

**THE PATTERN OF URBAN LIFE IN HONG KONG:
A DISTRICT LEVEL COMMUNITY STUDY OF
SHAM SHUI PO**

DRAFT VERSION OF FINAL REPORT

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Executive Summary

1. Introduction

This research was commissioned by the Central Policy Unit of the HKSAR Government in response to the growing public concern over the socio-economic problems and urban decay in Sham Shui Po (hereafter as SSP). Studies on the urban life revolving SSP have been spasmodic. It is only until the mid-2000s that academics and the public began to put more attention to the district. At the moment, there is a modicum of studies already conducted, and the public seems to have developed stereotypes of the district, which is widely seen as a dilapidated and hopeless geographical area. Building on the existing studies, this research is intended to take a fresh look and systematically analyse the pattern of urban life in SSP, the socio-economic problems in the district and the ways in which such problems can be possibly tackled. The pattern of people's life and the 'SSP problems' are complex and multi-dimensional. Social issues and economics are mingled with politics and physical environments. For this reason, the research adopts an integrated approach, drawing on different disciplines such as politics, geography, social work, architecture and cultural studies in order to examine the pattern of urban life in SSP.

2. Research Puzzle

SSP is one of the oldest districts in Hong Kong. Similar to other old districts, SSP is afflicted with urban decay. To add to the complication, SSP is stricken with a range of social and economic maladies. For example, in 2008 the median household monthly income of SSP (HKD\$13,800) is the lowest among all District Council districts (HKD\$18,000) (Census and Statistical Department, 2008). Likewise, the labour force participation rate of SSP (56.3 percent) is also the lowest among all districts in Hong Kong. SSP is not only concentrated with low income families and unemployed, but also with new immigrants and the aged. To all appearances, the quality of life (hereafter as QoL) is expected to be rather low in SSP, in view of the fact that the residents there have little more than meagre resources in their life. Against the odds, however, the life satisfaction index reported by the residents of SSP (0.2075 within the range from -2 to 2) does not fare particularly worse than the average score (0.2461) which covers all the districts in Hong Kong. This apparent discrepancy undoubtedly justifies detailed investigation. It is believed that by means of delving into the discrepancy we are able to develop a better understanding of people's life in SSP and the ways in which their life satisfaction can be enhanced. This is a major theme cutting through the entire report.

3. Research Objectives

The major theme of this research can be unravelled into a number of specific objectives:

- 3.1 To examine the overall picture concerning QoL in SSP, and to break down the overall picture into the particular levels facing various socio-economic groups. , this research seeks to examine the factors contributing to people's QoL, in the hope that the pattern of urban life in SSP can be fully understood.
- 3.2 To trace the background and historical contexts for urban life in SSP; especially to examine social exclusion and poverty situation of the households, so that we have a better understanding as regards how their current predicament came about.
- 3.3 To study social capital among residents and between civic organizations to see the extent to which it can address the problem of poverty and social exclusion by fostering trust and mutual help in SSP.
- 3.4 To study the manners in which public organizations such as the Home Affairs Bureau, the Labour and Welfare Bureau, the Urban Renewal Authority and the District Council may help fostering social assets in SSP.
- 3.5 To evaluate the role of civic associations such as community organisations, social services organizations, advocacy groups and political parties in enhancing social capital, aggregating demands, mediating conflicts and/or facilitating mobilization.
- 3.6 To examine the level of civic participation of residents living in SSP. In particular, this research sets out to study the driving forces behind socio-political participation, and to understand the significance of civic participation to the running of community at district level and life satisfaction at individual level.

- 3.7 To examine the social relations between different groups (residents of different housing types and geographical clusters) in SSP. Rigorous research is conducted on whether and why social divisions exist, and the ways in which these social divisions affect a sense of ‘we-ness’ and the concomitant of civic participation and mutual help.
- 3.8 To explore and explain the relationship between the place of SSP and the ways of life that its residents lead in an urban community. More specifically, this research seeks to understand the manners in which the local residents relate themselves to the places they live and how they derive life satisfaction as a result.

Undoubtedly our research on life satisfaction, social capital, civic associations, government agencies, social divisions and land use is able to generate a comprehensive picture about the pattern of urban life in SSP. It may also help guide public policies on housing, urban renewal, social welfare and home affairs.

4. Research Methodology

Central to our research is to seek understanding of social divisions along the line of housing types, people’s perception of place as well as their implications for life satisfaction, social capital and civic participation. In line with our research focus and the limitation of sample size, it is deemed inappropriate to study the whole district by means of complete random sampling, which is likely to result in a sample heavily tilted towards

public housing estate dwellers, in light of the demographic structure in SSP. For the same reason, it is equally inappropriate to confine ourselves to the study of a single geographical area concentrated with a particular housing class. In parallel with the research focus, our approach is to choose three geographical clusters that are characterised by differences in housing types, socio-economic backgrounds and location in relation to the central part of SSP (see Fig. 1). Their differences enable the researchers to examine whether and how the housing types and geographical locations influence the pattern of urban life.

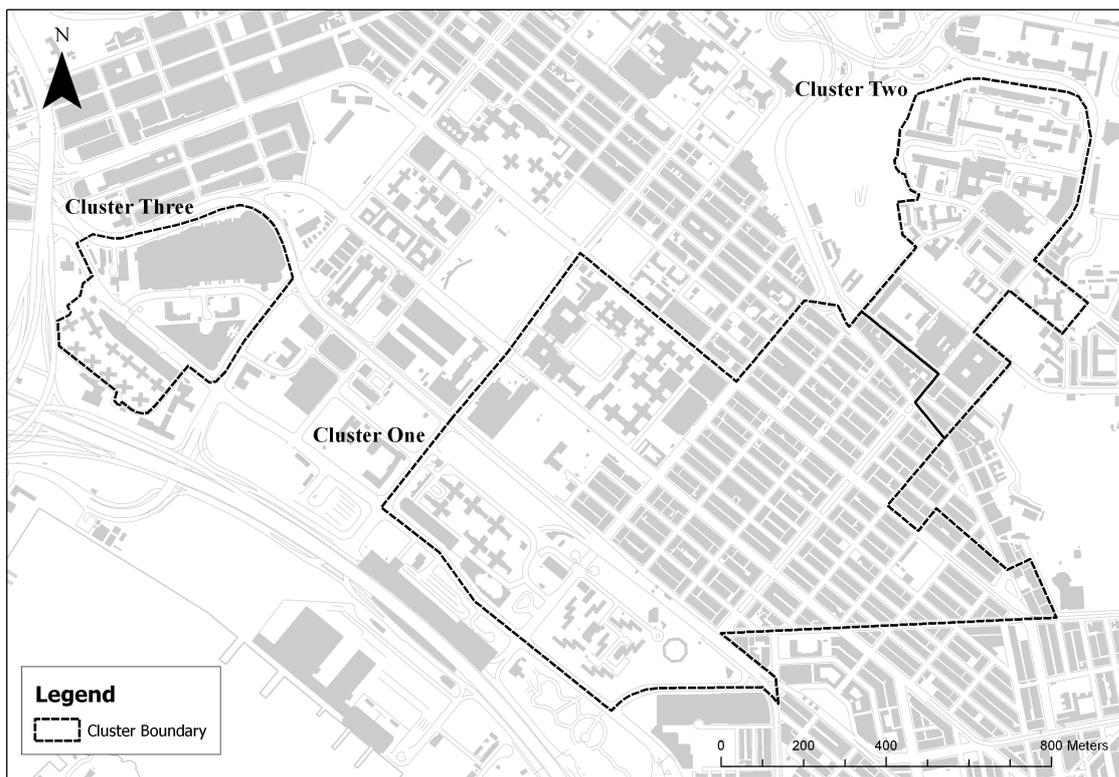


Fig. 1 Three clusters under study

The characteristics of these clusters are as follows:

4.1 Cluster One: Bounded by Bounded by Cheung Sha Wan Road, Nam Cheong Street, Sham Mong Street, Tonkin Street, Cluster One includes Central Sham Shui Po and the reclamation area across the West Kowloon Corridor. This area represents the commercial heart of Sham Shui Po. It contains two dominant types of housing. The first is the typical Sham Shui Po pre-war and postwar Chinese-style buildings “tong lau”. The second is the public housing estates constructed between 1980s and 2000s. They include Lai Kok and Lai On Estates in the central area, as well as Nam Cheong and Fu Cheong Estate across the West Kowloon Corridor.

4.2 Cluster Two: Bounded by Nam Cheong Road, and the hillslopes of Shek Kip Mei, Cluster Two includes two public housing estates, notably Pak Tin and Shek Ki Mei Estates. Constructed in 1975, Pak Tin is the oldest existing and public housing estate in SSP. With 8400 households, and an estimated population of 24,200, it is also the largest housing estate with many population groups. Constructed in 1976, Shek Kip Mei Estate is located closed to Central Sham Shui Po. It contains early linear slab blocks designed to enclose a public open space, a market and other amenities.

4.3 Cluster Three: Located between Kwai Chung Road and West Kowloon Highway, and between Cheung Sha Wan and Mei Foo, Cluster Three is the newest area of SSP. It contains two types of high-rise housing. The first is a group of four private

development projects for middle-class population variously known as ‘Four Dragons’, notably Banyan Garden, Liberte, the Pacifica, and Aqua Marine. The second, Hoi Lai Estate built in 2004, is one of the newest public housing estates. Both types of housing are located relatively far from old urban centres

This research has used four data collection methods. They include:

4.4 First, a secondary analysis of existing statistical data from the 2001 Population Census and the 2006 Population Bi-census that are related to SSP, as well as the Population and Household Statistics analysed by District Council district. This data allows the researchers to have a basic understanding of the socio-economic features of SSP, especially the current predicament afflicting the local residents.

4.5 Second, a secondary analysis of cartographic materials such as aerial photos capturing the geographical features of SSP. With this information, the researchers are able to trace the geographical changes of SSP throughout the last century, and how these geographical changes such as land reclamation, land use and urban planning are related to the current predicament facing the district.

4.6 Third, a questionnaire survey conducted in the three geographical clusters as abovementioned. The questionnaire survey provides the researchers with a great

deal of first-hand information about social capital, civic participation, perception of place, social divisions and life satisfaction in SSP. This information has not been collected and analysed in any systematic and rigorous manner by existing studies.

4.7 Fourth, in-depth interviews with the people of SSP. Two kinds of interviews have been used in this research. On the one hand, we have conducted elite interviews with social leaders such as government officials, District Councillors and NGO organisers. On the other hand, we have undertaken focus-group interviews with ordinary residents. The combination of elite interviews and focus group interview allow us to achieve triangulation of data. In addition, learning from the experiences of local residents enable us to supplement the statistical data, thereby achieving a deeper understanding of people's life.

4.8 The target population of this research is adults who live in either public housing, private housing or 'tong lau' in the district. Senior citizens aged over 60 are included in the research, because they constitute a considerable proportion of people living in SSP. In such regard, there is no real reason to rule them out if the overall picture concerning urban life in SSP can be grasped.

4.9 A random sample of addresses was drawn from the three geographical clusters as mentioned above. For the purpose of statistical analysis, we set a target of

completing at least 1000 successful cases, with around 333 from each geographical cluster. In line with the research focus on social divisions, we also set a target of completing at least 150 successful cases from each housing type, having taken into account the difficulty of accessing the private housing estates.

4.10 On top of random sampling of addresses based on the three geographical clusters, one qualified household member was selected from each address by using the Kish Grid. This member was then interviewed by our trained interviewers.

4.11 The questionnaire survey was executed by the telephone laboratory of the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The fieldwork for this research was mainly conducted by student helpers recruited, trained and managed by the Institute. The survey started in mid-July 2010 and was completed in April 2011. A total of 1114 face-to-face interviews were successfully undertaken. The response rate for Cluster One, Cluster Two and Cluster Three is 47.41 percent, 46.27 percent and 38.08 percent respectively.

4.12 A total of 25 elite interviews and 16 focus group interviews were conducted. The interviewees were comprised of (1) government officials closely related to local governance; (2) District Councillors; (3) social leaders in charge of civic associations; and (4) ordinary residents of SSP. To fit into our research focus, the

interviewees were designed to come from as broad the social-economic backgrounds as possible, cutting across housing types, geographical clusters, age groups, gender, employment status, birth places and ethnicities.

5. The Survey Sample

For reference, the followings are the brief description of our sample:

- 5.1 In our questionnaire survey, 1,114 cases have been completed and scrutinised as valid and successful. Among them, 495 cases (44.4 percent) were conducted in Cluster One, 340 cases (30.5 percent) in cluster Two, and 279 cases (25 percent) in Cluster Three.
- 5.2 In terms of housing type, 58.8 percent of our respondents come from public housing, 29 percent come from private housing (i.e. ‘Four Dragons’ and Home Ownership Scheme), and 12.2 percent of respondents are “tong lau” (i.e. cubicle apartment, “tong lau” unit and suite) residents.
- 5.3 Of the 1,114 successfully interviewed, 59.2 percent are female and 40.8 percent are male. In terms of age distribution, 14 percent of our sample are aged 18-29, 56.5

percent are aged 30-59, and 29.2 percent are aged 60 or above. In addition, 41.1 percent of these respondents were born in Hong Kong. It means that more than half of the respondents were immigrants. Among them, 81.6 percent have lived in Hong Kong for more than 7 years. In addition, 94.6 percent of them had lived in the Mainland China/Macau/Taiwan before they moved to Hong Kong.

5.4 In terms of the highest education level obtained, 32 percent of the respondents have “no-schooling/pre-primary/primary” level, 48.8 percent have obtained “secondary” level and 18.8 percent have obtained “tertiary” level.

5.5 In our sample, 50.2 percent of the respondents have a paid job while 49.7 percent does not. Among those who have a paid job, 77 percent work full-time while 22.6 percent work part-time. The remaining 0.4 percent of respondents work both full-time and part-time.

5.6 In terms of average household monthly income, 19.7 percent of the respondents have an income below HKD\$6,000, while only 7.6 percent of them have an income of HKD\$40,000 or above. The majority of them have a household income somewhere in between. Specifically, 26.7 percent of them have a household monthly income ranging from HKD\$6000 to HKD\$14,999, while 21.0 percent have a household income ranging from HKD\$15,000 to HKD\$39,999.

6. Main Findings from the Analysis of Second-Hand Data

With the analysis of information contained in the 2006 Population By-census, the Population and Household Statistics compiled by District Council district and a range of cartographic materials, a number of geographical and socio-economic features, trends and the resultant challenges in relation to SSP have been identified:

- 6.1 The development of central SSP, which is characterised by the concentration of ‘tong lau’, can be traced back as far as to the 1920s. Yet most of the ‘tong lau’ that remains intact today were built in the 1940s and 1950s. After the WWII, SSP attracted a large number of refugees across the border. As a consequence, the district saw the rebuilding of pre-war ‘tong lau’ into taller five to six-storey buildings.

- 6.2 The greatest change of SSP took place between the 1950s and 1970s. Driven by public policies for social and economic development, many of the changes occurred in areas outside Central SSP, such as Cheung Sha Wan and Shek Kip Mei. The changes include the building of roads, industrial estates (e.g. Cheung Sha Wan Factory Estate), public facilities, open spaces and public housing (e.g. So Uk Estate,

Shek Kip Mei Estate, and Pak Tin Estate). As a result, SSP became one of the industrial and residential hubs in Hong Kong.

6.3 With economic globalisation and the opening up of China, most of the industries in Hong Kong have been relocated. Hence, the 1980s and 1990s saw the closure of factories in Shek Kip Mei and Cheung Sha Wan. The Shek Kip Mei Factory Building was converted into the Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in 2008. The sites of the Cheung Sha Wan Factory Estate were cleared around 2002, and are currently being re-developed into public housing estates.

6.4 From 1990 onwards, transformation of SSP has continued. The significant growth of this period included further land reclamation and the completion of the West Kowloon Highway (1997). On the reclaimed land were two new public housing estates, notably Fu Cheong Estate (2001) and Hoi Lai Estate (2004). The two public housing estates were located far away from the central SSP. In addition, the building of four large-scale private housing projects (known as 'Four Dragons') brought a number of middle-class residents to the district.

6.5 As the physical development of SSP can be traced back as far as to the 1920s, and the greatest change of the district took place between the 1950s and 1960s, one of the problems facing the district is the physical deterioration of buildings. Re-

development programmes have been undertaken on public housing estates. More challenging to the public organisations seems to be the older 'tong lau' which house a diverse and low-income group of residents. Large-scale clearance may be impractical because these buildings accommodate a large number of poor people who are unable to find a living place either through the private housing market or the public housing scheme.

6.6 Due to urban decay, SSP has been listed as a key area of urban renewal by the Urban Renewal Authority and Hong Kong Housing Society. Replacing the old buildings is often by forty to fifty storied luxurious towers on top of a shopping podium, and by rebuilding of public housing. The re-development programmes have resulted in geographical and sociological re-shuffling of the district. New residents have moved in, whereas a considerable proportion of old residents have moved out. This may have resulted in adverse effects on the well-established social networks embedded in the urban fabric and the public memories of the community. How the SSP can be renewed without losing its history, identity and community would be the challenge in the coming decades.

6.7 On top of challenges to social networks and community identity, urban renewal tends to lead to the problem of gentrification. In other words, the redeveloped higher-class housing properties, especially the so-called 'Four Dragons', have

attracted wealthier people moving in, which may result in the informal eviction of the less well-off inhabitants.

6.8 The emergence of re-developed higher-class housing properties on the periphery of SSP can easily lead to the social and spatial segregation between people living in different types of quarters within the district. To be fair, the social and spatial segregation may have existed well before the emergence of 'Four Dragons'. Traditionally, the connections and exchanges between the middle class residential areas (e.g. Yau Yat Chuen and Mei Foo Sun Chuen) and the less well-off regions (e.g. central SSP and public housing areas) have been minimal. However, the emergence of re-developed middle-class housing properties on the periphery of the district (e.g. Aqua Marine and Banyan Garden) seems to have exaggerated the segregation problem. Part of the explanation lies in the physical design of land use. The road networks in the new reclamation area, with about three lanes in each direction, can easily isolate the new private housing properties and the Hoi Lai Estate nearby from central SSP. Another reason lies in the differences in housing types, which tend to result in different lifestyles, demands and identities. Hence, the residents of 'Four Dragons' are apt to distance themselves from the residents of public housing and 'tong lau'.

6.9 In line with urban decay and de-industrialisation, SSP has been stricken with a range of socio-economic problems throughout the last decade. For example, in terms of monthly household income, SSP has remained the poorest from 2000 to 2010, compared with the other seventeen districts in Hong Kong.

6.10 The district of SSP has also been afflicted with serious aging problems. SSP is one of the districts having the highest ratio of old-age population (those at the age of 65 or above) in the territory. Whereas the old-age residents have constituted around 16 percent of the population of SSP throughout the last decade, the average in Hong Kong has been about 12 percent only.

6.11 SSP has a labour participation rate (59.7 percent in 2010) significantly lower than the average of Hong Kong (55 percent in 2010). This means that the fraction of labour force which cannot be absorbed by the jobs market is higher than the other districts of Hong Kong. In this aspect, again, SSP has registered either the worst or the second worst among all districts throughout the period from 2003 to 2010.

6.12 Closely related to the low rate of labour participation is the low educational level facing the residents of SSP. The educational attainment of SSP residents has continuously been one of the lowest in Hong Kong. To put statistically, 75 percent of SSP residents have attained secondary education in 2010, while the figure for

Hong Kong in average for the same period is 77.7 percent. However, it is important to point out that there is an increasing proportion of SSP residents with secondary educational level in 2009 and 2010. This may be the consequence of newly emerging middle classes who moved in those redeveloped private housing properties on the periphery of SSP.

6.13 SSP is characterised by the high concentration of new immigrants from Mainland China. New immigrants from Mainland China constitute 5.7 percent of the population of SSP, which is considerably higher than the average of 3.2 percent in Hong Kong. It is also remarkable that 9 percent of the total population of new arrivals from Mainland China are concentrated in SSP. This was the case in 2001 and 2006.

7. Main Findings from the Analysis of Survey and Interview Data

By all measures, people residing in SSP should be fretful about their living standards. However, as demonstrated in our survey and similar studies conducted by other institutes, the SSP residents express a comparatively high satisfaction with their life. By drawing on a range of perspectives and concepts, this research sets out to understand their life satisfaction and the pattern of urban life in SSP as a whole.

7.1 Social capital

7.1.1 It is clear that social networks are important in explaining people's perception of their life in SSP. In our questionnaire survey, the respondents were asked to state the number of friends they have in the district on the one hand. On the other, the respondents were asked to state their perception of QoL. The causal relationship between the variables is eminent ($P < 0.05$). In general, the respondents with greater the scope of social networks tends to have a more positive attitude towards their QoL. There is no interruption in the upward trend. The only exception rests with people who indicate the absence of any friend in the district. This exception can be explained by analysing their interaction with the place they live and perceive.

7.1.2 The ways in which social networks affect quality of life are easily comprehensible. For those people who are afflicted with mishaps and suffer from a great deal of stress and depression as a result, the social networks may act as a domain to which they can turn for solace and emotional support. Central to these networks are faith and trust. In this sense, a bonding network may not necessarily be less desirable than a bridging network. Homogeneity is conducive to the development of trust.

7.1.3 Besides the provision of emotional support, a social network may bring together a number of people who have the same hobby. In other words, the network may serve as a recreational group, from which people can derive a great deal of joy and pleasure.

7.1.4 SSP is a district stricken with a variety of socio-economic problems. In such regard, compared with the emergence of bonding networks, the development of bridging networks is equally important for SSP residents to live a decent life. The evidence of our statistical data corroborates the effect of bridging networks, exemplified by the range of economic support, on how the residents perceive their life. Simply put, those respondents who are able to seek economic help from ‘many friends’ tend to hold their life in the most positive light, compared with those respondents who have either ‘no friend’ or ‘few friends’ in this respect.

7.1.5 The results of our questionnaire survey bear out the causal relationship between social cohesion and QoL. In the survey, the respondents were asked about how they feel about the social relations in SSP as a whole, along the lines of social class, age group, new immigrant and ethnicity. Their responses to four separate questions were then re-compiled to form a single index indicating their general attitude towards ‘strangers’ in the district. It is found that there is a statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) relationship between people’s attitude towards ‘strangers’ and their life satisfaction.

The overall pattern is that an increase in QoL exists alongside an increase in people's satisfaction with the social relations in SSP as a whole.

7.1.6 Given its importance, it is pivotal to examine the general pattern of social capital in SSP. The analysis of our quantitative and qualitative evidence debunks the conventional myth that SSP is a district marked by close human touch. For example, over half of respondents (51.8 percent) reported that they have either 'no' or 'few' friends in the whole territory. By contrast, only an embarrassingly meagre number of respondents (7.1 percent) considered that they have 'many' friends in Hong Kong. These figures suggest that the social contact of SSP residents is quite restricted.

7.1.7 Looking at the range of social networks at the district level, the narrow scope of territory-wide social contact is replicated – and even worse. In our questionnaire survey, as many as 60.5 percent of respondents who thought that within SSP they have either 'no' or 'few' friends. By contrast, only 5.4 percent of respondents considered that they have 'many' friends in the district. The number of respondents basking in a broad range of social networks at the district level is way smaller than the number of respondents being confined to a small circle of social contact.

7.1.8 At issue is not the extent but the closeness of social networks, some may argue. However, even the nature of social networks is not encouraging in SSP. Turning to

the trust measures, we find that 92.7 percent and 78.9 percent of respondents claimed that they have a great deal of trust in their family members and relatives respectively. However, there are only 55.3 percent and 49 percent of respondents who respectively stated that they have a sense of trust in friends and neighbours at the district level. The lack of trust can probably dilute people's willingness to contact friends and neighbours when they need somebody for companionship and/or bump into troubles, which in turn cramps their ability to derive a sense of comfort and security from horizontal networks.

7.1.9 The lack of willingness to contact friends and neighbours for companionship is already evident in the results of our questionnaire (see Table 3.7). There are merely 36.8 percent and 8.8 percent of respondents who respectively claimed that they either 'sometimes' or 'often' go out with friends in leisure times, while a remarkably higher proportion of people, notably 65.5 percent and 42.6 percent of respondents, claimed that they either 'sometimes' or 'often' go out with family members and relatives in leisure times.

7.1.10 The weakness of social networks is not restricted to the gloomy levels of trust and contact. It is also epitomised in the levels of support that people can obtain from their social networks. In our questionnaire survey, a mere 35.1 percent of SSP respondents indicated that they are able to seek help from others if they cannot

squeeze out time for dealing with workaday issues. Among such group of respondents, the majority of support tends to come from family members (18 percent) and relatives (6.4 percent). Merely 10.1 percent and 6.9 percent of respondents indicated their ability to seek help from friends and neighbours respectively.

7.1.11 The same pattern, to some extent a bleaker pattern, applies to the situation of having bumped into intractable difficulties such as being in emergent need of financial support. In SSP, a mere 27.7 percent of respondents indicated their ability to seek help from others in face of serious problems, while 61.3 percent did not have that kind of luck. If we break down the sources of assistance, the frailty of social support base is all the more telling. As intractable difficulties occur, the majority of those who indicated that they are able to seek help would turn to family members (18.3 percent) and relatives (7.4 percent) for assistance. By contrast, there are merely 9.8 percent and 1.3 percent of respondents who respectively reported that they would have friends and neighbours to tide them over.

7.1.12 The frailty of social support base begs the question regarding why the social networks surrounding SSP residents have not grown into a more resourceful domain. The primary explanation seems to lie in the fact that their social networks remain excessively homogenous. In our questionnaire survey, the respondents were asked

whether they have friends who belong to different socio-economic classes from themselves. For those who have friends in the district, nearly half of them (40.6 percent) disclosed that all of their friends come from the socio-economic background tantamount to them.

7.1.13 While both the bonding and bridging networks in the district turn out to be weak and certainly a matter of concern, people may take some solace from the overall situation of social cohesion in SSP. According to the results of our questionnaire survey, the vast majority of local residents consider that people from different classes, age groups, ethnicities and birth places can live harmoniously and amicably with each other in the district. Nevertheless, these results have to be understood with caution. It is because a considerable number of people have expressed uncertainty about the situation.

7.1.14 After breaking down and analysing the quantitative data, it is found that a number of groups are at particular risk. The first group that warrants particular concern are the new immigrants. They have the narrowest scope of social networks, compared with the residents born in Hong Kong and the people who have already obtained Hong Kong permanent citizenship. The second group are the low income families (with household monthly income less than HKD\$6,000). Although they do not fare especially worse in terms of social networks, their trust in friends registers one of

the lowest scores among different income groups. It is important to point out that the low income families and new immigrants are precisely the people who can easily be embroiled in socio-economic hardships. They tend to be in desperate need of other people's help, material and non-material alike. However, they are exactly the people who have little access to social capital inherent in the district.

7.1.15 The third group to stand out concerns the people living in 'tong lau' for a number of reasons. First, 'tong lau' is the type of accommodation highly concentrated with new immigrants, who often find it difficult to settle into the new environment of Hong Kong straightaway. Second, the 'tong lau' residents are conspicuous by their low educational level. Third, the 'tong lau' in SSP is the type of accommodation concentrated with the unemployed. Fourth, the residents of 'tong lau' deserve particular attention because they have to put up with an abysmal level of household income. The combination of a variety of socio-economic problems leads to the fact that social capital is of great importance to them. Paradoxically, the social capital available to them, in either the form of bonding and bridging networks, does not come in abundance.

7.1.16 Why does the social capital in SSP remain so weak? This question justifies detailed investigation. Only then will it be possible to provide useful suggestions so that the social capital and in turn the QoL in SSP can be enhanced. At the start, this

research sets out to examine the paucity of social capital by focusing on the membership and type of civic associations. Quite surprisingly, the results of our questionnaire survey demonstrate the absence of any statistically significant relationship between the membership and type of civic associations on the one hand, and the development of networks, reciprocity and trust on the other.

7.1.17 Instead, the analysis of interview data suggests that the (under)development of social networks and reciprocity lies in the structure of civic associations. In particular, the civic associations that have operation in SSP tend to take a paternalistic approach to dealing with their relationship with their members, supporters and clients. The paternalistic approach denotes an attitude reminiscent of the hierarchical structure within a bureaucratic organisation. The consequence of such an approach is that the members, supporters and clients can easily become dependant on the NGO leaders. They tend not to have developed any horizontal networks with other members and clients who may help them tackle the upcoming problems beyond the end of the service programmes offered by their voluntary organisations.

7.1.18 In analysing the structure of civic associations operating in SSP, another feature stands out. In terms of exchanging information, manpower and organisational resources, the horizontal connection between civic associations is rather weak.

Despite the fact that in our elite interviews quite a few NGO leaders repeatedly stressed the existence of their close linkage with a wide range of voluntary organisations, their replies to our question regarding the external structure of their organisations smack of inconsistency. On the one hand, they stressed the importance of fostering the horizontal linkage with other groups, which may help them develop a holistic approach to socio-economic problems besieging the residents of SSP. On the other hand, however, they equally put a great deal of emphasis on division of labour cutting across different civic associations.

7.1.19 Structural fragmentation undoubtedly hampers the development of bridging networks, which is so important in affecting people's quality of life as discussed above. Given the fissure between people with different socio-economic backgrounds, it stretches credulity to have hopes pinned on the spontaneous development of bridging networks. In whatever circumstances, external intervention is necessary. One of which is the overlapping connection between different types and forms of civic associations. People may not trust 'strangers'. Yet they have a great deal of trust (54.6 percent) on civic associations. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider that the overlapping connection between various groups can set up a platform on which the bridging networks can be fostered. Alas, the structural fragmentation dims our hopes.

7.1.20 A number of reasons can be advanced to explain the organisational disarticulation.

One of the reasons seems to lie in the values and beliefs inherent in civic associations. Different civic associations tend to have different values and belief as regards their operation and the problems facing the district, which in turn affects their decisions on the social groups with which they tend to have connection and cooperation.

7.1.21 The lack of financial and manpower resources is another reason why civic associations do not put in a great deal of effort bridging the boundaries between different groups and different people. In our elite interviews, a number of NGO leaders are cognizant of the need for developing cross-cutting connection. However, as they pointed out, to develop and maintain organisational connection severely taxes their already hard-pressed financial and personnel resources. After all, the result tends to be uncertain.

7.1.22 The process of resource allocation by government is likely to vitiate the intention and effort of civic associations to bridge the organisational fissures. It is because, for government, resources are normally put aside for particular target populations. To fall in line, the social service organisations and community groups also draw a mechanistic boundary singling out their target populations. Closely related to the above situation is the establishment of market framework in the third sector. In the

market framework resources are allocated through competitive processes. Competition undercuts collaboration, solidarity and mutuality. In the context of competition for resources, there is no surprise that civic associations have little incentive to cooperate, thereby hindering the development of bridging capital among local residents.

7.2 Social and political participation

7.2.1 For the proper running of a community and the generation of a sense of empowerment, civic participation is important. However, generally speaking, the social and political participation in SSP is by no means high, both in absolute and comparative terms. In this research report, social and political participation refers to the level of participation in social affairs and political activities. They include collective action to influence the decisions of the government or direct action to improve their own livelihood and issues of their concern.

7.2.2 In terms of non-institutional means, it is found in our questionnaire survey that signature campaign is the most popular form of public participation. This is not surprising given the low cost of participating in signature campaign. Even so, however, only 31.2 percent of the respondents said that they had participated in any

signature campaign in the past year, whereas 68.5 percent of the respondents said otherwise.

7.2.3 It may be insufficient and premature to conclude the level by purely looking at the non-institutional means of participation. However, the overall pattern concerning the institutional means of participation is by no means more encouraging. The results of our survey indicate that the level of SSP residents attending the meetings of local organisations, such as mutual aid committees and ‘kai fong’ associations, is not high. Around 92 percent of the respondents have never attended such meetings for the past year. Among the 3.7 percent of respondents who have managed to attend, only 0.7 percent of them often attended the meetings.

7.2.4 Likewise, about 96 percent of the respondents have never attended local consultation of government agencies for the past year. Only 1.5 percent of the respondents have sometimes or often attended those meetings. The same pattern is replicated when it comes to analysing people’s participation in meeting with Legislative Councillor and District Councillor. 97.9 percent and 93.9 percent of the respondents reported that they have never met with Legislative Councillor and District Councillor respectively for the past year. All of this demonstrates that the low level of participation is not the consequence of ebbs and flows of the particular organisation involved.

7.2.5 By comparison with the overall picture in Hong Kong, it is apparent that civic participation is particularly worse in SSP. For example, as high as 10 percent of Hong Kong citizens have participated in protest, but our survey shows that only 5.7 percent of the respondents have done so. The gap in participation not only exists in the non-institutional means, but also in the institutional ones. For instance, up to 10 percent of Hong Kong citizens have contacted Legislative Councillor for help and expressing opinions. In our survey, however, merely 2.1 percent of the respondents have followed suit.

7.2.6 Again, despite the rise of e-government as a result of advancement in information technology, the overall participation of SSP residents through this channel is low in both absolute and comparative terms. In terms of e-information, a mere 31.4 percent of our respondents have accessed the government websites for information. On the other hand, the household survey found that in 2009, 58 percent of the population in Hong Kong has done so. In terms of e-services, only 22.2 percent of our respondents have obtained services from the government through the Internet while the household survey found that 50.1 percent of the citizens in Hong Kong have done so. In terms of e-engagement, only 3.1 percent of our respondents have contacted the government through the Internet to voice out their concerns and opinions. Although there is no comparable data from the household survey, 3.1 percent is still a very tiny number.

7.2.7 In line with the pattern of alienation, the percentage of registered voters in SSP (about 46 percent) is lower than the overall percentage of registered voters in Hong Kong (about 60 percent). Yet surprisingly, the voting rate of the SSP respondents at the level of 56 percent is remarkably higher than the overall voting rate in the 2007 District Council election in Hong Kong (38.83 percent). The high voting rate may be understood in the context that voter registration in SSP is relatively low. In such regard, those who did register would be more willing and determined to cast their vote.

7.2.8 Trust can be an important factor in promoting more participation. People are more willing to participate in public affairs if they trust that the authorities or organisations they are dealing with are serious and sincere in addressing their needs and concerns. Besides civic associations, the organisation our respondents trust the most is the HKSAR Government (47.8 percent), followed by the LegCo (33 percent) and the District Council (34.9 percent). Political parties, however they are located in the political landscape, turn out to be the organisations of which the respondents distrust the most. All of these figures suggest that there is the absence of any organisation in SSP which can integrate or mobilise the residents in a large scale.

7.2.9 What is interesting is the seemingly contradictory result about the HKSAR government. It is the most trusted organization but is also ranked among the top as

one of the most distrusted organizations. It may be the case that the HKSAR government is ranked at the top because of its level of authority. However, for people who have contacts with them, their experience is not as satisfying as they expect, which explain why they are also one of the most distrust organizations. Indeed, this situation is echoed by a number of informants in our interviews. The distrust of government hampers people's willingness to contact government officials for help and expressing opinions.

7.2.10 Consistent with the rest of this report is the disparities in SSP. The local residents with different socio-economic backgrounds tend to manifest different levels of civic participation. In particular, the level of participation is found to be affected by the variables of education, family income and place of birth. People with higher levels of education, higher levels of household income and Hong Kong as their birth place tend to participate more in social and political affairs. As a result, it is envisaged that their sense of empowerment and identity would be higher.

7.3 Social Divisions in SSP

7.3.1 It has been argued that in SSP the weakness of social capital and civic participation is a function of disarticulation between organisations (e.g. civic associations, government agencies, political parties, District Council and Legislative Council) and

society on the one hand, and between the organisations themselves on the other. To venture further, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of our data demonstrates that there is a number of structural factors leading to the divisions and even tensions within the district of SSP, which is epitomised in the effect of socio-economic variables and housing types on social capital, civic participation and social conflicts.

7.3.2 In our survey, the respondents were asked how many friends they have in Hong Kong as a whole and in SSP in particular. In Hong Kong as a whole, the scope of social networks available to ‘tong lau’ residents and public housing residents is similar to that of private housing residents. However, when it comes to SSP in particular, the cohorts of ‘tong lau’ and public housing have relatively denser social networks than the cohort of private housing. In other words, the newly emerging middle classes in SSP seem like a self-contained community. They have yet been integrated into the district to a large extent.

7.3.3 Overall speaking, the level of social participation is low in SSP. However, our survey data shows that the SSP residents of different housing types have different patterns of social participation. Compared with public housing dwellers and ‘tong lau’ residents, private housing dwellers are more likely to be members of civic associations. For private housing dwellers, 14.0 percent of respondents said that

they had been associational members, while merely 8.8 percent of public housing residents and 6.9 percent of ‘tong lau’ residents said so.

7.3.4 The same pattern applies to political participation. Generally speaking, the level of political participation is low in SSP, in both absolute and comparative terms. However, the local residents with different socio-economic backgrounds manifest different levels of political participation. In short, the higher the income level and educational level of the respondents, the higher rate of participation in political activities. By the same token, the new immigrants who have not resided in Hong Kong for a full seven-year time are rather passive in terms of political participation.

7.3.5 According to the results of our survey, it is clear that political participation is associated with trust in government. The deeper the mistrust of government, the higher the participation rate in political activities. Trust in government is important.

7.3.6 That said, it is important to point out that behind the trust the socio-economic factors and housing types tend to be the driving forces. In other words, trust in government varies alongside the variables of income, education and housing type. The SSP residents tend not to trust the government if they have a higher level of income and educational attainment. To some surprise, the ‘tong lau’ residents have the lowest level of trust in government, compared with the residents of other

housing types, although they tend to have low educational and income levels. This shows that the socio-economic features and housing types are two different concepts, thereby leading to different patterns of urban life in SSP.

7.3.7 Despite the fact that the 'tong lau' residents tend to distrust the government, they are not active in participating in political affairs. This is the case probably because they have a weak sense of political efficacy. Our interview data shows that quite a number of 'tong lau' residents do not believe their ability to change their predicament by their own. Nor do they consider that the government would make the move to accommodate their needs. They see no alternative but to put up with the current situation.

7.3.8 Respondents of the questionnaire survey manifest a high sense of belonging to the community of SSP. Nearly half of them indicate a medium level of attachment to the community, while about one-third of them have a strong attachment. Besides the rather high sense of community identity, our survey data demonstrates that there is a statistically significant relationship between the sense of community identity and the perception of QoL. Those residents who have a low sense of belonging to SSP tends to have a low degree of life satisfaction.

7.3.9 Community identity is strong in SSP. It is important to note, however, that the concept of ‘community’ carries different meanings to different people, especially across the line of housing type. It is common for the local residents to associate SSP with poverty. Given this connotation, 33 percent and 53.9 percent of the survey respondents consider that the ‘Four Dragons’ and Mei Foo Shu Cheun are not part of the district respectively, although they actually are component parts of the district according to the administrative district demarcation. In return, the residents of ‘Four Dragons’ tend not to identify themselves with the central SSP, because the appearance and economic activities of central SSP are vastly different to those of the ‘Four Dragons’, according to our informants in focus group interviews. In short, community identity may help enhancing QoL. Yet community identity does not have the same magical effect when it comes to social integration as long as different people tend to have their own boundaries of community.

7.3.10 Even worse, there are potential conflicts between the SSP residents who live in different types of housing. According to our interview data, dwellers of the ‘Four Dragons’ and Hoi Lai Estate may come into minor conflicts due to their different lifestyles. It is like the residents of ‘Four Dragons’ tend to approach District Councillor, complaining that the Hoi Lai Estate residents often dry clothing in public areas. Meanwhile, the major confrontation seems to exist as a result of their different demands and interests in terms of land use. The controversy over the development of NWKR Site 6 is an illustrative case.

7.4 Place and Urban Life

This section explicates the relationship between the places of SSP and the ways of lives that its residents lead in the urban community. The major findings are as follows:

7.4.1 The SSP residents derive satisfaction from the places of the district, especially the central market place, in their urban lives, because the places facilitate the provision of low costs of living, and are freely accessible to them.

7.4.2 The lower class people of SSP are more dependent on the central market place for satisfying their basic daily needs (purchasing daily accessories, having leisure and entertainment).

7.4.3 Due to their reliance on Central SSP in satisfying their basic needs, people of the less privileged groups living in the peripheral regions of the district are frustrated with the deficient transportation linkages between the regions they dwell and the central market place.

7.4.4 Tong Lau residents are discontented with the community environment of SSP. Yet, there are still ample of reasons for them to settle down in the district, e.g. low living costs, convenient transportation, etc.

7.4.5 Because of their dependence on the vernacular places of SSP in satisfying their daily needs, residents of SSP identify most with landmarks that are closely related to their daily lives.

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1 Weakening Social Capital

8.1.1 Social capital and civic associations in SSP are not as strong as expected. The reshuffling of residency, coupled with the inflow of new immigrants and new middle class, means that the pre-existing neighbourhood has been waning. Social fabrics in SSP does not epitomise a high degree of networks and trust as expected. Social contact of SSP residents is quite restricted district-wide and territory-wide. Trust still remains within core and extended family while trust in friends and neighbours is comparatively weak.

8.1.2 Our study reconfirms the positive function of social capital and civic association

on perception on quality of life and satisfaction on social relations in SSP. People with greater scopes of social networks, in the forms of bonding and bridging alike, tend to have a more positive attitude towards their quality of life. Moreover, increase in quality of life exists alongside an increase in people's satisfaction with the social relations in SSP as a whole.

8.1.3 Bonding social capital, according to our finding, provides emotional support, comfort and joy. Trust can be easily developed among this homogenous network. However, bonding social capital is generally weak in the district of SSP. The same pattern applies to bridging capital, in that social support networks in SSP do not operate any better than those in TSW. Social networks for residents of SSP remain excessively homogenous. In other words, the bridging type of networks is weak in the district, which makes it difficult for local residents to tap into the resources inherent in the classes different to them.

8.1.4 Though all residents in SSP do not have strong social capital, some particular vulnerable groups have even weaker than the average which may need our attention. New immigrants have the narrowest scope of social networks. Low income families have lowest social trust in friends. For the 'tong lau' residents, the bridging type of social capital is in particular short supply.

8.1.5 Civic associations have major pitfalls, structurally and operationally, and these

drawbacks scupper their effort in fostering social capital in the district. In particular, the civic associations in SSP tend to adopt the paternalistic approach to dealing with their members, supporters and clients. As a result, the members and clients do not have the willingness and ability to develop horizontal networks among themselves, which can sustain after the end of a particular service programme. In addition, there often seems to be a structural disarticulation between civic associations. Part of the explanation lies in the market framework used for resource allocation. With such organisational fragmentation, any effort to foster bridging capital can easily be upset in the applecart. Most importantly, the organisational fragmentation dents the hope that social assets enshrined in the newly emerging middle class can be transferred and complementary to the worse-off in the district.

8.2 Recommendations to Strengthen Social capital

8.2.1 To rebuild and strengthen the bonding social capital is one of the major strategies.

More specifically, it is suggested to extend emotional support from family to friends and neighbour by promoting self-help & mutual-help activities and groups like elderly volunteer group, single parent group and neighbour-watch programme. Adequate funding and place should be set up to encourage civic associations to initiate more self-help and mutual-help activities.

