asking how people live, what they want and what problems they have that need to be solved, the facilities and services designed often reflect the vested interest, cultural values and biases of the planner himself. As a natural result of economic development following the Western model, a lot of technology and foreign concepts have been imported and applied either with or without modification to the local environment.

It is a debatable question whether or not we should give people whatever they demand. To a certain extent, the government should have the responsibility to enlighten the people as to their needs and to change the lives of the people by giving them what they should have. However, this involves a long process of social education and cannot be achieved by simply granting them the facilities patriarchally and telling them "Here is something for you," and then saying contentedly to himself, "Isn't it wonderful! Now the poor have everything!"

C. The Unit of Planning

We go back to the question we have asked in the beginning, "Is the neighborhood unit socially valid?" The orthodox neighborhood unit theory in its pure form is a neighborhood composed of about several thousand persons, a unit supposedly of sufficient size to populate an elementary school and to support convenience shopping and a community centre⁽³⁹⁾.

(39) Clarence A. Perry "The Neighborhood Unit Formula" in Urban Housing, edited by W. Wheaton, G. Milgram and M. Meyerson, Free Press, New York, 1966, p. 94-109.

The study of SKM and TWS enable us to draw preliminary conclusions that planning of primary facilities and services (such as schools, clinics and shops etc.) using the housing estate as a unit of planning, is feasible both theoretically and practically in Hong Kong. However, in view of the employment patterns, the ideal of complete self-sufficiency of a supposedly cozy, inward-turned neighborhood can hardly be realized locally.

Turning to the secondary facilities and services that are catered for leisure activities of the residents, smaller planning units tend to be more practical. The centralization of facilities and services in one building (with particular reference to community centres and Welfare Buildings) will serve only a limited number of population.

Jane Jacobs advocates using the 'street neighborhood' as a planning unit,

".... to weave webs of public surveillance and thus to protect strangers as well as themselves; to grow networks of small-scale, everyday public life and thus of trust and social control; and to help assimilate children into reasonably responsible and tolerant city life"(40)

Reiterating upon the prevalence of environmental insecurity, the fear of residents to leave their dwellings and the playing habits of the children, it seems to be more realistic to consider using the block or even a floor of the high-rise projects as a unit for the planning of services for leisure activities.

(40) Jane Jacobs, op.cit., p. 129.

Some Practical Implications

A. Restoration of Neighborhood Security

It is argued that restoration of security in the neighborhood would only succeed in displacing crime from one area to another. When a vigorous police effort is concentrated in one district, criminals respond by moving into adjacent areas. This raises a new question : is a pattern of uniformly distributed crime preferable to one in which crime is concentrated in particular areas? There are serious moral implications to the question of displacement which is yet to be understood and a means for coping with it yet to be developed.

Disregarding the question of crime displacement in the meantime, the feeling of security at home and in its environs are of primary importance for the development of a healthy neighborhood. As short-term measures, additional police manpower, equipment and depots are only palliatives to the crime problem. Creation of surveillance opportunities would prevent crime in the neighborhood in a long run. This can be achieved by controlling of environment by both the management and the residents themselves.

(1) Strengthening the official surveillance through the following steps may deter some crimes from happening :

- (a) Prohibit any usage by strangers or even residents, of the areas like vacant units, garbage-disposal rooms, meter rooms by adding locks and frequent checking;

- (b) Extend the caretaker system to each block⁽⁴¹⁾;
- (c) Check frequently the unused rooftops, especially those of the Mark I and II blocks. Gates and locks to be added to block the exits⁽⁴²⁾.

(2) Strengthening of natural surveillance by the residents themselves may be achieved in the following ways :

- (a) Through the manipulation of building, spatial configurations and territorial definition, (applicable only to the new buildings under planning) one can create "surveillance opportunities to allow the citizen to achieve control of his environment and to make him instrumental in curtailing others from destroying his habitat, whether the others are criminals or a reactionary authority"⁽⁴³⁾
- Huge and linking blocks loaded with exits should be avoided in the future design of housing. It is worth applying the popular concept of 'defensible space' which have been studied in other countries, to the

(41) As far as the knowledge goes, a few blocks in TWS have adopted the caretaker system and the response of the residents in those blocks seems to be more positive to the management and to the security of the block. In addition to the placement of caretakers, these blocks are fenced, providing distinguishable boundaries.

(42) However, the rooftops are frequented by the residents to fix the TV antennae that are usually stored on the rooftops. Better solutions have to be discovered.