8.2.2 As face-to-face interaction is one of the most important elements to create trust.

Government should provide more public space in SSP like small garden, covered playgrounds to foster more face-to-face interactions of residents to facilitate their gathering, chatting and informal interaction. The town planning should give priority to this public space rather than merely residential or commercial area.

8.2.3 To enhance the bridging capital is the other strategy central to our recommendations. Bridging social capital can be built up naturally and easily in economic exchange activities covering a wide range of different classes. Government and District Board can support old and new community economic projects like 2nd hand shop, consumer co-op for green products to facilitate cross-housing class exchanges and interaction

8.2.4 External intervention in the form of voluntary organizations is required for the local residents to come together, which provides a platform for social capital to develop and sustain. However, in view of organisational fragmentation, the promotion of civic associations may not be sufficient in developing bridging social capital. In such regard, it is suggested to establish new initiatives in District Level Community Development, by employing social workers of NGOs to fill in the gap of the structural holes between different classes, ethnicities and communities.

8.2.5 For the development of bridging social capital, we suggest a “Residents Space”

model. The key idea of the “Residents’ Space (RS)” is that it is not a “centre”, which just focus on organized groups and activities or a “community hall” which provides meeting rooms or sport venues. Our concept of a RS is a mix of the Pei Ho Street Market and Dragon Centre (wet market + sports facilities + free air-conditioned space + open space + small shops & stalls), which based on the most representative “landmark” of the residents in SSP. The function of the space is to provide meeting place, information channels and a place of various attractions. Community Hall and Estate Community Hall can be redeveloped into the RS model and to be managed and used by local people

8.3 Widening Socio-Spatial Divisions

8.3.1 SSP is a heterogeneous and fragmented district. It is true that in SSP social capital and civic participation is low in both absolute and comparative terms. This is the general pattern of urban life in the district. However, it is important to point out that social capital and civic participation are also a function of socio-economic features and housing types. The SSP residents who are better educated and well-paid tend to participate more in social and political activities.

8.3.2 In terms of housing type, it is clear that the “Four Dragons”, as the opposite extreme to “tong lau” residents in the socio-spatial division, is a protected and

exclusionary enclave. It has a clearly defined boundary in the outskirts of SSP and strict security served as a physical means of exclusion. It is also a self-contained community that further diminishes its external contact. The gentrified appearance of the “Four Dragons” is a social means of exclusion that alienates its neighbourhoods. Inadequacy of public facilities is a common concern of the “Four Dragons” and Hoi Lai Estate dwellers, but inter-classes and inter-communities connections are notably rare in that cluster.

8.4 Recommendations to Narrowing Socio-Spatial Divisions

8.4.1 A coherent and solidarity of community image can, to some extent, alleviate the fragmentation and disparity problems that exist in SSP. The attachment to community can be improved by an asset-based and strength-based perspective in studying and understanding the people living in SSP, which rectifies the limitation of the traditional problem-based and need-based approach. Likewise, it is important to promote the appreciation of the local characteristics and culture, which can be facilitated by local cultural and heritage tours, oral history projects as well as setting up a local museum.

8.4.2 Recreational facilities that suit the needs of the residents of SSP should be provided. More indoor playgrounds modelled after 5th Floor of Pei Ho Street Municipal Services Building should be built in the district so that the deprived

groups, especially those dwell in the cramped 'tong lau' suites can spend their leisure time under the air-conditioned, pleasant environment.

8.4.3 In central SSP, public facilities like community library, children playground and small park can be built not only fulfil the leisure and recreation need of the residents, but also provide public space and atmosphere to enhance inter-classes and inter-communities interactions and connections.

8.4.4 Staff of Home Affairs Department may organize more area-wise activities and events to facilitate connections between the NGOs in the Hoi Lai Estate and the Home Owners' Committee of the Four Dragons to facilitate building up of bridging social capital.

8.5 Recommendations on Land Use

8.5.1 The lower housing class residents (public housing and 'tong lau' residents) tend to be dependent on central SSP for purchasing daily accessories more than the higher housing class people (private housing residents) do. People from the lower housing class (i.e. 'tong lau' and public housing residents), because of the lower physical mobility and weaker connection with other districts they have, show lower tendency to purchase daily accessories and have the needs for leisure and entertainment satisfied outside SSP, hence have higher dependence on SSP, particular central SSP for satisfying such need.

8.5.2 As the residents of SSP are dependent on the central SSP in satisfying their basic daily needs, special care should be taken in implementing urban renewal. If possible, no major reconstruction should be carried out, because it would have grave effect on the place of SSP and hence the lives of the less privileged people.

8.5.3 The “gentrification” process and rise of land rent would push the urban poor out of SSP and they can no longer enjoy living in the city hub which is well connected by public transportation. The rent of land goes up with large scale reconstruction, the market place now selling daily accessories at low prices cannot be sustained easily. Street life in SSP will be undermined following the restructuring of flea markets. We recommend a “Renewal” rather than “Demolish and Rebuild” strategy for urban renewal projects in central SSP, where are the common image of SSP is relied on and a liveable environment to sustain their livelihood.

8.5.4 In view of the importance of central SSP for the residents throughout the district, it is suggested to strengthen the transport system within the district. Transportation linking up the peripheral regions of the district, i.e. Hoi Lai, Fu Cheong, Shek Kip Mei, Pak Tin, Chak On Estates, etc should be improved. The fares should be kept at an affordable level.

摘要

1. 前言

本研究計劃承接香港特別行政區政府中央政策組委托，旨在回應公眾對深水埗區的社會經濟及城市老化問題的關注。一直以來，我們沒有持續的關於深水埗的城市生活的研究。直至 2000 年代中期，才有少量的相關研究。同時，社會大眾普遍將深水埗定型為一個衰落和無望的社區。

在現有的研究的基礎下，本研究計劃旨在提出對深水埗社區生活和區內的社經問題提出嶄新的理解和有系統的分析，從而提出解決問題的可行方案。區內的居民生活和問題既複雜又多樣。社會和經濟生態與政治和地理環境緊扣在一起。因此，本研究計劃採用綜合性的研究方法，結合政治學、地理學、社會工作學、建築學和文化研究等學科來探討深水埗的城市生活。

2. 研究謎團

深水埗是香港其中一個老區。與其他老區一樣，深水埗面對城市老化的問題。深水埗更有多樣的社會經濟問題。例如，2008 年深水埗的每月家庭入息中位數（13,800 元）是全港各區最低的（18,000 元）(Census and Statistical Department, 2008)。同樣，深水埗的勞動市場參與率（56.3%）也是全港各區中最低的。深水埗居民不少是低收入、失業人士、新移民和長者。就以上特點而言，深水埗的生活質素理應不

高。然而，本研究發現，深水埗居民的生活滿意度（0.2075；-2 分爲最差，2 分爲最高）卻不比全港的平均數值相差很遠（0.2461）。它與從客觀數據所得的設想之間的差異是值得研究的。研究將有助於我們對深水埗居民的生活、提升他們生活滿意度的方法有更明確的了解。這正是貫穿本研究報告的主題。

3. 研究目標

本研究有以下目標：

- 3.1 對深水埗的生活素質作全面的探討，及呈現各社會經濟群體的生活素質。透過探討影響深水埗生活素質的因素，從而對深水埗的城市生活作全面的理解。
- 3.2 追溯深水埗城市生活的背景和歷史脈絡，特別是探討區內貧窮和社會排斥的狀況，廓清弱勢社群的困境。
- 3.3 研究居民、民間組織之間的社會資本，探討能否透過促進區內社會信任、互助來處理貧窮和社會排斥問題。
- 3.4 探討政府機構如民政事務局、勞工及福利局、市區重建局和區議會推動區內社會資產的工作和成效。
- 3.5 評估民間組織如社區組織、社福機構、倡議組織和政黨促進社會資本、利益整合、處理糾紛和／或社區動員的角色。

3.6 量度深水埗居民的公民參與度。本研究探討影響社會及政治參與的因素、公民參與對社區運作和個人生活滿意度的影響。

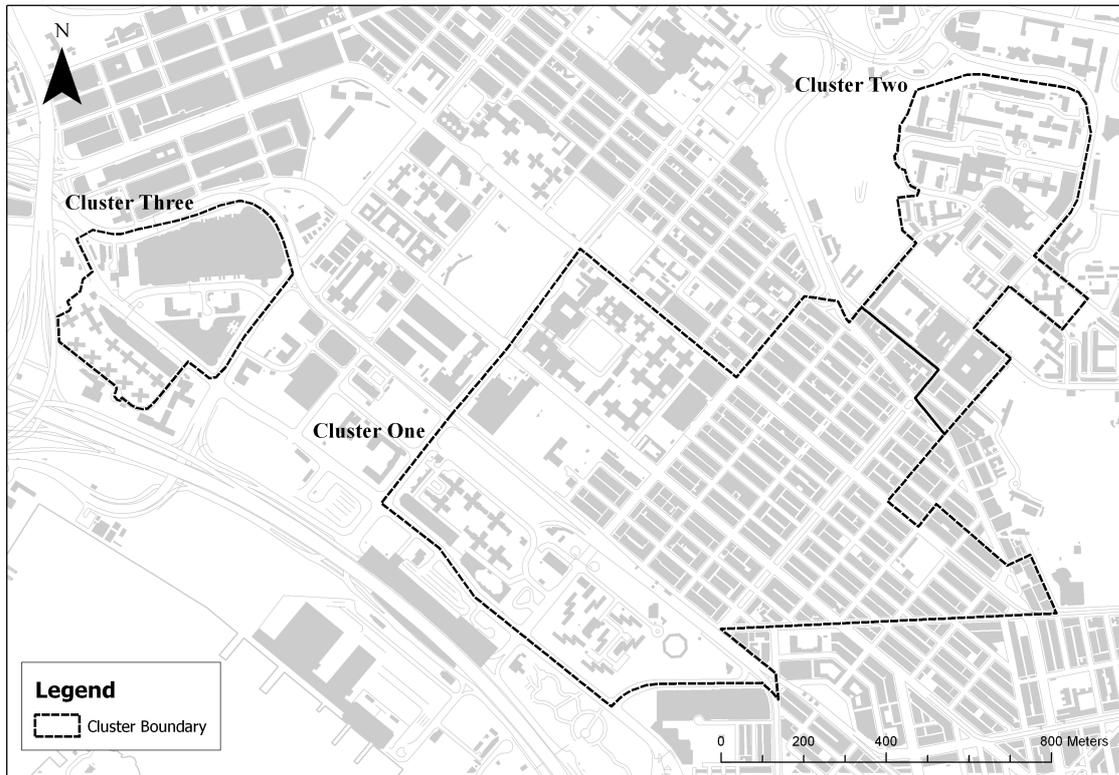
3.7 探討深水埗不同社群（不同住屋類型和地理區域的居民）之間的關係。透過嚴謹的研究分析，探討深水埗區內是否存有社會分化的問題、社會分化如何影響社區身份、公民參與和互助。

3.8 探討及解釋深水埗的空間和居民生活型態之間的關係。本研究旨在提出區內居民如何與他們居住的地方建立關係及其對生活滿意度的影響。

透過對生活滿意度、社會資本、民間組織、政府機構、社會分化和土地使用的分析，本研究旨在全面地勾劃深水埗的城市生活。它或可為各公共政策包括房屋、城市更新、社會福利、民政事務等提供參與指引。

4. 研究方法

本研究的其中一個研究重點是探討不同住屋類型的居民之間的差異、居民對地方的理解和它們對生活滿意度、社會資本和公民參與的影響。如果將整個深水埗區作抽樣分析，大部份研究樣本將會來自佔區內人口大多數的公屋居民，並過份集在一個住屋類型（公屋），這不符合本研究計劃的上述重點。因此，我們劃分了三個研究地區，各地區具有不同的住屋類型、社經背景、在地理位置上與深水埗中部有不同的關係（圖一）。不同地區的差異使我們能探討住屋類型、地理位置對城市生活型態的影響。



圖一 三個研究地區

三個研究地區的特點:

4.1 地區一: 以長沙灣道、南昌街、深旺道、東京街為界。這地區包括了深水埗中部和西九龍走廊的填海區。它代表了深水埗的商業中心。它包括了兩大種住屋類型: 一是戰前和戰後所建的「唐樓」; 二是建於 1980 至 2000 年代的公共屋村, 即在深水埗中心的麗閣村和麗安村, 及沿西九龍走廊的南昌村和富昌村。

4.2 地區二: 以南昌街、石硤尾山坡為界。這地區包含兩個公共屋村, 即白田村和石硤尾村。前者建於 1975 年, 是深水埗現存最舊的公共屋村。它也是區內最

大和居住人口最多的公共屋村，有 8,400 個住戶，居住人口約為 24,200 人。石硤尾村建於 1976 年，接近深水埗中部。它建有早期的長型設計的公屋，設有開放式公共空間、街市和其他康樂設施。

- 4.3 地區三：處於葵涌道和西九龍公路、長沙灣道和美孚之間。它是深水埗最新發展的地區。它包含兩種住屋類型。一是四個私人發展中產屋苑，即泓景臺、昇悅居、宇晴軒及碧海藍天，又稱「四小龍」；二是建於 2004 年的海麗村，它是深水埗區內其中一個新建的公共屋村。這地區頗遠離深水埗中心舊區。

本研究採用四種資料搜集方法：

- 4.4 第一，我們分析與深水埗相關的現有統計數據，包括 2001 年人口普查及 2006 年中期人口普查統計中的相關數據，以及按區議會分區劃分的人口及住戶統計資料，以對深水埗的社會及經濟特徵，特別是該區居民目前所面對的困境，有基本的了解。
- 4.5 第二，我們透過分析圖像資料，例如拍攝深水埗地貌特徵的航空圖片，追溯深水埗在上世紀的地理變化，例如填海、土地使用、城市規劃，並分析這些變化與該區目前所面對的困境之間的關連。

- 4.6 第三，我們在上述三個地區進行問卷調查，以取得第一手資料，以了解深水埗居民的社會資本、公共參與、對地方的理解、社會分化以及生活滿意度。這些資料，在現有的研究中並沒有系統而嚴謹地收集和分析。
- 4.7 第四，我們向深水埗居民進行深入的訪談。是次研究採用了兩種訪問，一方面，我們訪問了社會領袖，包括政府官員、區議員和非政府組織領袖；另一方面，我們與一般居民進行了焦點小組訪談。結合這兩種訪談，讓我們得到全面的研究資料。此外，地區居民的經驗，能夠補充統計數據，讓我們對人們的生活有更深入的了解。
- 4.8 是次研究的目標對象，是居住在該區公共房屋、私人屋苑或「唐樓」的成年人士。60 歲或以上的長者亦包括在研究內，因為他們佔深水埗區人口相當的部分，如要了解深水埗區生活的整體面貌，就不能夠將他們排拒在外。
- 4.9 我們採取了隨機抽樣方式，抽取了上述三個地區的地址。為了統計分析的需要，我們把目標定在至少 1,000 個成功樣本，每個地區約 333 個。同時，由於社會分化是研究焦點之一，並考慮到接觸私人住宅居民的困難，我們設定每種房屋類型最少要有 150 個成功樣本。
- 4.10 在三個地區隨機抽取地址的同時，我們還採用基什網絡（Kish Grid）方法，從每個住戶中抽選一個合資格的人士作為受訪者，由受訓過的調查員進行調查。

4.11 問卷調查由香港中文大學香港亞太研究所電話調查研究室執行。是次研究的調查，主要由研究所招募、訓練和管理的學生助理進行。調查由 2010 年 7 月開始，至 2011 年 4 月完成，共成功進行了 1,114 個面談訪問。第一地區、第二地區及第三地區的回應率分別是 47.41%、46.27%及 38.08%。

4.12 我們共進行了 25 位領袖訪談，以及 16 個焦點小組訪談。受訪者包括有：(1) 與地區管治密切相關的政府官員；(2) 區議員；(3) 公民協會的社會領袖；以及 (4) 深水埗一般居民。為符合研究焦點，受訪者需盡量來自不同的社經背景，包括居住房屋的類型、地理區域、年齡組別、性別、工作狀況、出生地點及種族。

5. 問卷樣本的特徵

以下簡述我們的樣本特徵：

5.1 在問卷調查中，共完成了 1,114 個樣本，並經驗證為有效。當中，有 495 個樣本（44.4%）在第一區進行，340 個樣本（30.5%）在第二區，279 個（25%）在第三區。

5.2 住房類型方面，有 58.8%的受訪者來自公共房屋，29%來自私人屋苑（「四小龍」及居者有其屋計劃），12.2%是唐樓（即板間房、唐樓單位及套房）住客。

- 5.3 在 1,114 個成功受訪者中，59.2%為女性，40.8%為男性；在年齡分布上，14% 樣本介乎 18-29 歲，56.5%介乎 30-59 歲，29.2%為 60 或以上。此外，有 41.1%的樣本是在香港出生。換言之，一半以上的受訪者是移民，當中有 81.6%居港超過 7 年，有 94.6%在移居香港前生活於內地／澳門／台灣。
- 5.4 教育程度方面，32%的受訪者是「無正式教育／幼稚園／小學」，48.8%取得「中學」程度，有 18.8%取得「專上」程度。
- 5.5 樣本之中，有 50.2%受訪者有受薪工作，49.7%沒有受薪工作。有受薪工作的受訪者中，77%是全職工作，22.6%是兼職，其餘 0.4%在全職工作以外同時亦有兼職。
- 5.6 家庭每月平均收入息方面，19.7%受訪者家庭收入少於 6,000 元，只有 7.6%收入在 40,000 元或以上。大多數受訪者的家庭收入介乎兩者之間。具體而言，26.7%每月家庭收入介乎 6,000 元至 14,999 元，21%每月家庭收入介乎 15,000 元至 39,999 元。

6. 從現有數據分析的主要研究發現

透過分析 2006 年中期人口普查、按區議會分區劃分的人口及住戶統計資料，以及廣泛的圖像資料，我們發現了一些地理及社會經濟的特徵、趨勢，以及他們為深水埗和帶來的挑戰。

- 6.1 深水埗中部以唐樓密集見稱，其發展可上溯至 1920 年代，但今天保存下來的大部分唐樓，是建於 1940 及 1950 年代。二次大戰後，深水埗吸引了大量跨境難民遷入，結果，區內的戰前唐樓拆卸，重建為五至六層高的唐樓。
- 6.2 深水埗最大的變化發生於 1950 至 1970 年代。由社會及經濟發展的公共政策帶動，許多變化都出現於深水埗中部以外的地區，例如長沙灣和石硤尾。變化包括：興建道路、工廠大廈（如長沙灣工廠大廈）、公共設施、休憩用地和公共房屋（如蘇屋邨、石硤尾邨和白田邨）。於是，深水埗成為了香港其中一個工業及居住中心。
- 6.3 隨著經濟全球化及中國走向開放，香港大部分工業已被遷移。因此，1980 和 1990 年代，石硤尾及長沙灣的工廠紛紛關閉。石硤尾工業大廈於 2008 年改造為賽馬會創意藝術中心。長沙灣的工業大廈所在地，已於 2002 年清理，現將重新發展為公共屋邨。
- 6.4 1990 年後，深水埗的轉變仍持續。這段期間的主要發展，包括進一步的填海，以及西九龍公路竣工（1997）。在填海土地上，興建了兩個公共屋邨：富昌（2001）和海麗邨（2004），這兩個屋邨均遠離深水埗中部。此外，四個大型私人屋苑（被稱為「四小龍」）的興建，令大量中產居民遷入此區。
- 6.5 深水埗的發展可追溯至 1920 年代，而最大的轉變在 1950 至 1960 年代發生，該區面臨的其中一個問題，是建築物的老化。重建計劃已在公共屋邨展開。

對公共機構而言，更大的挑戰來自唐樓，裏面居住了大量不同背景的低收入居民，他們沒有能力負擔私人樓宇或居者有其屋，因此，大規模的拆卸並不現實。

6.6 基於市區老化問題，深水埗被市區重建局及香港房屋協會列為市區重建的關鍵地區，舊樓往往被四、五十層高、建在大型商場上的豪華住宅取代，公共屋邨亦進行重建。重建計劃令這區的地理和社會構成重新組合，新居民遷入，同時有相當部分的舊居民遷出。這對原有社區存在已久、植根於城市肌理和公共記憶的社會網絡，可能導致負面影響。深水埗更新的同時，如何令它的歷史、身份及社區免於消亡，將是未來數十年的一大挑戰。

6.7 市區重建除了令社會網絡與社區身份備受挑戰，還帶來貴族化的問題。換言之，新發展的豪華屋苑，尤其是所謂的「四小龍」的興建，吸引了富裕人士遷入，可能導致經濟條件較遜的居民間接被迫遷離。

6.8 新發展的豪華住宅在深水埗周邊出現，對區內居住於不同區域的居民，很容易造成社會和空間的分隔。平心而論，社會和空間的分隔在四小龍出現前也許已經存在。傳統上，中產住宅區（如又一村和美孚新邨）與較基層的地區（如深水埗中部和公共屋邨）之間，一直少有聯繫和交往。然而，周邊新發展中產屋苑的出現（如碧海藍天和泓景臺），似乎加深了分隔的問題。部分原因來自土地運用的設計：填海地區的公路，每邊有三條行車線，很容易就

把新建的屋苑和靠近深水埗中部的海麗邨分隔開來。另一個原因是房屋類型的差異，導致不同的生活方式、需求和身份。於是，「四小龍」的住客，傾向跟公共屋邨和唐樓的住客保持距離。

6.9 隨著市區老化和去工業化，過去十年深水埗被一連串的社會經濟問題所困擾。例如，與其他十七區比較，在家庭每月收入上，深水埗在 2000 至 2010 年一直是最全香港最貧窮的地區，

6.10 深水埗區亦面對嚴重的人口老化問題。深水埗的老年人口（65 歲或以上）比率是香港其中最的一個，過去十年，比率一直維持在 16% 左右而香港整體平均則只有 12%。

6.11 深水埗的勞動人口參與率（2010 年為 59.7%）顯著低於全港平均（2010 年為 55%），這顯示區內無法被就業市場吸納的勞動人口，比例高於其他地區。在這方面，從 2003 至 2010 年，深水埗再次成為全香港最差或第二差的地區。

6.12 與低勞動參與率息息相關的，是深水埗居民偏低的教育程度，它一直是全港最低的區域之一。以統計數字說明，2010 年，有 75% 的深水埗居民達至中學程度，而全香港的同期平均數字是 77.7%。但需要注意的是，從 2009 至 2010 年，深水埗居民具有中學程度的比例有所增加，這可能是由於有中產人士遷入了區內新發展的私人屋苑所致。

6.13 深水埗其中一個特徵是集中了大量來自中國內地的新移民，佔全區人口的 5.7%，明顯高於全港的平均 3.2%。同樣值得注意的是，在 2001 和 2006 年，從內地新來港的移民當中，有 9%集中居住於深水埗。

7. 問卷調查和訪談的主要研究發現

在各客觀數據來看，深水埗居民對他們的生活水平理應感到困擾。但是，我們的問卷調查和其他研究單位所作的類似研究均顯示，深水埗居民的生活滿意度頗高。透過運用不同視角和理論概念，本研究旨在對深水埗居民的生活滿意度和深水埗城市生活形態作全面的分析。

7.1 社會資本

7.1.1 研究發現，社交網絡是一個重要的概念來解釋深水埗居民對他們的社區生活的理解。我們的問卷調查受訪者均被問及他們在區內的朋友數目以及他們對生活素質的自我評分。結果得出兩者之間在統計學上之間有緊密的關係（ $P < 0.05$ ）。整體而言，擁有越廣闊的社交網絡的受訪者，他們的生活素質越高。然而，在區內沒有朋友的受訪者的生活質素卻不低。這可以運用「地方」這概念分析。

7.1.2 社交網絡如何影響生活素質是容易理解的。社交網絡或能對那些處於煩憂的人提供情緒支援、促進信念和信任。因此，團結式社交網絡未必不比橋接式社交網絡優勝。同質的社交網絡可促進互信。

7.1.3 除了情緒支援，社交網絡也可拉近志趣相投的人。也就是說，它可以建立康樂群體，人們可從中得到快樂。

7.1.4 深水埗有著各樣的社經問題。橋接式社交網絡對提升深水埗居民生活素質同樣重要。本研究包括探討受訪者的橋接式社交網絡（受訪者是否能夠得到經濟支援）與他們對生活素質的自我評估的關係。整體來說，能得到「很多朋友」的經濟支援的受訪者，相對於那些「沒有朋友」或「很少朋友」能提供經濟支持的受訪者，對生活狀況持有較正面的看法。

7.1.5 問卷調查證實了社會融合和生活素質的關係。問卷受訪者均被問及他們對深水埗區的各社區關係（不同社會階層之間、不同年齡層之間、新移民與本地居民之間、不同種族之間）的評估。我們將受訪者就各社區關係的評估組合成一個單一的指標，即受訪者對區內的「陌生人」的整體態度。結果發現，受訪者對區內的「陌生人」的整體態度與他們的生活滿意度在統計學上有緊密的關係（ $p < 0.05$ ）。整體而言，受訪者對社區關係的滿意度越高，他們的生活素質則越高。

7.1.6 基於社會資本這概念對研究重要啓示，探討深水埗的社會資本顯得十分重要。一直以來，深水埗被視為有濃厚人情味的社區。然而，我們的質性和量化分析均否定了這看法。例如，多於一半的受訪者（51.8%）表示在香港他們

「沒有」或「很少」朋友。相反，只有極少數的受訪者（7.1%）表示他們在香港有「很多」朋友。這些數據顯示深水埗居民的社交網絡很薄弱。

7.1.7 受訪者在深水埗內的社交網絡同樣是十分薄弱。多於 60.5%的受訪者表示他們在區內「沒有」或「很少」朋友。相反，只有 5.4%受訪者指他們在區內有「很多」朋友。

7.1.8 現有的社交網絡的緊密程度也不樂觀。有 92.7%及 78.9%受訪者分別表示他們對家人和親戚非常信任。然而，只有 55.3%及 49%的受訪者分別表示他們對朋友和鄰居存有信任。對朋友缺乏信任可能使減低居民遇到困難時尋求朋友陪伴和協助的意慾，這也阻礙了他們從朋輩關係得到安慰和安全感。

7.1.9 我們的問卷調查也發現受訪者一般不願意尋找朋友和鄰居的陪伴。只有 36.8%和 8.8%的受訪者分別表示他們「有時」或「經常」與朋友出外消遣。大部份受訪者（65.5%及 42.6%）分別表示他們「有時」或「經常」與家人和親戚出外消遣。

7.1.10 薄弱的社交網絡除了在缺乏信任和疏離的社交接觸體現外，也體現在人們尋求協助的困難。只有 35.1%的受訪者表示當他們沒空處理日常生活的事時能找到別人的幫助。當中，大部份受訪者傾向尋求家人（18%）和親戚(6.4%)的協助。只有 10.1%及 6.9%的受訪者分別表示他們能找到朋友和鄰居的幫忙。

7.1.11 同樣，深水埗居民在遇到重大事情時（如經濟方面有需要）難以找到協助。

只有 27.7%的受訪者在這情況下能找到他人的幫助。當中，大部份的受訪者會尋求家人（18.3%）和親戚（7.4%）的幫忙。相反，只有 9.8%及 1.3%的受訪者表示有朋友和鄰居能協助他們。

7.1.12 深水埗居民難以尋求社會支援的一個原因是他們的社交網絡相當同質。問卷調查受訪者均被問及他們的朋友有否來自與他們不同的社經階級。在區內有朋友的受訪者中，近一半（40.6%）表示他們所有的朋友均是來自與他們相近的社經背景。

7.1.13 幸而，深水埗的整體社區凝聚力是不俗的。大部份受訪居民認為不同階層、年齡組別、種族及出生地的人都能在區內融洽友善地共處。但由於不少受訪者表示未必給予肯定的答案，所以我們要小心看待這調查結果，

7.1.14 基於以上研究發現，我們歸納幾個處於危機的群組。第一是新移民。相比本地出生的居民及已得到永久居留權的移民，新移民的社交網絡是最狹窄的。第二是低收入家庭（每月家庭收入少於 6,000 元）。儘管他們不是社交網絡最差的一群，但他們對朋友的信任度是各家庭收入組別中最低。低收入家庭和新移民面對眾多社經困難，因而他們需要他人的物質及非物質的支援。但是，在區內他們正正卻是擁有最低社會資本的一群。

7.1.15 第三個危機組群是唐樓居民。首先，不少唐樓居民是新移民，他們到港後最難適應的往往正是香港的新環境。另外，唐樓居民的教育程度大多是很低，他們又不少是失業人士和低收入人士。唐樓居民既面對眾多社經問題，社會資本對他們尤為重要。可是他們是缺乏社交網絡的一群。

7.1.16 要提升深水埗區的社會資本以至生活素質，我們必先理解區內社會資本貧乏的成因。首先，我們就居民參與民間組織的程度、民間組織的類別與貧乏的社會資本之間的關係進行探討。研究卻發現，參與民間組織的程度和民間組織的類別、以及參與民間組織的程度和社交網絡、互惠和信任皆沒有統計學上的關係。

7.1.17 個別訪談的資料分析發現，（薄弱的）社交網絡和互惠與民間組織的組織結構有關。在深水埗區內運作的民間組織與他們的成員往往存有家長式關係。這種關係反映了組織的層級結構。結果，組織成員、支持者和受惠者傾向依賴組織領袖。他們不傾向與其他成員和受惠者建立橫行的網絡關係，組織活動結束後也就不會尋求其他成員和受惠者的協助。

7.1.18 另外，民間組織之間的資訊、人力和組織資源的交換網絡也很薄弱。雖然受訪的組織領袖不斷提及組織間的緊密聯繫，但他們就組織的外部聯繫的說法並不吻合。他們一方面強調與其他組織建立橫行聯繫的重要性（如發展全面

方案處理深水埗居民的社經問題），但另一方面他們強調不同組織的分工的重要性。

7.1.19 如上所述，建立橋接式社交網絡對提升人們的生活素質非常重要。人們參與不同的民間組織因而是重要的。雖然人們未必信任「陌生人」，但我們的受訪者頗信任民間組織（54.6%）。因而，民間組織之間的協作可以充當一個平台，讓成員建立橋接式社交網絡。但是，上述的民間組織分散狀況窒礙了它們擔當建立橋接式社交網絡的角色。

7.1.20 民間組織間的不連結狀況的其中一個原因是它們之間的價值觀與信念的差異。不同的組織有不同的價值觀與信念，令它們對組織具體運作和區內的問題有不同的理解。這對它們選擇與那些組織接觸合作有決定性影響。

7.1.21 另外，民間組織缺乏經濟和人力資源，使它們不著重建立跨組織關係。不少受訪組織領袖知悉跨組織網絡的重要性。但同時他們指出，建立這類聯繫對本來已緊拙的的經濟和人力資源造成很大壓力。而且，投放在建立跨組織網絡的努力，最終的結果往往又不可預知。

7.1.22 政府的資源分配方式也影響民間組織建立跨組織網絡的意慾和力度。現時政府資源往往投入於個別的目標社群。於是，社會福利組織和社區團體也就機械式地劃分了他們的服務對象。與此相關的是現行的市場化、著重競爭的資

源分配方式。競爭窒礙組織間建立協作、團結和相互關係，以至本地居民間的橋接式社會資本。

7.2 社會及政治參與

7.2.1 公民參與對社區運作和建立充權意識擔當重要角色。然而，整體而言，深水埗區居民的社會及政治參與度很低。在本研究計劃裡，社會及政治參與度是指市民參與社區事務和政治活動的程度。社會事務和政治活動包括影響政府決定的集體行動，或市民就改善生活和其他他們所關注的議題的直接參與行為。

7.2.2 就制度外的社會和政治參與而言，我們的問卷調查發現簽名運動是最多人參與的活動，這是由於它涉及的參與成本較低。然而，只有 31.2%的受訪者表示在過去一年有參與簽名運動，68.5%的受訪者表示沒有。

7.2.3 同時，制度內的社會和政治參與也很低。問卷調查結果顯示，深水埗居民參與地區組織會議（如互委會會議、街坊福利會會議）的程度不高。約 92%的受訪者表示在過去一年沒有參與過這類活動。只有 3.7%受訪者表示有參與這類活動，當中只有 0.7%受訪者表示經常參與。

7.2.4 同樣，約 96%受訪者表示在過去一年從沒出席政府的地區諮詢活動。只有 1.5%受訪者表示「間中」或「經常」參與。另外，97.9%及 39.9%的受訪者表

示他們在過去一年從沒約見立法會議員或區議員。普遍的低社會及政治參與度顯示這與個別組織的興衰表現沒太大關係。

7.2.5 相對香港整體而言，深水埗區社會和政治參與就顯得特別低。例如在建制外參與方面，10%香港市民曾參與示威遊行，但我們的調查則發現只有 5.7%的受訪者曾參與這類活動。建制內參與方面，約有 10%的香港市民曾向立法會議員求助及反映意見。但我們的調查則發現只有 2.1%的受訪者曾接觸立法會議員。

7.2.6 雖然科技進步促進了政府電子服務的發展，深水埗居民的政府電子服務使用率無論在絕對數據上和比較數據上也很低。我們的調查發現只有 31.4%的受訪者曾透過政府網頁搜查資訊，2009 年的住戶調查則有 58%的香港市民透過政府網頁獲得資訊。此外，我們的調查發現只有 22.2%的受訪者曾使用政府的網上服務，2009 年的住戶調查則有 50.1%的香港市民曾使用此類服務。我們的調查也發現只有 3.1%的受訪者透過政府網頁提交意見或投訴。

7.2.7 問卷調查受訪者民已登記為選民的比率（約 46%）也比整體的已登記選民比率低（約 60%）。但他們在 2007 區議會投票比率（56%）卻比整體投票率高（38.83%）。高的投票率可能是低選民登記率所致。可見，已登記為選民的人可能較願意和有決心投票。

7.2.8 信任可以是提升社會及政治參與度的重要因素。如人們相信政府或組織能嚴正回應他們的訴求和關注，他們更願意參與政公共事務。除了民間組織，問卷調查受訪者對以下組織的信任度依次為特區政府（47.8%）、立法會（33%）及區議會（34.9%）。受訪者最不信任政黨。以上數據顯示區內沒有任何組織能大規模整合和動員居民。

7.2.9 特區政府同時是受訪者最信任和最不信任的組織。它能成為受訪者最信任的組織可能是因為它是最有權力的組織。但對於曾與政府接觸的受訪者，他們的實際經驗不符合期望，這可能是政府成為受訪者最不信任的組織的原因。這原因與一些聚焦小組受訪者的分享吻合。對政府不信任或會減低市民向政府官員求助和反映意見的意慾。

7.2.10 不同社經背景的人之間的公共事務參與度在也有不同。教育水平、家庭收入和出生地是影響市民的公共事務參與度的重要因素。越高的教育水平、家庭收入和本地出生的受訪者的社會及政治參與度傾向較高，這反映了他們的充權意識和身份認同感較高。

7.3 深水埗區內社會分化

7.3.1 以上提出了深水埗區薄弱的社會資本和公民參與一方面是由於組織（民間組織、政府機構、政黨、區議會及立法會）與社會缺乏聯繫，另一方面是由於組織之間缺乏聯繫。我們的質性和量化研究分析更顯示有數個結構性因素導致

深水埗區內出現分化甚至衝突。這些因素包括社會經濟變項和住屋類型，它們對社會資本、公民參與和社會衝突有所影響。

7.3.2 如上所述，問卷調查受訪者均被問及他們在香港以及深水埗區內有多少朋友。唐樓居民和公屋居民的全港的社交網絡範圍與私人屋苑的居民相約。但唐樓居民和公屋居民的深水埗區內的社交網絡則比私人屋苑的緊密。也就是說，深水埗區內新興的中產階層就如一個自給自足的社區。他們並未融合在深水埗社區內。

7.3.3 整體而言，深水埗區的社會參與度很低。然而我們的問卷調查結果發現，來自不同的住屋類型的受訪者有不同程度的社會參與。私人屋苑住戶比公屋和唐樓居民較多參與民間組織。有 14%的來自私人屋苑的受訪者擁有團體成員身份，只有 8.8%的來自公屋和 6.9%來自唐樓的受訪者是組織成員。

7.3.4 整體而言，深水埗區的政治參與度很低。然而，來自不同的社經背景的受訪者有不同程度的政治參與度。家庭收入和教育程度越高的受訪者有較高的政治參與度。在港未住滿七年的新移民的政治參與度則很低。

7.3.5 問卷調查結果顯示，政治參與度與對政府的信任度相關。對政府越不信任的受訪者，他們的政治參與度則越高。

7.3.6 家庭收入、教育水平和住屋類型是影響受訪者對政府的信任度的要素。家庭收入和教育水平越高的受訪者，他們對政府信任度傾向較低。然而，雖然唐

樓居民的教育和收入水平較低，但他們對政府的信任度相對於其他住屋類型的居民是最低的。這反映了社經背景和住屋類型是兩種不同的概念，形成區內不同的城市生活模式。

7.3.7 雖然唐樓居民傾向不信任政府，但是他們不熱衷參與政治事務。可行的解釋是他們的政治效能意識較弱。在聚焦小組訪談中，受訪的唐樓居民均不相信他們有能力改變生活處境。他們亦不認為政府會照顧他們的需要。他們別無他法，唯有接受現狀。

7.3.8 問卷調查受訪者對深水埗社區認同感頗高。近半數表示他們對深水埗區有中等的歸屬感，另有三分一受訪者表示他們對社區有很強的歸屬感。問卷調查數據分析也顯示社區認同和生活素質在統計學上有緊密關係。社區認同感越低，生活素質也較低。

7.3.9 深水埗區居民的社區認同感頗強。要指出的是，不同社經社群和住屋類型居民對「社區」有不同的理解。

7.4 地方與城市生活

深水埗區內的地方空間與居民的城市生活模式有緊密的關係。主要研究發現如下：

7.4.1 深水埗居民透過區內的地方，特別是市中心的市集，得到生活滿足感。因為這些地方為居民提供低廉和便捷的生活。

- 7.4.2 基層市民往往較依存市中心的市集滿足他們的日常生活需要，包括購買日用品、消遣。
- 7.4.3 因此，居於深水埗周邊地帶的基層市民，特別對住屋地點連接市中心交通配套不足尤感不滿。
- 7.4.4 唐樓居民尤不滿深水埗的社區環境。但同時多種原因，包括低廉的物價、便捷的交通，令他們繼續居於深水埗。
- 7.4.5 由於深水埗居民依賴尋常、具有民間特色的地方滿足生活需要，因此他們傾向認為一些與他們生活息息相關的地方為深水埗的地標。

8. 結論及建議

8.1 薄弱的社會資本

- 8.1.1 深水埗的社會資本和民間團體角色比預期的薄弱。區內居民組成的重構，再加上新移民及新中產階層的遷入，破壞了原有的鄰睦關係。深水埗的社會構成沒有如預期般形成密集的社會網絡和信任。區內居民的在區內和區外的社交網絡顯得狹窄。居民多對家人和親戚信任，對朋友和鄰居的信任度顯得薄弱。
- 8.1.2 我們的研究再次證實社會資本和民間組織對提高深水埗區生活素質和社區關係滿意度的正面作用。擁有廣闊的團結式和橋接式社交網絡的居民，傾向對他們的生活素質有正面評估。提升生活素質也同時提升居民對區內社區關係

的滿意度。

8.1.3 我們的研究發現，團結式社會資本能為居民帶來情緒支援、慰藉和喜悅。同質的社交網絡有助建立互信。但是，深水埗區內的團結式社會資本薄弱。橋接式社會資本也有相同情況。深水埗的社區支援不比天水圍的強。居民的社交網絡大多仍是同質的。也就是說，橋接式社交網絡在區內很弱，令區內居民難以從不同階層社群得到資源協助。

8.1.4 雖然所有深水埗居民皆沒有充足的社會資本，但某些弱勢社群在這方面情況明顯比其他社群較差，值得我們關注。新移民的社交網絡最為狹窄。低收入家庭對朋友最不信任。唐樓居民的橋接式社會資本最為貧乏。

8.1.5 民間組織在結構和運作方面皆有隱患，減低了它們在區內促進社會資本的功能。深水埗民間團體與成員、支持者和受惠者的關係多是家長式的。因此，成員和受惠者傾向不願意和沒有能力在他們之間建立可持續的橫行關係網絡至特定活動完結之後。另外，組織之間也缺乏聯繫。其中一個原因是市場化的資源分配機制。組織間的疏離關係不利於建立橋接式社會資本，也不利帶動新興中產階層的資源投入到區內的弱勢社群。

8.2 強化社會資本的建議

8.2.1 其中一個重要策略是重建和強化團結式社會資本。我們建議透過促進自助和互助活動和小組，如長者義工小組、單親家長小組、鄰睦互助計劃等，將居

民的情緒支援由家庭擴展到朋友和鄰居。民間組織必須得到充足的財政上和場所空間的支援來它們組織這類自助和互助活動。

8.2.2 面對面接觸是建立信任的重要渠道。政府必須在深水埗區內提供充足的公共空間如小公園和有蓋遊樂場來促進更多居民間的面對面接觸、聚會、閒談和其他日常交往。規劃城市時必須優先提供這類公共空間，而不是純粹提供一些居住和商業空間。

8.2.3 加強橋接式社會資本是另一個建議。經濟交易活動能自然地容易地在不同社會階層之間建立橋接式社會資本。政府和區議會可支持新舊社區的經濟計劃如二手店和環保產品消費者合作社，從而促進跨階層的交流 and 互動。

8.2.4 志願團體能促進區內居民間的交往，作為發展和維持社會資本的平台。但是，由於現時區內組織關係疏離，單單是輔助民間組織運作是不足以有效建立橋接式社會資本。因此，我們建議一項「社區發展」計劃，透過非政府組織的社工的工作彌補不同階層、種族和社群之間的結構性鴻溝。

8.2.5 在建立橋接式社會資本方面，我們提出設立「居民空間」這構想。「居民空間」的要點，並非是一個組織活動的「中心」或提供會議室和運動場地的「社區中心」。我們的「居民空間」的構想，是糅合了北河街街市和西九龍中心（濕貨市場、康體設施、免費空調場所、開放空間、小商店），這兩個都是深水埗居民所選取的深水埗地標。它的作用是為居民提供聚會地點、資

訊渠道和綜合不同特色的地方以吸引人流。區內的社區中心可循「居民空間」的構思重新發展，讓區內居民能自主地使用這空間。

8.3 區內社會分化加劇

8.3.1 深水埗是存有差異和割裂的社區。無論在絕對數據和比較數據上，區內的社會資本和公民參與度均很低。但是，社經背景和住屋類型是影響社會資本和公民參與度的要素。擁有較高學歷和收入的居民，較多參與社會和政治活動。

8.3.2 住屋類型方面，相對於處於另一極端的唐樓，「四小龍」儼如是一個被保護和充滿排他性的堡壘。它處於深水埗周邊，擁有清晰的界線劃分，形成有形的排他工具。它又是一個自給自足的社區，進一步減低它的對外聯繫。「四小龍」的貴族化外表則是一個社會性的排他工具，令它從鄰近社區割裂開來。另外，公共設施不足是「四小龍」居民和海麗村居民共同關注的地方。但是在這研究地區，跨階層和跨社群的聯繫十分罕見。

8.4 解決社會分化的建議

8.4.1 建立一致和團結的社區形象有助於減輕深水埗區割裂的問題。資產導向和優勢導向的研究分析探討和理解深水埗居民的生活，能彌補傳統的問題導向和需求導向的研究方法的局限，進而促進居民對社區的歸屬感。同樣，促進居

民對地區特色和文化的鑑賞也是重要的。方法包括舉辦本土文化和文物遊、口述歷史計劃和成立地區博物館。

8.4.2 區內必須有切合深水埗居民需要的康樂設施。建議興建多些與北河街市政大樓五樓相類的室內遊憩設施，為弱勢社群，尤其是唐樓套房的居民，提供設有空調和舒適的消閒地方。

8.4.3 在深水埗中部必須興建更多公共設施包括公共圖書館、兒童遊樂場和公園。這些空間不但能滿足居民休憩需要，也能促進跨階層和社群的交往和聯繫。

8.4.4 民政事務處也可組織更多地域性的活動和盛事，促進在海麗村運作的非政府組織和「四小龍」的業主委員會的聯繫，進至建立橋接式社會資本。

8.5 土地使用的建議

8.5.1 較低的住屋階層（公屋和唐樓居民）比較高的住屋階層（私人屋苑居民）較依賴深水埗中部來滿足日常生活需要。他們的物理流動性較低，與區外的聯繫也較薄弱。因此，他們較少在區外購買日常用品和消遣，也就特別較依賴深水埗中部滿足這兩方的需要。

8.5.2 基於深水埗中部對區內居民生活的重要性，城市更新計劃便得要小心規劃。大型的清拆重建計劃應盡量避免，因為它會對深水埗的地方空間以至弱勢社群的生活帶來不良影響。

8.5.3 城市「貴族化」和持續上升的土地價值會將貧窮人士驅逐出深水埗，使他們再不能享有城市中心交通便捷的優勢。大型的清拆重建計劃勢推高土地價

值，使現有的低廉物價不能維持。深水埗的城市生活將受到破壞。由於深水埗中部是維繫社區形象的核心，也是居民維持生計的地方，故我們建議深水埗中部的重建計劃以「更新」取代「清拆重建」為主要策略。

8.5.4 基於深水埗中部對區內所有居民的重要性，區內的交通配套必須加強。連接深水埗中部和周邊的地區，即海麗、富昌、石硤尾、白田、澤安各屋村的交通必須加強。另外，交通費必須保持在可負擔的水平。

I. The Study of Urban Life in Sham Shui Po

1.1 Introduction

Studies on the urban life revolving Sham Shui Po (SSP) have been spasmodic. It is only until the mid-2000s that academics and the public began to put more attention to the district. At the moment, there is a modicum of studies already conducted, and the public seems to have developed stereotypes of the district, which is widely seen as a dilapidated and hopeless geographical area. Building on the existing studies, this research is intended to take a fresh look and systematically analyse the pattern of urban life in SSP, the socio-economic problems in the district and the ways in which such problems can be possibly tackled. The pattern of people's life and the 'SSP problems' are complex and multi-dimensional. Social issues and economics are mingled with politics and physical environments. For this reason, the research adopts an integrated approach, drawing on different disciplines such as politics, geography, social work, architecture and cultural studies in order to examine the pattern of urban life in SSP.