(43) Oscar Newman, op.cit., p. 204.

local scene for detail examination of its feasibility. Planners have to be cautious in the future designs of housing. For once the block is inhabited, the residents have to take whatever consequences the design will bring to them. From her rich experience of the past in the building industry, Hong Kong cannot afford to commit more mistakes.

- (b) On the other hand natural surveillance can be created by the development of a cooperative spirit among neighbors on the same floor and in the whole block. The provision of play facilities for children at each floor level may bring families out to use them and may further enhance the formation and development of friendships. This may lead to a shared effort to maintain the facility, to curtail intruders using public areas for mal-practices and to help neighbors in case of danger. The establishment of the Mutual-Aid Committees are good signs along this line. Indeed we do need genuine and committed citizens to form strong neighborhoods. In other words, quality is again more significant than just the fascinating numbers of Committees formed.

B. Program Planning of Services

The housing estates with their large concentrations of people offer a great need and a great opportunity for welfare work. Successful programs that aim to raise the people's social horizons and to realise 'human renewal', have to break through the barriers and to gain the trust of the people. Unfortunately, there is a prevalent distorted image of welfare services among the people. They usually look upon these services with a mixture of curiosity, suspicion and indifference.

As mentioned in the above, the lack of confidence in services such as youth centres, reading rooms, and libraries is reinforced by the environmental insecurity and the belief in widespread of bad elements in the neighborhood. In view of that, the services should design not only programs that are relevant to the immediate need of the family, but also programs that can be brought to their household or to their immediate neighborhood. Some agencies are already offering services along this line. Among the most popular programs are student guidance schemes, tutorial classes, neighborhood organization and other community development activities. They are operated usually either on the floor or on the block level.

Since it will take years before any change will be planned for most of the Mark I and II blocks, the deserted rooftops in these estates can be re-opened for welfare purposes. The Housing Department should encourage agencies that are interested to take control of the rooftops. This may save these places from the hands of bad elements on one hand and may offer programs for the benefit of the residents on the other.

The influence of television has great impact on the lives of the people. One point we have to note is that having a television set in the unpartitioned and congested dwelling unit is a detriment to the studying environment of the children. Unless increase of space will be allocated, which seems to be very unlikely, the demand for a quiet place for studying is great. Bringing the well-supervised library and reading room services up to the floors of the blocks or to the rooftops are promising measures worth considering.

C. Other Implications

It has been pointed out that for relatively isolated and populous housing estates, considerations of the transportation network has to have top priority. Close coordination should be maintained between the Housing Department and the bus companies to have a constant check on the demand and the supply.

The problem of inadequate provision of primary services such as shops, markets, medical clinics calls for better timing in the early phase of moving into the new estates. The provision of services should synchronize with the moving of the people into the estate as residents.

Another point that has been raised in the above, is the policy underlying the management practices. In the sphere of management of housing and its environment, there are inter-organizational and inter-departmental tensions to be further examined and solved. Administrators are called to study areas of management where functions are shared between departments. Where are the operational difficulties? Is there any ambiguity and confusion of functions that may lead to negligence in management? Is the objective inadequately realized because of the sharing?

A number of questions have been raised in this paper. Some are answered but some are not. Immediate actions are called for in some respects while further research and discussion are required in others.

The problem of housing is not an isolated one, but is closely linked with the economic, social, political and technological development of the society. It is a topic for multi-disciplinary research and multi-sectoral planning. Not until we see a mutual understanding and working relationship established between the physical and social sciences and, in addition to town planning for land use and the physical structure of houses and roads until a recognized position be given to the social planning for the 'social well-being of people' and 'social development of people as people' will true and healthy communities ever materialize.

APPENDIX A
SAMPLING PROCEDURES AND
SOURCES OF DATA

The Surveys of the two Resettlement Estates we have discussed were conducted separately with different objectives. The TWS Survey aimed to study the social needs of the Estate. The SKM Survey was conducted simultaneously with the Pak Tin Survey to study the human implications of household relocation. However, both Surveys include comparable questions on the resident's utilization of local facilities and social services.

Sampling procedures

The two samples were selected separately in multi-stage random procedures. 2 per cent and 1.2 per cent of the estimated number of households in SKM and TWS respectively were decided to be the sample size. (1)

Next step was the selection of blocks so that we can centralize our sample. After deciding to interview an average of 25 households per block for SKM and 20-25 households per block for TWS, 8 blocks and 14 blocks were randomly selected respectively. (2) For economic and time-saving reasons, households were randomly chosen on certain selected floors only (2 floors per block for the 7-storey blocks and 3 floors per block for the 16-storey blocks).