SSP is one of the oldest districts in Hong Kong. Similar to other old districts, SSP is stricken with a range of social and economic problems. In 2008, the median household monthly income of SSP (HKD\$13,800) is the lowest among all District Council districts (HKD\$18,000) (Census and Statistical Department, 2008). The labour force participation rate (56.3%) of SSP is also the lowest among all districts, which

signify many residents there are economically inactive and without working income (Census and Statistical Department, 2009). The lack of economic opportunities and poor public services may render to a view that the quality of life (QoL) is expected to be rather low in SSP. However, this is not necessarily the case. A number of studies have already demonstrated that SSP is often ranked among the top in all District Council districts when it comes to the evaluation of happiness index. The same pattern is echoed in our empirical research. In our questionnaire survey, all respondents (1114) were asked to respond to five questions in relation to the perception of their life. Their responses to these five questions combine to constitute the life satisfaction index. Quite surprisingly, the life satisfaction index reported by the SSP residents (0.2075 with the range from -2 to 2) does not fare particularly worse than the average score (0.2461) which covers all the districts in Hong Kong.¹ This apparent discrepancy undoubtedly justifies detailed investigation. It is believed that by means of delving into the discrepancy we are able to develop a better understanding of people's life in SSP and the ways in which their life satisfaction can be enhanced. This a major theme cutting through the entire research.

¹ The life satisfaction index about the whole picture of Hong Kong was compiled from a territory-wide telephone survey, conducted by the Quality of Life Research Centre of the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies in August 2010.

1.2 Research Objectives

This research contains a number of major objectives:

- To examine the overall picture concerning QoL in SSP, and to break down the overall picture into the particular levels facing various socio-economic groups. , this research seeks to examine the factors contributing to people's QoL, in the hope that the pattern of urban life in SSP can be fully understood.
- To trace the background and historical contexts for urban life in SSP; especially to examine social exclusion and poverty situation of the households, so that we have a better understanding as regards how their current predicament came about.
- To study social capital among residents and between civic organizations to see the extent to which it can address the problem of poverty and social exclusion by fostering trust and mutual help in SSP.
- To study the manners in which public organizations such as the Home Affairs Bureau, the Labour and Welfare Bureau, the Urban Renewal Authority and the District Council may help fostering social assets in SSP.
- To evaluate the role of civic associations such as community organisations, social services organizations, advocacy groups and political parties in enhancing social capital, aggregating demands, mediating conflicts and/or facilitating mobilization.

- To examine the level of civic participation of residents living in SSP. In particular, this research sets out to study the driving forces behind socio-political participation, and to understand the significance of civic participation to the running of community at district level and life satisfaction at individual level.
- To examine the social relations between different groups (residents of different housing types and geographical clusters) in SSP. Rigorous research is conducted on whether and why social divisions exist, and the ways in which these social divisions affect a sense of ‘we-ness’ and the concomitant of civic participation and mutual help.
- To explore and explain the relationship between the place of SSP and the ways of life that its residents lead in an urban community. More specifically, this research seeks to understand the manners in which the local residents relate themselves to the places they live and how they derive life satisfaction as a result.

Undoubtedly our research on life satisfaction, social capital, civic associations, government agencies, social divisions and land use is able to generate a comprehensive picture about the pattern of urban life in SSP. It may also help guide public policies on housing, urban renewal, social welfare and home affairs.

1.3 Quality of Life and Its Measurement

QoL is a new and modern concept, yet the earliest discussion about well-being and happiness can be found in the literature of Plato and Aristotle. It was the 1960s that QoL started to become an extensively studied subject across various domains, including academics, general public and government (Andrews, 1986; Diener and Rahtz, 2000; Diener and Suh, 2000; Veenhoven, 2000). Nowadays, QoL is always considered as a foremost objective in the course of social development (Chan et al., 2005).

Although an extensive volume of relevant literature was accumulated in the past four decades, there has been still no universally accepted definition of “quality of life”, nor methods of its measurement have yet been established. Mainstream opinions towards QoL, on one hand, are aware of the importance of satisfaction in fulfilled basic materialistic needs. On the other hand, QoL also covers satisfaction in emotional needs, such as being satisfied with freedom, justice, and opportunities for the complete development of individual capabilities (Chan et al., 2005). Therefore, QoL research should cover an extensive range of topics, amongst which may include individual physical and mental health, well-being, satisfaction, family, work, housing, social relations, political and cultural lives, social ethics, and others (Chan et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the concept of quality of life roughly refers to individual well-being and/or welfare (Andrew and Withey, 1976; Chamberlain, 1985 ; Diener, 1994; Oppong et al., 1988; Schuessler and Fisher, 1985).

In general, QoL in a place can be studied from two perspectives or approaches, namely objective and subjective approaches (Campbell et al., 1976; Ziegler and Britton, 1981). The objective approach analyzes and examines the resource and means through which QoL of a particular population or society might be enhanced

or otherwise under different conditions. By studying the objective conditions at individual, community, or societal levels, a measure of QoL in a place is established. In practical, GDP per person and other economic indicators were commonly used to determine the general level of QoL and to evaluate the achievement or failure in certain QoL domains in a place (Diener and Suh 1997; Hagerty et al., 2000). Data of these indicators were analyzed by using sophisticated mathematical models to obtain several indices representing multiple facets of quality of life. Unfortunately, there is no consensus among researchers in the selection and weighting of indices for calculating the QoL (Chan et al., 2005).

Some researchers argue that an individual's perception or satisfaction with a place deserve equivalent attention because such a perception reveals the subjective evaluation of the life experience (Campbell et al. 1976; Veenhoven, 1996). The subjective approach examines the subjective QoL based on people's judgments of needs and satisfactions of life according to individual experiences and expectations (Campbell et al., 1976; Chamberlain, 1985; Lewis and Lyon, 1986; Oppong et al., 1988). These studies include the evaluation of overall life satisfaction (Liao et al., 2005; Michalos et al., 2000), happiness (Hagerty, 2000; Kousha and Mohseni, 2000; Liao et al. 2005; Michalos et al., 2000; Schyns, 1998) and specific life domains, such as satisfaction with interpersonal relationships (Lewis and Lyon, 1986; Michalos and Zumbo, 2000), with work (Andrews and Withey, 1976; Kousha and Mohseni, 2000; Michalos et al., 2000), with marriage (Michalos et al., 2000; Tsou and Liu, 2001), with personal health (Kousha and Mohseni, 2000; Michalos and Zumbo, 2000; Türksever and Atalik, 2001), with educational services/facilities (Diener and Suh, 1997; Türksever and Atalik, 2001), with crime rates and security

(Michalos and Zumbo, 2000; Türksever and Atalik, 2001), and with government performance (Mastekaasa and Moum, 1984; Michalos et al., 2000).

As an attempt to strike a balance between objective and subjective measures of QoL, Buboluz et al. (1980) proposed a “human ecological” approach that emphasized on the effects of the interactions between individuals and external environment on the QoL. Following this thought, some studies include both objective and subjective measures of quality of life and attempt to examine the association between the two. It is interesting that some studies indicated no significant effects of the former on the latter, while others have found that improved socio-economic conditions contributed to higher QoL (Bradshaw and Fraser 1989;; Shin and Snyder 1983). Despite the close relationship between objective and subjective quality of life, it is unclear whether differences among local communities and regions in one dimension are parallel to those in the other (Schalock et al., 2000).

For decades, rapid development in Hong Kong has resulted in disproportionate resource allocation among various districts. SSP, as an old district, seems to be a loser. Urban decay resulting in diminishing economic opportunities and poor living environment may contribute to a low QoL in SSP. Such a perception is often based on (objective) socio-economic indicators rather than (subjective) individual levels of satisfaction. On the basis of objective indicators, the public sector organisations and voluntary associations have poured in a considerable amount of resources in order to tackle the social and economic problems associated with urban decay, de-industrialisation and the influx of new immigrants. In particular, the SSP residents have been accorded a wide range of social services programmes.

Meanwhile, the public sector organisations have strived for improving the infrastructure and physical environment by means of urban renewal. However, the provision of objective resources does not necessarily equal the enhancement of QoL. Urban renewal in the context of Hong Kong is a synonym of gentrification where old neighborhoods are replaced by isolated residential or commercial developments (Chui, 2007). The elderly, poor families, new migrants are the usual victims of physical and social dislocation rendered by the process urban renewal (Chui, 2007). In addition, embedded in various communities of SSP is the well-developed social networks and a strong sense of affiliation to the places the local residents live. The “invisible” network and identity can facilitate trust, mutual help and life satisfaction. Therefore people living in economically-disadvantaged communities do not necessarily indicate lower QoL than those who live in more advantaged communities (Lewis and Lyon, 1986; Schuessler and Fisher, 1985). In such regard, the likelihood of strengthening objective resources at the expense of subjective attributes has to be taken into account in the process of policymaking.

1.4 QoL and SSP

The research on SSP has gathered pace since the 1990s when the ‘first generation’ of residents turned from young to frail and the new immigrants from Mainland China flocked into the district (see Sik Sik Yuen, 1991; City University, 1996; Chen, Yip and Yuen, 1997; Chan and Ma, 1999). Most of these researches were initiated and even undertaken by social services organizations. They were concentrated on social problems and service provision, such as aging, new immigrants, discrimination, unemployment and poverty. In this regard, there is no

surprise that the researches took a patriarchal view of the relationships between service providers and service recipients. They were oriented towards uncovering the discrepancies between the social services required and provided, and thus calling for more funding from government. A key problem with the patriarchal view is that the resources inherent in social relations and the community are being sold short, and the residents are not empowered to choose the quantity and quality of services.

The problem of poverty and inequality began to fester and drew attention from both NGOs and academics in the 2000s. Adopting assets-based approach, Wong and Lam (2005) was the first systematic study attempting to evaluate various means of relieving the poverty problem in SSP. The conclusion is that, instead of emphasizing the use of services and policies to meet the needs of underprivileged, the development and utilization of the inbuilt resources, skills and social networks of the community was deemed more effective. Wong (2008) further studied whether or not the economic recovery can whittle away at the poverty problem in SSP. Results indicated that, although Hong Kong's economy was on the road to better health, NGOs in SSP should continue their poverty alleviation projects like social enterprise and micro-enterprise in order to enhance community resources and reduce social exclusion. In Wong and Lam (2005) and Wong (2008), the patriarchal relationships between the government (service providers) and citizens (service recipients) were re-conceptualized by using the concept of social capital. Social capital refers to the network of community and social organizations, which can foster mutual help and trust among the local residents (Putnam, 2000). These studies undoubtedly signified a shift of the focus of community studies from

external help towards how community organizations can alleviate the problems besetting the local residents, representing the beginning of a new epoch in community research. On the same track, Public Policy Research Centre and Department of Sociology of The Chinese University of Hong Kong (PPRC and SOC, 2009) undertook a comparison study on social problems in Tin Shui Wai (TSW) and SSP, indicating that the social networks in both TSW and SSP, formally and informally alike, are not sufficiently dense to offer help when people encounter economic and familial difficulties. These findings point to a conclusion that improvement of socio-economic conditions may not necessarily contribute to an enhancement of QoL among the local people. This at least happens in SSP.

In addition, these SSP studies had identified a number of specific questions that definitely warrant further investigation. For example, the 'bottom-up perspective', focusing on the effect of community organizations on the attitudes and behaviour of individuals, downplay the role played by government agencies in shaping the context of associational life and the community organizations in aggregating and channeling the demands towards government. In what ways can the government agencies affect the development and operation of voluntary organisations? What are the manners in which the SSP residents relate to civic associations, political groups and public organisations? How can the societal groups organize and mobilize people in SSP? Likewise, thus far the community researches have taken a dichotomous perspective of social organisations and physical environments. A view is widely taken that a community is either developed and sustained as a result of social relationships or affiliation to place. In fact, however, the shape and activities of social networks are embedded in the

physical environments in which they operate. According to the Western experience, the design of apartments with a spacious foyer provides the people with a comfortable arena for gathering and deliberation of public affairs. To put this into the Hong Kong's context, we may ask: How do the physical environments in SSP affect the social networks? How do the people of SSP perceive and react differently to various natures of physical environments? How do their perception affect their patterns of life and life satisfaction?

1.5 Social Capital

In the West, there is an increase of academic studies emphasizing the importance of social capital for solving social, economic and political problems. Indeed, it is hard to overstate the impact on social sciences of the concept of social capital. The concept of social capital has a major impact on political theory (the role of civic society in a democratic system), political economy (the linkage between civil society and economic success), and the comparative analysis of nation's democratic performance (the relationship between social networks, social trust and the workings of democratic government). To add to the complication, it is widely taken that dense networks of civic engagement produce a capacity for trust, reciprocity and cooperation, which in turn makes it possible for collective action to occur. With the dilemma of collective action lessened, many scholars argue that the concept of social capital has an important effect on policy outcomes in a wide range of areas such as education, healthcare, crime, welfare, economic prosperity and the performance of government institutions (Lowndes and Wilson, 2001). In view of the advantages abovementioned, it is not difficult to see why social capital

has become one of the most important concepts in public policy studies. To venture beyond the confines of existing literature, this chapter argues that there is a causal linkage between social capital inherent in SSP and the quality of life experienced by residents living there. However, before studying the manners in which social capital affects urban life, it is necessary to be clear about what we mean by social capital, given that the term can be easily misunderstood in the context of related studies having sprouted.

While the genealogy of the concept can be traced well before the studies undertaken by Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000), these scholars are the major contributors to the contemporary debate, to the extent that their work is widely taken as an emerging ‘contemporary classic’ (Goodin and Klingemann, 1996: 16-17). According to Coleman (1988: 98), social capital is defined by its function:

Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of ends that in its absence would not be possible. Like physical capital and human capital, social capital is not completely fungible but may be specific to certain activities... Unlike other forms of capital, social capital inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors.

Coleman’s conception highlights two important aspects of social capital. First, social capital is a relational concept, which exists in the social relations among and/or between individual actors and corporate actors. Second, social capital has the potential of overcoming the dilemma of collective action. Besides James Coleman, Robert Putnam has been the chief publicist of the concept. To Putnam (1995: 67), ‘social capital refers to features of social organisation such as networks,

norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.’ The strength of Putnam’s conception lies in the fact that it seeks to combine different aspects of social capital that have been mentioned by other scholars such as Fukuyama (1995), Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Ostrom (1990). Putnam treats social capital as an amalgamation between the objective features in society (the extent of social networks), the social norms (social trust and reciprocity) and policy, economic as well as social outcomes as a result of the social networks and social norms (the productive aspect of social capital). Putnam’s conceptualisation of social capital is adopted in this research report. To put simply, the concept of social capital includes the following components:

- the extent of social networks which may take the form of formal organisation and that of informal ties such as friendship and neighbourhood;
- the context of expectations and trustworthiness in which actors operate;
- the existence of norms, information exchange and effective sanctions to discipline and maintain the social relationships.

It is the network which generates trust and norms, at least among the insiders within that network, while it is these norms and trust that are brought to activity and in turn makes that activity more likely to pull off (Putnam, 2000).

Central to the concept of social capital is the development of social networks and the concomitant of coordination and cooperation. In this regard, it is important to go into further detail about the nature of social networks. For Maloney and Stevenson (2003), one of the major flaws in Putnam’s study of social capital is that he overlooked the potential differences between intra-group social capital and inter-group social capital. These two kinds of social capital may not be necessarily inter-

changeable. In order to possess an adhesive that can bind a group of people together, individuals have to construct a collective identity. For the adhesive and collective identity to take shape, the individuals often resort to the identification of 'the other'. This 'identity politics' can accord people a sense of security and comfort. In the meantime, however, it can drive a wide edge between people who belong to different groups and/or organisations (Piven and Cloward, 1997). In response to the potential contradiction between promoting internal unity and external conflict, Putnam's conception of social capital has been refined. Accordingly, it is emphasised that social networks can emerge in two forms, notably bonding and bridging networks. The bonding effect creates strong ties among people within a certain group. Within a bonding network, all people can take succour from each other because they have a high level of common identity, trust and a sense of reciprocity. However, the mutual support epitomised in a bonding network may not be readily transferrable to the inter-group setting. Here, the importance of bridging effect comes to play. A bridging network means that there are strong ties between various groups, cutting across social and political cleavages. Through these bridging ties, tolerance, trust and cooperation across social and political cleavages may develop (Putnam, 2000). For the proper running of a community and the well-beings of individuals, the emergence of bridging networks is important because they are heterogeneous in their make-up. Only then will the members and supporters be able to draw on the social assets enshrined in different groups and individuals with pluralistic backgrounds. To translate the abstract concept of bridging social capital into measurable indicators, it is

important to delve into the heterogeneity of social networks, and to examine whether people can draw material and/or non-material support from these networks.

1.6 Community and Place

Besides social capital, central to the study of urban life and life satisfaction is the research on community and place. Academics and policy makers have upheld the idea of community and treating it as a goal for building better society or as a source of happiness and security. When they mention the notion of community, they tend to associate it with some good “feelings”: as a closer, warmer and more harmonious type of bonds between people (Bauman, 2001; Hoggett, 1997, 5).

The notion of community is approached in three major ways. Firstly, as a place community where people sharing something in common geographically, such as the living space, natural resources, public life etc. Secondly, as interest community that people have values or social backgrounds in common, such as ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, occupation, class etc. Thirdly, as a kind of communion or spiritual community. Comparing with interest community, communion puts more concern on the “spirit” and “sense” of community. It can be understood as a sense of belonging towards an idea, or a religious belief (Willmott, 1986; Lee and Newby, 1983; Crow and Allen, 1994).

Current discussion on the idea of community tends to give weight to the second and third approaches, focusing on interpersonal connections that are built upon common values or interests. The yardstick that measures the strength and maturity of a community are solidarity, commitment, mutuality and trust among its

members (Frazer, 1999). In this sense, the current notion of community is characterized by its inclusion/exclusion assumption which advocates homogeneity as the ultimate goal for holding people together, instead of accommodating differences among them (e.g. Bauman, 2001; Staeheli, 2008; Theiss-Morse & Hibbing, 2005).

Placing emphasis on human network for maintaining security, the importance of place has gradually gone out of sight of the current investigations on the issues of community. The result is the negligence of the materiality of community. Hence, in addition to the study of social capital and civic participation, this research brings the concept of place back in to the analysis of community, specifically the ways of lives that urban dwellers leads.

1.7 Analytical framework

In order to unravel the effects of social capital, civic participation, socio-economic structures and physical environment on the pattern of urban life in SSP and people's life satisfaction, we set out to analyses the urban life in SSP along the line of three major dimensions.

1.7.1 Government agencies, civic associations and social capital

The first dimension in our analytical framework concerns the inter-relationships between public organizations on the one hand and civic organizations

on the other. By drawing on the inspirations from existing studies, associations matter hugely in the creation of community resources. It is undoubtedly the case that human beings are social creatures and joining groups can help them resolve the problems of collective action. Strong social bonds and effective community organizations provide the foundation for poor people to develop their capacity to combat socio-economic problems. In this sense, civic organizations are likely to sprout even without external assistance. However, it is also the case that there is equal danger in expecting too much from civic organizations, as if they could operate independently and resolve all intractable problems. To be more realistic, this research project suggests that civil society and government agencies are often inter-dependent, with government agencies providing the regulatory framework and financial assistance a civic organization needs to properly function. The ways in which the government agencies affect the operation of civic associations and the resultant social capital warrants detailed investigation.

Besides their relationships with the government agencies, this research also examines the horizontal connections among civic associations that have operation in SSP. Recent trends see the growth of various communities in a district as a single system (Bosselmann, 2008). Communities in a single district seem to become increasingly integrated, specialized and synergetic. Therefore, with these horizontal connections threading a range of civic organizations, community resources in the form of skills, norms and attitudes can be transferred from new middle class areas in SSP to traditional communities stricken with destitution. In return, joining the civic organizations and volunteering their time may extend the horizon and enrich the experience of new middle class in SSP. In the words of

Sargert, Thompson and Warren (2001), these horizontal connections are seen as bridging social capital between various communities in a single district. Building trust and cooperation across communities in SSP can strengthen the social fabric of the whole district and create consensus for the ways in which socio-economic woes can be tackled.

1.7.2 Physical environments and community identity

The second aspect of our analytical framework delves into the relationship between the physical environments in SSP and people's perception of their community. In other words, this research studies how the local residents relate to the place they live and how this affiliation affects people's perception of their community and their life satisfaction. In general, the idea of place denotes a point, or an area on the earth's surface. From the perspectives of cultural landscape studies, place is "the combination of natural and man-made elements that comprises, at any given time, the essential character of a place." (Sauer, 1983) As Agnew defines it, place is made up of three essential elements. Firstly, it refers to a specific location which is in relation to everywhere else. Secondly, it is a locale, that is, the actual shape of the spatial environment, such as defined by the parks and streets in a city, etc which is associated with people's everyday activities. Thirdly, it denotes a sense of place – the personal and emotional attachment that people have to a place (Agnew, 1987).

More recent approaches to the question of place attach importance to the ways that a place is formed. Affected by Lefebvre's "production of space" framework (Lefebvre, 1991), these works look into socio-spatial reconstitution of place, that is, socio-political contestation in the formation of a place on the one hand, and the ways that the spatial environment of that particular place is shaping the socio-political processes. From this process based approach, place is never fixed, rather, it is contestable by different social forces, hence it is fluid (e.g. Dear and Wolch, 1990; Anderson and Gale, 1992; Gregory, 1994).

1.7.3 Socio-economic structures, community identity and social relations

The third aspect of our analytical framework concerns the mutual relationships between housing class, community identity and social relations. SSP is a diverse district in terms of socio-economic features and housing types. It is particularly so with the emergence of private housing properties on the re-developed sites on the periphery of SSP. Hence, it is important not to take it for granted that SSP is an economically and physically dilapidated region, where the local residents hold the same view on a range of issues. By the same token, it is equally important not to assume that the social relations in SSP are bound to be close and amicable, because SSP is a homogeneous district.

In such regard, this research looks into the impacts of demographic features of SSP residents, including the level of monthly household income and country of origin, on their living conditions and self-assessed QoL. Besides the relationships

between the general social and economic features and QoL, this project also examines the significance of “housing class,” a concept coined by Rex (1968), in shaping people’s living conditions and community identity. People from different types of housing complexes are likely to be in different living environments, have different patterns of lifestyle and self-identifications. They are also diverse in value and demands. They tend not to share the same perception about the community, leading to different levels of sense of belonging to the community identity. Even worse, social divisions and social conflicts may arise along the line of various housing classes, which thwarts any effort to foster an integrated and cohesive community in SSP.

1.8 Operationalization of Terms

This research project involves a range of variables to examine the relationships between social capital, place/space, community identity, socio-economic structures and their impacts on QoL. As such, one of the important facets in this project is related to the ways in which the terms can be operationalized.

1.8.1 Social capital

First we need to be clearer about what we mean by social capital, given that the term can be easily misunderstood. How best to measure social capital is a major challenge. Traditionally, researchers tend to adopt an organisational focus, by gathering data related to associational vibrancy and membership levels. It was once

envisaged that voluntary social interaction would produce high levels of trust and cooperation, which in turn being essential for social progress and policy implementation (Edwards, 2004). However, it is important to realise that there can be a 'dark side' to voluntary social interaction. A close social network can promote internal unity on the one hand and external conflict on the other. Hence, it is emphasised in this research project that social capital can emerge in two forms: bonding and bridging. Bonding concerns social ties within a particular network and group, while bridging measures ties among social networks as well as between social networks and public organisations (Maloney and Stevenson, 2003). To be more specific, the components of social capital include:

- The number and intensity of social networks – friends, neighbourhood; voluntary associations (e.g. social welfare, cultural, trade associations, professional, religious, youth, trade unions, health, educational and advocacy); political parties; and engagement with public organisations;
- The form and quality of social interaction – service provision; financial support; mutual help; information exchange; policy advocacy; protests, demonstrations; dialogue with public organisations; and the extent to which the dialogue being regarded as sincere and constructive;
- The development of social norms – concern for public affairs; participation in public affairs; reciprocity; cooperation; tolerance; non-discrimination; non-violence; and passion for freedom and autonomy
- The level and pattern of trust – trust among local people; trust between voluntary associations in a single district; trust between voluntary associations

across districts; and trust between voluntary associations and public organizations;

- The location of trust with public organisations – those regularly involved in the policy process; those having regular contact with government agencies; those with government agencies being their major source of income; those with government agencies being their major source of information.

As mentioned above, the inter-relationships between public organizations and civic organizations and among the civic organizations themselves are also critical to the study of urban life in SSP. With regard to the ways in which the project can evaluate any specific features in the structural relationships, a number of indicators will be used:

- The type of civic organizations – sports, social welfare, cultural, trade associations, professional, religious, youth, educational, health, technical and scientific, trade unions, political parties and the likes.
- The level of mutual trust in SSP – trust among local people, trust between civic organizations in a single community; trust between NGOs across communities; and trust between NGOs and public organizations.
- The location of trust – those regularly involved in the policy process; those having regular contact with government agencies; those with government agencies being their major source of income.
- Autonomy of civic organizations – in terms of registration, organization of

activities, governance structure (e.g. whether they have to follow government decree closely) and the likes.

- Dialogue between public organizations and NGOs – involvement in consultative bodies; the extent to which the dialogue is regarded as sincere; the extent of confusion about the purpose of consultation.
- The pattern of government/society relations – politically co-optative, supportive and cooperative, or confrontational.
- The main sources of information for civic organizations – members of own group, the SSP District Council, the Urban Renewal Authority, the Home Affairs Bureau, the Labour and Welfare Bureau, other public body and/or other voluntary organizations.

1.8.2 Community identity

‘Community identity’ is a pivotal concept in urban studies. It is generally assumed that if the sense of community identity is threatened, the prospect of leading rewarding lives is undoubtedly diminished. Despite widespread agreement about the importance of community identity, the concept is subject to contested definitions. Notions of community are often split into two camps. There are researchers who advocate a territorially-based conception of community. On the other hand, a group of researchers maintain that the notion of community should be based on social network relationships (Hillery, 1964). To some extent, the disagreement is bogus. There is no real reason to focus on one notion of community at the expense of the other. It should be up for the respondents to

choose what they mean by community. In this research project, therefore, the analysis of ‘community identity’ will include individuals’ perceptions of their community, both as a physical identity and as a social arrangement (Puddifoot, 1996). Specifically speaking, there are six dimensions inherent in the notion of ‘community identity’:

- Members’ own perceptions of community boundaries;
- Members’ own perceptions of the physical distinctiveness of SSP;
- Members’ own perceptions of the social/cultural distinctiveness of SSP;
- Members’ own emotional connectedness to the physical location;
- Members’ own emotional belonging to the social/cultural groupings;
- Members’ own evaluation of community functioning

This comprehensive approach will fit into our analytical framework, allowing us to trace the origin(s) of people’s orientations to the community of SSP, and to examine the relationships between community identity, social networks and physical environments.

1.8.3 Place / Space

Part of this research explicates the relationship between the *place* of SSP and the ways of lives that its residents lead in the urban community. Analysis will be shed light on these aspects: (a) the level of dependence that SSP residents have on

the places of SSP in satisfying their basic daily needs; (b) the connection between the patterns of daily lives of SSP residents in the place of SSP, and their satisfaction with the transportation of the district; (c) the perception of SSP residents on the community environment of SSP; (d) the community identity of SSP residents in relation to the sense of place they nurture with the place of SSP.

1.8.4 Socio-economic Structures

The research on socioeconomic structures of SSP is vastly important, because it can provide us with information in order to understand the problems inherent in the community and the ways in which these problems can be possibly tackled. However, socioeconomic structures are a broad concept, which requires a further degree of clarification and specification. Only then will the research on SSP be easily operationalised. To unravel the concept of socioeconomic structures, this study initially attempts to get a general social and economic map of the people living in SSP, and then draws on the concept of 'housing classes' coined by Rex (1968) so as to evaluate the specific psychological and cognitive map of people living in different residential settings.

1.8.4.1 General socioeconomic map of SSP

Situated in the northwestern part of the Kowloon Peninsula, the district of SSP covers a variety of areas, ranging from Mei Foo to West Kowloon Reclamation Area. More importantly, there are a range of land transportation routes connecting SSP and other districts of Kowloon. The district of SSP, therefore, is well

integrated into the rest of Kowloon. Nevertheless, the socioeconomic features of SSP are probably exceptional in comparison with other districts in the territory. Its general socioeconomic idiosyncracies can be conceptualised along a number of specific dimensions:

- Monthly household income – the exact amount of household monthly income; the rank of SSP in terms of household income in comparison with other District Council districts; and the proportion of households receiving less than HK\$10,000 per month;
- The picture of aging problem – the proportion of people at the age of 65 and above; the rank of SSP when it comes to the proportion of old-aged populations compared with other geographical districts;
- The picture of unemployment problem – the labour participation rate (i.e. the total number of employed in proportion to the total number of population in SSP); the dependency ratio (i.e. the total number of employed in proportion to the combined number of unemployed and aged population);
- The level of education – the percentage of people who have received secondary education at the very least; the percentage of people who have obtained the qualification of tertiary education; the rank of SSP in terms of the two proportions abovementioned in comparison with other districts;
- The feature of new minorities – the percentage of new immigrants from Mainland China; the percentage of new immigrants who are ethnic minorities; the percentage of ethnic minorities who have stayed in Hong Kong for more than seven years; the rank of SSP in terms of the three

proportions abovementioned when compared with other districts in Hong Kong.

1.8.4.2 Housing classes in SSP

With the above dimensions, it is by no means difficult to come up with concrete ideas about the general socioeconomic map of SSP. However, it is important not to overly generalise the social and economic features. People who live in different types of housing complexes are likely to have different patterns of lifestyle, value and demand. In this regard, this research will draw on the concept of 'housing classes' coined by Rex (1968) so as to evaluate the idiosyncratic features of people being housed in the three different geographical clusters that we have highlighted. According to Rex (1968), there are six types of housing classes:

- Outright owner of a whole house;
- Owner of a mortgaged whole house;
- Council house tenant
 - In a council house for a long life
 - In a council house waiting demolition
- Tenant of a whole house owned by a private landlord;
- Owner of a house who needs to let rooms in order to repay mortgage loans;
- Tenant of rooms in a lodging house.

These six types of housing classes are based on the empirical research conducted in British counties and cities. The division of housing stocks, therefore, may not be completely applied to the context of Hong Kong in general and SSP in particular. In order to use the concept of housing classes to analyse the socioeconomic structures in SSP, some adjustment to the original concept is necessary. In the context of SSP, the housing classes may be re-conceptualised into the following categories:

- Occupant of a flat in a private housing estate (see cluster 3);
- Public housing tenant;
 - In public housing estates in peripheral areas of SSP (e.g. Hoi Lai Estate, Pak Tin Estate and Fu Cheong Estate)
 - In public housing estate in vibrant areas of SSP (e.g. Shek Kip Mei Estate and Lai Kok Estate)
- Occupant of cubicle apartment/suite at “tong lau”.

The gist of the Rex’s analysis is that membership of a housing class has wider implications in terms of a person’s associations, interests and lifestyle (Couper and Brindley, 1975).

1.9 Research Methods

This project draws on more than one source of data, and these multiple sources of data can improve the construct validity of research findings. The following sources of data are used: (1) critical literature review; (2) archival evidence (e.g.

data derived from the 2006 Population By-census and 2007 District Council elections); (3) cartographic materials (e.g. maps, building plans, aerial photos, and development control data); (4) questionnaire survey; (5) semi-structured interviews; (6) focus group interviews.

Questionnaire survey

A questionnaire survey is an important tool for collecting data about socio-economic problems, perceptions of physical environments and social capital in SSP (Appendix 1). Central to our research is to seek understanding of social divisions along the line of housing types, people's perception of place as well as their implications for life satisfaction, social capital and civic participation. In line with our research focus and the limitation of sample size, it is deemed inappropriate to study the whole district by means of complete random sampling, which is likely to result in a sample heavily tilted towards public housing estate dwellers, in light of the demographic structure in SSP. For the same reason, it is equally inappropriate to confine ourselves to the study of a single geographical area concentrated with a particular housing class. In parallel with the research focus, our approach is to choose three geographical clusters that are characterised by differences in housing types, socio-economic backgrounds and location in relation to the central part of SSP (see Fig. 1). Their differences enable the researchers to examine whether and how the housing types and geographical locations influence the pattern of urban life.

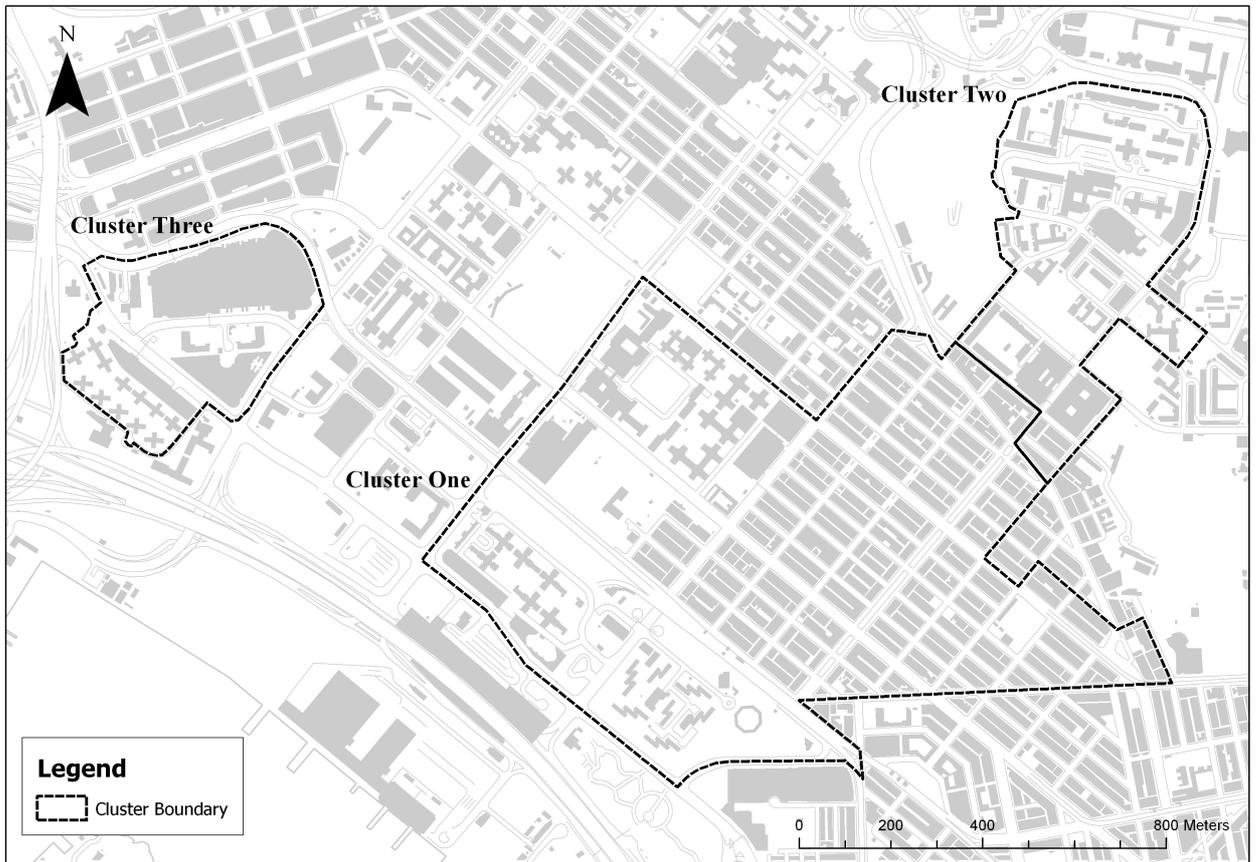


Fig. 1 Three clusters under study

The characteristics of these clusters are as follows:

- Cluster One

Bounded by Cheung Sha Wan Road, Nam Cheong Street, Sham Mong Street, Tonkin Street, District One includes Central Sham Shui Po and the reclamation area across the West Kowloon Corridor. This area represents the commercial heart of Sham Shui Po. It contains two dominant types of housing. The first is the typical Sham Shui Po pre-war and postwar Chinese-style buildings “tong lau”. They range from the older 5-6 storey walkups to the more intensive 9-10 storey walkups built in the 1960s. They represent the densest and poorer living environment in Sham Shui Po and are the focus of recent urban renewal policy. Together with the streets,

they also form one of the liveliest parts of Sham Shui Po. The second is the public housing estates constructed between 1980s and 2000s. They include Lai Kok and Lai On Estates in the central area, as well as Nam Cheong and Fu Cheong Estate across the West Kowloon Corridor. They were constructed under the policy to provide public housing in the central area, and to resettle existing population. Lai Kok and Lai On stand in contrast with the “tong lau” as two different types of living environment: residential and urban. Nam Cheong and Fu Cheong are located near large public open spaces and the West Rail Station. They are located further from Central Sham Shui Po. Next to Nam Cheong Estate is one of the most interesting used goods markets attracting many local residents. Fu Cheong Estate provides housing for some very low-income residents.

- Cluster Two

Bounded by Nam Cheong Road, and the hillslopes of Shek Kip Mei, District Two includes two public housing estates: Pak Tin and Shek Ki Mei Estates. Constructed in 1975, Pak Tin is the oldest existing and public housing estate in the Sham Shui Po District and contains a wide range of housing blocks design. With 8400 households, and an estimated population of 24,200, it is also the largest housing estate with many population groups. Constructed in 1976, Shek Kip Mei Estate is located closed to Central Sham Shui Po. It contains early linear slab blocks designed to enclose a public open space, a market and other amenities. Both projects are located in an area that is undergoing changes with the introduction of territory-wide public amenities including the Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, and

the recently opened Mei Ho House. District Two represents the transformation of one of the most famous public housing estates into an area with potentially a rich cultural life.

- **Cluster Three**

Located between Kwai Chung Road and West Kowloon Highway, and between Cheung Sha Wan and Mei Foo, District Three is the newest area of Sham Shui Po. It contains two types of high-rise housing. The first is a group of four private development projects for middle-class population: Banyan Garden, Liberte, the Pacifica, and Aqua Marine. The second, Hoi Lai Estate built in 2004, is one of the newest public housing estates. Both types of housing are located relatively far from old urban centres. District Three represents a new type of self-contained housing development in more isolated location.

Semi-structured and focus group interviews

A total of 25 semi-structured interviews have been conducted with community leaders in SSP, including NGO's activists, District Council members, and leaders of religious groups (Appendix 2). In addition, 16 focus group interviews were held in which a total of 66 residents of SSP from different socio-economic communities had shared their views and experience with us (Appendix 3). The interviews mainly focused on the following six major facets:

- How do they perceive the problems in SSP?
- How do they perceive the density of social networks and the ways in which the social networks can tide them over when they face difficulties?
- What are the functions of civic organizations, and their levels of participations and mobilization?
- How do the civic organizations relate to each other and to the public organizations at district and territory-wide level?
- What are the impacts of urban planning, redevelopment and housing on the geographical concentration of NGOs and community identity?
- What are the remedial actions in terms of public policies and NGO's functions they would suggest?

Interview guides for community leaders and SSP residents are included in Appendixes 4 and 5.

1.10 Brief Description of Survey Sample

The face-to-face questionnaire survey has been launched from mid-July 2010 to April 2011 about socio-economic features, perceptions of physical environments and social capital in SSP. On top of random sampling of addresses based on the three geographical clusters, one qualified household member was selected from each address by using the Kish Grid. This member was then interviewed by our

trained interviewers. In the end, a total of 1114 cases were completed and scrutinized as valid and successful. Among them, 495 cases (44.4%) were conducted in Cluster 1, 340 (30.5%) in Cluster 2 and 279 (25%) in Cluster 3. The response rate for Cluster One, Cluster Two and Cluster Three is 47.41 percent, 46.27 percent and 38.08 percent respectively.