(1) Using 5.5 as the average household size, the estimated number of households in May 1973 were approximately 9,300 in SKM and 24,300 in TWS.

(2) The total number of housing blocks for SKM was 23 and for TWS was 63.

Letters of notification were delivered beforehand. Immediate re-
placements of residents on the same floor were allowed. The total
number of successful returns are 200 for SKM and 302 for TWS.

Lists of questions that are related to the residents' utilization
of local facilities and social services

1. For every individual in the household who either works or
studies,

- a. in what district is his/her place of work/
place of study, located?
- b. what means of transportation does he/she
usually take to commute to his/her place
of work/place of study?
- c. generally, how much time is needed in one-
way to commute to his/her place of work/
place of study?

2. Medical services

- a. If you (or your family member) are not feeling
well, where do you usually go to see a doctor?
The doctors in this Estate or doctors in other
places?(3)
- b. For those who go for local services, what is
your opinion on the services? And the medical
fees charged?
- c. For those who go for nonlocal services, why
are you not using local services?
- d. If you (or your family member) are in need of
some medicine or drugs, can these be readily
available in the Estate?

(3) Due to the lack of a distinct boundary in SKM, the respondents
were clarified that 'this Estate' include areas of the SKM
Resettlement Estates, places like Pak Tin, south of Berwick
Street are considered as not belonging to 'this Estate' which
had to be specified and noted down by the interviewers.

3. Shopping

- a. Where do you usually shop for your daily commodities?
- b. Your reasons for not using local facilities.
- c. Your opinion on the local facilities, their prices, quality and quantity.

4. Playground

- a. Do your children go to play in the playgrounds or the recreation areas in the Estate?
- b. Why are they not going to the playgrounds or the recreation areas in this Estate?

5. Kaifong Welfare Association, Estate Welfare Building and youth centres

- a. Have you (or your family member) ever participated in the activities sponsored by the Kaifong Association in this Estate? What kinds of activities have you participated? Why have you not joined their activities?
- b. (In TWS Survey only) Have you (or your family member) ever gone to the Estate Welfare Building? Why have you not gone? What divisions have you gone for?
- c. (In TWS Survey only) Do you know about the youth centres or children recreation centres in this Estate? Have your children ever joined the activities of these centres? Why have they not joined the activities of these centres? What activities have they ever participated?

6. Study rooms and libraries

Do your children go to study in the libraries or study rooms? Why are they not going? Do they go to the libraries of this Estate?

APPENDIX B

PROFILE OF THE SOCIOECONOMIC
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

We have collected data for 200 households in SKM and 302 households in TWS. The former consists of 1231 individuals and the latter consists of 2031 individuals.

Sex and age distribution are presented in Tables B.1 and B.2. The sex ratios for SKM and TWS were 1000 females to 1038 and 958 males respectively. More males are found in older Resettlement Estates than the newer ones⁽¹⁾. This can be explained by the increase of new marriages found in older estates as more and more children are reaching their marriage age. The unbalance of sex ratio is partly because of the tenancy policy that the wives of the head's sons, other than that of the first son, are not permitted to 'migrate into' the household; and partly because of the traditional Chinese custom of married daughters to 'migrate out' of the parents' households. This may be accounted by the fact that more

Table B.1 Sex distribution of the responding households in SKM and TWS

Sex	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
Male	50.9%	48.9%
Female	49.1	51.1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	100.0% (1231)	100.0% (2031)
Sex Ratio*	1038	958

* No. of males per 1000 females

(1) This is confirmed by the unpublished data on the sex ratios of public housing estates, 1971 Census - Public Estates Tabulation. The sex ratios for SKM and TWS in the 1971 Census were respectively 1000 females to 1016 and 997 males.

males (whose wives might have been left behind in the Mainland) came as refugees to squat and later rehoused in the older resettlement estates.

The age distribution of SKM and TWS shows that the latter has a younger population. The dependency ratio is a rough indicator of the number of persons of dependent age (below the age of 15 plus age of 60 and above) per 100 persons of working age (15-59 years old). Our data shows that in SKM, for every 100 persons of working age there were 54 dependents; whereas in TWS, there were 95 dependents. The latter had a higher percentage of aged dependency also since 29 per cent of the TWS households and 24 per cent of the SKM households in our samples were extended families with either or both parents of the couple residing under the same roof.

Table B.2 Age distribution of the responding households in SKM and TWS

Age group	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
Below 15	29.1%	39.9%
15 - 59	65.2	53.7
60 & over	5.7	6.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	100.0% (1231)	100.0% (2031)
Dependency Ratio*	54	95

* Persons of dependent ages (below 15 plus 60 and over) per 100 persons of working age (15-59 years of age)

SKM has relatively smaller household size than TWS (see Table B.3), 5.53 persons per household as compared with 6.12 persons. Moreover, SKM has more single-person households sharing a common unit.