Table 1.1 Cluster

	N	%
Cluster 1	495	44.4
Cluster 2	340	30.5
Cluster 3	279	25.0
All	1114	100.0%

The housing type of 58.8% of the respondents' quarter was public housing, 29% was private housing (Home Ownership Scheme flat included), 12.2% was "tong lau" (i.e. cubicle apartment, "tong lou" unit and suite).

Table 1.2 Housing Type

	N	%
Public Housing	655	58.8
Private Housing	323	29.0
"Tong lau"	136	12.2
All	1114	100.0%

Of the 1114 successfully interviewed, 59.2% are female and 40.8% are male. The age distribution of these respondents is as follows: 14% are aged 18-29; 56.5% are aged 30-59; 29.2% are aged 60 or above. In addition, 41.1% of these

respondents were born in Hong Kong. It means that more than half of the respondents were immigrants. Among them, 81.6% have lived in Hong Kong for more than 7 years. In addition, 94.6% of them lived in the Mainland China/Macau/Taiwan before they resided in Hong Kong.

II. Historical and Current Situations of Sham Shum Po

2.1 Historical Background

Situated in the northwestern part of the Kowloon Peninsula, Sham Shui Po District covers an area of about 1047 hectares. The district can be divided into seven areas, namely Central Sham Shui Po, Cheung Sha Wan, Shek Kip Mei, Lai Chi Kok, Mei Foo, Yau Yat Tsuen, and West Kowloon Reclamation Area, which are subdivided into twenty-one electoral constituencies.

The history of SSP is clearly written into its social and physical fabric (Figure 2.1). Some of the areas in the district share similar social and physical characteristics, while others are drastically different. They reflect the transformation of SSP from early twentieth century, and in particular public policies for housing and development in the past sixty years. More importantly, they reveal the diverse problems and challenges in the district.

2.1.1 Sham Shui Po Village, Nineteenth Century

The district was made up of several villages in a coastal area in the 19th century. Sham Shui means deepwater, Po refers to a bay with interlocking land and waterways. SSP, one of the villages with a pier, became the centre of the entire district. Most of this old SSP had disappeared. Mo Tai Temple on Tai Nan Street built in 1899 is one the few remaining landmarks. Its oblique orientation against the regular layout of SSP is a reminder of the original coastline of SSP.

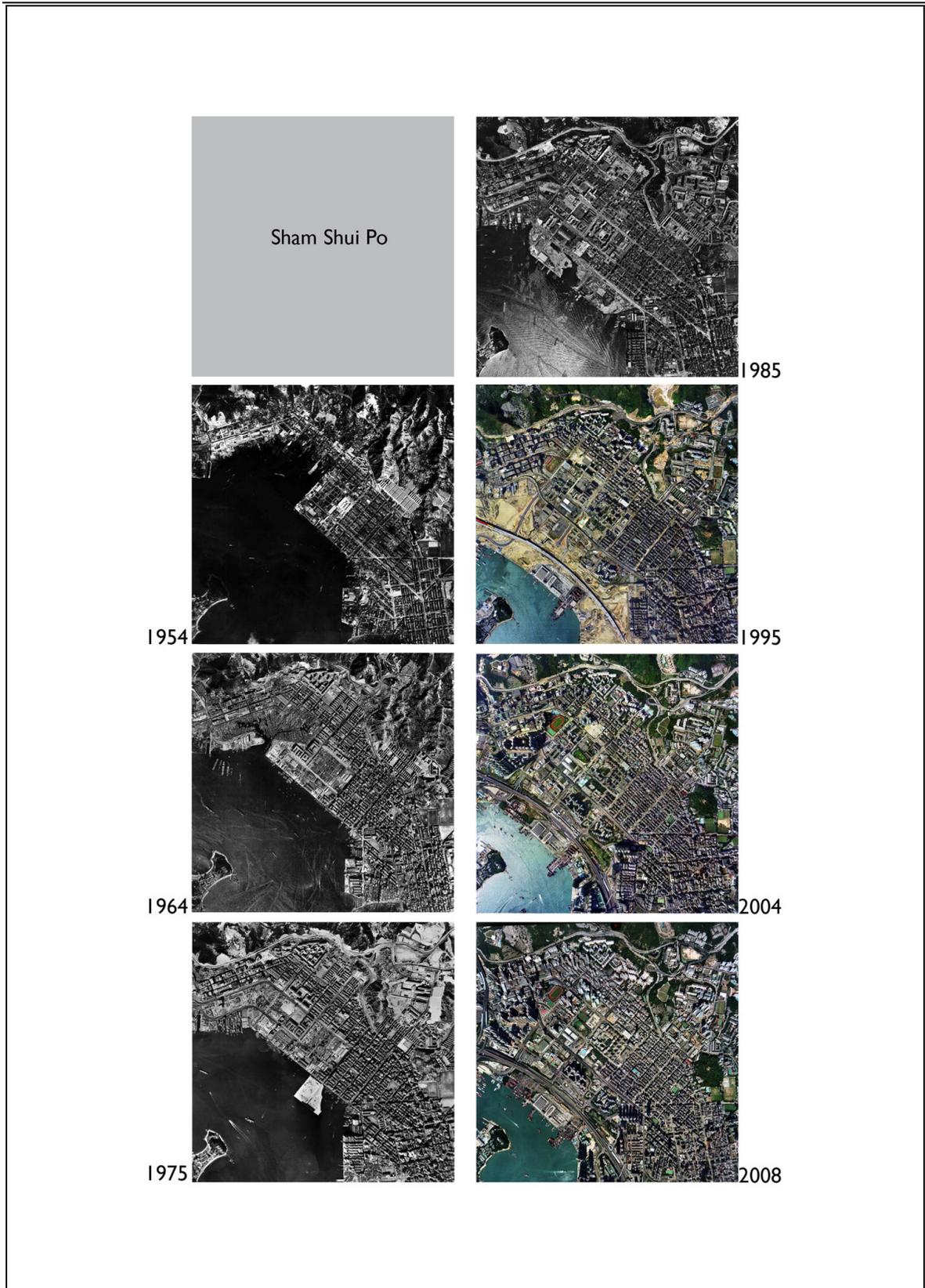


Figure 2.1. Physical fabric of SSP (1954-2008)

2.1.2 *Sham Shui Po Town (1914-1945)*

SSP Town refers to an area of orthogonal street layout bounded by Tai Po Road, Boundary Street, Tung Chau Street, and Tonkin Street. The plan of the town was proposed in 1900 with the cession of the New Territories in 1898. After a fire in one of the villages (Apliu Village) in 1912, land reclamation between Nam Cheong Street and Kweilin Street began in 1914. The second phase of land reclamation between Yen Chow Street and Tonkin Street followed in 1919.

The street pattern of SSP is a gridiron of streets and blocks. Primary streets were designed for cross-town connection and for drainage. Castle Peak Road, Cheung Sha Wan Road, Lai Chi Kok Road, and Tung Chau Street running in the northeast direction connected Mongkok and Tai Kok Tsui with Cheung Sha Wan. Nam Cheong Street, Yen Chow Street, and Tonkin Street running in the southwest direction towards the water contained major drainage channels.

Reclamation of the district was mostly complete by 1927. Within the armature of primary streets, the area was subdivided into blocks with backlanes for the construction of Chinese-style shop-house buildings commonly known as tong-lau, which referred to a stair-accessed building with shops on the ground floor, and one or two units on the upper levels. The typical unit contained a kitchen, a toilet and a single living space, which was subdivided into cubicles often for sublet to tenants. So, a tong-lau often implied a Chinese tenement building. Between 1920s and 1940s, two to four-storied tong-lau were constructed. Most of them have disappeared. A small number of them still exist and are scattered throughout the district. Yet it is the gridiron layout of streets, backlanes, and subdivision that underlies the plan layout of Central SSP today (Figure 2.2).

2.1.3 Sham Shui Po (1946-1954)

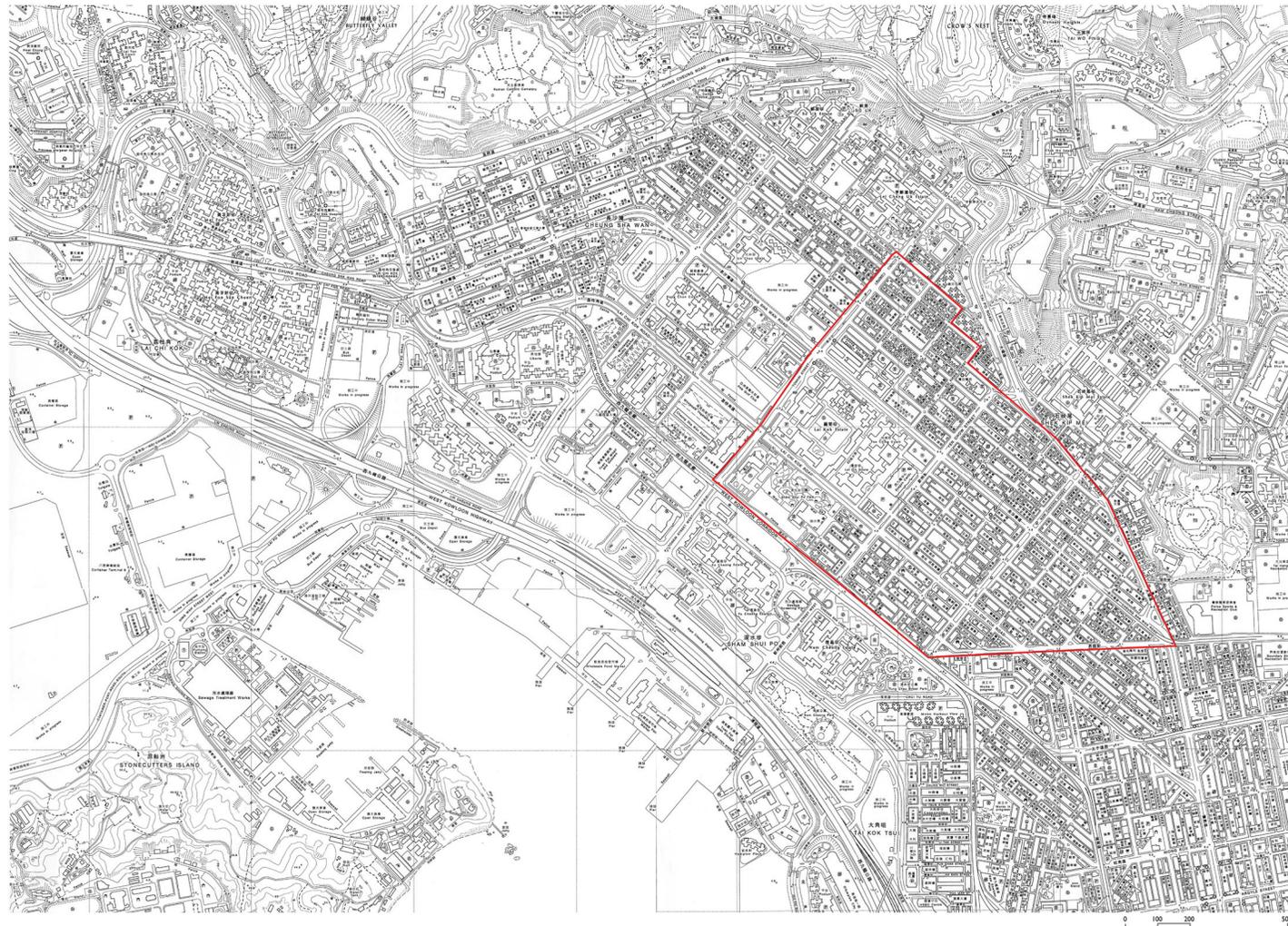
SSP attracted a large number of refugees and new immigrants after the War. The district saw the rebuilding of pre-war tong-lau into taller five to six-storey buildings. The need for shelter also resulted in the proliferation of squatter settlements on hill slopes and on water. A major fire in 1953 in nearby Shek Kip Mei launched the first public housing programme. It began with the construction of resettlement housing in 1953, and the first “Mark I” public housing in 1954. The development of public housing continues to shape SSP. While the squatter settlements have largely disappeared, the phenomenon of tenement housing has persisted (Figure 2.3).

2.1.4 Sham Shui Po (1950s-1960s)

Besides the development of SSP Town in the 1920s, the greatest change of the district took place between the 1950s and 1960s. Driven by public policies for social and economic development, many of the changes occur in areas outside Central SSP e.g. Cheung Sha Wan and Shek Kip Mei. Reclaimed land, roads and piers, industrial estates, public facilities and open spaces, public housing, and real estate development helped transform the physical landscape of SSP.

By the end of the 1960s, SSP saw the completion of Cheung Sha Wan’s reclamation, Cheung Sha Wan Factory Estate (1960), North Kowloon Magistracy Building (1960), So Uk Estate (1960), Tai Hang Sai Estate (1965), Mei Foo Sun

Figure 2.2 Central Part of SSP





1954

1. Sham Shui Po Ferry Pier (1924)
2. Lui Seng Chuen (1931)
3. Maple Street Playground
4. Shek Kip Mei fire and resettlement housing (1953)
5. Shek Kip Mei "Mark I" Estate (1954)

Figure 2.3. SSP in 1954

Chuen (1966), and Un Chau Estate (1969). Apart from the open spaces in the housing projects were also public facilities of playgrounds and swimming pool. The rebuilding of four to six-storied tong-lau into nine to ten-storied ones continued in Central SSP (Figure 2.4).



- 1964
- 1. Lei Cheng Uk Resettlement Area (1955)
 - 2. Garden Bakery Building (1957)
 - 3. Cheung Sha Wan Factory Estate (1960)
 - 4. North Kowloon Magistracy (1960)
 - 5. So Uk Estate (1960)
 - 6. Sycamore Playground
 - 7. Squatter settlement
 - 8. Cheung Sha Wan Reclamation

Figure 2.4. SSP in 1964

2.1.5 Sham Shui Po (1970s-1980s)

By 1989, SSP had evolved into a high-rise high-density urban district. More public housing estates had been completed. Pak Tin Estate (1975), Nam Shan Estate (1977), Chak On Estate (1983), and Tai Hang Tung Estate were constructed on hill slopes; and Nam Cheong Estate (1989) on newly reclaimed

land. Shek Kip Mei Estate (1976), and Lei Cheng Uk Estate (1984) were redeveloped from earlier public resettlement housing sites; Lai Kok Estate (1981) and Yee Kok Court (HOS 1981) on military site. Most of the private development consisted of high-rise buildings of occupying several subdivision lots.

Apart from public housing, the most significantly changes have been the construction of rapid transit rail system, the reclamation of land, the building of highways, and the creation of large public open spaces. Shek Kip Mei MTR Station was completed in 1979. The stations of SSP, Cheung Sha Wan, and Mei Foo all opened in 1982. With the growth of the electronics and computer retail market in the 1980s, the 'heart' of Central SSP shifted inland from the Pei Ho Street Market area toward the station exits on Cheung Sha Wan Road. Ap Liu Street and the area around the Golden Shopping Centre have since evolved as a new centre of SSP. The West Kowloon Corridor flyover straddling over Tung Chau Street was completed in 1989. The sheltered space beneath the flyover has evolved into both planned (jade market) and unplanned uses (dawn market). SSP Park and Swimming Pool, and Tung Chau Street Park were two major public open spaces during this period (Figures 5 & 6).



1975

- 1. Tai Hang Sai Estate (1965)
Mei Foo Sun Chuen (1966) not shown
- 2. Un Chau Estate (1969)
- 3. Lei Cheng Uk Swimming Pool (1969)
- 4. Pak Tin Estate (1975)
- 5. Po On Road Playground

Figure 2.5. SSP in 1975



1985

1. Shek Kip Mei Factory Building (1970s)
2. Shek Kip Mei Estate (1976)
3. Nam San Estate (1977)
4. New Sham Shui Po Ferry Pier (1979)
5. Shek Kip Mei MTR Station (1979)
6. Tai Hang Tung Estate (1980)
7. Lai Kok Estate (1981)
8. Sham Shui Po MTR Station (1982)
9. Cheung Sha Wan MTR Station (1982)
10. Lai Chi Kok MTR Station (1982)
11. Chak On Estate (1983)
12. Lei Cheng Uk Estate (1984)
13. Sham Shui Po Park and Swimming Pool
14. Upper Lei Cheng Uk Park
15. Reclamation beyond West Kowloon Corridor

Figure 2.6. SSP in 1985

2.1.6 Sham Shui Po (1990s-present)

Since 1990, transformation of SSP has continued through expansion and redevelopment but at a greater scale and height. The significant growth of this period included further land reclamation and the completion of the West Kowloon Highway in 1997. On the reclaimed land were two new public housing estates: Fu Cheong Estate (2001), and Hoi Lai Estate (2004). Being further away from Central SSP, and surrounded by the highway and access roads, Hoi Lai Estate contains its own shopping centre. In addition, the building of four large-scale private development projects brought a number of middle-class residents to the district. Known as the “four little dragons”, they are Aqua Marine, Banyan Garden and Liberte (all in 2003), and The Pacifica (2006).

Significant redevelopment was also taking place in Central SSP with the relocation of industries, resumption of government properties, and deterioration of old buildings. Dragon Centre (1994) is the first large-scale shopping centre in Central SSP. The Pei Ho Street Municipal Services Building (1995) with a wide range of public amenities replaced the old market building and place. Lai On Estate (2004) together with the earlier Lai Kok Estate formed a large public housing estate (with home ownership scheme houses) around SSP Park II. Un Chau Estate (1998) was rebuilt to increase density (Figures 7,8 & 9).



- 1995
1. West Kowloon Corridor (1989)
 2. Nam Cheong Estate (1989)
 3. Lai On Estate (1993)
 4. Dragon Centre (1994)
 5. Pei Ho Street Municipal Services Building (1995)
 6. Tung Chau Street Park
 7. Reclamation of West Kowloon Highway
 8. Cheung Sha Wan Wholesale Marine Fish Market
 9. Cheung Sha Wan Wholesale Market

Figure 2.7. SSP in 1995



2004

1. West Kowloon Highway (1997)
2. Un Chau Estate (1998)
3. Fortune Estate (2000)
4. Fu Cheong Estate (2001)
5. Aqua Marine (2003)
6. Banyan Garden (2003)
7. Liberte (2003)
8. Hoi Lai Estate (2004)
9. Nam Cheong Street Rest Garden & Sitting out Area
10. Tung Chau Street Park
11. Nam Cheong Park
12. Cheong Sha Wan Sports Ground
13. Asia Golf Club

Figure 2.8. SSP in 2004



2008

1. The Pacifica (2006)

2. Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (2008)

3. Cheung Sha Wan Factory Estate Public Housing Redevelopment (work-in-progress)

Figure 2.9. SSP in 2008

2.2 Socio-economic Characteristics of Sham Shui Po

As one of the earliest developed district in Hong Kong, Sham Shui Po has a high concentration of old-age population, new migrants and poor families. Such a skewed social mix is fully reflected in the following socio-economic structure of the district.

2.2.1 Population and household characteristics

(1) Low monthly household income

Although the monthly household income of SSP has been improving in recent years, the district remains one of the poorest in Hong Kong. Table 2.1 demonstrates that the district has for 11 consecutive years recorded the lowest median monthly household income among the 18 District Council districts. In addition, SSP has the highest proportion of household having an monthly income of less than HK\$10,000 (34.7%) in 2010, a rate much higher than the Hong Kong average (Table 2.2).

Table 2.1 Median monthly household income: SSP and Hong Kong overall compared

Year	SSP (HK\$)	Hong Kong overall (HK\$)	Rank of SSP among the 18 DC districts
2010	14,000	18,000	18
2009	13,800	17,500	18
2008	13,800	18,000	18
2007	13,700	17,500	18
2006	13,100	17,000	18
2005	12,200	15,800	18
2004	11,700	15,500	18
2003	11,000	15,000	18
2002	12,600	16,100	18
2001	13,500	17,700	18
2000	14,000	17,600	18

(Source: Population and household statistics analyzed by District Council district)

Table 2.2 Proportion of households receiving less than HK\$10,000: SSP and Hong Kong overall compared

Year	SSP (%)	Hong Kong overall (%)	Rank of SSP among the 18 DC districts
2010	34.7	27	1

2009	36.9	28.1	1
2008	36.3	26	1
2007	34.8	27	1
2006	37.7	28.5	1
2005	39.8	29.9	1
2004	42.7	30.3	1
2003	43.1	31.6	2
2002	40.4	28.6	1
2001	35.5	24.7	1
2000	33	24.4	1

(Source: Population and household statistics analyzed by District Council district)

(2) Aging problems

SSP is one of the districts having the highest ratio of old-age population (those at the age of 65 and above) in Hong Kong. Whereas old-age residents have constituted around 16% of the population of SSP over the years, the average in Hong Kong has been about 12% (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Percentage of persons at the age of 65 and above: SSP and Hong Kong overall compared

Year	SSP (%)	Hong Kong overall (%)	Rank of SSP among the 18 DC districts
2010	16.5	12.2	2
2009	15.5	12.2	3
2008	16.1	11.9	1
2007	15.6	12	2
2006	15.9	11.7	2
2005	16.1	11.8	1
2004	16.3	11.7	2
2003	15.8	11.5	2

(Source: Population and household statistics analyzed by District Council district)

(3) Low labour participation rate

SSP has a labour participation rate which is significantly lower than the average of Hong Kong. This means that the fraction of labour force which

cannot be absorbed by the labour market is higher than the other regions of Hong Kong (Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Labour force participation rate: SSP and Hong Kong overall compared

Year	SSP (%)	Hong Kong overall (%)	Rank of SSP among the 18 DC districts
2010	55	59.7	18
2009	57	60.7	17
2008	56.3	60.9	18
2007	57.3	61.2	18
2006	57.4	61.3	17
2005	57.1	61	18
2004	56.8	61.4	16
2003	55.3	61.3	18

(Source: Population and household statistics analyzed by District Council district)

(4) High dependency ratio

Partly related with its aging problems and low labour participation rate, SSP has a high dependency ratio as compared to other districts of Hong Kong. Table 2.5 shows signs of deterioration in the district in recent years – ranked first in 2010 and 2008, as compared to fourth and fifth respectively in 2005 and 2004. The trend tells that people in labour force in SSP has to shoulder an increasing number of those not in labour force. High dependency ratio has worsened the problem of poverty in SSP, as the district has been one of the poorest in Hong Kong (Tables 2.1, 2.2).

Table 2.5 Overall dependency ratio: SSP and Hong Kong overall compared

	SSP	Hong Kong overall	Rank of SSP among the 18 DC districts
2010	395	324	1
2009	382	326	3
2008	399	333	1

2007	397	340	2
2006	401	343	2
2005	379	359	4
2004	407	367	5
2003	430	375	3
2002	381	378	6
2001	440	379	2
2000	455	386	2

(Source: Population and household statistics analyzed by District Council district)

(5) Low educational level

The educational level of the population of SSP is one of the lowest among the 18 District Council districts in Hong Kong. Table 2.6 shows that 75% of SSP residents have received secondary education in 2010, while the figure for Hong Kong in average for the same period is 77.7%. Low educational level can be a factor leading to the problem of low labour participation rate in the district. However, it is interesting to note that there are an increasing percentage of SSP residents with secondary educational level in the past three years. This is partly explained by the rise of a group of middle class who lived in those newly redeveloped housing estates in SSP.

Table 2.6 Percentage of persons with secondary education and above: SSP and Hong Kong overall compared

Year	SSP (%)	Hong Kong overall (%)	Rank of SSP among the 18 DC districts
2010	75	77.7	14
2009	73.1	77.1	15
2008	71.9	76.3	16
2007	72.3	76.2	15
2006	72.3	75.3	15

2005	70.5	74	15
2004	69.3	73.4	15
2003	67.9	72.6	14
2002	67.5	71.9	15
2001	65.1	70.8	17
2000	64.9	69.4	15

(Source: Population and household statistics analyzed by District Council district)

(6) High rate of new immigrants from China Mainland

New immigrants from China Mainland (those having resided in Hong Kong for less than 7 years) constitute 5.7% of the population of SSP, which is much higher than the average of 3.2% in Hong Kong. It is also remarkable that SSP has a relatively high concentration of new arrivals from the Mainland – the number accounts for more than 9% of the category of population in Hong Kong in 2001 and 2006 (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7 Number of new immigrants from China Mainland in SSP

	1996	2001	2006
Number of new immigrants from China Mainland in SSP	14,246	25,814	20,787
(% accounts for new immigrants from China Mainland in Hong Kong)	(8.4)	(9.7)	(9.6)

(Source: 2006 Bi-census)

(7) Low owner-occupier rate

Figures from 2006 bi-census show that about 56% of SSP's residents are tenants, which is a rate far higher than the average of Hong Kong – 44% (Table 2.8). This means that the majority of people in the district are not property

owners, but public housing occupants, or tenants of various types – sole tenants, co-tenants, sub-tenants, etc.

Table 2.8 Tenure of accommodation (2006)

	SSP (%)	Hong Kong overall (%)
Owner-occupier	42.2	52.7
Tenant	55.8	44
Others	2	3.3

(Source: 2006 By-census)

2.2.2 *Housing and land use characteristics*

In a sense, the “SSP problems” have been complicated by the housing and land use characteristics that distinguish SSP from other parts of Hong Kong. Distinctive features of SSP can be summarized as follows:

(1) Distribution of land use

As Sham Shui Po is one of the earliest developed districts in Kowloon, it was once a commercial, industrial and transportation hub of the peninsula. The mushrooming of cotton mills, textile and garment factories, fabric and button shops, garment wholesale market as well as sewing machine shops in the 1950s and 1960s, was caused by the influx of industrialists from China who brought capital and skills to Hong Kong. With the rapid industrialization and economic takeoff in the 1970s, SSP became the largest textile centre in Hong Kong. There was a flourishing of industrial activities at Yu Chau Street, Ki Lung Street, Tai Nan Street, Apliu Street, Shek Kip Mei Street, Nam Cheong Street and Wong Chuk Street. Nowadays, economic activities of SSP concentrate mostly in Cheung Sha Wan Road, Yum Chau Street, Tai Nan Street, etc. Factories and warehouses are located at Cheung Sha Wan and Lai Chi Kok.

Aside from scattered small-scale re-development projects undertaken after 1998 due to the closure of Kai Tak airport and the subsequent relaxation of building height restrictions, the landscape of this area largely remains unchanged. In Central SSP, most of the buildings have had an age exceeding 30 years, 3-8 storied. Large scale private residential estate can rarely be found in the central region. They are located at the reclaimed land in the western part of the district, including Mei Foo Sun Chuen, which is over 30 years of age, and the more recent erection The Pacifica, Liberte, Banyan Garden and AquaMarine, etc. Moreover, there are currently 14 public housing estates in SSP, chiefly situated at the periphery of Central SSP. The youngest one is Hoi Lai Estate, while Shek Kip Mei Estate being the oldest, which is also the first public housing estate in Hong Kong.

Diverse and vigorous, economic activities in SSP have for many years had a fundamental part to play in people's livelihood – catering to their daily needs, creating to them job opportunities, etc.

(2) A variety of housing quarters

As of 2006, private permanent housing, public housing and subsidized sales flats respectively account for 56.4%, 38.1%, 5.5% of occupied quarters in SSP. SSP is characterized by a wide variety of housing in terms of building age, building type and rent/housing price. As shown in Figure 2.10, the Central SSP is mostly occupied by buildings over 30 years of age while the new housing estates are located at the outlying reclaimed area. Most of the buildings in Central SSP are low-rise tong lau without elevators (Figure 2.11). Since SSP

has a high proportion of minority group (e.g. Pakistan, Nepal etc) and new migrants who are not qualified for public housing, many of them are housed in relatively cheap and poor quarters including, old tong-lau, cubicles, caged homes and rooftop houses in Central SSP. This dilapidated but vibrant region has been the target of URA for redevelopment. Besides the low-rise housing, there are also a few modern and newly constructed estates in Central SSP due to recent redevelopment projects. Moreover, there are also some high-rise public housing and large-scale private housing estates located at the periphery of Central SSP. It is therefore not surprising to discover that SSP is a diverse community with different social classes.

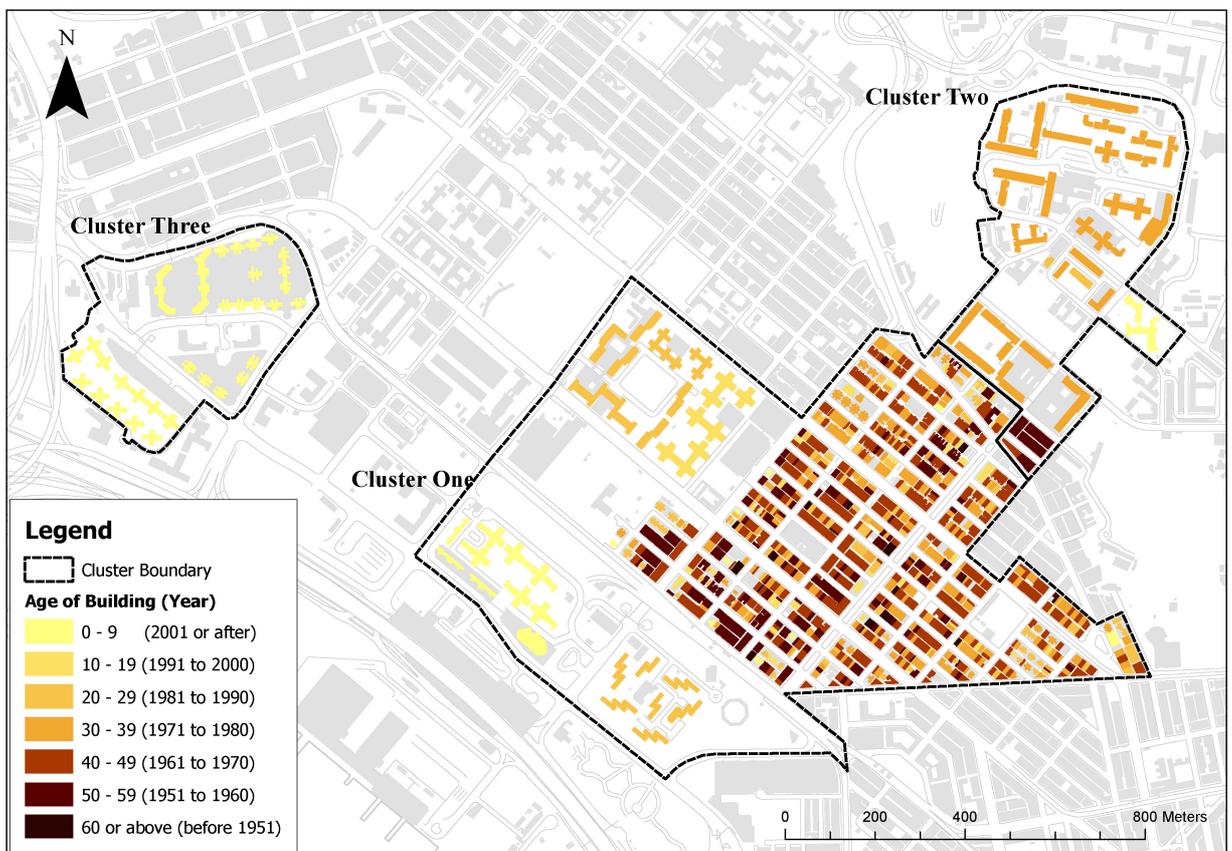


Figure 2.10 Age of Building in SSP.

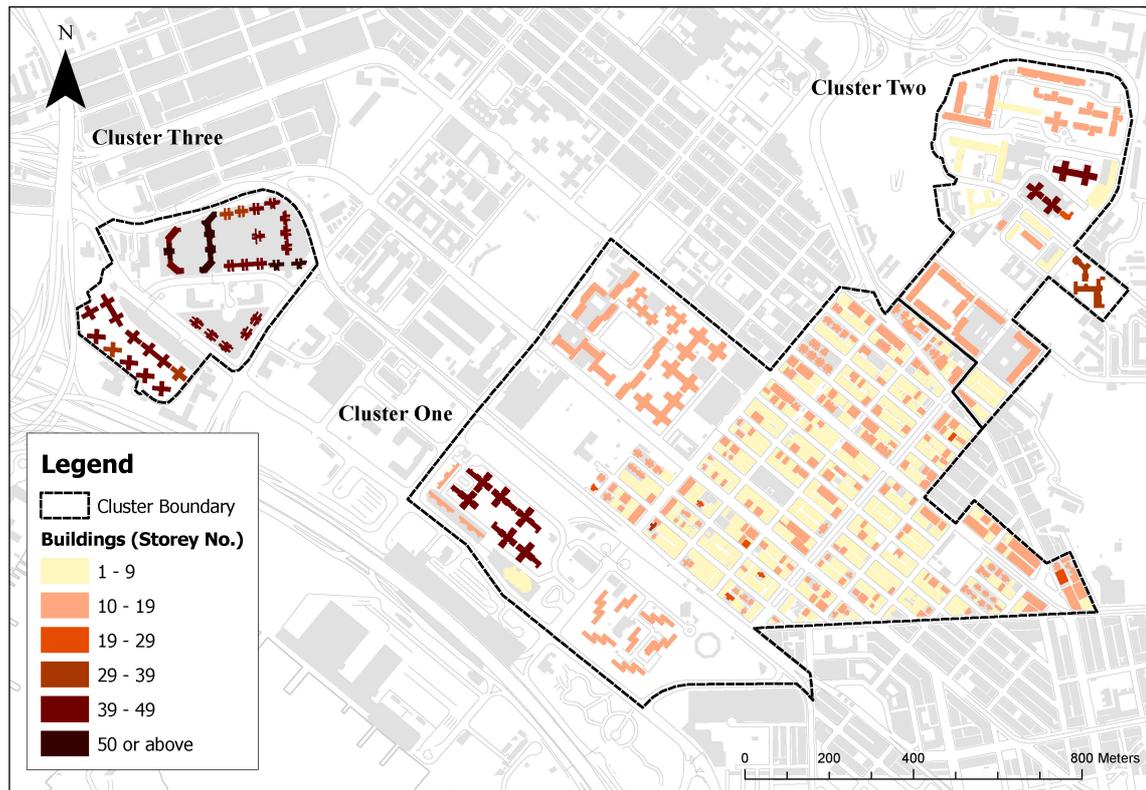


Figure 2.11 Height of buildings in SSP.

(3) Spatial segregation among different types of quarters

Although administratively falling within a district, different areas of SSP are in fact segregated. This is partly due to the abovementioned land use characteristics of the district. The problem of segregation is manifested in various ways, for example, connections and exchanges between the middle class residential areas – e.g. Yau Yat Chuen, Mei Foo Sun Chuen and the less well-off regions – Central SSP, public housing areas are weak; residents of the old areas are kept apart from the large scale recreational open spaces; more recently, road networks (with three or more lanes in each direction) in the new reclamation area isolate the new public housing estate from the central regions, etc.

(4) Uneven distribution of recreational open spaces

About 27 hectares of land in SSP has been dedicated for recreational use such as playground, swimming pool, ball field, etc. Although the standard outlined in Hong Kong Planning Standards and Guidelines on recreational facilities is sufficiently met in SSP, the facilities are not evenly distributed over the district. Most of the large-scale open recreational spaces are located at peripheral or coastal areas, such as Sham Shui Po Sports Ground, Sham Shui Po Park, Nam Cheong Park, Tung Chau Street Park, etc. In the old central region, only small scale facilities can be found, including Maple Street Playground, Po On Road Sports Center, Pei Ho Street Municipal Services Building, etc. The uneven location of the recreational land use has badly affected the QoL of the residents, especially those in the old areas.

2.3 Urban Problems in Sham Shui Po

2.3.1 Urban decay and housing problems

One of the problems of Central SSP is the physical deterioration of buildings as the majority of them are over 30 years old (Table 2.9). The adaptive reuse of the Shek Kip Mei Factory Building, Mei Ho House, and the North Kowloon Magistracy represents some of the efforts in conserving landmarks of the district. More challenging are the many older buildings housing a diverse and low-income groups of residents. The presence of caged homes, cubicles and rooftop houses in SSP is a headache problem. Large-scale clearance of these ill-equipped housing is impractical since they have

accommodated a large proportion of poor people who are unable to find a living place either through the private housing market or the public housing scheme.

Table 2.9 Age of building in SSP (within the study area) (2011)

Age	No. of building	%
0 - 9 (2001 or after)	58	4.79%
10 - 19 (1991 to 2000)	58	4.79%
20 - 29 (1981 to 1990)	103	8.50%
30 - 39 (1971 to 1980)	265	21.86%
40 - 49 (1961 to 1970)	423	34.90%
50 - 59 (1951 to 1960)	268	22.11%
60 or above (before 1951)	37	3.05%

Source: Database of Private Buildings in Hong Kong, Home Affairs Department

2.3.2 *Urban redevelopment and social network*

Due to urban decay, SSP has been listed as a key target area of urban renewal by the Urban Renewal Authority and Hong Kong Housing Society. Currently, there are ten urban renewal sites in the SSP District. Replacing the old buildings is often by forty to fifty storied luxurious towers on top of a shopping podium. Addressing the low-income housing problem are the building and rebuilding of public housing. Yet it is the gridiron of streets and shop-houses that supports the social and economic life of the community, and gives a sense of identity to the district. How SSP can be renewed without losing its history, identity and community would be the challenge in the coming decades.

While the renewal projects aim to improve the living environment of the district, they at the same time results in adverse effects on the well-established social networks embedded within the urban fabric and the public memories of the communities. Also, urban renewal tends to lead to the problem of gentrification – the redeveloped higher-class housing properties attract wealthier people moving in, resulting in the informal eviction of the less well-off inhabitants. All these are conducive to new social problems which SSP may have to encounter in the future.

2.3.3 Provision of open space

There is a general concern of lacking open space in Central SSP. Central SSP is a dense but vibrant area. Most of the large-scale open spaces are located at peripheral areas such as, SSP Park II in Lai On Estate and Tung Chau Street Park. Instead of providing additional open spaces, the issue of rationalizing and improving the design of the existing open spaces to provide shelter and greenery in the old area should be considered in future planning.

III. Social Capital, Civic Associations and Urban Life

3.1 Introduction

As demonstrated in the introductory chapter, the evidence of quantitative analysis suggests that the quality of life perceived by the residents in Sham Shui Po (hereafter as SSP) is not as dismal as outsiders would commonly depict. Indeed, with the catalogue of socio-economic problems taken into account, our questionnaire survey registers a rather high mean score in terms of residents' perception of their quality of life. Such juxtaposition of objective situations and subjective perception warrants detailed analyses, not only for academic purposes but also for policy making. Based on understanding the ways in which local residents perceive their urban life, the policy-makers, in the public and third sectors alike, are better placed to develop policy measures in line with the public expectations. This research report takes the view that there is little sign of a single overarching factor that can fully explain the urban life in SSP. Hence, in the report a comprehensive approach drawing on various perspectives and variables is adopted.

This chapter will examine the quality of life experienced by SSP residents through the prism of social capital. There are three parts to this chapter. First, it will show that people's perception of urban life is closely related to social capital, understood as social networks, trust and reciprocity, surrounding the local residents under study. The more social capital they can tap into, the more satisfaction they can derive from their daily life. However close the association

it turns out, SSP may not be a district brimful with social capital. This leads to the second part of the chapter, which will set out to examine the overall patterns of social network, trust and reciprocity in the district. With the evidence of quantitative and qualitative data, it will suggest that, perhaps in sharp contrast to common sense, the social fabrics in SSP does not epitomise a high degree of social capital. In addition, the second part will also identify the group of residents that is of greatest concern and subject to the highest risk. In normal circumstances, avoiding the recurrence of existing problems depends on understanding how the current situation came about. In the third part, therefore, we shall venture to examine why the current pattern of social capital arose. Since the 1960s a large number of civic associations have flocked to the district and stayed there. In such regard, the short supply of social capital is particularly baffling. It is therefore important to concentrate our analytical focus on the workings of civic associations in SSP. It will be shown that the civic associations have major pitfalls, structurally and operationally, and these drawbacks scupper their effort in fostering social capital in the district.

3.2 Social capital and quality of life

It is baffling that the subjective perception of quality of life among the residents in SSP does not seem to fit into the socio-economic conditions of the district. SSP is a district stricken with a range of social and economic problems. To all appearances, people residing in SSP should be fretful about their living standards. However, as demonstrated in the introductory chapter, this is not necessarily the case. In our survey and similar studies conducted by other

institutes, the residents in SSP express a comparatively high satisfaction with their life, which is at odds with the socio-economic conditions in the district. Several reasons can be advanced to understand such a perception of urban life. Part of the explanation seems to lie with social capital embedded in the district. In particular, an individual's perception of his/her quality of life can be understood in terms of social capital in his/her possession.

3.2.1 Quantitative analysis of the impact of bonding networks

If we analyse the patterns of linkage between social networks and quality of life, we can generally ascertain that social networks are important in explaining people's perception of their life in SSP. In our questionnaire survey, the respondents were asked to state the number of friends they have in the district, which is shown in the second column of Table 3.1. This indicator provides an overall picture of their scope of social networks beyond the confines of core and extended families. Meanwhile, the respondents were also asked to state their perception of quality of life, the mean scores of which are contained in the third column. The causal relationship between social networks and quality of life is conspicuous. In general, the respondents with greater the scope of social networks tend to have a more positive attitude towards their quality of life. There is no interruption in this upward trend. The only exception rests with the respondents who indicate the absence of any friend in the district of SSP. Somewhat against our expectation, they are not the group which is mostly discontented with their life. Their satisfaction, although still modest in comparison with the groups marked by many friends, may be explained by

using the concept of space/place. They enjoy being on their own and going for a stroll in bazaars and Dragon Centre in the central cluster of SSP. The effect of space/place will be analysed in detail in Chapter Five. At this stage, it is important to note that the scope of social networks has a statistically significant impact on quality of life ($p < 0.05$).

Table 3.1 Causal Relationship between Social Networks in SSP and Self-Perceived QoL

		Quality of Life (combination of Q20a to Q20e)			
		N	Mean	Min.	Max.
Friends in SSP (Q36)	1.No	166	0.2145	-2.00	1.60
	2. Very Few	214	0.0551	-2.00	1.80
	3. Few	294	0.2245	-2.00	2.00
	4. Quite Many	258	0.3411	-2.00	2.00
	5. Many	60	0.3433	-2.00	1.40
	Total	992	0.2238	-2.00	2.00

$P < 0.05$

Response alternatives for perception of QoL (combination of Q20a to Q20e) are regrouped into (-2) strongly disagree, (-1) disagree, (0) don't know/no comments, (1) agree, (2) strongly agree with various aspects of life satisfaction.

3.2.2 Bonding networks, comfort and joy

The ways in which social networks affect quality of life are easily comprehensible. For those people who are afflicted with mishaps and suffer from a great deal of stress and depression as a result, the social networks may act as a domain to which they can turn for solace and emotional support. In our focus group interviews, for example, many new immigrants from Mainland China have found it difficult to settle into the economic and cultural settings of

SSP and Hong Kong as a whole. They have encountered a great deal of frustration in entering the jobs market, facing discrimination by local residents and being crammed into a tiny flat that is no match for the places they had lived across the border. Even worse, some of the females in our focus group interviews have been deserted by their husbands after they immigrated to Hong Kong. In short, the abysmal experiences abovementioned have driven them to dismay, if not despair. Nevertheless, they are able to draw emotional support from their networks with people having a similar background, and such networks are often mediated with the intervention of civic associations (see FG2 and FG5). A female informant who put it succinctly (FG5: lines 62-65):

That is right. One of the major reasons I keep attending the religious group (in SSP) every Thursday is that I can have a regular get-together with my friends. Apart from friends, there is also a social worker to take care of us, listening to our grievances. Being able to express my grievances in front of friends with whom I have a great deal of trust, sometimes with the aid of tailor-made games, seems to relieve my stress and anxiety. Above all, we are Christians. We have the same faith. After talking to them, I feel much happier.

Faith and trust may be an important component of any effective network which has the ability to help people relieve themselves. In this sense, a bonding network may not necessarily be less desirable than the bridging type of network. Homogeneity is conducive to the development of trust. Another female immigrant echoes the usefulness of a bonding network: 'At least we can confide to the friends our family scrapings without fear of being leaked to other people. To be honest, it is rather difficult to keep family wrangling to ourselves.

Without this group of friends, I really do not know to whom I can turn when I am saddled with unhappy issues' (FG5: lines 818-819). Besides the provision of solace, a social network may bring together a number of people who have the same hobby. In other words, the network may serve as a recreational group, from which people can derive a great deal of joy and pleasure. In our focus group interviews, there is a male resident who lives an active and cheerful life after retirement. In his words, his joy stems from health conditions and social life. He basks in the informal network with a number of friends who play table tennis three hours a day and five days a week. This network has reinforced his interest in sport, and his interest in sport has widened the network. At the very start, there were only a few people who regularly played with him. As time passed, quite a few bystanders in the sports centre came along. The network has now extended to around twenty people (see FG6).

3.2.3 Bridging networks and quality of life

A bonding network can accord people comfort and joy. However, SSP is a district stricken with a variety of social and economic maladies. It is by no means hard to envisage that a considerable proportion of people are in desperate need of material aid, on top of non-material support. In this regard, compared with the emergence of bonding networks, the development of bridging networks has to be equally important for people to live a decent life in the district. The evidence of statistical data seems to corroborate the effect of bridging networks, exemplified by the range of economic support, on how the residents perceive their quality of life. In our questionnaire survey, the

respondents were asked about the number of friends from whom they can acquire material support when bumping into economic hardships, and they were given five options. To simplify the process of analysis, the five options were combined into three, ranging from ‘no friend’ at all, through ‘few friends’ to ‘many friends’. To relate the number of friends who can offer economic support to the mean score concerning quality of life, a clear pattern of causal relationship is discernable (see Table 3.2). For those respondents who have either ‘no friend’ or ‘few friends’ in this respect, their feeling of life is almost the same. In comparison, however, those respondents who are able to seek economic help from ‘many friends’ tend to hold their life in the most positive light, with the mean score in relation to quality of life increased from the lowest 0.1431 (ranging from -2 to 2) to the highest 0.4074.

Table 3.2 Causal Relationship between Bridging Networks and QoL

		Quality of Life (Combination of Q20a to Q20e)			
		N	Mean	Min.	Max.
No. of Friends Who Can Offer Financial Support (Q44)	1.No	356	0.1893	-2.00	2.00
	2. Few	341	0.1431	-2.00	2.00
	3. Many	190	0.4074	-2.00	2.00
	Total	887	0.2183	-2.00	2.00

Response alternatives for perception of QoL (combination of Q20a to Q20e) are regrouped into (-2) strongly disagree, (-1) disagree, (0) don't know/no comments, (1) agree, (2) strongly agree with various aspects of life satisfaction. $P < 0.05$

3.2.4 Social cohesion and quality of life

It is important to point out that the concept of social capital may not necessarily be confined to the inner circle of friendship. Community-wide social capital may also be expedient in enhancing people's perception of their life. According to the related literature, the concept of social capital can be broadened to link with the phenomenon of social cohesion, or the 'psychological sense of community'. In the words of Buckner (1988: 773), social cohesion denotes 'the sense of belongingness, fellowship, "we-ness", identity, etc., experienced in the context of a functional (group) or geographically based collective' (district). To put it the other way, a district brimful with social capital means that the sense of trust, tolerance and togetherness tends to straddle political and socio-economic cleavages there, and a district characterised by social cohesion is likely to result in higher satisfaction with life. The results of our questionnaire survey seem to bear out this causal relationship. In the survey, the respondents were asked about how they feel about the social relations in SSP as a whole, along the lines of social class, age group, new immigrant and ethnicity (Q27). Their responses to four separate questions were then re-compiled to form a single index indicating their general attitude towards 'strangers' in the district. In Table 3.3 it is found that there is a statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) relationship between people's attitude towards 'strangers' and their quality of life. The overall pattern is that an increase in quality of life exists alongside an increase in people's satisfaction with the social relations in SSP as a whole. The respondents who regard the social relations as 'poor' tend to give the lowest score to their quality

of life, whereas the respondents who hold the social relations in a positive light tend to give the highest score to the measurement of life satisfaction. This causal relationship between social cohesion and quality of life is remarkable, with the sum of eta-squared reaches the level of 0.033.

Table 3.3 Social Relations in SSP and QoL

		Quality of Life (Combination of Q20a to Q20e)			
		N	Mean	Min.	Max.
Social Relations in SSP (Q27)	Poor	1. 368	0.0625	-2.00	2.00
	Neutral	2. 463	0.1322	-2.00	1.40
	Good	3. 1114	0.3689	-2.00	2.00
	Total		0.2075	-2.00	2.00

P < 0.001

Response alternatives to all items in Q27 are re-coded as (-2) very poor, (-1) poor, (0) don't know/no comments, (1) good, (2) very good, and then re-grouped into (-2 to -1) = 1 poor, (0) = 2 neutral, (0.1 to 2) = 3 good.

In short, with the above evidence of quantitative and qualitative analysis, the existence of social networks, bonding and bridging alike, coupled with a high degree of social cohesion, can probably help the proper running of a community. This is because the social networks and social cohesion are able to accord the local residents a sense of comfort, pleasure and security. A sense of comfort, joy and security contributes to people's perception of their urban life.

3.3 Social capital in SSP

The last section has demonstrated that social capital, interpreted as social networks and social cohesion, has a great impact on how SSP residents perceive their quality of life. The impact exists in the way that the residents of SPP having a high degree of social capital are likely to be satisfied with their life. By the same token, certain residents have to put up with abysmal standards of life if social capital available to them is scanty. Given its importance, it is therefore pivotal to go further to examine the general pattern of social capital in the district. Only then will it be possible to have a better understanding of the urban life in SSP. This section intends to map out the overall picture of social capital in the district. In particular, it will debunk the conventional myth that SSP is a district marked by human touch. Indeed, the results of our study suggest that the social capital in SSP does not fare any better than that in Tin Shui Wai (TSW), a new town commonly seen as a hopeless district on the outskirts of New Territories. In view of the causal linkage between social capital and quality of life, the fraying of the social fabrics in SSP is a matter of serious concern.

3.3.1 Mapping the scope of social networks

A theme threading a range of previous studies and conventional wisdom in relation to the urban life in SSP is the notion that the district epitomises intimate relations between neighbours, friends and 'kai fong'. Alas, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of our data seems to belie this conventional wisdom. Table 3.4 shows the territory-wide level of social networks with which the residents in SSP are associated. Here, the figures are

by no means encouraging. In total, there are over half of respondents (51.8 percent) who reported that they have either ‘no’ or ‘few’ (including ‘very few’) friends in the whole territory. By contrast, only an embarrassingly meagre number of respondents (7.1 percent) considered that they have ‘many’ friends in Hong Kong. These figures suggest that the social contact of SSP residents is quite restricted.

Table 3.4 In your view, do you have many friends? (Q35)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No	89	8.0	8.0	8.0
Very Few	191	17.1	17.2	25.2
Few	297	26.7	26.8	52.0
Quite Many	436	39.1	39.3	91.3
Many	79	7.1	7.1	98.4
Don't know/No Comments	18	1.6	1.6	100.0
Refuse to Answer	4	0.4		
Total	1114	100.0		

In accordance with conventional wisdom, SSP is a district characterised by human touch and close relationships. It is reasonable to expect that, despite limited contact with people outside SSP, the local residents should have developed close and amicable relationships with a broad range of people who also live in SSP. To our surprise, looking at the range of social networks at the district level, it is observed that the narrow scope of territory-wide social contact is replicated – and even worse. As demonstrated in Table 3.5, as many as 60.5 percent of respondents who thought that within SSP they have either

‘no’ or ‘few’ (including ‘very few’) friends. By contrast, only 5.4 percent of respondents considered that they have ‘many’ friends in the district. The number of respondents basking in a broad range of social networks at the district level is way smaller than the number of respondents being confined to a small circle of social contact.

Table 3.5 As far as you know, do you have many friends resided in SSP? (Q36)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No	166	14.9	16.6	16.6
Very Few	214	19.2	21.4	37.9
Few	294	26.4	29.3	67.3
Quite Many	258	23.2	25.7	93.0
Many	60	5.4	6.0	99.0
Don't know/No Comments	10	0.9	1.0	100.0
Total	1002	89.9	100.0	

The interview data may provide some vivid substance to the narrow scope of social contact and its implications by using the informants’ own account of their daily life. In our focus group interviews, the local residents were asked to report their trajectories of life on a weekday and a Sunday closest to the day when the interview was conducted. With the detailed analysis of interview data, a salient feature stands out. Regardless their years of residence in SSP and Hong Kong as a whole, quite a number of local residents tend to live in their own bubbles, cut off from the social contact with friends inside and outside the district. For example, there is a female immigrant in our interview. She lives in a tiny cubicle flat (40 squared feet) and finds the living place to be unbearably

cramped. Her husband has to work six days a week. When her husband is out for work, she desperately needs to take fresh air outside; otherwise she will easily fall into depression. In normal circumstances, the existence of social networks may help to assuage her gloom and frustration. In reality, though, she has almost no friend in SSP and only a few scattered in other districts. Therefore, she often spends her time on taking a stroll around the district without any particular purpose. Her trajectory of life often repeats the following pattern:

In the morning, I stay in the library. (Which library?) Un Chau Street Public Library. There may be many libraries in SSP. But I only know how to go that one. Sometimes I go to the Dragon Centre afterwards. There is air-conditioning in the Dragon Centre. When it gets hotter in the middle of the day, I shall definitely go there. At last, as a housewife, of course I have to go food shopping before returning home, and then I shall do the housework. Time flies. The whole day is gone. (FG2: lines 341-346)

It is important to point out that she wanders aimlessly around SSP on her own. The trajectory of life reported in our interview by a male unemployed echoes the above story, which manifests weak social ties and their implications. The only difference lies in the fact that he lives in a public housing estate. There is larger space in his flat. As a result, he tends to stay inside on his own or wander aimlessly around in the corridor outside his flat. He stresses that there is much fun staying in the corridor, because he can watch what is going on in the construction site opposite to the building he lives (see FG13). Yet it stretches

credulity to take his words at face value. It is reasonable to argue that the weakness of social ties heavily affects people's pattern of life.

3.3.2 Analysing the depth of social networks

Some people may argue that at issue is not the extent but the closeness of social networks. It is because the local residents can still acquire a great deal of comfort, pleasure and security from a narrow range of social networks if these networks are sufficiently close, resourceful and trustworthy. This may be the case. However, are there any variations between the width and depth of social networks at the district level? Do the social networks in SSP exhibit a high level of trust, closeness and help? First of all, turning to the trust measures we find that by and large the sense of trust remains within the confines of family. By contrast, trust in friends and neighbours is rather weak. For example, in our questionnaire survey, 92.7 percent and 78.9 percent of respondents claimed that they have a great deal of trust in their family members and relatives respectively (see Table 3.6). However, when it comes to social contact, the sense of trust remarkably plunges. There are only 55.3 percent and 49 percent of respondents who respectively stated that they have a sense of trust in friends and neighbours at the district level. The lack of trust can probably dilute people's willingness to contact friends and neighbours when they need somebody for companionship and/or bump into troubles, which in turn cramps their ability to derive a sense of comfort and security from horizontal networks.

Table 3.6 Do you trust the following people? (Q38)

	Family Members (N/Percent)	Relatives (N/Percent)	Neighbours (N/Percent)	Friends Resided in SSP (N/Percent)	Friends in Other Districts (N/Percent)
Very Distrust	5/(0.4)	8/(0.7)	32/(2.9)	11/(1.0)	14/(1.3)
Distrust	26/(2.3)	85/(7.6)	298/(26.8)	99/(8.9)	126/(11.3)
Trust	551/(49.5)	715/(64.2)	521/(46.8)	592/(53.1)	651/(58.4)
Very Trust	481/(43.2)	164/(14.7)	25/(2.2)	25/(2.2)	35/(3.1)
Don't know/ No Comments	25/(2.2)	100/(9.0)	215/(19.3)	104/(9.3)	145/(13.0)
Total	1088/(97.7)	1072/(96.2)	1091/(97.9)	831/(74.6)	971/(87.2)

The lack of willingness to contact friends and neighbours for companionship is already evident in the results of our questionnaire (see Table 3.7). There are merely 36.8 percent of respondents who claimed that they either ‘sometimes’ or ‘often’ go out with friends in leisure times, while a remarkably higher proportion of people, notably 65.5 percent and 42.6 percent of respondents, claimed that they either ‘sometimes’ or ‘often’ go out with family members and relatives in leisure times. The discrepancy between people’s contact with friends and family for recreational purpose is already huge. Yet a more alarming picture exists in the frequency of social contact with neighbours. As little as 8.8 percent of respondents who said that they have kept a regular contact with neighbours. All of this shows that the local residents are unlikely to depend on their social networks for happiness, for their contact with friends and neighbours being so spasmodic.

Table 3.8 How often do you spend your time with the following people for your pastime? (Q40)

	Family Members (N/Percent)	Relatives (N/Percent)	Neighbours (N/Percent)	Friends Resided in SSP (N/Percent)	Friends in Other Districts (N/Percent)
Never	135/(12.1)	221/(19.8)	742/(66.6)	192/(17.2)	242/(21.7)
Seldom	223/(20.0)	376/(33.8)	247/(22.2)	241/(21.6)	226/(20.3)
Sometimes	363/(32.6)	363/(32.6)	83/(7.5)	322/(28.9)	389/(34.9)
Often	366/(32.9)	111/(10.0)	15/(1.3)	88/(7.9)	135/(12.1)
Don't Know/No Comments	3/(0.3)	4/(0.4)	5/(0.4)	4/(0.4)	9/(0.8)
Total	1090/(97.8)	1075/(96.5)	1092/(98.0)	847/(76.0)	1001/(89.9)

The deficiencies in social networks are not restricted to the gloomy levels of trust and contact. If comparing the levels of support that people can obtain from their social networks in different regions, SSP is a district conspicuous by its destitution of social capital. According to the research undertaken by Chiu *et al* (2010), the district of TSW registers a low score in terms of social support networks. There may not involve a great deal of surprise because TSW is a newly emerging district, where most residents have moved in from other parts of the territory. It takes time for them to settle into the physical and social fabrics. By comparison, SSP is an archaic district in Hong Kong, with some of the oldest housing estates in the territory. Yet the results of our questionnaire survey indicate that the social support networks in SSP do not operate any better than those in TSW. For example, in TSW less than half (44.7 percent) of respondents claimed that they are able to seek help from others if they cannot squeeze out time for dealing with workaday issues. This already presents a

grim picture. Yet the picture in SSP looks even worse. For the same situation, a mere 35.1 percent of respondents in SSP indicated their ability to seek help from others. Furthermore, among such group of respondents, the majority of support tends to come from family members (18%) and relatives (6.4 percent). A mere 10.1 percent and 6.9 percent of respondents reported their ability to seek help from friends and neighbours respectively (see Table 3.9).

Table 3.9 If you don't have time to handle domestic works, such as taking care of children and buying daily accessories, is anyone in SSP ready to help you?

(Q41)

	Frequency		Percent	
No	604		54.2	
Yes	391		35.1	
Family		201		18.0
Relative		71		6.4
Friend		112		10.1
Colleague		9		0.9
Neighbour		77		6.9
Others		29		3.0
Don't Know/ No Comment	111		10.0	
Refuse to Answer	8		0.7	
Total	1114		100.0	

Respondents are allowed to choose more than one option if they reply 'yes' as regards whether they have anyone in SSP ready to help them.

For workaday issues the social support beyond the confines of family does not come in abundance, all the more so in SSP. The same pattern, to some extent a bleaker pattern, applies to the situation of having bumped into intractable difficulties such as being in emergent need of financial support (see Table 3.10). In TSW, merely about a quarter of respondents (29.1 percent)

claimed that they are able to take succour from others when they get into intractable difficulties, whereas as many as 70.9 percent of respondents indicated an absence of support whatsoever. The same pattern is replicated in the context of SSP, where a mere 27.7 percent of respondents indicated their ability to seek help from others in face of serious problems, while 61.3 percent did not have that kind of luck. If we break down the sources of assistance, the frailty of social support base is all the more telling. As intractable difficulties occur, the majority of those who indicated that they are able to seek help would turn to family members (18.3 percent) and relatives (7.4 percent) for assistance. By contrast, in our questionnaire survey there are merely 9.8 percent and 1.3 percent of respondents who respectively reported that they would have friends and neighbours to tide them over.

Table 3.10 If you encounter emergency, such as urgent need of money, is anyone in SSP ready to help you? (Q42)

	Frequency	Percent
No	683	54.2
Yes	309	35.1
Family	204	18.3
Relative	82	7.4
Friend	109	9.8
Colleague	13	1.2
Neighbour	13	1.3
Others	7	0.7
Don't Know/ No Comment	115	10.3
No need for help	1	0.1
Refuse to Answer	6	0.5
Total	1114	100.0

Respondents are allowed to choose more than one option if they reply 'yes' as regards whether they have anyone in SSP ready to help them in case of emergency.

Likewise, in our questionnaire survey, the respondents were asked whether they have friends to help out when they are on the lookout for jobs. In line with the pattern presented above, as many as 36.7 percent of respondents either indicated that they have ‘none’ or ‘very few’ friends who are able to help out, juxtaposed with a mere 21.9 percent of respondents giving a positive response (see Table 3.11).

Table 3.11 If you want to look for a job, are there many friends ready to help you? (Q43)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No	277	24.9	27.3	27.3
Very Few	132	11.8	13.0	40.3
Few	192	17.2	18.9	59.3
Quite Many	229	20.6	22.6	81.9
Many	15	1.3	1.5	83.3
No Comments/ Don't Know	131	11.8	12.9	96.3
Refuse to Answer	11	1.0		
Not Applicable	49	11.4	3.7	100.0
Total	1114	100.0	100.0	

The frailty of social support base begs the question regarding why the social networks surrounding SSP residents have not grown into a more resourceful domain. The primary explanation seems to lie in the fact that their social networks remain excessively homogenous. In other words, the bridging type of networks is weak in the district, which makes it difficult for local residents to tap into the resources inherent in the classes different to them. In our questionnaire survey, the respondents were asked whether they have

friends who belong to different socio-economic classes from themselves. Table 3.12 demonstrates the extent of the bridging networks associated with the respondents who reported that they have friends in the district. For those who have friends in the district, nearly half of them (40.6 percent) disclosed that all of their friends come from the socio-economic background tantamount to them. With so weak the bridging type of social networks undoubtedly justifies particular attention when it comes to policy making and policy implementation in SSP.

Table 3.12 Among your friends resided in SSP, are any of them in different social classes with you? (Q37)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No	322	28.9	40.6	40.6
Yes	420	37.7	53.0	93.6
Don't Know/No Comments	51	4.6	6.4	100.0
Total	793	71.2	100.0	
Not Applicable (e.g. No Friends)	288	25.9		
Refuse to Answer	33	3.0		
Total	1114	100.0		

Having said that, certainly a district has to be structurally pluralistic before a policy-maker can envisage a community full of bridging capital. Social networks do not exist in a vacuum. They have to develop and operate in a particular context. In this sense, to foster the bridging kind of social networks might look like little more than a mirage in the past, because previously SSP was emblematic of a hopeless district afflicted with a wide range of socio-

economic problems. The vast majority of people lived at the grassroots end of social stratum. However, with the recent emergence of private housing estates on the outskirts of SSP, where a group of middle class has moved in, the cultivation of bridging social capital no longer looks pie in the sky. Indeed, as found in our survey, the social structure of residents in the so-called ‘Four Dragons’ is vastly different to those of people living in central SSP and public housing estates on the other outskirts of the district (see Tables 3.13 and 3.14). In education and household income, the residents of the ‘Four Dragons’ have definite advantage over the residents elsewhere in the district. Hence, for the policy-makers, there is no harm envisaging SSP as a community in which the social assets enshrined in the newly emerging middle class can be transferred and complementary to the worse-off in the district. Alas, as discussed above, such bridging of social capital has yet turned into reality.

Table 3.13 Educational Attainment of Residents in Three Geographical Clusters

		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Total
1. Up to Primary School Level	Count	174	143	39	356
	% within cluster	35.3%	42.4%	14.0%	32.1%
2. Secondary School Level	Count	241	165	138	544
	% within cluster	48.9%	49.0%	49.5%	49.1%
3. Tertiary Level or Above	Count	78	29	102	209
	% within cluster	15.8%	8.6%	36.6%	18.8%
Total	Count	337	493	279	1109
within cluster	%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Cluster 1 refers to central SSP. Cluster 2 refer to public housing estates like Pak Tin and Shek Kip Mei. Cluster 3 denotes ‘Four Dragons’ and Hoi Lai Estate; $P < 0.001$

Table 3.14 Average Monthly Household Income in Three Geographical Clusters

		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Total
1. 6,000 or Below	Count	98	106	16	220
	% within cluster	29.0%	38.7%	7.1%	26.3%
2. 6,000-14,999	Count	131	101	65	297
	% within cluster	38.8%	36.9%	29.0%	35.5%
3. 15,000-39,999	Count	96	63	75	234
	% within cluster	28.4%	23.0%	33.5%	28.0%
4. 40,000 or Above	Count	13	4	68	85
	% within cluster	3.8%	1.5%	30.4%	10.2%
Total	Count	338	274	224	836
	% within cluster	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$P < 0.001$

3.3.3 Mapping the pattern of social cohesion

As discussed above, social cohesion is one of the important variables contributing to people’s perception of their life in SSP. While both the bonding and bridging networks in the district turn out to be weak and certainly a matter of concern, the policy-makers may take some solace from the overall situation of social cohesion in SSP. Simply speaking, the vast majority of local residents consider that people from different classes, age groups, ethnicities and birth places can live harmoniously and amicably with each other in the district. In our questionnaire survey, only few of them tend to think otherwise. For example, as little as 25.1 percent of respondents reported that the social relations between different age groups are either ‘bad’ or ‘very bad’ (Table 3.15), coupled with 29.1 percent for new immigrants (Table 3.16), 23.5 percent

for ethnic minorities (Table 3.17) and 30.8 percent for different social classes (Table 3.18). To some extent, all of these figures have painted a fairly rosy picture for SSP in terms of social cohesion. Nevertheless, these figures have to be understood with caution. It is because a considerable number of people have expressed uncertainty about the situation.

Table 3.15 The Relationships among Different Age Groups

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very bad	22	2.0	2.0	2.0
Bad	257	23.1	23.2	25.1
Good	439	39.4	39.5	64.7
Very Good	8	0.7	0.7	65.4
Don't Know/No	384	34.5	34.6	100.0
Comments	1110	99.6	100.0	
Total	4	0.4		
Refuse to Answer				
Total	1114	100.0		

Table 3.16 The Relationship between Local Residents and New Immigrants from Mainland

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very bad	46	4.1	4.1	4.1
Bad	278	25.0	25.0	29.2
Good	373	33.5	33.6	62.8
Very Good	2	0.2	0.2	63.0
Don't Know/No	411	36.9	37.0	100.0
Comments	1110	99.6	100.0	
Total	4	0.4		
Refuse to Answer				
Total	1114	100.0		

Table 3.17 The Relationships among Different Ethnic Groups

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very bad	52	4.7	4.7	4.7
Bad	207	18.6	18.7	23.4
Good	344	30.9	31.0	54.4
Very Good	6	0.5	0.5	54.9
Don't Know/No	500	44.9	45.1	100.0
Comments	1109	99.6	100.0	
Total	5	0.4		
Refuse to Answer				
Total	1114	100.0		

Table 3.18 The Relationships among Different Social Classes

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very bad	36	3.2	3.2	3.2
Bad	308	27.6	27.8	31.0
Good	333	29.9	30.1	61.1
Very Good	3	0.3	0.3	61.4
Don't Know/No	428	38.4	38.6	100.0
Comments	1108	99.5	100.0	
Total	6	0.5		
Refuse to Answer				
Total	1114	100.0		

3.3.4 Identifying the groups of people at risk

Thus far, we have reported and discussed aggregate data on social capital in SSP. The overall picture of civic life looks unhealthy. However, it is important to stress that, even though the whole district has suffered from the destitution of social capital, the extent of social capital available to various groups of people is different. After breaking down and analysing the data, it is found that a number of groups are at particular risk. The first group of people

that warrants particular concern involves the new immigrants. The new immigrants, meaning those people who have not stayed in Hong Kong for a full 7 year time, have the narrowest scope of social networks compared with the other two groups of residents, notably the residents born in Hong Kong and the people who have already obtained Hong Kong permanent citizenship. In our questionnaire survey, the respondents were asked to give a score concerning their extent of social networks out of a five-point scale, in which point 1 means that they have ‘no’ friend in the district, while point 5 denotes that they have ‘many’ friends. Consequently, the mean score associated with the new immigrants registers the lowest (2.61), compared with the other two groups ($P < 0.05$) (see Table 3.19).

Table 3.19 As far as you know, do you have many friends resided in SSP? (Q36)

	N	Mean	Min.	Max.
1. Born in Hong Kong (H.K.)	423	2.76	1	5
2. Immigrant (Stayed in H.K. for at least 7 years)	445	2.95	1	5
3. Immigrant (Stayed in H.K. for less than a full 7-year)	108	2.61	1	5
Total	976	2.83	1	5

1=No Friend, 2=Very Few Friends, 3=Few Friends, 4=Quite Many Friends, 5=Many Friends

The second group of people that is of particular concern is the low income family. Here, the low income family denotes the group of people with a household income less than HKD\$6000 per month. Despite the fact that in our survey the sample of low income family does not fare especially worse in terms

of their social networks in the district, their social trust in friends registers one of the lowest scores among different income groups (see Table 3.20). In particular, when questioned about their trust in friends within the district, the respondents from low income family gave an average score of 2.87, which means that their attitude straddles between ‘trusting’ and ‘not trusting’ friends. The different attitude exemplified by the low income family towards their friends is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). A great deal of emphasis is placed on new immigrants and low income family in assessing the groups of people commanding particular attention. It is because they are exactly the people who can easily be embroiled in the vortex of socio-economic hardships. In other words, they tend to be in desperate need of other people’s help, material and non-material alike. However, they are precisely the groups of people who have little access to social capital inherent in the district, either because their social networks are rather constrained, or because they tend to give their friends a wide berth as a result of their mistrust of others. Their lack of ability to access social capital in the district, juxtaposed with their own social assets in short supply, makes the new immigrants and low income family to stand out in understanding the urban problems in SSP.

Table 3.20 Networks, Trust and Income Groups

Monthly Household Income	Social Networks in SSP (Q36)	Trust in Friends Resided in SSP (Q38)
1. Below HKD\$6,000	2.81	2.87
2. HKD6,000-14,999	2.92	2.86
3. HKD\$15,000-39,999	2.79	2.78
4. HKD\$40,000 or Above	2.73	3.00
Total	2.83	2.85

Response alternatives for Q36 are (1) no, (2) very few, (3) few, (4) quite many, (5) many. For Q38 response alternatives are (1) very distrust, (2) distrust, (3) trust, (4) very trust.

$P < 0.05$

The third group of residents to stand out in our analysis of social problems along the framework of social capital concerns the people living in 'tong lau' (shophouses). This is especially so for a number of reasons. First of all, throughout the district of SSP, 'tong lau' is the type of accommodation highly concentrated with new immigrants, who often find it difficult to settle into the new environment of Hong Kong straightaway. Table 3.21 shows that 23.9 percent of residents living in 'tong lau' belong to the category of new immigrants, while there are merely 10.2 percent and 6.3 percent of sample living in public housing estates and private housing estates who reported that they have lived in Hong Kong for less than a 7 full-year time ($p < 0.05$). Second, the 'tong lau' residents are conspicuous by their low educational level. According to the results of our questionnaire survey, 31.9 percent of sample who live in 'tong lau' have attained only the primary school level to the most (see Table 3.22). Meanwhile, a mere 12.6 percent of them are university graduates. By contrast, 38.2 percent of respondents who are private housing residents have completed university education ($p < 0.05$).

Table 3.21 Housing Type and New Immigrants

		Public Housing	Private Housing	'Tong lau'	Total
1. Born in Hong Kong	Count	225	193	40	458
housing type	% within a	35.2%	60.5%	29.9%	41.9%
2. Immigrants (Stayed in H.K. for at least 7 years)	Count	350	106	62	518
housing type	% within a	54.7%	33.2%	46.3%	47.4%
3. Immigrants (Stayed in H.K. for less than a full 7-year)	Count	65	20	32	117
housing type	% within a	10.2%	6.3%	23.9%	10.7%
Total	Count	640	319	134	1093
housing type	% within a	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

P < 0.05

Table 3.22 Housing Type and Educational Attainment

		Public Housing	Private Housing	'Tong lau'	Total
1. Primary School or Below	Count	257	56	43	356
housing type	% within a	39.4%	17.4%	31.9%	32.1%
2. Secondary School	Count	326	143	75	544
housing type	% within a	50.0%	44.4%	55.6%	49.1%
3. Tertiary Education or Above	Count	69	123	17	209
housing type	% within a	10.6%	38.2%	12.6%	18.8%
Total	Count	652	322	135	1109
housing type	% within a	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

P < 0.05

Third, as shown in Table 3.23, the ‘tong lau’ in SSP is the type of accommodation concentrated with the unemployed. In particular, more than a half (54.8 percent) of sample living in ‘tong lau’ are excluded from the labour market, while the unemployment rate in private housing amounts to a mere 35.9 percent ($p < 0.05$). Certainly, it is important to highlight that ‘tong lau’ does not register the highest proportion of residents who are outside the jobs market. In comparison, the proportion of residents who are outside the labour market is slightly higher in public housing than in ‘tong lau’. However, equally important is the fact that the age structure in ‘tong lau’ and public housing is eminently different. Table 3.24 demonstrates that 34.6 percent of sample in public housing have reached the retirement age (60 years old or above), while in ‘tong lau’ merely 23.7 percent of respondents have been so ($p < 0.05$). This set of data allows us to put the jobs status of various housing classes in the context of age structure. In view of the fact that the residents of ‘tong lau’ are tilted towards the younger end of age groups, compared with those in public housing, the relatively high proportion of sample living in ‘tong lau’ outside the jobs market justifies particular attention. Fourth, the residents of ‘tong lau’ deserve particular attention because they have to put up with an abysmal level of household income. Table 3.25 shows that in ‘tong lau’ 30.9 percent of sample have the monthly household income less than HKD\$6000, compared with a mere 9.6 percent of private housing residents have to encounter the same kind of difficulty. Again, the residents of ‘tong lau’ do not face the worst situation. The worst scenario falls onto the category of public housing residents, with

32.1 percent of their family earn less than HKD\$6000 a month ($p < 0.05$). Yet our quantitative and qualitative evidence indicates that many ‘tong lau’ residents are new immigrants. They are not obliged to seek social security. In such regard, coupled with their low education level, they are susceptible to the ebbs and flow in the labour market.

Table 3.23 Housing Type and Unemployment

		Public Housing	Private Housing	‘Tong lau’	Total
1. Unemployed	Count	364	116	74	554
housing type	% within a	55.6%	35.9%	54.8%	49.8%
2. Employed	Count	291	207	61	559
housing type	% within a	44.4%	64.1%	45.2%	50.2%
Total	Count	655	323	135	1113
housing type	% within a	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$P < 0.05$

Table 3.24 Housing Type and Age Groups

		Public Housing	Private Housing	‘Tong lau’	Total
1. 18-29 years old	Count	92	40	24	156
housing type	% within a	14.1%	12.5%	17.8%	14.1%
2. 30-59 years old	Count	336	214	79	629
housing type	% within a	51.4%	66.7%	58.5%	56.7%
3. 60 years old or Above	Count	226	67	32	325
housing type	% within a	34.6%	20.9%	23.7%	29.3%
Total	Count	654	321	135	1110
housing type	% within a	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

$P < 0.05$

Table 3.25 Housing Type and Household Income Level

		Public Housing	Private Housing	'Tong lau'	Total
1. Below HKD\$6,000 housing type	Count	171	20	29	220
	% within a	32.1%	9.6%	30.9%	26.3%
2. HKD\$6,000-\$14,999 housing type	Count	205	47	45	297
	% within a	38.5%	22.5%	47.9%	35.5%
3. HKD\$15,000-\$39,999 housing type	Count	141	75	18	234
	% within a	26.5%	35.9%	19.1%	28.0%
4. HKD\$40,000 or Above housing type	Count	16	67	2	85
	% within a	3.0%	32.1	2.1%	10.2%
Total housing type	Count	533	209	94	836
	% within a	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

P < 0.05

The combination of a variety of socio-economic problems leads to the fact that access to social capital is of great importance to the residents of 'tong lau'. Paradoxically, the social capital available to them does not come in abundance. For instance, Table 3.26 presents a general picture of social networks revolving around the residents of 'tong lau'. Generally speaking, the social networks that they have developed and maintained are rather narrow in scope, although the same pattern also applies to the residents of public housing and private housing estates. To put in statistical terms, the average score that the 'tong lau' residents gave to represent their perception concerning their extent of social networks amounts to 2.91 (p<0.05). Such score means that their number of friends ranges between 'very few' (a score of 2) and 'few (a score of 3).

Perhaps more importantly, for the ‘tong lau’ residents, the bridging type of social capital is in particular short supply. The third row of Table 3.26 shows the number of friends from whom the residents of ‘tong lau’ can seek help when they get into economic problems. It is obvious that for the ‘tong lau’ residents, the number of friends who are able to tide them over in times of economic difficulties is tilted towards ‘very few’, with the mean score amounting to 2.11. The mean score of 2.11 is the lowest in comparison with the mean score concerning the public housing residents (2.20) and that concerning the private housing residents (2.42). The juxtaposition of a catalogue of socio-economic weaknesses and the lack of social capital, especially in terms of bridging capital available to them, means that the ‘tong lau’ residents may find it extremely difficult to extricate themselves from any scrapes in which the changes in society and economy have landed them. Hence, they are deemed the most susceptible group of people in the district of SSP.

Table 3.26 Housing Type and Social Capital

		N	Mean
Do you have many friends resided in Hong Kong? (Q36)	1. Public Housing	565	2.90
	2. Private Housing	305	2.68
	3. ‘Tong Lau’	122	2.91
	Total	992	2.83
If you encounter financial problems, are there many friends ready to help you? (Q44)	1. Public Housing	503	2.20
	2. Private Housing	275	2.42
	3. ‘Tong Lau’	109	2.11
	Total	887	2.26

Response alternatives for two questions are (1) no, (2) very few, (3) few, (4) quite many, (5) many.

In short, the distinctions we have examined for residents of SSP with regard to their perceived quality of life show certain systematic and noteworthy causal relationship between social capital, social cohesion and quality of life. On this basis, the above section sets out to examine the general picture of social capital in the district. Only with such information will it be possible to understand the urban life in SSP. Thus far we have been struck by the fact that SSP is a district characterised by a paucity of social capital. The scope of social networks available to the local residents remains narrow. The depth of social networks, understood in terms of trust, closeness and help, tends to be shallow. Most important of all, in the district stricken with socio-economic problems, the local residents tend not to be able to access the bridging type of social capital which might take shape along with the newly emerging middle class on the outskirts of SSP. The lack of bridging networks means that the grassroots' residents may find it difficult to tackle workaday difficulties and then achieve upward social mobility, because they cannot tap into the social assets not in their own possession. To put the socio-economic hardships in the context of social capital analysis, it is found that in SSP the 'tong lau' residents are of particular concern. Faced with the disadvantages in socio-economic backgrounds, they are in desperate need of horizontal help from the better-off. Alas, the 'tong lau' residents are exactly the group of people who have the worst access to bridging networks. Of course, the traditional ethos putting a great deal of emphasis on family values seems to have stayed strong among the

local residents, in light of the fact that the family ties are often ranked higher than social contact with friends and neighbours in the questionnaire survey. It is important to point out, however, that the family ties cannot supersede the social ties, let alone the bridging type of social networks. This reason is easily comprehensible. In most cases, as corroborated by our qualitative evidence, different members in a particular family tend to be endowed with a similar level of social assets. In such regard, social ties with people beyond families and from various backgrounds are important for any individual to seek sufficient help.

3.4 Civic associations and social capital

Thus far this chapter has examined the urban life in SSP within the framework of social capital. It has demonstrated that people's satisfaction with life is a function of social networks and social trust, and that against general expectations SSP is a district marked by the paucity of social capital, especially in the form of bridging networks. This remarkable contrast leads to an important theme of puzzle: For what reasons does the social capital in SSP do not live up to the general expectations? Why does the social capital in the district remain so weak? These questions warrant detailed investigation. Only then will it be possible to provide judicious suggestions so that the social capital and in turn the quality of life in SSP can be enhanced. In this final empirical section, therefore, we shall examine the (under)development of social capital in the district, drawing primarily on the qualitative evidence derived from some forty focus group and elite interviews. Arguably the crux of the

problem seems to lie in the internal and external structure of civic associations that have been operating in the district. The disarticulation between civic associations and their members in the broadest sense, and that between different forms of civic associations themselves, are likely to militate against the development of bonding and bridging networks, as well as social trust and mutual help involved. To venture further, it will argue that the disarticulation does not exist in a vacuum. It is related to resource allocation on the part of government and service orientation on the part of civic associations.

3.4.1 Focus on civic associations

It is better to state right at the start why it is deemed appropriate to examine the development of social capital by focusing on the operation of civic associations in SSP. In political and sociological research, a widespread consensus has rapidly grown that there is a close association between social capital and voluntary associations. Voluntary organisations are widely regarded as important facilitators and mediators of social participation and as making a significant contribution to the well-beings of people (Maloney, van Deth and RoBteutscher, 2008). Indeed, in much of his work, Putnam (1993, 2000) puts a great deal of emphasis on the number and density of civic associations in a certain district as a good predictor of the presence or absence of social capital. Civic associations tend to have such a magical effect on social capital because of a connected set of phenomenon. First of all, civic associations are likely to develop, expand and sustain social networks between people who may not have been familiar with each other. These social networks provide a platform for

exchange and face-to-face interaction. In the context of exchange and interaction, free flow of information is facilitated, which provides the framework for building norms and sanctions that make collective action sustainable in the long term (Stoker, Smith, Maloney and Young, 2004).

To put simply, in line with the existing literature, central to the development of social capital are two pivotal elements, namely face-to-face interaction and free flow of information. Here, it is important to point out two caveats when it comes to understanding the impact of civic associations. The first caveat rests with the fact that face-to-face interaction and exchange of information do not necessarily have to exist in an institutional platform offered by voluntary organisations. In fact, from the bottom-up perspective, informal platforms such as neighbourhood, 'kai fong' and the likes may also be conducive to exchange and interaction, thereby encouraging the development of social trust and mutual help (Scott, 2003). At first glance, this non-institutional approach is applicable to the context of SSP. It is because in the eyes of the general public, which is echoed in our elite interviews, neighbours and 'kai fong' have traditionally lived in concord and harmony. As such, in the relationships may grow the virtues of trust and reciprocity. However, as usual, appearance is often deceiving. It is important to note that the close neighbourhood has to emerge at a right time and in a right place.

In our focus group interviews, many residents shared with us their ideas about the driving force behind close neighbourhood (FG 6, 13, 15). In their understanding, in the good old days the close neighbourhood was able to take

shape because the residents almost simultaneously moved into a new building, which implicates that they may have known each other well before. Even if this was not the case, the fact that they almost simultaneously moved into a new building means that all of them had to face a new environment. This shared experience acted as centripetal forces which served to integrate a range of local residents. Alas, the good old days were long gone. Alongside the trend of social mobility in the territory, a large number of residents have moved in and out, not only in terms of a particular building, but also in terms of the whole district. The reshuffling of residency, coupled with the inflow of new immigrants and new middle class, means that the pre-existing neighbourhood has undoubtedly been waning. Furthermore, given the conventional distrust of new immigrants and the intermittent pattern of residency reshuffle, it is no longer practical to expect that the new residents would spontaneously get on well with each other and with the pre-existing residents. All of this demonstrates that external intervention in the form of voluntary organisations is required for the local residents to come together, which provides a platform for trust and reciprocity to develop and sustain. Hence, the focus on civic associations in order to understand the pattern of social capital in SSP is fully justified.

3.4.2 Focus on the structure of voluntary organisations

In studying the impact of civic associations, the second caveat lies in the general neglect of their forms and structure. Indeed, a range of existing studies assume that it is possible to read off the implications for social capital and the concomitant of urban life from knowledge about the number and density of

civic associations in an area. Influenced by this hypothesis, many public bodies have poured in resources for the development of civic associations, in the hope of enhancing the quality of governance and urban life (Maloney, Smith and Stoker, 2000). However, our empirical study does not bear out the rather simple hypothesis as mentioned above. This is not to deny the causal relationship between civic associations and social capital. However, our empirical evidence indicates that the association seems to be subtler. Central to the building of social capital is not merely the number and density of voluntary organisations. Instead, it may be the forms and structure of voluntary associations that really matters.