Table B.3 Percentage distribution of household size of the respondents in SKM and TWS

Household Size	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
1 - 4 persons	27.5%	15.2%
5 - 6	30.5	32.8
7 - 8	25.0	31.1
9 - 10	12.0	14.6
Over 10	5.0	6.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	100.0% (200)	100.0% (302)
Median (persons)	5.53	6.12

Table B.4 shows the percentage distributions of total family income in SKM and TWS. With respect to the economic activities and occupation of the samples, they are presented in Tables B.5 and B.6. On the average, SKM has higher percentage of working-age-population and population that are economically active. The mean family income of SKM is higher than that of TWS. However, the table also reveals greater variation of income among families residing in SKM. Both SKM and TWS are working class communities with over three-quarters of individuals in the two Samples employed as blue-collar manual workers.

Table B.4 Percentage distribution of family income of the respondents in SKM and TWS

Family Income	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
Below \$200	1.0%	---%
\$ 200 - 399	1.0	2.4
\$ 400 - 599	3.6	6.1
\$ 600 - 799	9.2	16.7
\$ 800 - 999	13.9	17.0
\$1,000 - 1,499	30.3	35.7
\$1,500 - 1,999	21.0	12.2
\$2,000 and over	20.0	9.9
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	100.0% (195)	100.0% (294)
Mean (\$)	1357.4	1165.5
Median (\$)	1474.6	1590.5
No answer	(5)	(8)

Table B.5 Percentage distribution of the economic activities of the responding households in SKM and TWS

Economic Activities	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
Economically active	47.4%	40.7%
Studying	28.0	37.4
Economically inactive	24.6	21.9
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	100.0% (1227)	100.0% (2029)
No answer	(4)	(2)

Table B.6 Percentage distribution of the occupations
of the responding households in SKM and TWS

Occupation	<u>SKM</u>	<u>TWS</u>
Skilled, manual worker	12.3%	12.7%
Semi-skilled, manual worker	39.4	44.1
Unskilled, manual worker	23.1	20.7
Salesworker	4.0	5.9
White-collar, clerical worker	4.0	2.3
Small-businessman (hawkers included)	10.2	3.9
Service worker	1.4	1.2
Professionals (teachers included)	2.1	1.5
Others	0.2	0.2
Out-workers	3.3	7.6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	100.0% (576)	100.1% (828)
No answer	(10)	(3)
Not working	(645)	(1,200)

APPENDIX C
DIFFERENT MARKS OF THE
RESETTLEMENT ESTATES

Resettlement Estates are built to resettle families displaced from Crown land required for development, families made homeless by the demolition of dangerous buildings, compassionate welfare cases, and certain victims of natural disasters. There is no income limit for those who are qualified to live there. They are built by the Public Works Department for the Resettlement Department. Legal authority for managing urban estates, factories and cottage areas was vested in the Urban Council; but day-to-day management was delegated to the Resettlement Department, presently the Housing Department. The designs of the Resettlement blocks are designated 'Mark' in architectural terms.

Mark I blocks --- 6 or 7 storey, built from 1955-61. Block usually 'H'-shaped with communal wash-places and lavatories in the cross-piece. An access balcony runs all the way around the outside of each floor and back-to-back rooms open off it. It has an average space of 24 square feet per adult with each child counted as half an adult.

Mark II blocks -- 7 or 8 storey, built from 1961-64. Similar to Mark I blocks in internal arrangements, except that the ends of the two arms of the 'H' are connected by a screen of perforated bricks, and large rooms with a balcony, water supply and kitchen are provided at each end of the block.

Mark III blocks - 8 storey, built from 1964-67. Entirely different design from Mark I and II with room access from an internal corridor. Each room has its own private balcony and water-tap, toilets are shared between two rooms; refuse-chutes are provided on each floor.

Mark IV blocks -- 16 storey with lifts, built from 1965-69. They are self-contained units. Each room has its own balcony, water-supply and toilet.

Mark V blocks --- 16 storey built from 1966-71. As the version of Mark IV, but with wider corridors and a greater variety of room sizes closely matching the sizes of the families.

Mark VI blocks -- 16 storey built in 1969. Similar to Mark V, but with larger rooms. The standard floor space was increased to 27 square feet for each adult. This was increased to 35 square feet per adult in the 1970 blocks.

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