In this research, the impact of associational life is examined along four dimensions. First of all, we intend to examine if there is any causal relationship between the emergence of social networks and the emergence of civic associations. More specifically, we dismember the emergence of civic associations into two major aspects, notably their membership and types (e.g. community organisations, cultural and recreational organisations, and advocacy organisations). The purpose is to investigate if being a member of a certain type of social organisation would affect the scope of social networks available (see Table 3.27). Second, this research project investigates if civic associations

Table 3.27 Civic Associations and Social Networks

			No Friend	Few Friends	Many Friends	Sig.
Membership of group Civic Associations (Q53)	1. Yes	Count % within a	22 8.1%	51 10.1%	37 11.7%	0.348
	2. No	Count % within a group	249 91.9%	453 89.9%	278 88.3%	
	Total	Count % within a group	271 100.0%	504 100.0%	315 100.0%	
Type of Associations (Q53A)	1. Unions, Business & Professional Associations	Count % within a group	9 42.9%	20 40.0%	11 29.7%	0.738
	2. Social Services & Charity Groups	Count % within a group	5 23.8%	8 16.0%	8 21.6%	
	3. Religion	Count % within a group	3 14.3%	8 16.0%	7 18.9%	
	4. Development, Housing, Law, Advocacy & Politics	Count % within a group	4 19.0%	12 24.0%	7 18.9%	
	5. Recreation Culture, Research & Education	Count % within a group	0 0.0%	2 4.0%	4 10.8%	
	Total	Count % within a group	21 100.0%	50 100.0%	37 100.0%	

Table 3.28 Civic Associations and Bridging Networks

			No Friend to Offer Financial Support	Few Friends to Offer Financial Support	Many Friends to Offer Financial Support	Sig.
Membership of a group Civic Associations (Q53)	1. Yes	Count % within	35 9.9%	33 9.7%	22 11.7%	0.749
	2. No	Count % within a group	317 90.1%	307 90.3%	166 88.3%	
		Count % within a group	352 100.0%	340 100.0%	188 100.0%	
Total group		Count % within a group				
Type of Associations (Q53A)	1. Unions, Business & Professional Associations	Count % within a group	13 37.1%	15 45.5%	8 38.1%	0.788
	2. Social Services & Charity Groups	Count % within a group	8 22.9%	7 21.2%	2 9.5%	
		Count % within a group	6 17.1%	6 18.2%	3 14.3%	
	3. Religion	Count % within a group	6 17.1%	4 12.1%	6 28.6%	
	4. Development, Housing, Law, Advocacy & Politics	Count % within a group	2 5.7%	1 3.0%	2 9.5%	
		Count % within a group	35 100.0%	33 100.0%	21 100.0%	
Total group		Count % within a group				

Table 3.29 Civic Associations and the Cultivation of Reciprocity

		Not Having Offered Financial Help to Friends in the Previous Year	Having Offered Financial Help to Friends in the Previous Year	Total	Sig.
Membership of Civic Associations (Q53)	1. Yes	Count % within a group	83 10.0%	17 10.1%	0.527
	2. No	Count % within a group	747 90.0%	151 89.9%	
	Total	Count % within a group	830 100.0%	168 100.0%	
Type of Associations (Q53A)	1. Unions, Business & Professional Associations	Count % within a group	32 38.6%	6 37.5%	0.550
	2. Social Services & Charity Groups	Count % within a group	17 20.5%	1 6.3%	
	3. Religion	Count % within a group	14 16.9%	3 18.8%	
	4. Development, Housing, Law, Advocacy & Politics	Count % within a group	16 19.3%	4 25.0%	
	5. Recreation Culture, Research & Education	Count % within a group	4 4.8%	2 12.5%	
	Total	Count % within a group	83 100.0%	16 100.0%	

Table 3.30 Civic Associations and Trust of Friends Resided in SSP

			Very Distrust	Distrust	Trust	Very Trust
Membership of group Civic Associations (Q53)	1. Yes	Count % within a	0 0.0%	8 8.2%	63 10.7%	2 8.0%
	2. No	Count % within a group	11 100.0%	90 91.8%	524 89.3%	23 92.0%
Total group		Count % within a	11 100.0%	98 100.0%	587 100.0%	25 100.0%
group Type of Associations (Q53A)	1. Unions, Business & Professional Associations	Count % within a	0 0.0%	3 37.5%	17 27.4%	1 50.0%
	2. Social Services & Charity Groups	Count % within a	0 0.0%	1 12.5%	13 21.0%	0 0.0%
group	3. Religion	Count % within a	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	15 24.2%	0 0.0%
	4. Development, Housing, Law, Advocacy & Politics	Count % within a	0 0.0%	2 25.0%	3 4.8%	0 0.0%
group	5. Recreation Culture, Research & Education	Count % within a group	0 100.0%	8 100.0%	62 100.0%	2 100.0%
	Total group	Count % within a				

P < 0.05 for all items

(membership and types) affect the building of bridging networks, in addition to the bonding networks abovementioned (see Table 3.28). Third, any causal linkage between associational life and the fostered norm of mutual help is examined (see Table 3.29). Fourth, the impact of voluntary organisations on the emergence of social trust is studied (see Table 3.30). Quite surprisingly, the evidence of our quantitative analysis shows that none of the association as mentioned above turns out to be statistically significant. Going through the figures contained in the tables also indicates the absence of any obvious pattern between various aspects of associational life on the one hand and the development of social networks, mutual help and trust on the other.

There are two possible ways to elucidate these findings. The first possibility may be that the association between civic associations and social capital is simply a theoretical construct. It does not stand in front of empirical analysis. However, this possible explanation may be over-stretched, in view of the fact that a wide range of empirical studies have already been conducted to substantiate the impact of voluntary organisations. This leads to the second, and more reasonable, elucidation of our statistical findings. It may be that civic associations have different forms, in terms of their internal and external structure, and that different forms of civic associations have different effects on social capital. In other words, certain forms of civic associations may be particularly conducive to the cultivation of networks, trust and reciprocity, whereas others have little, if any, impact on social capital. Thus far, the existing literature has focused on the type of voluntary organisations, such as

professional organisations, cultural and recreational organisations, and advocacy groups (Maloney, van Deth and RoBteutscher, 2008). In both their research, and our empirical analysis, there is no sign of any important linkage between the type of civic associations and the emergence of social capital. Hence, in this research project, we concentrate our analysis on the structure of civic associations in order to understand the (under)development of social networks and mutual help.

3.4.3 Paternalistic structure and tenuous networks

In the district of SSP, there is a high concentration of civic associations which primarily concern themselves with service provision. According to our rudimentary calculation, there are a total of 63 voluntary associations operating in the district, among which some 79 percent of social groups have a major focus on social services. These 79 percent of voluntary organisations are either social service groups or community organisations which also have their major part of work falling onto the category of service provision, on top of electioneering.² Of course, it would be churlish to argue that civic associations concentrated on social services are bound to have nothing to do with the building of social capital. In fact, it is noticeable in our qualitative data that the provision of social services is a tantalising starting point for civic associations to access the local residents who are not familiar with the organisations (FG 8,

² The list of civic associations that have operation in SSP was compiled with information contained in the local district service profile of the Social Welfare Department, the database of the Hong Kong Council of Social Services, and the profile of the Societies Office of the Hong Kong Police Force, coupled with information provided by our research team members.

13, 14,15). The crux of the issue, however, seems to lie in the ability and willingness of social service organisations and community organisations to transform their relationship with local residents founded on service provision into close and persistent networks premised on trust and reciprocity among the residents themselves. Only with such ability and willingness will the spasmodic and even one-off social contact turn into ongoing and sustainable social contact characterised by mutual help in the form of material and spiritual capital. This sublimation is crucial for the development of social capital and then for the enhancement of urban life. However, it may yet have commonly occurred in the district of SSP.

The social service organisations and community organisations tend not to have the ability and willingness to translate the patchy social contact based on service delivery into the persistent social contact based on trust and mutual help among the local residents themselves. A range of factors can be advanced to understand this tendency. Yet the main explanation may lie in the fact that many civic associations in the district are apt to take a paternalistic approach to dealing with their relationship with the local residents. Here, the paternalistic approach denotes an attitude reminiscent of the hierarchical structure within a bureaucratic organisation. In other words, the management of civic associations tend to consider their relationship with the local residents as primarily one-way, benevolent and dictatorial. They envisage a picture in which they have the responsibility and expertise to take into account the best interests of local residents. Communication is generally downward, although they are prudent

enough to encourage feedback from their 'clients' so as to maintain the relationship (I3, 4, 8, 9, 14, 19, 20). In line with the hierarchical structure in bureaucratic organisations, the paternalistic approach adopted by the NGO leaders has the advantage of establishing a clear chain of command and a clear locus of authority, to which the service recipients can turn when they bump into troubles. That said, the downside of such an approach is that the service recipients can easily become dependent on the NGO leaders. As a consequence, the service recipients tend not to have developed the horizontal networks with other residents which may help them tackle the upcoming problems beyond the end of the project offered by the civic associations.

For instance, one of the informants in our focus group interviews, who was unemployed the moment when the interview was conducted, put it succinctly that he joined the voluntary association under study simply because he could take part in its job retraining programme. He made every effort to attend the courses and workshops, just like other service recipients did. However, throughout the course of the job retraining programme, he did not make any friends with his fellow course-mates. After the programme, almost everything was back to square one, especially in terms of social contact. He might be better equipped to seeking a job in the labour market. However, the service programme did not propel him to broaden his social networks. His connection with the civic association did not survive beyond the end of the programme. The above case may be exceptional. There can be somewhat exaggeration. Another case may be more illustrative in understanding the

dynamics of paternalistic structure and its impact on social capital. In this case, the situation facing the informant is akin to the situation of the last case, in that both of them were unemployed and taking part in the job retraining programme offered by voluntary organisations. The difference lies in the fact that in this case the informant managed to maintain a relationship with the voluntary association after the programme came to an end. After the programme, he still regularly went to the civic association when he thought he had no better thing to do, for reading newspapers and having a chat with the staff over there. In this sense, his social network was broadened as a result of the service programme, but only to the extent that his social contact was merely limited to the NGO staff (FG13).

The paternalistic attitude towards service delivery encourages point-to-point interaction and exchange between the local residents and the organisers, instead of the horizontal interaction among the local residents across the board. As a consequence, in the context of paternalistic structure, it is rather difficult for horizontal networks to take shape. This is not to say that the vertical connection between NGO leaders and local residents is insignificant at all. To a degree, the vertical connection can bring about material and spiritual help. Nevertheless, it is implausible to overlook the constraints of vertical connection. Generally speaking, the manpower resources of voluntary organisations are in short supply. In normal circumstances, each staff has to take care of hundreds of people, including service recipients on a regular basis and local residents irregularly popping up. With hundreds of people in need of help, it is hard to

envisage that the vertical connection can generate considerable material and non-material support. In short, vertical connections are certainly desirable. Yet they are no substitute to horizontal networks among the local residents in the process of fostering social capital. In such regard, the paternalistic structure that is epitomised in a wide range of civic associations within the district of SSP has to be changed. This is particularly so in view of the low participation rate of civic associations. In our questionnaire survey, there are merely 10 percent of respondents who said that they had been members of at least one civic association (see Table 3.31). In SSP, as elsewhere, it is an arduous task for voluntary associations to access the local residents. It is therefore a great loss if the voluntary associations cannot turn the transient networks into the persistently vertical and ,especially, horizontal connections.

Table 3.31 Are you a member of any organisation or group? (Q53)

	N	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1. No	990	88.9	89.9	89.9
2. Yes	111	10.0	10.1	100.0
Total	1101	98.8	100.0	
3. Refuse to Answer	13	1.2		
Total	1114	100.0		

3.4.4 Structural fragmentation and bridging capital

In analysing the structure of civic associations operating in SSP, another salient feature stands out. It seems that, in terms of exchanging information, manpower and organisational resources, the horizontal connection between civic associations is rather weak. Despite the fact that in our elite interviews

quite a few NGO leaders repeatedly stressed the existence of their close linkage with a wide range of voluntary organisations, their replies to our question regarding the external structure of their organisations smack of inconsistency. On the one hand, they stressed the importance of fostering the horizontal linkage with other groups, which may help them develop a holistic approach to socio-economic problems besieging the residents of SSP. On the other hand, however, they equally put a great deal of emphasis on division of labour cutting across different civic associations (I1, 2, 3, 9, 14). It is easy to see why the political groups have this kind of structural tendency. Yet clear boundaries of concern and operation are not confined to the political groups. Even the people in charge of social service organisations, community organisations and advocacy groups are conscious of which clearly-defined group of residents on whom they have to concentrate their resources (I10: lines 38-44; I14: lines 205-222). For example, in our elite interviews, there are a number of organisations devoted to the concerns and demands made by the public housing residents in general and the CSSA (Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme) recipients who live in public housing in particular. As a natural extension, the CSSA recipients who live in 'tong lau' instead of public housing also frequently knock on their door for seeking help. For ordinary people, it is by no means easy to distinguish their spheres of operation. However, it is not the case for these NGO leaders. They remain set on catering to the needs of public housing residents. In their mindset, the combination of CSSA recipients and 'tong lau' residents is beyond their service domain, and this combination has to

be the target group for civic associations like Society for Community Organisation (SOCO). In this context, they are likely to be suggested to contact the SOCO and the likes instead. For the part of SOCO, however, it is highlighted in our elite interview that the provision of services for ethnic minorities is not its major concern, although many ethnic minorities also live in 'tong lau' and encounter a range of problems akin to those facing 'tong lau' residents of Chinese ethnicity (I14: lines 205-209). In short, structural fragmentation between civic associations is a common phenomenon in the district of SSP.

To a certain extent, the structural disarticulation between civic associations may look subtler than what have been discussed. To be fair, a number of NGO leaders are aware of the need for building some form of horizontal connection with other voluntary associations. Only then will they be able to take a comprehensive approach to dealing with the problems facing the local residents, and be in a better position to provide all-round services. Having said that, it is important to highlight a number of noticeable deficiencies enshrined in their horizontal connection. First of all, the cooperation between civic associations tends to be rather ad hoc, which arises as a result a particular event and function. They do not show a strong yen to regularise, formalise and even strengthen the ad hoc cooperation. As a consequence, the horizontal connection often comes and goes in a short span of time (FG6). Second, it is important to examine the nature of ad hoc linkage between civic associations. On many occasions, the so-called horizontal connection remains at the low

plane of referring cases back and forth (FG3, 14). It is hard to envisage that such a low plane of connection would make a great deal of difference in the exchange of manpower and organisational resources. It is equally inconceivable that through this low plane of connection the members of different organisations would have a chance to share experience. Third, some civic associations have made the move to break cover so that there is a regular connection with other groups in the form of sharing information and resources. However, their connection is often restricted to the social groups with values, missions and target populations overlapped with their own (FG8). In this sense, these voluntary organisations are still living in their own bubble, cut off from the broader concerns and demands of the whole district. Fourth, and perhaps most importantly, any little sign of organisational connection is confined to the geographical area of central SSP and nearby public housing estates. If there are still some forms of organisational cooperation in the geographical area mentioned above, the organisational universe manifests almost complete structural fragmentation when it comes to the private housing estates (so-called 'four dragons') on the outskirts of SSP. In our interviews, nearly all NGO leaders have stressed the difficulties in engaging these newly emerging middle class and the social groups concerned. A theme straddling all the above points resides in the fact that in SSP the organisational connection between civic associations, if any, tends to be rather limited, tenuous and weak.

Structural fragmentation undoubtedly hampers the development of bridging networks, which is so important in affecting people's quality of life as

discussed above. According to the results of our survey, most of the respondents tend to hang out with their family members rather than friends and colleagues during leisure times (see Table 3.7). With their life primarily revolving around the family circle, it is hard to consider that the social networks are ready to develop without any external intervention. It is even harder to envisage a picture in which the bridging type of networks can easily emerge without the presence of external drive, given people's tendency towards eschewing 'strangers', especially 'strangers' with different socio-economic backgrounds to their own. In our focus group interviews, an intriguing feature stands out. Most of the informants, even those who live in Hoi Lai Estate, which is a public housing estate simply opposite the 'Four Dragons', pointed out that they rarely cross the road, venturing into the domain of newly emerging middle class. In their eyes, there seems to be a vast chasm between them and the residents of 'Four Dragons', given their different lifestyles and concerns (FG7). Their feeling is by and large reciprocated by the residents of 'Four Dragons'. Most of the respondents who live in 'Four Dragons' stated that they feel like on different wavelengths with the people living in subsidised housing and 'tong lau', to the extent that they tend not to see themselves as living in the district of SSP. The detail of housing class will be further discussed in Chapter 5. The gist of the discussion above is that, given the fissure between people with different socio-economic backgrounds, it stretches credulity to have hopes pinned on the spontaneous development of bridging networks. In whatever circumstances, external intervention is

necessary. One of which is the overlapping connection between different types and forms of civic associations. The overlapping connection provides a channel through which the supporters and clients affiliated to different groups can get to know each other in a comfortable setting. People may not trust ‘strangers’. Yet they have a great deal of trust (54.6 percent) on civic associations (see Table 3.32). Therefore, it is reasonable to consider that the overlapping connection between various groups can set up a platform on which the bridging networks can be fostered. Alas, the structural fragmentation dims our hopes.

Table 3.32 Do you trust voluntary organisations? (Q39F)

	N	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1. Very Distrust	15	1.3	1.4	1.4
2. Distrust	122	11.0	11.0	12.4
3. Trust	554	49.7	50.0	62.4
4. Very Trust	55	4.9	5.0	67.4
5. Don't Know/No	361	32.4	32.6	100.0
Comments	1107	99.4	100.0	
Total	7	0.6		
6. Refuse to Answer				
Total	1114	100.0		

3.4.5 Resource allocation and organisational fragmentation

Organisational fragmentation scuppers any hopes that through associational life bridging capital can be created. In normal circumstances, avoiding such a recurrence depends on understanding how the current predicament came about. A number of reasons can be advanced to explain the organisational disarticulation. One of the reasons seems to lie in the values and beliefs inherent in civic associations. Different civic associations tend to have

different values and belief as regards their operation and the problems facing the district, which in turn affects their decisions on the social groups with which they tend to have connection and cooperation. For example, there may be a number of advocacy organisations which consciously distance themselves from the social service groups supported by government funding because in their view any cooperation would by itself legitimise and reinforce a public policy that seems inherently woeful to them (I10th: lines 115-135). Such tendency makes it difficult for civic associations and, in turn, for their members and clients to build up a wide range of cross-cutting networks. It is also important to point out that, according to Sabatier and Weible (2007), an alliance founded on a common ideology is extremely stable, compared with any cooperation based on common interests. In other words, organisational fragmentation across the line of values and beliefs are rather difficult to break down.

Perhaps less resistant to change is the method of resource allocation that affects the ability and willingness on the part of civic associations to build horizontal connection with different forms and types of social groups. The lack of financial and manpower resources is one of the reasons why civic associations do not put in a great deal of effort bridging the boundaries between different groups and different people. In our elite interviews, a number of NGO leaders are cognizant of the need for developing cross-cutting connection. Only then will their members and clients have the chance to get to know people with various socio-economic backgrounds. However, as they pointed out, to develop

and maintain organisational connection severely taxes their already hard-pressed financial and personnel resources. To liaise with other groups in organising and coordinating a common cause consumes an awful lot of time. After all, the result tends to be uncertain. An NGO leader expounds on the predicament facing voluntary organisations (I14: line 417-422):

If everything had gone swimmingly, or even quite well, it is unlikely that people would question the reasons for our organisation being engaged with other social groups in the district. It is exactly because our cooperation with other groups had failed to deliver, with the outcome hanging in the balance after a dozen of meetings, people started to wonder why we had to waste so much time and so many resources on coordination, and why we did not take it on our own.

The combination of considerable costs and uncertain results dents their resolve to pull off horizontal connection with various civic associations. Of course, it is not our intention to deny the importance of cost-efficiency. The issue of accountability facing civic associations is complex, in that they have to accommodate the needs of a range of stakeholders such as government, private donors, supporters, volunteers, service recipients and community residents. As such, cost-efficiency is pre-ordained to be an important element central to the working of civic associations. The emphasis on cost-efficiency is by no means diabolical. Neither is the emphasis on cost-efficiency a panacea for their running. To stretch a single value too far will inevitably thwart the willingness and ability of civic associations to develop organisational coordination, which militates against any possibility of developing bridging capital among the

residents of SSP. A basket of values has to be considered. Besides cost-efficiency, it is desirable for the cultivation of bridging capital to be one of which.

The emphasis on cost-efficiency is perhaps driven by the method of resource allocation taken by government, especially in analysing the external structure of government-sponsored NGOs. The process of resource allocation by government is likely to vitiate the intention and effort of civic associations to bridge the organisational fissures. It is because, for government, resources are normally put aside for particular target populations, such as the elderly, youth, women, infants and new immigrants. Even for the category of new immigrants, the government officials tend to break the category further down into new immigrants of Chinese ethnicity and those of ethnic minorities. To fall in line with government's way of resource allocation, the social service organisations and community groups also draw a mechanistic boundary singling out their target populations. To accommodate the government's principle of resource allocation, the civic associations have little space to manoeuvre (I13: lines 58-72). Closely related to the above situation is the establishment of market framework in the third sector. In the market framework resources are allocated through competitive processes. These competitive processes exist not only at the individual level, but also at the organisational level, where civic associations have to compete for contracts. The contracting regime, exemplified by the introduction of lump-sum payment and service agreement, and the competitive tendering process, involves a

substantial reorientation of the way voluntary organisations relate to each other and the participants in their programmes. In understanding the reoriented relationship between civic associations, it is important to note that competition undercuts collaboration, solidarity and mutuality. In the context of competition for resources, there is no surprise that civic associations have little incentive to cooperate (I22: lines 361-368). Structural fragmentation occurs as a result, thereby hindering the development of bridging capital among local residents.

3.5. Conclusion

One of the explanatory mechanisms for understanding quality of life has traditionally been a set of socio-economic factors. Using the traditional approach, there is no question that SSP should have been a district characterised by low levels of life satisfaction. The political-sociological rhetoric of social capital has, however, led to a new understanding of urban life. Quality of life can be a matter of perception, and such perception is attributed to the development of social networks, social trust, social cohesion and mutual help. In fact, the evidence of our quantitative and qualitative analysis demonstrates that in SSP people's perception of urban life is a function of social capital. The more social capital they have, the more satisfaction they can derive from their daily life. Given its importance in affecting quality of life, it is necessary to examine the (under)development of social capital. Social capital does not exist in a vacuum. It stretches credulity to have hopes pinned on the spontaneous emergence of networks, trust and reciprocity. Instead, social capital develops along with the emergence of civic associations. However, the

civic associations that have operation in SSP epitomise a number of pitfalls, which are likely to vitiate their role in building social capital. The first pitfall resides in their paternalistic attitude towards service delivery. As a result, the networks between local residents in general and service recipients in particular remain to be tenuous. The social contact is unlikely to survive the end of a particular project. Besides, the district of SSP is marked by the lack of horizontal connection between voluntary organisations. The organisational fragmentation tends to dim any hope that the bridging type of networks and reciprocity can emerge. With the absence of bridging capital, the local residents have to live in the world of their own, being cut off from people with different backgrounds and experiences. To live in the world of their own means that they are unable to broaden their horizon, and that they cannot tap into the social assets inherent in the whole district. For the pitfalls in their internal and external structure, the civic associations fail to foster a rich pool of social capital in the district. The scope and depth of social networks, bonding and bridging alike, seem to be rather weak. Given the causal relationship between social capital and quality of life, the paucity of social capital is certainly a matter of concern.

IV. Social and Political Participation

4.1 Introduction

Overall speaking, the social and political participation in the district of Sham Shui Po is not high. Social and political participation refers to the level of participation in social affairs and political activities. They include collective action to influence the decisions of the government or direct action to improve their own livelihood and issues of their concern. In this project, we have adopted a broad interpretation of the meaning in order to capture a comprehensive view of participation of the resident in their social and political lives. Therefore, we have included the participation in institutional (e.g., elections) and non-institutional politics (e.g., protest), participation through non-traditional means (e.g., e-government), and community affairs (e.g., membership in voluntary groups and organizations).

While the facts about situation of the social and political participation are clear, the interpretation of its policy meaning should call for some more caution. Similar to the analogy of a glass of water with half of the water filled, the policy implication of the level of participation can be two-sided. From a positive perspective, it could be a glass of half-full water, meaning that in general the public is satisfied with the overall situation in the community and any of their dissatisfaction is not transformed into major demands and challenges to the government. This could relief the government from major pressures for public participation. However, from a negative perspective, it

could also be taken as a glass of half-empty water, suggesting that there is a potential base of social mobilization and political penetration, providing a fertile ground with a lot of room for political parties and organizations to breed their support. In other words, the political tranquillity may be transformed quickly if the satisfaction of the residents cannot be maintained at a reasonable level.

This chapter will be divided into two major sections. In the first section, it will review the findings of this study on the social and political participation of residents in Sham Shui Po. Findings from both the questionnaire survey and the qualitative interviews will be used. In the second section, it will discuss the meanings and implications of the findings by examining the relationship between participation and the major demographic variables. Drawing on the findings and the discussion, it will also discuss the policy meanings of our findings for policy-makers.

4.2 Review of Major Findings

In this section, we will review the findings of the social and political participation of the residents in Sham Shui Po through institutional and non-institutional channels and at different levels, ranging from the local level such as participation in community organizations to the central level such as elections in the Legislative Council. The trust of political organizations and the identification with political parties of the residents are also studied.

4.2.1 Institutional and Non-Institutional Means

In the questionnaire survey, we have asked the respondents about the level of participation in different social and political activities in the past two years including:

- signature petition
- demonstration, rally and sit-in protest
- attending meetings of local organization (e.g., Mutual Aid Committee, Kai-Fong Welfare Association)
- attending local consultation of government agency
- meeting with District Councillor
- meeting with Legislative Councillor

One may notice that the level of involvement of participation varies among the different channels. In general, its progress follows the order of listing above, starting from the lower level of signature campaign to the higher level of meeting with District Councillors and Legislative Councillors. These six channels also encompass both institutional and non-institutional means of political and social participation. For instance, the channels of signature campaign, demonstration, rally and sit-in protest would belong to non-institutional means of participation. On the other hand, attending local consultation of government agency and meeting with elected officials would belong to institutional means. It is important to capture both institutional and

non-institutional means to generate a full picture of the level of social and political participation of the residents in Sham Shui Po because individual citizens could simultaneously participate in both and there is not necessarily a strong relationship between these two kinds of participation. The major findings are summarized as below in the following six tables³:

Table 4.1. Participation in Signature Petition

	Frequency	Percentage
Never	759	68.5%
Few	137	12.4%
Sometimes	179	16.2%
Often	29	2.6%
Forget	4	0.4%
TOTAL	1108	100%

Summing up the findings in the tables, it can be seen that signature campaign is the most popular form of public participation of the respondents (please refer to Table 4.1). This is not surprising given the low cost of participating in signature campaign. For example, the organizers of signature campaign usually locate their activities in venues that are very convenient to the public, such as the bus terminals and MTR stations. Moreover, the organizers usually take a more active approach in contacting the citizens to seek for their support. However, even so, in the past two years, only 31.2% of the respondents have participated in signature campaign. Among them, only

³ Only valid cases are included (i.e., those “refuse to answer” are excluded).

2.6% have often participated in signature campaign. More than 68% of the respondents have never participated in signature campaign for the past two years.

Table 4.2. Participation in Demonstration, Rally and Sit-In Protest

	Frequency	Percentage
Never	1044	94.4%
Few	33	3%
Sometimes	24	2.2%
Often	5	0.5%
Forget	0	0%
TOTAL	1106	100%

The low level of participation of the residents in Sham Shui Po is further reflected by the findings on demonstration, rally and sit-in protest. As shown in Table 4.2, although it is increasingly common for citizens in Hong Kong to participate in those activities, such as the annual July-First protest, more than 94% of the respondents have never participated in those activities during the past two years. Only 2.9% of our respondents have stated that they sometimes or often joined those activities. Among the 2.9%, only five or 0.5% of our respondents said that they often joined the activities.

Both signature campaign and the category of demonstration, rally and sit-in protest are non-institutional means of participation. Therefore, it is insufficient and premature to conclude the level of participation by purely looking at the findings of these two channels. First, it is possible that the

residents may consider the non-institutional channels as too radical and would prefer to focus their participation on the institutional channels. Similarly, it is also possible that the institutional channels has been working so well so that citizens do not see the need to resort to non-institutional channels for drawing the attention of the government to their issues of concern. In order to test the hypothesis that residents in Sham Shui Po may concentrate their participation through the institutional means, we must also review the findings on the institutional means of participation. The results on the level of participation through the institutional means are shown in the Table 4.3, Table 4.4, Table 4.5, and Table 4.6.

In Table 4.3, we can see that the level of participation of the residents in attending meeting of local organization, such as mutual aid committee and kai fong welfare association, is not high. More than 92% of the respondents have never attended those meetings in the past two years. Only 3.7% have sometimes or often attended those meetings. Among the 3.7%, only 8 or 0.7% of the respondents often attended those meetings.

Table 4.3. Participation in Attending Meeting of Local Organization

	Frequency	Percentage
Never	1026	92.8%
Few	37	3.3%
Sometimes	33	3%
Often	8	0.7%
Forget	2	0.2%
TOTAL	1106	100%

While we may still argue that the low level of participation in attending those meetings could be caused by the decline of those traditional organizations in local affairs and the livelihood of the residents, the credibility and strength of this line of argument is further reduced as we begin to examine the findings on the participation of other institutional means.

In Table 4.4, we can see that the level of participation of the residents in attending local consultation of government agency is also low. More than 96% of the respondents have never attended those consultation sessions in the past two years. Only 1.5% of the respondents have sometimes or often attended those sessions. More alarmingly, only one of our respondents said that he often attended those sessions.

Table 4.4. Participation in Local Consultation of Government Agency

	Frequency	Percentage
Never	1069	96.5%
Few	20	1.8%
Sometimes	16	1.4%
Often	1	0.1%
Forget	2	0.2%
TOTAL	1108	100%

Among the four institutional means examined in this section, there can be a subtle but critical difference among them, especially between the consultation with government agency and meeting with elected officials,

namely the District Councillors and Legislative Councillors. Owing to various reasons, which include the executive-led system and unique political context in Hong Kong, the public can perceive the elected officials as less pro-government and more sympathetic to their concerns and voices. Therefore, they may be more willing to bring those concerns to the attention of elected officials and seek their assistance.

Table 4.5. Participation in Meeting with District Councillor

	Frequency	Percentage
Never	1040	93.9%
Few	37	3.3%
Sometimes	27	2.4%
Often	4	0.4%
Forget	0	0%
TOTAL	1108	100%

However, once again, the view of residents in Sham Shiu Po may concentrate their participation in particular channels are not supported by our findings. Table 4.5 shows the participation in meeting with District Councillors. Over the past two years, almost 94% of the respondents have never met with their District Councillors. Only 2.8% have sometimes or often met with their District Councillors. Among the 2.8%, only four or 0.4% of our respondents said that they often met with their District Councillors.

Similar but even more disappointing results are found in the meeting with Legislative Councillors in Table 4.6. Over the past two years, almost 98% of the respondents have never met with any Legislative Councillors. As few as

eight or 0.7% of the respondents have sometimes or often met with a Legislative Councillor. More importantly, as few as only one single respondent in the entire survey has said that he / she has often met with a Legislative Councillor.

Table 4.6. Participation in Meeting with Legislative Councillor

	Frequency	Percentage
Never	1084	97.9%
Few	15	1.4%
Sometimes	7	0.6%
Often	1	0.1%
Forget	0	0%
TOTAL	1107	100%

The quantitative findings are echoed by the qualitative data we have collected through the individual interviews with key individuals who are active in the affairs of the district. For example, Mr. Chong Chi Tat, a Sham Shui Po District Council member who is also a member of the Democratic Party, had said that many of the residents in Sham Shui Po were more individualized. They would like to address their problems with the own resources first and would only turn to him on problems they considered are beyond their abilities to tackle.

How well do the residents in Sham Shui Po perform in terms of participation when compared with the overall situation in Hong Kong? Although perfect comparison is not possible due to differences in methodology

and question format, good reference could be drawn through similar studies. Compared the findings and discussion in Lam (forthcoming) with our findings, the Sham Shiu Po residents are doing less well in terms of participation. For instance, according to Lam, in 2010, as high as 10% of the citizens in Hong Kong have participated in protest but our survey shows that only 5.7% of the respondents in Sham Shiu Po have participated in it. The gap in terms of participation in signature campaign is even much bigger. Lam's data showed 59% of the citizens in Hong Kong has participated in signature campaign in 2010. However, in our study, it shows that only 31.2% of residents of Sham Shiu Po have done so. This participation gap exists in both institutional and non-institutional means of participation. For instance, Lam has showed that up to 10% of the citizens in Hong Kong has contacted Legislative members to seek help or expressed their concerns. In our survey in Sham Shui Po, only 2.1% of our respondents have done so.

As a result, two major points can be concluded from our findings in this section. First, the level of participation in Sham Shiu Po is low. This low level of participation exists in all channels, including institutional and non-institutional channels, as well as channels that may be more government-related and those are perceived as less pro-government. Second, the low level of participation is not only absolute but also relative. That is, the level of participation in Sham Shui Po is lower than the general level in Hong Kong. This also implies that there are some factors unique in Sham Shui Po that contribute to below average level of participation.

4.2.2 Internet and E-Participation

With the advancement and diffusion of information technology, it is increasingly common and popular for citizens and government to interact through the Internet - the rise of e-government. Therefore, we must also examine the level of participation by citizens through e-government in order to have a more comprehensive and fair assessment of the overall participation of the respondents. After all, there is always a working and alternative hypothesis that the citizens may use the e-channels to substitute for the more traditional means of participation. The findings shown in Table 4.7 would allow us to test this alternative hypothesis. We will also compare our findings with the data from the whole territory in the household survey.

Instead of finding support for the alternative hypothesis, we find evidence that is more consistent with our general argument that the overall participation of residents in Sham Shui Po is low in both absolute and relative senses. Limited by either their skills or availability of resources, more than half of our residents (51.8%) do not even have access to the Internet. In the household survey data, in 2009, there is 73.3% households in Hong Kong with computers connected to the Internet. Therefore, it seemed that what should be concerned is not only the level of e-participation here but also the existence of a digital divide in the district of Sham Shui Po. Compared with the rest of the population in Hong Kong, the residents in Sham Shui Po is facing a disadvantage in accessing resources and information through the Internet.

Table 4.7. Use of Internet and E-government⁴

Use of Internet	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	531	47.8%
No	576	51.8%
Use of E-government: E-Information		
Yes	349	31.4%
No	761	68.6%
Use of E-government: E-Service		
Yes	246	22.2%
No	864	77.8%
Use of E-government: E-Engagement		
Yes	34	3.1%
No	1075	96.9%

In general, there are three dimensions in the use of Internet for participation (e-participation): e-information, e-service and e-engagement. In e-information, citizens use the Internet to access information provided by the government (Mayter-Schonberger and Laxer 2007; West 2005; OECD 2003). In e-service, citizens use the Internet to access the services provided by the government. Finally, in e-engagement, citizens would use the Internet to

⁴ Only valid cases are included (i.e., those “refuse to answer” are excluded) in the statistics. Also, the responses of “Don’t Know / No comment” are not shown in the table so that the numbers may not add to 100%.

interact with the government to voice out their concerns and participate actively in the policy-making process to deliberate proposals of government policies with the government officials as partners. In the literature of e-government research, these three levels of participation are ranked exactly in the order of its listing, with e-information as the lowest and the most basic level and e-engagement as the highest and the most advanced level. Questions of all three level of e-participation are included in our survey.

Obstructed by different barriers in the use and access of the Internet, it becomes understandable that the use of the Internet for participation purpose would not be high. In terms of e-information, only 31.4% of our respondents have accessed the government websites for information. On the other hand, the household survey found that in 2009, 58% of the population in Hong Kong has done so.⁵ In terms of e-services, only 22.2% of our respondents have obtained services from the government through the Internet while the household survey found that 50.1% of the citizens in Hong Kong have done so.⁶ Finally, in terms of e-engagement, only 3.1% of our respondents have contacted the government through the Internet to voice out their concerns and opinions. Although there is no comparable data from the household survey, 3.1% is still a very tidy number which do agree with our general observation that social and political participation is at a low level in the district of Sham Shiu Po.

⁵ In the household survey, they include respondents who are 10 years old and above.

⁶ In the household survey, they include respondents who are 10 years old and above.

4.2.3 *Elections*

While participation in the institutional and non-institutional channels, and the Internet examined and discussed above are more related to the expression of the immediate concerns of the citizens, registering as a voter and voting in the elections are more about the sense of citizenship possessed by individuals. To a considerable extent, this could reflect the identity of the individual, including their degree of belonging and responsibility, in the community and society in the larger context. As a result, in the survey, we have also included questions about the registration as a voter, and the voting behaviour of the respondents in the latest elections of Legislative Council and District Council. For the Legislative Council, the latest election is 2008 and it is 2007 for the District Council.

First of all, about 46% of the eligible respondents, permanent residents of Hong Kong who are 18 and above, in the survey has stated that they have registered as a voter in the elections of Hong Kong. However, relatively speaking, still more respondents have not yet registered as a voter. More than half of our respondents (53.8%) are not registered voters. Based on this finding, the percentage of registered voters in Sham Shui Po is lower than the overall percentage of registered voters in Hong Kong. According to the statistics provided by the Electoral Affairs Commission, in 2010, the total number of registered voters in Hong Kong is around 3.4 millions. This accounts for close to 60% of the eligible population in Hong Kong. Therefore, it means that there

is still a noticeable gap between the percentage of registered voters in Sham Shui Po and the whole territory.

Table 4.8. Voter Registration of Respondents in Sham Shui Po⁷

Registered as a Voter	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	511	46.2%
No	595	53.8%
TOTAL	1106	100%

To the surprise, some interesting findings, which seem to be contradictory with the findings on institutional and non-institutional means of participation, are revealed in the responses to the questions of voting in the District Council and Legislative Council elections. Table 4.8 shows the voting rate of the respondents in the latest District Council election in 2007. The voting rate in the whole territory is also shown in the table for comparison. It could be easily seen that the voting rate of the respondents, which is 56%, is much higher than the overall voting rate of 38.83% in the whole territory.

⁷ Only valid cases are included (i.e., those “refuse to answer” are excluded). This question is also only administrated to those who are eligible to register as a voter, that is, permanent residents who are 18 or above.

Table 4.9. Voting in the 2007 District Council Election

Voting	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	329	56%
No	190	32.3%
Others ⁸		
TOTAL	588	100%
Voting Rate in the whole territory		38.83

Table 4.10. Voting in the 2008 Legislative Council Election⁹

Voting	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	380	64.2%
No	180	30.4%
TOTAL	592	100%
Voting Rate in the whole territory		45.2%

Equally encouraging and positive figures are found in the voting rate of the Legislative Council election in 2008. The findings are shown in Table 4.9. More than 64% of the respondents in our survey said they had voted in that election. At the same time, the voting rate in the whole territory in the 2008 Legislative is only slightly higher than 45%. Obviously, compared with the

⁸ Others include “forget” and “haven’t registered as a voter at that moment”.

⁹ Only valid cases are included (i.e., those “refuse to answer” are excluded). This question is also only administrated to those who are eligible to register as a voter, that is, respondents who are 18 or above.

overall voting rate in the two elections, the voters in Sham Shui Po are more active and eager to exercise their rights to cast their votes into the ballot box.

It can be quite puzzling to find out that when the participation in the institutional and non-institutional means are quite low in Sham Shiu Po, the residents are much more active than the average voter in Hong Kong in the elections. There can be a few reasons that can help us to square the circle here. First of all, as the voter registration rate in Sham Shui Po is lower than the average of the whole territory, it is possible that those who do register will be more willing and determine to exercise their rights in elections.

Secondly, whether one has voted or not can be taken as socially-desirable questions in survey. It means that the respondents feel obligated to claim that they have voted (even if they have not) as those are viewed as desirable behaviour by society. This will lead to an inflated result in the stated voting rate in survey finding. However, when there is some truth in this argument, its influence in the findings should not be exaggerated. It is because whether one has registered as a voter should also be socially desirable but this has not led to a above-average result in our respondents who claimed as a registered voters. Therefore, while it is fair to say that the reported voting rate may have been inflated, this should not deny the fact that the residents in Sham Shui Po are at least as active as, if not more active than, the average voters in Hong Kong, in their participation in elections.

Third and importantly, we believe one of the major explanations that can allow us to reconcile the difference between low level of participation in

institutional and non-institutional means and high voting rate in elections is the differences in the nature of these two major modes of participation. The former is more about the expression of concerns and seeking help on concrete and immediate issues related to the individuals. On the other hand, the latter is more about the fulfilment of duty of citizenship. Adopting this explanation and based on our findings, it would mean that residents in Sham Shui Po are more inclined to resolve problems by their own means rather than relying on the government. There is a culture or preference of self-reliance. However, this does not mean that they are distancing themselves from society. Instead, they are individuals with a good sense of citizenship in attaining their duties and responsibilities.

4.2.4 Community Life and Trust

In addition to political participation, we have also examined the level of participation in the community life so as to access the full picture of the participation of the residents in Sham Shui Po at all levels, including both the political and social spheres. In the survey, we have asked whether the respondents are members of any organization or group and their level of participation in that organization or group. The findings are shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11. Participation in Organization¹⁰

Member of Organization	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	111	10.1%
No	990	89.9%
Level of Participation		
Never	24	22%
Sometimes	19	17.4%
Few	27	24.8%
Often	39	35.8%
TOTAL	109	100%

Only a very small minority of the residents in Sham Shui Po has joined any organization or group. Our survey shows that only 10.1% of the respondents are members of any organization or group. Among the respondents who are members, we have further asked them about their level of participation in their organization or group over the past one year. According to our survey, even if they are a member, not many of them have participated actively in the activities and operation. Only 35.8% of our respondents said that they have often participated in the activities of their organization or group in the past year. Up to 22% of the respondents said that they have never participated in the activities of their group or organization even though they are a member.

¹⁰ Only valid cases are included (i.e., those “refuse to answer” are excluded).

Table 4.12. Type of Organizations Participated

	Frequency	Percentage
Business, Professional Associations and Unions	40	36.7%
Social Services	19	17.4%
Religion	18	16.5%
Development and Housing	12	11%
Law, Advocacy and Politics	12	11%
Others	8	7.8%

In the survey, we have collected information about the type of organization the respondents have joined and affiliated with and it is shown in Table 4.12. The most popular type of organizations joined by the respondents are business organizations, professional groups and trade unions, which is joined by 36.7% of the respondents. The second most popular group is social service groups, joined by 17.4% of the respondents, which is closely followed by religion group, joined by 16% of the respondents. These results show that the respondents are very practical in the choice of organizations as many of the top organizations or groups are closely related to the work, livelihood and daily needs of the residents. Looking it from another perspective, these figures may also point to the fact that the level of civic life in terms of concerning the wider public sphere outside their personal needs are not high in Sham Shui Po.

The quality of civic life and the level of participation of citizens can be affected by the level of trust they have in the political institutions and political

figures. To a certain extent, trust can be a factor to promote more participation as citizens are more willing to participation in the decision-making process if they trust that the institutions or authorities they are dealing with are serious and sincere in addressing their needs and concerns. By the same token, if citizens already have a perception that the authorities or officials they are contacting are only paying “lip service” to their demands, the incentives of the citizens to participate would be significantly reduced.

Table 4.13. Trust in Political and Social Organizations¹¹

	Very Trust / Trust	Distrust / Very Distrust	Don't Know / No Comments
The HKSAR Government	528 (47.8%)	364 (32.9%)	214 (19.3%)
Pan-democracy Political Parties	224 (20.4%)	408 (37%)	468 (42.5%)
Pro-establishment Political Parties	183 (16.6%)	411 (37.3%)	506 (46%)
Legislative Council	363 (33%)	322 (29.3%)	416 (37.8%)
District Council	384 (34.9%)	271 (24.6%)	446 (40.5%)
Voluntary Organizations	609 (55%)	137 (12.4%)	361 (32.6%)

Table 4.13 shows the findings on the trust of political and social organizations by the respondents in the survey. The organization they trust the most is voluntary organizations. There are 55% of the respondents who said that they trust or very trust voluntary organizations. Occupying the second

¹¹ The percentages are shown in parenthesis.

place of the most trusted organization is the HKSAR government. Close to half (47.8%) of the respondents said that they trust or very trust the HKSAR government. Relatively speaking, the Legislative Council and the District Council also do well in gaining the trust of the respondents, with 33% and 34.6% of the respondents who said that they trust or very trust them respectively. The organizations which receive the most disappointing results are political parties. Although the pan-democracy political parties do better than the pro-establishment political parties, there are still only 20.4% of the respondents who said they trust or very trust them. For the pro-establishment political parties, only 16.6% of the respondents have said so.

Not surprisingly, therefore, political parties also turn out to be those organizations of which the respondents distrust or very distrust the most. The pan-democracy political parties and pro-establishment political parties have almost exactly the same percentage in terms of the distrust by our respondents. There is 37.3% of the respondents said they distrust or very distrust the pro-establishment political parties and the percentage for the pan-democracy political parties are 37%. However, it is worth noticing that the percentage of distrust and very distrust for the HKSAR government is also very high. There are as much as 32.9% of the residents in the survey who distrust or very distrust the HKSAR government. Moreover, many of the respondents also choose the option of “no comments” or “don’t know” in their answers to this question.

Based on the above findings and the information we gather from the individual interviews and focus groups, the level of trust is affected by a

number of factors which include the level of authority, the frequency of contact, and the quality of experience generated from the contacts. Voluntary organizations receive the highest level of trust because they have more frequent contacts with the citizens and in general the experiences are pleasant as they could meet the needs and address the concerns of the residents. For the political parties, first of all, they do not have a very high level of authority in the executive-led system in Hong Kong. Secondly, from the information we have through the interviews and focus groups, their presence and visibility in the district level is much lower than the voluntary organizations. Some of the participants in the focus group even reported that they do not see the relevancy of political parties in their district life.

What is interesting is the seem-to-be contradictory result about the HKSAR government. It is the most trusted organization but is also ranked among the top as one of the most distrusted organizations. We believe that the HKSAR government is ranked at the top because of its level of authority. However, for people who have contacts with them, their experience is not as satisfying as they expect, which explain why they are also one of the most distrust organizations. In fact, in our individual interviews, there are interviewees including district councilors and voluntary organization staff who have complained about the attitudes and efficiency of the government officials in handling the district problems.

Table 4.14. The Political Party Agree With The Most

Agree with a Political Party		Frequency	Percentage
No		532	49%
Don't Know		267	24.6%
Yes		287	26.4%
	Democratic Party	78	7.2%
	DAB	73	6.7%
	Liberal Party	7	0.6%
	Civic Party	27	2.5%
	HKFTU	21	1.9%
	ADPL	43	4%
	LSD	25	2.3%
	Others	13	1.2%

Finally, in testing the presence and significance of political parties in the district life of Sham Shui Po, we have asked our respondents about the political party they agree with the most. The findings are shown in Table 4.14. Consistent with our findings above, the most popular response is they do not have any political party they agree with. There are 49% of our respondents who have chosen this option. Furthermore, another 24.6% have chosen the answer of “don't know”.

Only 26.4% of our respondents have said that there is a political party they agree with. As expected, it is the two major parties in Hong Kong, the Democratic Party (7.2%) and Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and

Progress of Hong Kong (DAB) (6.7%), which receive the most recognition. The Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (ADPL), due to its long-time service and presence in the district, has also received the recognition of some of the respondents (4%). Nevertheless, all these results still point to the same conclusion that political parties so far do not play a significant role in the district life of the Sham Shui Po residents.

4.3 Implications and Discussion

After examining the descriptive statistics about the participation of the Sham Shui Po residents, in this section, we will explore the factors that affect the level of social and political participation and discuss the policy implications behind the findings. We have run correlational statistics between the key demographic variables and the variable of level of participation. The participation variable is constructed by constructing an index which capture the participation in all the institutional and non-institutional means, namely signature petition, demonstration, rally and sit-in protest, attending meetings of local organization (e.g., Mutual Aid Committee, Kai-Fong Welfare Association), attending local consultation of government agency, meeting with District Councillor, and meeting with Legislative Councillor. The highest value of the index is 1 and the lowest is 0.

First of all, the demographic variables of age, job status and gender are not found statistically significant with the level of participation. In other words, from a statistically sense, there does not seem to be a real difference between

older and young people, people who are employed and unemployed, and male and females in the level of participation. Instead, the variables which are found to be important and statistically significant in affecting the level of participation are: education, place of birth and length of residence, and family income.

Table 4.15 shows the relationship between education and participation. There is a positive relationship between these two variables, with people with the higher education having a higher level of participation. We have divided our respondents into three groups according to their level of education: primary school or below, secondary school, tertiary education or above. The mean of the group with the highest education (tertiary education or above) is 0.48 while the mean of the group with the lowest education (primary school or below) is only 0.27. The gap is not only huge but is also highly statistically significant.

Table 4.15. Education and Participation in Sham Shui Po

Level of Education	Frequency	Mean ¹²
Primary School or below	356	0.27
Secondary School	544	0.39
Tertiary Education or above	209	0.48
TOTAL	1109	0.37

Table 4.16 looks at the effect of place of birth and length of residence in Hong Kong on the level of participation. All results are statistically significant. The finding shows that it does matter whether one is born in Hong Kong in

¹² The statistical significance level is below 1%.

terms of the participation of the respondent. At the same time, the length of residence in Hong Kong does not seem to have a major impact on the level of participation. For the respondents who are born in Hong Kong, their mean for the participation index is 0.44, higher than the mean of 0.37. However, the gap in participation index between respondents who have immigrated to Hong Kong for more than 7 years and those who have not is very small. The mean of the former group is 0.31 and the latter group is 0.33. In other words, according to the index, the group who have immigrated to Hong Kong for only seven years or less actually have a slightly higher level of participation. Although the gap is very small, it can be caused by the fact that many new immigrants have a higher service need as they start to settle in Hong Kong, such as housing need, so that they also have a correspondingly higher level of participation through the contact of the authorities to express their concerns.

Table 4.16. Place of Birth, Length of Residence, and Participation in Sham Shui Po

	Frequency	Mean ¹³
Born in Hong Kong	458	0.44
New Immigrants (above 7 years)	518	0.31
New Immigrants (7 years or below)	117	0.33
TOTAL	1093	0.37

¹³ The statistical significance level is below 1%.

Table 4.17 shows the relationship between family income and participation. There is a positive relationship between these two variables, with people with the higher income having a higher level of participation. All results are statistically significant. We have divided our respondents into four groups according to their family income per month: below \$6,000, \$6,000 to \$14,999, \$15,000 to \$39,999, and \$40,000 or above. The mean of the highest family income group, the group with \$40,000 or above, has the highest participation index among all four groups, which is 0.58. This participation score is also much higher the mean of 0.39 of all four groups. On the other hand, two groups with the lowest level of family income have an participation index below the mean. The group with family income of below \$60,000 has a participation index of 0.30. The group with family income of \$60,000 to \$14,999 has a participation index of 0.35, which is still below the mean of 0.39.

Table 4.17. Family Income and Participation in Sham Shui Po

Family Income (per month)	Frequency	Mean ¹⁴
Below \$6,000	220	0.30
\$6,000 to \$14,999	297	0.35
\$15,000 to \$39,999	234	0.47
\$40,000 or above	85	0.58
TOTAL	836	0.39

¹⁴ The statistical significance level is below 1%.

Putting all the findings about social and political participation together and put them into the context of the project, we can conclude that the participation in community affairs in the district of Sham Shui Po is not high and this could serve as a double-edge sword for policy-makers. Referring back to the analogy of a glass with half of the water filled, from a positive perspective, it could be a glass of half-full water, meaning that in general the public is satisfied with the overall situation in the community and any of their dissatisfaction is not transformed into major demands and challenges to the government. Many of the residents are also found to be law-abiding citizens with a good sense of citizenship who emphasizes on self-reliance in tackling problems of their lively lives. This could relief the government from major pressures for public participation. However, from a negative perspective, it could also be taken as a glass of half-empty water, suggesting that there is a potential base of social mobilization and political penetration, providing a fertile ground with a lot of room for political parties and organizations to breed their support. In other words, the political tranquillity may be transformed quickly if the satisfaction of the residents cannot be maintained at a reasonable level.

Another major finding in this chapter which is very consistent with the rest of the report is the disparities in Sham Shui Po. The level of participation is found to be affected by the key variables of education, family income, place of birth (whether one is born in Hong Kong). As shown and discussed in other chapters of this report, there are some major disparities among those major

independent variables that affect the level of participation in the different areas of Sham Shui Po, including the three clusters in the project. Apart from inter-cluster disparities, inter-cluster differences in those independent variables are also found with a single cluster where there is a clear division between public and private housing. It is also important to realize that it is the same set of independent variables, family income, education, place of birth that are affecting the quality of life.

As a result, one of the most important policy message from our findings is addressing the disparities in those critical independent variables identified in this project should be the top priority of policy makers in improving the welfare of the residents in Sham Shiu Po. By narrowing the relative disparities in those variables among different areas in the same district, we can enhance the integration of different areas in the district. By enhancing the overall level of those variables, we can enhance the quality of life and the level of participation of the residents in the district as a whole. What is special about this project is we would like to recommend the government to adopt a spatial approach in improving the welfare of the district. Instead of only focusing on the old strategies of simply pushing in more resources to the district, it could be more effective and efficient if we can enhance the welfare of the district through better spatial design to promote community integration and synergy.

V. Social Divisions in Sham Shui Po

5.1 Introduction

Social capital, social and political participation and their impacts on urban lives of SSP residents are discussed in the previous two chapters. This chapter aims to further unfold the general picture discussed to capture the specific conditions of different socio-economic groups and social relations among them. Specifically, this chapter deals with the ways that socio-demographic factors and spatial location of residence shape people's social capital, social and political participation, community identity, value and demand in SSP. It will also discuss the relationships of residents of different socio-demographic groups and housing types.

Drawing on evidence from our questionnaire survey and interviews, this chapter addresses the heterogeneity and fragmentation of SSP. It concerns the exclusion of the disadvantaged, particularly the low income families, new immigrants and “tong lau” residents, from amenities and full social and political participation. It also demonstrates disconnections and even conflicts among residents from different socio-demographic groups and housing types in the community.

5.2 Social Capital

The evidence of our quantitative and qualitative analysis indicates the narrow scope of social contact generally applies to different socio-demographic groups. Yet two major factors pose impacts on the scope of social network,

namely country of origin and housing class. As mentioned in Chapter 3, new immigrants who have not stayed in Hong Kong for seven years have the narrowest scope of social networks compared with respondents who born locally and those who have obtained permanent citizenship. In our focus group interviews, we were told by the new immigrants that they had very few friends, and their friends tended to be share similar socio-economic backgrounds with them (FG3, line 842; FG4, lines 328-346).

As indicated in Table 5.1, the cohorts of “tong lau” and public housing had a relatively denser social network in SSP than the cohort of private housing. As it will be mentioned in the next chapter, the higher the housing class, the lower the dependence on SSP for daily accessories and leisure. Private housing estates, notably the “four little dragons,” are located in the periphery of SSP. They are self-contained community that diminishes the external contact of its residents. The high affordability of private housing dwellers leads to a high physical mobility of them. Therefore their social network was not necessarily to be established within SSP.

While private housing dwellers had a relatively weak social network in SSP, they were more able to obtain financial assistance from their friends than the cohorts of public housing and “tong lau.” It can be attributed to, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the weak bridging networks associated with the respondents who reported that they have friends in SSP. Due to their homogeneous social networks, “tong lau” and public housing dwellers were less likely to receive financial help from their friends. It also indicates the

disconnection of different classes in SSP and this point will be elaborated in the fifth section of this chapter.

Table 5.1 Housing Class and Social Capital

	Social network (Q36)	Social help (Q44)
Public Housing	2.90	2.20
Private Housing	2.68	2.42
“Tong lau”	2.91	2.11
All	2.83	2.26

P < 0.05

Mean score on 5-point scale, 1=No, 2=very few, 3=few, 4=quite many, 5=many

Higher score, higher level of social capital

In addition, as mentioned in Chapter 3, the low income group placed the lowest level of trust towards friends. The disadvantaged, that is the new immigrants, low income families and the low housing class group, are more likely to be in need of social assistance and support, but they are exactly the cohort that are lack of ability to access social capital in the district.

5.3. Social and Political Participation

As analyzed in Chapter 4, the level of social and political participation of SSP residents was low. Our statistical analysis found that different socio-demographic groups and housing classes were at different levels of social and political participation. For participation in civic organizations, the vast majority of our sample did not affiliate to any organizations. Among those who had associational membership, most of them were private housing

dwellers, followed by those from public housing estates and “tong lau” (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Associational membership

	Public Housing	Private Housing	“Tong Lau”
Yes	57 (8.8%)	45 (14.0%)	9 (6.9%)
No	591 (91.2%)	277 (86.0%)	122 (93.1%)
All	648 (100%)	322 (100%)	131 (100%)

Table 5.3 reported the variation of the level of political participation in lines of income class, education level and country of origin. The higher the income level and educational level of the respondents, the higher rate of participation in political activities. Immigrants who had not stayed in the city for seven years were the most passive group in term of political participation.

Table 5.3 Political Participation (Q52)

	Mean score
Monthly Household Income	
Low income (Below HK\$6,000)	0.30
Lower middle income (HK\$6,000-14,999)	0.35
Upper middle income (Hk\$15,000-39,999)	0.47
High income (HK\$40,000 or above)	0.58
All	0.39
Education Attainment	

Primary or below	0.27
Secondary	0.39
Tertiary or above	0.48
<hr/>	
All	0.37
<hr/>	
Country of Origin	
Born in Hong Kong	0.44
Not born in Hong Kong (Year of residence>7)	0.31
Not born in Hong Kong (Year of residence<7)	0.33
<hr/>	
All	0.37

P < 0.001

Mean score on 2-point scale, 0=Never participate in political activities; 1=participated in at least one of the following activities: signature petition, demonstration, attending meetings of local organization/local consultation of government agency, meeting with district councillor/legislative councillor.

The higher the score, the higher the participation rate.

Furthermore, as shown in Table 5.4, respondents' level of trust in government is also found to be statistically significant to their level of political participation. The deeper the mistrust of the government, the higher the participation rate in political activities.

Table 5.4 Trust in the Government (Q39a) and Political Participation (Q52)

Trust in the Government	Mean Score of Political Participation
Very distrust	0.51
Distrust	0.44
Trust	0.36
Very trust	0.32
<hr/>	
All	0.40

Mean score on 2-point scale, 0=Never participate in political activities; 1=participated in at least one of the following activities: signature petition,

demonstration, attending meetings of local organization/local consultation of government agency, meeting with district councillor/legislative councillor.

The higher the score, the higher the participation rate.

It is found that the trust in the government varied with income class, level of education attainment, housing class and country of origin (Table 5.5). The higher the income class and the educational level of the respondents, the lower their trust of the government. “Tong lau” dwellers had the lowest, which was at a negative level, of trust in the government, whereas public housing had the highest level of trust. Respondents who were born in Hong Kong had a negative level of trust of government, while immigrants had the level of trust in the government above the mean score and that of new immigrants was the highest compared to those of the other two cohorts.

Table 5.5 Trust in Government

Monthly Household Income*	
Low income (Below HK\$6,000)	0.38
Lower middle income (HK\$6,000-14,999)	0.13
Upper middle income (HK\$15,000-39,999)	0.05
High income (HK\$40,000 or above)	0.02
All	0.16
Education Attainment**	
Primary or below	0.29
Secondary	0.07
Tertiary or above	0.07
All	0.14
Housing Class*	

Public Housing	0.24
Private Housing	0.04
“Tong lau”	-0.11
<hr/>	
All	0.14
<hr/>	
Country of Origin*	
Born in Hong Kong	-0.07
Not born in Hong Kong (Year of residence>7)	0.27
Not born in Hong Kong (Year of residence<7)	0.29
<hr/>	
All	0.13

*P < 0.001; **P=0.005

Mean score on 2-point scale, 0=Never participate in political activities; 1=participated in at least one of the following activities: signature petition, demonstration, attending meetings of local organization/local consultation of government agency, meeting with district councillor/legislative councillor.

The higher the score, the higher the participation rate.

On the one hand, the educated, economically better-off and locally born residents are comparatively more active in social and political participation. With the evidence of our qualitative data, the relatively high rate of social and political participation of these residents can be attributed to their high political efficacy, and greater access to resources and information. For example, online forums and owners’ committees are established in all “four little dragons” which provide platforms for residents to participate in social and political affairs. One of our focus group interviewee from the Liberte had joined the owners’ committee and was an active member of the online forum of his estate. He was very concerned about community issues, and he found district councillors “were not helpful” (FG11, lines 384, 408-9). A couple from the Pacifica interviewed was very conscious about the development of the

Northwest Kowloon Reclamation Site 6 (NWKR Site 6). The Site is designated as a Comprehensive Development Area for public transport interchange, public housing, open space and community facilities. “Four Dragons” are located to the north of the NWKR Site 6 (Legislative Council Secretariat, 2010). In 2009, the Administration consulted the SSP District Council (SSPDC) on a proposal to construct a public housing estate on NWKR Site 6. The couple was very opposed to the proposal given the possible adverse impacts of the public housing construction on the air quality and the property value. They actively participated in the consultation meetings organized by the owners’ committee of their estate. The husband also wrote to district councillors and took leave from the office to attend district council meetings concerning the development of their community, such as the development of NWKR Site 6. He believed that these were effective means to oversee the work of the administration and district councillors (FG12, lines 248, 407-421).

On the other hand, residents who were worse-off in terms of monthly income level and educational level and those were not born in Hong Kong were passive in social and political activities. It is noteworthy that despite their deprived conditions, low income families and immigrants with shorter duration of residence in Hong Kong indicated a comparatively high level of trust in the government, which correlated with their low level of political participation. In addition, although “tong lau” residents reported the lowest level trust in the government compared to their counterparts from public housing and private

housing estates, they did not appear to be active to voice out in political activities.

It appears that trust in the government, economic and income conditions, as important they are, are not of a determinate significance to the level of social and political participation. Rather, the low political efficacy and access to information and resources of the disadvantaged are significant factors that discouraged them to have full participation in socio-political affairs. Our focus group participants who were from low income families, tong lau, and those were immigrants were stressful and had a strong sense of powerlessness. They did not think they could change their situations by their own. Nor did they think that the government would accommodate the needs of the low income class. They saw no alternative but to accept the current situation and not to have high aspiration about the future.

For example, immigrants from the Mainland participated in our focus group interviews were generally upset by their life in Hong Kong. Those lived at cubicle apartment and “tong lau” suite particularly found the poor living conditions here unbearable (FG2, lines 497, 522; FG 3, lines 789-791). They complained that the government had failed to accommodate their needs as preferential policies were mainly for the public housing tenants (FG 2, lines 754-776, 1041-1042). However, they tended to accept their deprived situations, desperately keeping on their living. As a new arrival said in an interview that “(the most difficult thing to tackle in Hong Kong is) accommodation. Yes, sometimes I do feel upset and bored. However, I have to keep on for the sake

of my children” (FG2, a new arrival, CSSA, line 522). Another new arrival who was receiving CSSA and living at “tong lau” said that “I can do nothing to change the current situation but to relax ... I will be very pleased if the government allocates a public housing flat to me ... (but the government) does not care about our demands” (FG2, lines 525, 705, 716).

In a focus group interview with male occupants of tenement of “tong lau”, the respondents identified themselves as the powerless lower class that had no influence on public policies and no way to change the reality. They expected and even agreed that SSP shall be gentrified and the poor be excluded for social progress. When asking if they were happy for living in SSP, a respondent said that he had no choice but to be happy (FG14, lines 949-52, 961-4, 1170, 1185-6, 1296).

In addition, we were often told by the disadvantaged that they did not have information about local civic organizations and other resources for assistance. For example, being asked if she would seek help from district councillors or local organizations when she was in need, a tong lau respondent said that “no, I do not know where I can ask for help ... Nobody asks me to do so. Then where should I go to? I don’t know” (FG3, lines 433, 466-7)

5.4 Community Identity

As mentioned in Chapter 2, SSP is a vast administrative district which can be broadly divided into seven areas, namely Central Sham Shui Po, Cheung Sha Wan, Shek Kip Mei, Lai Chi Kok, Mei Foo, Yau Yat Tsuen, and West

Kowloon Reclamation Area. There are numerous old tenement buildings, public housing estates, mingled with new private residential developments in the reclamation area near the West Kowloon Highway.

However, territorial boundary is insufficient to make sense of community identity. As noted in Chapter 1, community members subjectively choose what they mean by community. The analysis of “community identity” in the present project therefore includes individuals’ perceptions of their community, both as a physical identity and so a social arrangement. In the questionnaire survey and focus group interviews, our sample were asked about their sense of belonging to the community, which is related to their perceptions of the boundary of SSP, the physical and cultural distinctiveness of the district, and their evaluation of community functioning.

Respondents of the questionnaire survey had a rather high sense of belonging to the community. Nearly half of them indicated a medium attachment to the community, while about one-third of them had a strong attachment (Table 5.6). Essentially, as Table 5.7 illustrates, there is a statistically significant relationship between the sense of belonging to SSP of the respondents and their self-assessed QoL. Those who had a low sense of attachment to the community indicated a negative self-assessed QoL, whereas those with a strong emotional affiliation with the community had a high evaluation of their life conditions.

Table 5.6 Sense of Belonging to SSP (Q33)

	Frequency	%
Low (Below 5 marks)	103	9.3
Medium (5-7.5 marks)	537	48.2
High (8-10 marks)	357	32.0
Don't know/No comments/Refuse to answer	117	10.5
All	1114	100.0

Table 5.7 Sense of Belonging to SSP and Self-assessed QoL

Sense of Belonging to SSP	N	Mean Score of QoL
Low (Below 5 marks)	103	-0.1320
Medium (5-7.5 marks)	537	0.1333
High (8-10 marks)	357	0.4403
All	997	0.2158

$P < 0.001$

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly disagreed, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly agreed

Higher score, higher self-assessed QoL

5.4.1 Perceptions of Community Boundaries and Distinctiveness of SSP

The community is characterized by the old, diverse and vibrant central SSP. “Golden Computer Arcade/Golden Computer Centre,” “Ap Liu Street” and “Dragon Centre” were the top three physical sites that were considered landmarks of SSP by our sample of the questionnaire survey (Table 5.8) and focus group interviews. “Sales of computer equipments and electronics,” “wholesale of fashion and clothes” and “Tai Pai Dong, small-scale restaurants, tea restaurants” were the top three socio-economic activities that were

considered typical SSP by the respondents of the questionnaire survey (Table 5.9).

Table 5.8 Multiple Responses to Landmarks that Represent SSP (Q28)

Landmark	N	%
Ap Liu Street	644	24.0
Golden Computer Arcade/Golden Computer Centre	634	23.6
Dragon Centre	599	22.3
Pei Ho Street Market	359	13.4
The Garden Company Limited	154	5.7
Parks (e.g. Tung Chau Street Park, Sham Shui Po Park, Nam Cheong Park)	101	3.8
Mei Ho House	56	2.1
Others	21	0.7
Don't know/No comments/Refuse to answer	120	4.4
Total	2688	100.0

Table 5.9 Multiple Responses to Socio-economic Activities that Represent SSP (Q29)

Socio-economic activities	N	%
Sales of computer equipments and electronics	723	29.3
Wholesale of fashion and clothes	522	21.2
Tai Pai Dong, small-scale restaurants, tea restaurants	330	13.4
Trading activities at wet markets	326	13.2
Community social services (e.g. second-hand shops, food banks)	127	5.2
Dawn market	122	4.9
Pornography/Drug trafficking	117	4.7
Others	15	0.7

Don't know/No comments/Refuse to answer	183	7.4
Total	2465	100.0

It is common among the respondents of focus group interviews to associate SSP with poverty. Some of them named SSP “an area of the poor”(窮人地區), “slum” (窮人窟) and “refuge”(難民區) (FG3, lines 408-19, 851). Ap Liu Street, the top selected landmark, illustrates the symbolic meanings of SSP to the public. Our focus group interviewees who chose Ap Liu Street as the landmark of SSP held the reason that the cheap and used electronic commodities in the Street could best represent the gross-root way of life in and urban decay of SSP (FG4, line 47; FG15, lines 491, 502-3).

Given that SSP was characterized by its central part coupled with connotations of old, decay and poverty, 33% and 53.9% of the survey respondents considered “Four Dragons” near the West Kowloon Highway and Mei Foo Sun Cheun not a part of the district respectively. A sizeable minority (26.1% and 16.1%) could not give a concrete answer to the questions (Table 5.10).

Table 5.10 In your view, are the following housing estates a part of SSP? (Q34)

	N	%
Four private housing estates near the West Kowloon Highway		
No	367	33.0%
Yes	456	41.0%
Don't Know/No Comments	290	26.1%
All	1113	100.0%

Mei Foo Sun Cheun		
No	599	53.9%
Yes	334	30.0%
Don't Know/No Comments	179	16.1%
All	1112	100.0%

It was common among the respondents of the focus group interviewees to delimit SSP by its central part. They also tended to consider the central part of SSP, Cheung San Wan, Lai Chi Kok and Mei Foo four separate geographical areas. Such subjective delimitation was made on the basis of the MTR stations (FG11, lines 1626-31; FG15, lines 770-1) and the remoteness of Cheung San Wan, Lai Chi Kok and Mei Foo from the central part of SSP (FG16, line 349). Some of them also distinguished these four areas from each other by their physical and socio-economic distinctiveness. For example, a respondent held that Mei Foo and “Four Dragons” did not belong to SSP, saying that “the style and feeling of Mei Foo and the Pacifica (one of the private housing estate of the “Four Dragons”) are different from that of SSP. SSP is an old area!” (FG15, lines 783-4). Another respondent said that SSP was a residential area for the low income class, whereas Mei Foo was a private residential area (FG16, lines 351-2).

With the evidence of the questionnaire survey and interviews, socio-economic demarcations and spatial location of residence are found to have significant impacts on community identity. The following sub-sections will show how satisfaction with and emotional attachment to SSP vary with housing class and spatial location of residence of the respondents.

5.4.2 *The Impacts of socio-economic demarcations and spatial order on community identity*

While the overall sense of belonging to SSP was high, emotional affiliation with the community vary with the survey respondents' housing class and spatial location of residence (Tables 5.11 and 5.12).

Table 5.11 Impact of Housing Class and Spatial Location of Residence on Sense of Belonging to SSP (Q33)

	Mean Score of Sense of Belonging to SSP
Housing Class	
Public Housing	6.699
Private Housing	6.268
“Tong lau”	6.377
Geographic Cluster	
Cluster 1	6.605
Cluster 2	6.864
Cluster 3	6.036
Geographic Cluster (Cluster 3 re-categorized)	
Cluster 1	6.605
Cluster 2	6.864
Cluster 3 – “Four Dragons”	5.888
Cluster 3 – Hoi Lai Estate	6.188
All	6.528

P < 0.001

0=minimum score; 10=maximum score

Higher score, higher sense of belonging to SSP

Table 5.12 Do you agree with the statement that “I am pleased to tell other people that I am living in SSP”? (Q31A)

Geographic Cluster (Cluster 3 re-categorized)	Mean
Cluster 1	0.85
Cluster 2	0.93
Cluster 3 – “Four Dragons”	0.57
Cluster 3 – Hoi Lai Estate	0.84
All	0.84

P < 0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly disagree, 0=don’t know/no comments, 2=strongly agree

Higher score, higher the willingness

Respondents from public housing estates and Cluster 2, that is dwellers of Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, demonstrated the strongest sense of belonging to SSP. It can be attributed to their strong satisfaction with the community functioning. Respondents from Cluster 2 had the highest willingness to tell other people that they were living in SSP.

Respondents from “tong lau” and Cluster 1 reported a fair sense of belonging to the community. In our focus group interviews, respondents from tenements of “tong lau” demonstrated affiliation with SSP. However, such affiliation was not in the sense of “SSP people” as a source of pride, but a sense of homogeneity articulated to the cultural distinctiveness of SSP, that is “poverty”, in spite of its negative denotations. They shared that SSP was

shelter for the poor like them (e.g. FG3, lines 405-10, 850-1; FG4, lines 412-3; FG14, line 1303). As Sze Lai Shan, Community Organizer of the Society for Community Organization, said, the poor often found SSP comfortable to live and earn a living (I14, lines 40-1).

It should be highlighted that Cluster 3 is a heterogeneous zone as it contains two very different types of housing, that is “Four Dragons” and Hoi Lai Estate. We further broke down Cluster 3 into two groups, namely “Four Dragons” and Hoi Lai Estate, in order to look into the impact of socio-demographic demarcations coupled with geographical location on community identity. As illustrated in Table 5.13, respondents from the “Four Dragons” were comparatively well-off than those from the Hoi Lai Estate in terms of educational and income levels. The majority of respondents from “Four Dragons” were locally born, while more than half of the respondents from the Hoi Lai Estate were immigrants.

Table 5.13 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents from “Four Dragons” and Hoi Lai Estate

	“Four Dragons”		Hoi Lai Estate	
	N	%	N	%
Education				
Below primary	10	7.1	29	21.0
Secondary	49	34.7	89	64.5
Tertiary or above	82	58.2	20	14.5
Total	141	100.0	138	100.0
Monthly Household Income				

Low (Below HK\$6000)	income	6	5.6	10	8.6
Lower middle (HK\$6,000 – 14,999)	income	8	7.4	57	49.1
Upper middle (HK\$15,000 – 39,999)	income	35	32.4	40	34.5
High (HK\$40,000 or above)	income	59	54.6	9	7.8
All		108	100.0	116	100.0
Country of Origin					
Born in Hong Kong		103	73.6	52	37.7
Not born in Hong Kong (Year of residence>7)		32	22.9	64	46.4
Not born in Hong Kong (Year of residence<7)		5	3.5	22	15.9
All		140	100.0	138	100.0

Private housing dwellers, notably those from the “Four Dragons”, did not share a strong sense of emotional attachment to SSP. As mentioned, “Four Dragons” residents had a higher physical mobility due to their favourable economic conditions and therefore they were not dependent on SSP for daily accessories and leisure. The low sense of belonging to SSP of the “Four Dragons” residents can further be attributed to the demarcation of the MTR system and spatial distance to the central SSP. Focus group interviewees from the “Four Dragons” tended not to tell other people that they were living in SSP but Lai Chi Kok. A reason was that the term SSP was “misleading” people to the central part of SSP (FG12, line 1603-7). In addition, socio-economic and cultural distinctiveness of the “Four Dragons” to the central part of SSP discourage “Four Dragons” dwellers to identify themselves with SSP. A “Four

Dragons” resident noted that the appearance and economic activities of central SSP and “Four Dragons” were completely different. The former featured single-block buildings and gross-root shops, whereas the latter was characterized by new high-rise building and chain stores (FG11, lines 1669-75). Another interviewee from the “Four Dragons” disliked the term SSP because it denoted “poverty,” while “Lai Chi Kok” sounded better to him (FG12, lines 164-5, 393). As Table 5.12 reports, the “Four Dragons” cohort were the least likely to agree to the statement that “I am pleased to tell other people that I am living in SSP”.

5.5 Social Relations in SSP

SSP was a heterogeneous community due to the social-economic demarcations. As indicated in Chapter 3, the bridging type of social capital in SSP is weak. Inter-classes and inter-communities connections were notably rare. Even worse, potential conflicts, and even tense relationship, were revealed in our interviews.

5.5.1 Estrangement Between Different Income and Housing Classes

In our focus group interviews, there was a lack of clue to the close connections between different income- and housing classes. A tenant of tenement said that there was no way would the rich connect the poor like him, nor could the rich and the poor with each other because of incompatible culture and background. He was unwilling to serve as a guard in high-class buildings

in spite of high pay on the ground that he was not “good-looking” (FG14, lines 1198-1210).

The disconnections between different housing classes can be illustrated by the estrangement of the “Four Dragons” and Hoi Lai Estate despite the propinquity of these two housing estates. “Four Dragons” is a protected and exclusionary enclave. It has a clearly defined boundary in the outskirts of SSP and strict security served as a physical means of exclusion. It is also a self-contained community that further diminishes its external contact. The gentrified appearance of the “Four Dragons” is a social means of exclusion that alienate its neighbourhoods. Two residents of the “Four Dragons” told us that they could obtain necessities from the shopping centres in their estates. Seldom did they go to Hoi Lai Estate because they had no such need and did not have friends there. One of them said that the “shabby” looking of Hoi Lai Estate dwellers made him uncomfortable (FG11, lines 500, 691, 734-40). A mother from the “Four Dragons” also said that she no longer brought her child to the park at Hoi Lai Estate because of the rudeness of the children there (FG12, lines 489-501).

Neither did Hoi Lai Estate dwellers have frequent visit to the “Four Dragons.” An interviewee from the Estate said that Hoi Lai Estate and the “Four Dragons” was incompatible. He felt that he was being enclosed by the “Four Dragons.” He would pass by the shopping centres of the “Four Dragons” only when he went to take public transport (F16, lines 356-62). Tiny Wong, Team Leader of the Tung Wah Yu Mak Yuen Integrated Services

Centre, quoted the sharing of Hoi Lai Estate dwellers that they dared not “bother” the “Four Dragons” because the two estates were two completely different communities (I3, lines 268-270).

Wong further shared from the position of social organization that approaching and hence mobilizing residents of the “Four Dragons” to participate in social services was extremely difficult. Management there was so strict that promotion leaflets had to be distributed by the management offices which incurred service charges. Hui Kam Shing, Executive of the ADPL Social Service Centre, also found service promotion at the “Four Dragons” difficult. A reason was that residents there often went out early and stayed out late (I13, lines 105-10).

Dwellers of the “Four Dragons” and Hoi Lai Estate did come into conflicts due to their difference in lifestyle. For example, District Councillor Wong Chi Yung had received complaints from the management office of the Aqau Marine about drying clothing in public areas by Hoi Lai Estate residents. The complainants considered the act of drying clothing in public areas inconsiderate that marred the cityscape. Aqau Marine residents had said, and Wong quoted, “How could they dry clothing in our estate and make here like a public housing estate?” (I11, lines 37-52).

Residents from different housing classes are also diverse in terms of value and demand which can cause potential conflicts. The controversy over the development of NWKR Site 6 is an illustrative case. While the proposal could

be able to address the low housing class's demand for public housing in SSP, it received oppositions from the SSPDC and the residents of the "Four Dragons" (I11, lines 54-66). The majority of the focus group interviewees from the "Four Dragons" expressed their objections against the proposal to us. They held that the dense and high-rise public housing estate would block up the waterfront of SSP. It was unfair for them as it would adversely affect the value of their self-purchased apartment. Developing a public housing estate at the waterfront was also a waste of valuable land resource. One of them said that "constructing a public housing estate at Site 6 would cause 'social conflict.' It was because all 'Four Dragons' owners earnestly invested their own saving to purchase their flats ... By the time I purchased my apartment, I did not know that there would be a public housing estate ... I would be resigned myself to the fate if my sea view was blocked up by luxurious residential developments ... But I would be very angry if the valuable sea view was taken over by public housing tenants at a rent of some HK\$1000" (FG11, lines 2325-30, 2355-8). They therefore strongly advised the Administration to identify another site within SSP for public housing (FG11, lines 2310-13; FG12, lines 252-66).

5.5.2 Estrangement of the Indigenous Residents and Immigrants from the Mainland

Generally speaking, the communities of the indigenous residents and immigrants from the mainland were isolated from each other. District Councillor Vincent Cheng described that the relationship between these two

groups was “frigid.” They might hold different views on diverse issues such as the community development of SSP. Yet seldom did the disagreements between them surface (I7, lines 207-9).

Anthony Li of the International Social Service Hong Kong Branch observed that when the two groups participated in the same activities, their relationship was rather harmonious. However, they might blame each other in private occasions. For example, when seeking help from Li for applying CSSA, the new arrivals complained to Li about their difficulties in seeking employment due to the discriminative practices of the local (I4, lines 145-54). Irene Chow of the Industrial Relations Institute also noticed that the two groups basically could get along with each other. However, they might be in conflict over issues of resources distribution, such as social welfare (I15, lines 89-96). Au Yeung Tat Chor of the Alliance Concerning CSSA also found that lining up the local and immigrants from the mainland was extremely difficult (I10, lines 165-85).

Phoebe Chu of the Hong Kong Christian Service Shamshuipo Central Integrated Children and Youth Service held that cultural difference caused mutual exclusions of the two groups. It was common among the local to consider the new arrivals culturally inferior, insanitary and uncivilized. Chu said that a mother of four children was identified as an immigrant from the mainland because of her accent and condemned by the local for “bearing so many children and came to Hong Kong just for welfare benefits” (I5, lines 115-25, 390-8).

In fact, almost all immigrants from the mainland interviewed encountered discriminative treatments by the local people. One of them told us that she was despised by shopkeepers because of her accent (FG2, lines 504-6). Another interviewee shared that she always heard such complaint of the local as “the mainlanders come to Hong Kong to compete resources with us” (FG3, lines 419-21).

5.5.3 Estrangement Between the Chinese and the South Asians in SSP

Like the relationship between the local and the immigrants from the Mainland, there was a lack of connection between the Chinese and ethnic minorities. District Councillor Chong Chi Tat observed that the relationship Chinese and ethnic minorities in Hoi Lai Estate was “shallow and frigid.” He said that “they have few direct conflicts. Seldom do they contact each other ... Sometimes the South Asians might say hello to the Chinese but the latter normally wouldn’t do so. South Asians children normally plays among themselves” (I2, lines 73-5). In fact, the majority of the South Asians participants of our focus group interviews did not have Chinese friends.

Language is a major obstacle to developing effective communication between the two communities. For example, Tiny Wong of the Tung Wah Yu Mak Yuen Integrated Services Centre and her colleagues often failed to communicate with South Asians children came to her centre for they swapped between and sometimes pretended not to understand Chinese and English (I, lines 219-266).

Legislator Fung Kin Kee noticed that the Chinese had cultural prejudice against the South Asians, although they could get along with each other in social occasions (I1, lines 189-97). District Councillor Wong Chi Yung had a similar observation (I11, lines 135-54). Like immigrants from the mainland, the South Asians participated in focus group interviews told us that they often encountered discriminative treatments by the Chinese. For example, one of them was told by property agencies that it was difficult for her to rent a flat because the Chinese property owner did not want to deal with Pakistanian or Neplause (FG9, lines 245-8). Another two interviewees, who did not understand Chinese, complained that most of doctors spoke Chinese and treated them in a hasty manner (FG9, lines 412-24).

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter shows that SSP is a heterogeneous and fragmented community. Social capital, social and political participation, community identity, value and demands are functions of socio-demographic features. In addition, spatial location of residence also has an impact on the emotional attachment to the community. Generally speaking, better-off residents in terms of monthly household income, housing class, educational attainment and those born in Hong Kong have better access to social help and higher participation in social and political spheres. They have a higher physical mobility and could have a social network expanded beyond SSP. In addition to the negative connotations associated with SSP, they have low sense of emotional attachment to the district. The spatial distance of the “Four Dragons” to the

central SSP also plays a role to the low sense of belonging to SSP of the residents there.

The disadvantaged, particularly low income families, tong lau residents and new immigrants who are in need for social capital to improve their life conditions, have a homogenous social network that hinders them from receiving assistance. Even worse, they have strong sense of powerlessness and low political efficacy, leading to their under-participation in social and political affairs to voice out their demands and extend their social network. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the deprived conditions of these socio-demographic groups should be a policy concern. In particular, the immigrant cohort is worse-off in terms of educational level, monthly household income, housing class and social capital. All these socio-demographic features associate with a range of problems, including poor living and economic conditions, unemployment and short supply of social support.

Unhealthy side of SSP is further revealed from the weak bridging social capital, which are well-illustrated by a lack of inter-classes and –communities connections. Estranged relationships and even potential conflicts were found between different income and housing classes. The relationship between the local and immigrants, the Chinese and the non-Chinese, was shallow. Discriminations against the immigrants from the Mainland and ethnic minorities were not uncommon. These estranged relationships worsen the deprived situations of the disadvantaged, the immigrants in particular.

SSP is thus a socially disconnected and fragmented community. Inequalities and estranged relationship between different residents of socio-demographic groups and housing types is well-illustrated in Cluster three, that is between “four little dragons” and Hoi Lai Estate. As it will be further discussed in the next chapter, spatial order had an impact to reinforce that structural inequalities. The disadvantaged lived in the newly developed and peripheral area of SSP, notably residents of Hoi Lai Estate where was surrounded by the highway without sufficient infrastructures and transport connections with the central SSP, had a low satisfaction of their community life.

SSP is therefore in need of remedy so that every member of the community can have equal access to amenities. As it will be shown in the next chapter, a place could have a function to accommodate differences. The central SSP could be a vibrant and vernacular place that caters different demands of people from different socio-demographic groups and housing types. In other words, a good spatial order can serve to diminish social divisions in SSP.

VI. Place and Urban Lives in Sham Shui Po

6.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to explicate the relationship between the *places* of SSP and the ways of lives that its residents lead in the urban *community*. As SSP is a district characterized by socio-economic demarcations, the aim of this chapter is to find out a common ground on which different needs of people are satisfied, and the differences among them are accommodated to form an urban community. The gist of our solution hinges on the place: how to improve the place of SSP, so that its residents can lead better lives in the urban community? This analysis sheds light on these questions: How do the places of SSP facilitate / hinder the daily lives of the residents? In what ways do the places of the district shape the daily lives patterns of its residents? Are the residents satisfied with the places in which they dwell? How can the sense of place of residents of SSP be described? How is it related to the community identities of SSP? Section 2 explores the level of dependence that SSP residents have on the places of SSP in satisfying their basic daily needs. Section 3 investigates further the connection between the patterns of daily lives of SSP residents in the places of SSP, and their satisfaction with the transportation of the district. Section 4 examines the perception of SSP residents on the community environment of SSP. Section 5 concerns about the community identity of SSP residents in relation to the sense of place they nurture with the place of SSP.

6.2 Patterns of daily lives of SSP residents in the place of SSP

This section explores the level of dependence that SSP residents have on the places of SSP in satisfying their basic daily needs (for purchasing daily accessories and having leisure and entertainment). Analysis will be conducted according two independent variables, namely (a) the residents' housing class (public housing residents, private housing residents, Tong Lau residents), and (b) the geographical cluster (Central SSP, Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate) they live.

80.7% of our questionnaire survey respondents answered that they “sometimes” or “often” went purchasing daily accessories in places neighbor to their quarters over the past year (V017A); 62.4% answered they “sometimes” or “often” purchased daily accessories in other places in SSP (V017B); 59.8% said they “never” or “seldom” go outside SSP for buying daily necessities in the same period of time (V017C). The mean scores that the respondents gave to V017A, V017B and V017C are 3.34, 2.83 and 2.29 respectively (maximum score is 4, minimum score is 1; 4 = “often”, 3 = “sometimes”, 2 = “seldom”, 1 = “never”). Asking where they went for purchasing daily accessories “most often” in SSP in the same period of time, the top three selections of respondents are: Central SSP (61.7%), Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates (11.4%), Cheung Sha Wan (5.2%) (V017B1) (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Market places where SSP residents visited “most often” for purchasing daily necessities

	N	%
Central SSP	428	61.1
Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin	79	11.4
Cheung Sha Wan	36	5.2
Mei Foo	25	3.6
Lai Chi Kok	20	2.9
Total	694	100

As for leisure and entertainment, 42.7% of the respondents replied that they “sometimes” or “often” have such activities in places neighbor to their quarter in the past year (V018A); 68.6% answered they “never” or “seldom” have leisure and entertainment in other places in SSP (V018B); 55.5% responded they “never” or “seldom” have leisure and entertainment outside SSP (V018C). The mean scores that the respondents gave to V018A, V018B and V018C are 2.34, 2.09 and 2.34 respectively (maximum score is 4, minimum score is 1; 4 = “often”, 3 = “sometimes”, 2 = “seldom”, 1 = “never”). Asking where they went for having leisure and entertainment “most often” in SSP in the same period of time, the top three choices are: Central SSP (51.8%), Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates (8.8%), Cheung Sha Wan (8.8%) (V018B1) (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Market places where SSP residents visited “most often” for having leisure and entertainment

	N	%
Central SSP	170	51.8
Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin	29	8.8
Cheung Sha Wan	29	8.8
Mei Foo	22	6.7
Dragon Centre	13	4.0
Total	328	100

To break down the figures we obtain from V017A, B, B1, C and V018A, B, B1, C with independent variables (a) housing class of residents we surveyed and (b) the geographical clusters we assign for this research, we have the following patterns that deserve attention:

6.2.1 Housing class

Difference between housing classes is significant regarding the scores given to the question about how often they went to places outside SSP to purchase daily accessories (V017C). Mean score given by the residents of public housings, private housings and Tong Lau are 2.15, 2.63 and 2.18 respectively (Table 6.3). In other words, scores given by residents of private housings are much higher than those of the other two groups. This demonstrates that *higher the housing class people belong to, higher the frequency they have their daily accessories purchased in places outside SSP, hence their dependence on SSP for those needs is lower.*

Table 6.3: Dependence on places outside SSP for purchasing daily necessities and housing classes

	Level of dependence (mean scores)
Public housing	2.15
Private housing	2.63
Tong Lau	2.18
All	2.29

P<0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

Difference between housing classes is significant regarding the scores given to the question about how often they went to places outside SSP to have leisure and entertainment. Mean scores given by the residents of public housings, private housings and Tong Lau are 2.14, 2.83 and 2.13 respectively (Table 6.4). In other words, scores given by residents of private housings are much higher than those of the other two groups. This indicates that *higher the housing class people belong to, higher the frequency they have their needs for leisure and entertainment satisfied in places outside SSP, hence their dependence on SSP for those needs is lower.*

Table 6.4: Dependence on places outside SSP for having leisure and entertainment and housing classes

	Level of dependence (mean score)
Public housing	2.14
Private housing	2.83
Tong Lau	2.13
All	2.34

P<0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

Regarding the places where they went to purchase daily accessories “most often” over the past year (V017B1), we find: public housing residents went to Central SSP (frequency 263) and Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates (65) “most often,” as against other market areas in SSP, including Cheung Sha Wan, Mei Foo, Lai Chi Kok, etc. (altogether 34). Tong Lau residents went to Central SSP “most often” (62), as against other market areas in SSP (7). Private housing residents went to Central SSP “most often” (103), as against other market areas in SSP (61). This means that *the lower housing class residents (public housing and Tong Lau residents) tend to be dependent on Central SSP for purchasing daily accessories more than the higher housing class people (private housing residents) do.*

Regarding the places where they went to have leisure and entertainment “most often” over the past year (V018B1), we find: public housing residents went to Central SSP (frequency 92) and Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates (25) “most often”, as against other market areas in SSP, including Cheung Sha Wan, Mei Foo, Lai Chi Kok, etc. (altogether 24). Tong Lau residents went to Central SSP “most often” (22), as against other market areas in SSP (6). Private housing residents went to Central SSP “most often” (56), as against other market areas in SSP (38). This means that *the lower housing class residents (public housing and Tong Lau residents) tend to be dependent on Central SSP for having leisure and entertainment more than the higher housing class people (private housing residents) do.*

6.2.2 Geographical cluster

Difference between geographical clusters is significant regarding the scores given to the question about how often they went to places outside SSP to purchase daily accessories (V017C). Mean scores given by the residents of the clusters Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, Central SSP and the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate are 2.11, 2.23 and 2.63 respectively (Table 6.5). In other words, scores given by the residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate are much higher than those of the other two groups. This demonstrates that the *residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate tend to have their daily accessories bought in places outside SSP more frequently than those of the other two clusters do.*

Table 6.5: Dependence on places outside SSP for purchasing daily necessities and cluster

	Level of dependence (mean score)
Shek Kip Mei & Pak Tin	2.11
Central SSP	2.23
Four Dragons & Hoi Lai	2.63
All	2.29

P<0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

Difference between geographical clusters is significant regarding the scores given to the question how often they went to places outside SSP to have leisure and entertainment (V018C). Mean scores given by the residents of the clusters Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, Central SSP and the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate are 2.08, 2.25 and 2.82 respectively (Table 6.6). In other words, scores given by the

residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate are much higher than those of the other two groups. This means that the *residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate tend to have their needs for leisure and entertainment satisfied in places outside SSP more frequently than those of the other two clusters do.*

Table 6.6: Dependence on places outside SSP for having leisure and entertainment and cluster

	Level of dependence (mean score)
Shek Kip Mei & Pak Tin	2.08
Central SSP	2.25
Four Dragons & Hoi Lai	2.82
All	2.34

P<0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

Difference between geographical clusters is significant regarding the scores given to the question how often they went to places neighboring to their quarters to have leisure and entertainment (V018A). Mean scores given by the residents of the clusters Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, Central SSP and the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate are 2.17, 2.26 and 2.67 respectively (Table 6.7). In other words, scores given by the residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate are much higher than those of the other two groups. This indicates that the *residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate tend to have their needs for leisure and entertainment satisfied in places neighboring to their quarters more frequently than those of the other two clusters do.*

Table 6.7: Dependence on places neighboring to respondents' quarters to have leisure and entertainment and cluster

	Level of dependence (mean score)
Shek Kip Mei & Pak Tin	2.17
Central SSP	2.26
Four Dragons & Hoi Lai	2.67
All	2.34

P<0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

Regarding the places where they went to purchase daily accessories “most often” over the past year (V017B1), we find: the residents of the Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates cluster went to Central SSP (102) “most often,” as against Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin (64), and other markets areas in the district (12). Residents of the Central SSP cluster went to Central SSP (222) “most often,” as against other market areas (40). Residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate residents, went to Central SSP (104) “most often,” as against other market areas (51). This demonstrates that the *residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate tend to buy their daily accessories satisfied in places outside Central SSP more frequently than those of the other two clusters do*. In addition, residents of Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates like to have leisure and entertainment in places neighbor to their quarters.

Regarding the places where they went to have leisure and entertainment “most often” over the past year (V018B1), we find: residents of the Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates cluster went to Central SSP (36) “most often”, as

against Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin (22), and other markets areas in the district (11). Residents of the Central SSP cluster went to Central SSP (87) “most often”, as against other market areas (24). Residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate residents, went to Central SSP (47) “most often”, as against other market areas (36). Again, this indicates that the *residents of the cluster the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate tend to have their daily necessities satisfied in places outside Central SSP more frequently than those of the other two clusters do*, and that the residents of Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates like to have leisure and entertainment in places neighbor to their quarters.

6.2.3 Geographical cluster regrouped

To further explain the distinctiveness of the cluster Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate, we break down the cluster into the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate. Resultantly we obtain the following patterns:

As we divide the cluster Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate into the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estates, the mean scores given by the two groups of people are 2.82 and 2.43 respectively (Table 6.8). This means that *residents of the Four Dragons tend to purchase their daily necessities in places other than SSP more frequently than those of Hoi Lai Estate do*.

Table 6.8: Dependence on places outside SSP to purchase daily accessories and cluster (regrouped)

	Level of dependence (mean score)
Shek Kip Mei & Pak Tin	2.17
Central SSP	2.26
Four Dragons	2.82
Hoi Lai	2.43
All	2.34

P<0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

As we divide the cluster Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate into the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estates, the mean scores given by the two groups of people are 3.22 and 2.42 respectively (Table 6.9). This means that *residents of the Four Dragons tend to have their needs for leisure and entertainment satisfied in places other than SSP more frequently than those of Hoi Lai Estate do.*

Table 6.9: Dependence on places outside SSP to have leisure and entertainment and cluster (regrouped)

	Level of dependence (mean score)
Shek Kip Mei & Pak Tin	2.08
Central SSP	2.25
Four Dragons	3.22
Hoi Lai	2.42
All	2.34

P<0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

Though a good number of respondents from the Four Dragons mentioned Central SSP as the place where they purchased their daily accessories “most often” (31), a larger number of them said they went to other market places most frequently, such as Cheung Sha Wan, Mei Foo and Lai Chi Kok (these three count for 38 votes). Comparatively, vast major (73) of respondents from Hoi Lai Estate answered Central SSP, as against other market areas (11). This means that the *residents of the Four Dragons tend to have their daily necessities satisfied in places other than Central SSP more frequently than those of Hoi Lai Estate do.*

Though a considerable number of respondents from the Four Dragons mentioned Central SSP as the place where they have leisure and entertainment “most often” (18), a larger number of them said they went to other market places most frequently, such as Cheung Sha Wan, Mei Foo and Lai Chi Kok (these three count for 26 votes). Comparatively, a majority (29) of respondents from Hoi Lai Estate answered Central SSP, as against other market areas (10). This means that the *residents of the Four Dragons tend to have their needs for leisure and entertainment satisfied in places other than Central SSP more frequently than those of Hoi Lai Estate do.*

6.2.4 Analysis

In above, we outline that SSP residents have these patterns of urban lives with the place of SSP: (a) SSP, especially its central market place, is important for the SSP residents in leading their urban lives. (b) In terms of housing classes,

higher the housing class people belong to, higher the frequency they have their basic daily needs (purchasing daily accessories and having leisure and entertainment) satisfied in places outside SSP, hence their dependence on SSP for those needs is lower. In other words, the lower housing class residents (public housing and Tong Lau residents) tend to be dependent on Central SSP for satisfying those needs more than the higher housing class people (private housing residents) do. In term of clusters: (c) Residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate tend to have their basic daily needs satisfied in places outside SSP more frequently than those of the other two clusters do. (d) Residents of the same cluster tend to have the same needs satisfied in places outside Central SSP more frequently than those of the other two clusters do. (e) Residents of the same cluster tend to have the same needs satisfied in places neighboring to their quarters more frequently than those of the other two clusters do. As we divide the cluster into the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate, we find: (f) The Four Dragons residents tend to have their basic needs satisfied in places other than SSP more frequently than those of Hoi Lai Estate do. (g) The Four Dragons residents tend to have the same needs satisfied in places other than Central SSP more frequently than those of Hoi Lai Estate do.

Reasons for (a) and (b) is simple: SSP residents can derive satisfaction from the place of SSP, especially its central market place in their daily lives. Firstly, it is because *the central market place of SSP provides the conveniences of daily lives*. Central SSP is a large market place in which all kinds of daily needs of people – including foodstuff, accessories, services, etc can be satisfied. Hence, most of the

lower housing class people we interviewed mentioned that this is a major attraction that they choose SSP to live, here are some examples:

“It is convenient to buy daily necessities in SSP. This is true, it is cheap and convenient [to buy things here] ... The rent in SSP is lower, and it is close to my husband’s work place [that’s why I choose to live in SSP].” (FG2, lines 433-35)

“I live in central SSP ... There I can eat anything I want, buy anything I like, it is really convenient.” (FG16, lines 536-37)

Secondly, *the central market place facilitates the benefit of low cost of livings for the residents*. Most of the less privileged housing class residents expressed that they like going to the market in Pei Ho Street to buy foodstuffs and other daily necessities. The most important reason behind is the low price of goods sold in that market. This also explains why those living in the peripheral areas (e.g. Hoi Lai Estate) chose going to Central SSP to purchase daily accessories over the past year (see also our discussion on transportation in this chapter), in spite of the bad transportation network linking up the region with the market place. These are views we heard from residents:

“[Where do you go to buy groceries?] Pei Ho Street. Groceries there are cheaper, the price level is one or two dollars lower compared with other places [in the same district].” (FG14, lines 322-4)

“[Which is the cheapest market?] Pei Ho Street ... That’s why I choose living in SSP. If I had money, SSP would not be my choice ... In fact SSP is not that good, the only reason [that I choose to live here] is my economic situation.” (FG3, lines 737-47)

“Maybe rent is similar/same, but in the shopping area, you know food and everything, that is more cheaper than the other districts.” (FG9, line 226-28)

Ms. Sze Lai Shan of Society for Community Organization explained further why a low cost of living is important for the urban poor:

“[Because of the low living costs] the poor people feel comfortable to dwell here, and [because of the central location and well connectedness of SSP], people here can go to work easier.” (I14, lines 40-1)

Thirdly, *it is publicly accessible and is accommodating to different modes of urban lives of different people*. This is especially important for those who live in the cramped Tong Lau Suite and cubicles apartments in Central SSP, because they need have their past time activities outside their dwelling place. For them, wandering on the streets or in the air-conditioned shopping mall (Dragon Centre), or buying things they like at affordable prices in those places are escapes from their overcrowded dwelling places.

Street. Streets such as Ap Liu Street (having a big flea market selling electrical appliances, electronic components and related parts), Pei Ho Street (for decades it has been a market street full of hawkers; the Pei Ho Street Municipal Services Building was built by the former Urban Council to accommodate some of the street side stalls), Fuk Wah Street (part of the street is a street market selling varieties of goods such as second hand books, clothes, electronic devices, cook ware; it is where the famous Golden Computer Arcade and Golden Shopping Centre is located), etc. are key places in the district which are centrally located and publicly accessible. They contain heterogeneous socio-economic activities that suit the needs of a variety of people. Though some people consider the streets as dilapidated, dirty and chaotic, and the people wandering there “[behave] aimlessly ... like the walking dead,” (see I9, lines 392-5 opinion expressed by a social worker), for those of the deprived and marginal communities in SSP, the streets are the places where they can stroll freely, buying affordable accessories, and, occasionally, having some social life that can be meaningful and important for them. An interviewee told us:

“(Do you like going to Ap Liu Street?) Yes, sometimes I go there ... just wander around the stalls ... a lot of electrical appliances there. (Do you wander alone?) Yes ... [but] sometimes I chat with the stall owners I encounter whom I’m familiar with ... [because] I know some of them. (Do you feel happy when you have a chance to talk with other people on the street?) Yes, but this is by chance only ... even if I don’t encounter someone

I know, I enjoy the walk, I consider it as a kind of physical exercise, it is much better for me than staying at my small cubicle apartment.” (FG14, lines 898-927)

In addition, the flea market is also a major point for the lower class people to sell unwanted devices from their home for recycling. Hence, it supports a community-based economy in SSP. An interviewee explained:

“[Do you know that residents of SSP like selling unwanted devices in Ap Liu Street?] Yes, they often do that. When they have old computers, DVD players that they no longer use, they will sell them [to the flea market]. Not only electrical devices, even bicycle can be sold in the market ... ” (FG16, lines 266-70)

Yet, one must notice that the old flea markets are frequented mostly by the male, middle-age residents. Female residents of SSP tend to refrain from going to those places, because of the complicated mix of people:

“I don’t know what those cads (麻甩佬) are doing there! The things that the stalls sell are old. I leave there immediately even if I need to walk through the street ... I feel insecure being there at night ... because too many ethnic minorities stay there.” (FG16, lines 167-68, 229-30)

“I don’t know why, I think the people there are dirty. I’m not giving a wide berth to them, but that’s the way I feel. They are naked to the waist, they spit and smoke ... [That’s why] I don’t like to go to Ap Liu Street.” (FG8, 1003-08)

Dragon Centre. Dragon Centre is a nine-storey shopping centre located at Yen Chow Street. With a retail floor area totals 870,000 square feet, Dragon Centre had been the largest of its kind in West Kowloon since opening in 1994, until 2007 when it was replaced by the Elements. In our focus group interviews, Dragon Centre was repeatedly mentioned by interviewees, particularly the lower class residents as one of the places in SSP they visit most frequently. One of the attractions of Dragon Centre for the SSP residents is the air-conditioned environment:

“(Do you like going to Dragon Centre?) Yes, I always visit it ... [especially during summer time], [because] it is air-conditioned.” (FG14, lines 1017-26)

“Sometimes I go to Dragon Centre, it is air-conditioned ... I go there almost everyday when the temperature is high [during summer], after that I go to the market to buy some foodstuffs, and then returning home, doing housework and preparing dinner for my husband. I spend my daily life in such a way.” (FG2, lines 341-6)

Another reason explaining why people like spending their leisure time in Dragon Centre is the heterogeneous mode of lives made possible by the privately owned shopping mall. There, the lower class people can have different kinds of activities and experiences, hence they can enjoy moments of freedom under the pleasant environment; if they shop, they can always find affordable items from the hundreds of shops and stalls; they can have exposure to the outside world simply by window shopping, etc. These are views we heard from interviews:

“At night, or during holidays, [we always choose going to] places like Nan Cheong Park, 5th floor of Pei Ho Street [Municipal Services Building], 8th floor of Dragon Centre ... viewing people skating ... [because] we avoid spending money, [hence] we do not go to the shopping areas.” (FG2, lines 388-90)

“It (Dragon Centre) is good, it has all kinds of things. It should be good [to have one or two more shopping mall of the kind of Dragon Centre].” (FG3, lines 980-91)

“We always go to Dragon Centre, because my daughter loves it ... this is the only way we spend our leisure time. I let her go to the 8th floor to play “dancing street” (an electronic game), I do not give her money, [but] she

can have one minute free playing ... [The most important thing is that] I do not give her money ... ” (FG5, lines 940-53)

The conversations of two lower class male residents, both CSSA recipients can manifest the ways of lives that commoners lead in Dragon Centre:

“Liu: I see whether there is something cheap to buy. If yes, I’ll buy something. Wong: I just have a walk there. Liu: I may eat something, there are lots of choices. Wong: Yes, me too. There are MacDonald’s, Fairwood ... and Kentucky Fried Chicken ... [and] a cooked food centre on the top floor.” (FG14, lines 539-48)

Public facilities. This category of space include public parks (e.g. Nam Cheong Park, Sham Shui Po Park, Tung Chau Street Park, Maple Street Playground, etc), public libraries (Lai Chi Kok Library, Pak Tin Library, Un Chau Street Library and Po On Road Library), and indoor playground (5th floor of Pei Ho Street Municipal Services Building). In public parks, residents from all walks of life can have physical exercise, conduct recreational activities, or meet friends. In public libraries, people can enjoy reading in the air-conditioned environment. The unique indoor air-conditioned playground at Pei Ho Street Municipal Services Building provides a good choice for people to past their leisure time in summer. Below shows some ways that people use the facilities:

“Sometimes I bring him (her son) to public parks, he always urges me to go with him to the parks ... [Which one?] Nam Cheong Park and Sham Shui Po Park.” (FG1, lines 70-76, 80-89)

“[That means you go to public parks everyday?] No, I go there only occasionally, listening to the Cantonese opera music that people play there ... Some people play chess in the park ... but I don’t participate in those activities, I’m just a spectator ... [Do you meet friends and chat with them in the parks?] Yes, I do, sometimes.” (FG14, lines 364-77)

“[Can you find friends in the parks?] Yes ... I meet them here. And school, sometimes in park. [So you meet them in holidays or weekdays?] Maybe holidays sometimes, most time weekdays. [Which parks do you visit most?] Mostly I go to the parks, but my son goes to market ... the indoor air-conditioned playground in Pei Ho Municipal Services Building.” (FG10, lines 420-23)

“Sometimes we go to the public library [in Un Chau Street], because it is located nearest to our quarter. Sometimes we visit 5th floor of Pei Ho Street Municipal Services Building ... Public parks are too hot, that’s why we seldom go the parks.” (FG2, lines 325-31)

“I think SSP is really good, there are so many public libraries ... [What do you do in public libraries?] Reading newspapers, and enjoying the air-conditioning ... but we have to compete for newspaper. Talking and sleeping are not allowed there ...” (FG14, lines 1028-54)

For (c), (d), (e), the foremost important factor is the peripheral location of the cluster of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate in the district, and it is not well connected by public transport to the central market place of SSP. This discourages the residents of the cluster to have their basic daily needs satisfied in Central SSP. Hence they can choose either places neighboring their quarters or places outside Central SSP i.e. other market places in SSP e.g. Mei Foo, Cheung Sha Wan, Lai Chi Kok, or in other districts to satisfy those needs.

However, as the residents of the Four Dragons, and those from Hoi Lai Estate come from different housing classes – the former are middle / upper middle class people living in private housing estates, the latter are chiefly from the lower class, we need further examine the difference between them in terms of the patterns of urban lives in SSP, as (f) and (g) indicate. Briefly, the reasons are: Firstly, as residents of the Four Dragons have stronger purchasing power, they can afford to have their basic daily needs satisfied outside Central SSP, where the costs of living is the lowest in SSP. For example, a resident of the Four Dragons said that she prefers going to Mei Foo or supermarkets in the shopping arcade downstairs to buy daily accessories (FG11, lines 137-40). Contrarily, residents of Hoi Lai Estates, who have a lower purchasing power,

still need going to Central SSP for satisfying the same needs, even though the area they live is not well connected with public transportation. The view expressed by a young mother of Hoi Lai Estate in the focus group interview deserves attention:

“Buying foodstuff is not convenient in this place ... [therefore we need purchase them at Central SSP] ... [however,] the bus services [linking here and there] are at intervals of 15 minutes, if we miss a bus, we need to wait for another 15 minutes, everyday we consume more than an hour of our valuable time waiting for buses. I am dissatisfied with this.” (FG7, lines 314-22)

Secondly, as the Four Dragons residents have higher physical mobility and stronger connection with other districts (e.g. their work place), they show higher propensity to buy daily accessories and have leisure and entertainment in places outside SSP, and their dependence on SSP for satisfying such needs is lower. For example, a resident of the Four Dragon revealed that she rarely visit Dragon Centre, because it is “small” and “old”. As she is much more mobile than the lower class people do, she can opt for other large scale shopping malls elsewhere:

“If I need shop for clothes, I will go to Mongkok ... I rarely go to the Dragon Centre ... The tastes [of the commodities sold at Dragon Centre] do

not fit my need. [Dragon Centre] is too small and old. I prefer going to Langham Place Shopping Mall [in Mongkok].” (FG11, lines 875-91)

On the contrary, residents of Hoi Lai Estate tend to have lower physical mobility and weaker connection with other districts, hence they show lower tendency to have the basic needs fulfilled outside SSP (see also analysis in Section 3).

6.2.5 *Summary*

We have these findings for this section:

SSP residents derive satisfaction from the place of the district, especially its central market place, in leading their urban lives, because it provides convenient choices for people to satisfy their daily needs at relatively low costs. Moreover, as they are publicly accessible, and impose less restriction on people’s behavior, places such as the market areas, flea markets, Dragon Centre, public parks in SSP enable the lower class residents to have escapes from their cramped quarters and enjoy moments of freedom during their leisure time.

Therefore, people from the lower housing class (i.e. Tong Lau and public housing residents), having weaker physical mobility and purchasing power, show lower tendency to fulfill their basic daily needs (purchasing daily accessories and having leisure and entertainment) outside SSP, and have higher dependence on Central SSP for satisfying such needs. On the contrary, the private housing residents, having higher physical mobility and stronger

purchasing power, demonstrate higher propensity to have the basic needs satisfied in places outside SSP or its central market place, hence lower dependence on SSP for satisfying such needs.

Residents of the geographical cluster the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estates demonstrates distinct patterns of daily lives in the place of SSP compared with those of the other two clusters: they are less likely to have their basic daily needs satisfied in Central SSP, and more likely to have those needs fulfilled in places neighboring their quarters or places outside Central SSP i.e. other market places in SSP, or other districts.

However, upon closer examination, residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate show different patterns of daily lives. While people of the former group have higher tendency to have their basic daily needs satisfied in places outside Central SSP, those of the latter group are still highly dependent on the region for satisfying their needs, even though the transportation connection between their region and the central place is poor.

6.3 Patterns of daily lives of SSP residents in the place of SSP and their satisfaction with the transportation of the district

Based on above discussion, this Section explores further the connection between the patterns of daily lives of SSP residents in the place of SSP, and

their satisfaction with the transportation of the district. Analysis will be articulated according to two independent variables, namely (a) the residents' housing class, and (b) the geographical cluster they live.

Among the respondents we surveyed, 84.9% are “satisfied” (71.9%) or “strongly satisfied” (13%) with the transportation systems connecting SSP. The mean scores that our respondents gave to the public transportation in SSP is 0.85 (maximum score is 2, while minimum score is -2; 2 = “strongly agree” in answering their satisfaction with the transportation connection, 1 = “agree”, -1 = “disagree”, -2 = “strongly disagree”).

6.3.1 *Housing classes*

Difference between housing classes is significant regarding the score given to transportation. Mean scores given by residents of public housings, private housings and Tong Lau are 0.72, 1.02 and 1.09 respectively (Table 6.10). In other words, *satisfaction of the residents of public housings over transportation is lower than those of the other two groups.*

Table 6.10: Satisfaction with transportation and housing classes

	Level of satisfaction (mean score)
Public housing	0.72
Private housing	1.02
Tong Lau	1.09
All	0.85

P<0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

6.3.2 Geographical clusters

Difference between geographical clusters is significant regarding the score given to transportation. Mean scores given by residents of clusters Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, Central SSP and the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate are 0.82, 1.04 and 0.56 respectively (Table 6.11). Obviously, the mean scores given by residents of Central SSP is the highest among the three clusters, and the mean scores by residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate is significantly lower than that given by residents of the other two clusters. In other words, *residents of the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate show highest discontent on SSP's transportation among the residents of SSP.*

Table 6.11: Satisfaction with transportation and cluster

	Level of satisfaction (mean score)
Shek Kip Mei & Pak Tin	1.04
Central SSP	0.82
Four Dragons and Hoi Lai	0.56
All	0.85

P<0.001; Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

6.3.3 Geographical clusters regrouped

As we divide the cluster into the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estates, we have the mean scores given by the two groups of people as 0.89 and 0.22 respectively (Table 6.12). By this we can conclude that *the upper middle / middle class residents living in the Four Dragons are much more satisfied with SSP's transportation than residents of Hoi Lai Estates do, and that satisfaction with transportation is the lowest among residents of Hoi Lai Estate in SSP* (far below the total mean; significantly below the mean of scores given by residents of Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, which are also not centrally located).

Table 6.12: Satisfaction with transportation and cluster (regrouped)

	Level of satisfaction (mean score)
Shek Kip Mei & Pak Tin	1.04
Central SSP	0.82
Four Dragons	0.89
Hoi Lai	0.22
All	0.85

P<0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

6.3.4 Analysis

Why are residents of SSP largely satisfied with the transportation in the district?

Why Hoi Lai residents are discontented with it? Discussions below, evidenced

by information we collect from focus groups interviews, can help us find out the answers.

6.3.4.1 Tong Lau residents. Tong Lau residents' satisfaction with SSP's transportation is easy to understand. Though they are of the less privileged groups, they dwell in Central SSP where various kinds of transportation pass through. Hence they can enjoy all the conveniences of traveling. Two interviewees (CSSA recipient, and non-CSSA recipient / low income group) expressed their views:

“Many people hope to reside in SSP. Although the district is marked by poverty ... Its transportation is convenient, it seems like located at the central point [of Hong Kong], there are various kinds of transportation available. If I go to Mongkok, I can choose either public transportations or walking ... ” (FG1, lines 795-7)

“One of the merits of living in SSP is that, as it is located at the city center, it is well connected by public buses and the Mass Transit Railway. Though the living condition of the district is bad ... its transportation is truly convenient.” (FG3, lines 296-8)

6.3.4.2 Residents of the Four Dragons. Middle class residents who live farther away from central SSP are also satisfied with transportation in SSP. Interviewee from the Four Dragons said:

“Transportation is good here, though daily life is not so convenient, because there is no food market, public libraries and other [public] facilities nearby.” (FG12, line 523)

“In fact transportation in this area can be considered as convenient ... it is connected by public buses, public light buses ... and now it is linked to the MTR [directly with an underground passage].” (FG11, lines 23-25)

“Transportation here is as good as Mei Foo ... So I’m really satisfied with the Four Dragons.” (FG11, lines 594-96)

Why are these higher housing class residents satisfied with the transportation, even though the region they dwell is not well connected to Central SSP? Our findings in Section 2 can help explain this: residents of the private housings tend to have higher physical mobility and connection with other districts and stronger purchasing power, hence they can have their daily needs satisfied in places outside Central SSP, and their dependence on Central SSP for satisfying such needs are lower. For them, public transportations are for linking up the place they dwell with other districts, not for intra-district communication. Therefore, even though their dwelling place is not well connected by public transports to Central SSP, they still show high level of satisfaction on it.

6.3.4.3 Residents of Hoi Lai Estates. Lower class people who dwell in the Hoi Lai Estates are in general discontented with the transportation linkages to central SSP. This is easy to understand. Following our observations stated above, Central SSP is of vital importance to the deprived groups in their everyday life. Deficiencies in linking up the peripheral and Central SSP with public transportation bring to them inconvenience in their daily lives. An experience shared by a resident of Hoi Lai Estate, who is a CSSA recipient, is illuminating:

“We choose going to the markets at Shun Ning Road and Pei Ho Street to buy groceries, because they are much cheaper compared to buying them in Mei Foo ... [We can travel by public bus] but those outmoded buses are not easy to get on ... therefore I prefer walking [to the food market]. So every time I go there I buy a lot ... at least enough for consumption for a week ... I have to go together with my baby who slept in the baby stroller, [and the bus driver] asked me to hold him in my arms and fold up the baby stroller [so I could not get on the bus].” (FG5, lines 226-46)

Why are the residents of Hoi Lai Estates dissatisfied with SSP’s transportation? The reason is simple: on the one hand, these people of the less privileged class are highly dependent on Central SSP for their lives, due to the reasons we outline in Section 2. However, on the other hand, their dwelling areas are not

well connected to Central SSP with public transportations. In other words, their needs for transportation to Central SSP cannot be well fulfilled.

6.3.4.4 Residents of Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates. Though Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates are not located close to Central SSP, residents in the region did not show discontent over the transportation as high as the residents of Hoi Lai do (mean of score given by them was 0.82, which is close to the total mean; whereas the mean of score by Hoi Lai residents was 0.22)? The two regions have similar geographical location (peripheral location) and their residents are from the same housing class (public housing). What distinguishes them is the distance to a major market area. Whereas Hoi Lai is not served by a major market place located nearby, the wet market in Shek Kip Mei Estate has largely satisfied the basic needs of the residents in the nearby areas at reasonable prices. As it is not necessary for the residents of the cluster to purchase daily accessories from other regions, they have less reliance on the public transportation linking up their region and Central SSP, and their frustration over it is lower. A resident of the region we interviewed told us:

“There is a food market in Shek Kip Mei Estate, we always purchase [foodstuff] from that market ... In Saturday or Sunday, after work [when my time is more flexible], I usually shop around the wet market in Central SSP, then I’ll buy more foodstuff [from that market], so that I don’t have to buy groceries again in the following few days.” (FG8, lines 86-99)

6.3.5 *Summary*

In summary, SSP residents are largely satisfied with the transportation in SSP.

Upon closer examination, three features can be observed:

Firstly, people who live in Central SSP have the highest level of satisfaction over transportation.

Secondly, discontent over transportation can be found mainly among residents of the less well off groups who reside in Hoi Lai Estates located in peripheral SSP.

Thirdly, though the Four Dragons is located far away from Central SSP, their residents show high level of satisfaction on transportation.

Fourthly, though Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates are located far away from Central SSP, their residents do not show high level of discontent on transportation.

From these we can conclude that two factors are relevant in explaining the level of satisfaction of SSP residents with the district's transportation: (a) the geographical cluster they live. That is, farther away people live from Central SSP or other major market areas (e.g. the wet market in Shek Kip Mei), more likely they are dissatisfied with SSP's transportation. However, this is to be judged further by (b) housing class of the residents. That is, those who live in the peripheral regions that are badly communicated with Central SSP and not served by a mature market place nearby, and are from the lower housing class, are discontented most with the transportation.

6.4 Residents' satisfaction with the community environment of SSP

Sections 6.2 – 6.3 show that people of the deprived groups in SSP have higher dependence on SSP, particularly Central SSP for satisfying their daily needs. Some of them, especially those living in the outlying regions, are disappointed with the deficient transportation linking up the region they live and Central SSP. Yet, this does not reduce their dependence upon Central SSP. From these we may surmise that SSP might not be the best choice for the lower class people to live in, because it is not sufficiently ideal. However, it is still a good option for the less well off class people because it provides the necessary supports that suit their basic needs. Hence, for many of them, moving their home away from SSP is not a rational alternative. Based on this, this section looks further into the perception of SSP's residents on the community environment they have in SSP, to examine whether they are disappointed with the community environment that they have to face inescapably. Below analyses on peoples' perception on SSP's community identity fall into three parts, namely, living environment, city planning and public order. Again, the variables (a) housing class and (b) geographical cluster will be used to have a deeper look into the issues.

6.4.1 Living environment

Among the respondents we surveyed, 46.1% are satisfied (44.7%) or strongly satisfied (1.4%) with the living environment of SSP. The mean score that our respondents gave to the living environment is -0.09.

Difference between housing classes is significant with the score given to living environment. Mean scores given by residents of public housings, private housings and Tong Lau are 0.16, -0.41 and -0.56 respectively (Table 6.13). In other words, *residents of public housings are much more satisfied with the living environment than those of the other two groups. And the Tong Lau residents are discontented with the living environment most.*

Difference between geographical clusters is significant regarding the score given to living environment. Mean scores given by residents of clusters Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, Central SSP and the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate are 0.2, -0.27 and -0.14 respectively (Table 6.14). Obviously, *residents of the cluster Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates show highest degree of satisfaction with the living environment among the three clusters.*

As we divide the cluster Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate into the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estates, we have mean scores given by the two groups of people as -0.3 and 0.3 respectively (Table 6.15). In other words, we can conclude that *the upper middle / middle class residents living in the Four Dragons are much more dissatisfied with SSP's living environment than residents of Hoi Lai Estates do, and that satisfaction with living environment is the lowest among residents of the Four Dragons in SSP* (below the total mean; below the mean of scores given by residents of Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, in which the lower class residents dwell).

6.4.2 City planning

Among the respondents we surveyed, 51.9% are satisfied (47.6%) or strongly satisfied (4.3%) with the city planning of SSP. The mean score that our respondents gave to the city planning is 0.14.

Difference between housing classes is significant regarding the score given to city planning. Mean scores given by residents of public housings, private housings and Tong Lau are 0.23, 0.04 and -0.02 respectively (Table 6.13). In other words, *residents of public housings are much more satisfied with the city planning than those of the other two groups. And the Tong Lau residents are discontented with the city planning most.*

Difference between geographical clusters is significant regarding the score given to city planning. Mean scores given by residents of clusters Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, Central SSP and the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate are 0.33, -0.21 and -0.19 respectively (Table 6.14). Obviously, *residents of the cluster Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates show highest degree of satisfaction with the city planning among the three clusters.*

As we divide the cluster Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate into the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estates, we have mean scores given by the two groups of people as -0.09 and -0.3 respectively (Table 6.15). In other words, we can conclude that *the Hoi Lai residents are much more dissatisfied with SSP's city planning than residents of the Four Dragons do, and that satisfaction with city planning is the lowest among residents of Hoi Lai Estate in SSP* (below the total mean; below the mean of scores given by residents of Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, in which the lower class residents dwell).

6.4.3 Public order

Among the respondents we surveyed, 60.5% are satisfied (58.5%) or strongly satisfied (2%) with the public order of SSP. The mean score that our respondents gave to the public order is 0.25.

Difference between housing classes is significant regarding the score given to public order. Mean scores given by residents of public housings, private housings and Tong Lau are 0.39, 0.13 and -0.13 respectively (Table 6.13). In other words, *residents of public housings are much more satisfied with the public order than those of the other two groups. And the Tong Lau residents are discontented with the public order most.*

Difference between geographical clusters is significant regarding the scores given to public order. Mean scores given by residents of the clusters Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates, Central SSP and the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate are 0.39, 0.18 and 0.20 respectively (Table 6.14). Obviously, *residents of the cluster Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates show highest degree of satisfaction with the city planning among the three clusters.*

As we divide the cluster Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estate into the Four Dragons and Hoi Lai Estates, we have means scores given by the two groups of people as 0.18 and 0.22 respectively (Table 6.15). In other words, we can conclude that *the residents of the Four Dragons are more dissatisfied with SSP's public order than residents of the Four Dragons do, and that satisfaction with public order is the lowest among residents of the Four Dragons and the Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estate in SSP.*

Table 6.13: Satisfaction with community environment and housing classes

	Living environment	City planning	Law and order
Public housing	0.16	0.23	0.39
Private housing	-0.41	0.04	0.13
Tong Lau	-0.56	-0.02	-0.13
All	-0.90	0.14	0.25

P<0.001

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

Table 6.14: Satisfaction with community environment and clusters

	Living environment*	City planning*	Law and order**
Shek Kip Mei & Pak Tin	-0.27	0.21	0.18
Central SSP	0.20	0.33	0.39
Four Dragons & Hoi Lai	-0.14	-0.19	0.20
All	-0.90	0.14	0.25

*P<0.001; **P<0.05

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

Table 6.15: Satisfaction with community environment and clusters (regrouped)

	Living environment*	City planning*	Law and order**
Shek Kip Mei & Pak Tin	-0.27	0.21	0.18
Central SSP	0.20	0.33	0.39
Four Dragons	-0.30	-0.90	0.18
Hoi Lai	0.03	-0.30	0.22
All	-0.90	0.14	0.25

*P<0.001; **P<0.05

Mean score on 5-point scale, -2=strongly dissatisfied, 0=don't know/no comments, 2=strongly satisfied; higher score, higher evaluation

6.4.4 Analysis

From above mentioned, we have the following patterns that deserves attention: (a) In terms of housing classes, residents of public housing show the highest satisfaction with the living environment, city planning and public order of SSP. (b) In terms of clusters, residents of Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates show the highest satisfaction with the living environment, city planning and public order of SSP. (c) In terms housing class, the lowest mean score is given by Tong Lau residents to the living environment, city planning and public order of SSP. (d) Upon further examination, Hoi Lai residents shows much higher satisfaction (0.03) over living environment than residents of the Four Dragons do (-0.3). (e) Dissatisfaction over city planning is much higher among the Hoi Lai residents than do the residents of the Four Dragons.

Reasons for (a), (b) and (d) are simple. Firstly, generally speaking, public housing estates in SSP, especially those located near Central SSP are well planned and maintained, supported by public services and facilities, and have all the convenience of the central market place. Secondly, many of those living in public housings are lower class people who do not have high and unreasonable expectation on their living environment. They are satisfied with the spatial environment of public housing estates they live. Below are views we heard from focus group interviews:

“I think I am lucky, [because] I don’t need to dwell [in central SSP], [where there are] cubicle apartments, [the living environment there] is noisy and chaotic.” (FG5, a Hoi Lai resident, line 983)

“We are not bad, [because] we can dwell in a public housing flat. Conditions the cubicle apartments [in central SSP] are really miserable. [We are] satisfied with this ... it is like winning a [lottery] first prize.” (FG8, lines 482-4, 716, 771-2)

“I’m very pleased that I can move from a Tong Lau flat in Fuk Wah Street to Fu Cheong Estate, because we have a larger living area here. The conditions in Fuk Wah Street is bad, not only because of the hygienic problems, but also because of the complicated mix of people in that region. Fu Cheong Estate [where I live] is cleaner.” (FG15, lines 524-5)

A social worker from Caritas Hong Kong also acknowledged the importance of providing housing security to the lower class people, she said:

“Providing public housing [to the lower class people] is the best [solution to the problems], there is nothing to be worried for them if they can settle down in a public rental flat.” (I9, line 115)

Reason for (c) is easy to understand. Tong Lau in Central SSP is well known for their miserable spatial environment. This is further verified in our focus group interviews. Complaints we received from the Tong Lau residents include:

Small living area and crowdedness:

“I live in Wong Chuk Street, near the playground. [Cubicle apartments] there are very small, [the one I dwell] is about 100 square feet area, which is shared by four people ... ” (FG1, lines 475-477)

“My cubicle apartment is around 40 square feet area, [including me] three people live there, [it is] very crowded.” (FG2, line 184)

Hygienic problems:

“There is no window in my cubicle apartment.” (FG1, lines 105-9)

“The environment is poor, especially during rainfall ... I don’t want to mention it, people like to excrete in the staircase of the Tong Lau block I live.” (FG2, lines 423-31)

Vulnerability to crimes:

Mr. Wong Chi Kan, a social worker at Caritas Hong Kong said: “Those who have child are very worried about [the security problems] ... not a small

number of our service recipients shared with us their bitter experience: when they go to work, they asked their neighbors helping them to look after their child, finally the child were sexually violated ... ” (I9, p.8)

Due to their dissatisfaction with the living conditions, many of the Tong Lau residents look forward to the allocation of a public rental flat, either in SSP or in other districts:

“We have no other choices, we fail to improve our economic situation ... we can only hope for moving into a public rental flat as soon as possible.” (FG1, lines 129-30)

“If I have a public housing flat, I will feel at ease [in my life], then I can devote myself to work, or any other things. I feel insecure now ... ” (FG3, a Tong Lau resident, lines 573-4)

“I will accept the offer if I am assigned a public rental flat [located anywhere], at least I can have a larger dwelling area, this is so urgent [for me], [but I understand] that it will be too unrealistic to expect local resettlement.” (FG1, a male Tong Lau resident, lines 787-8)

“If I am assigned a public housing flat in SSP, no doubt I will continue to live in this district ... It is worthwhile to wait for a longer period of time [for

a public housing flat in SSP] ... a merit of SSP is that it is located at the city center, and well connected by public buses and underground train.” (FG3, a Tong Lau resident, lines 249-55)

“(Two Nepali) would not like to live in Tuen Mun or Tin Shui Wai. They want to stay in Sham Shui Po. So they decided not to apply for the public housing ... Because they have lived in Sham Shui Po for a long time, so that’s why they are very used to stay here, so they don’t want to move out.” (FG10, lines 694-701, 961-2).

Explaining (e), observation we outline in Section 6.2 applies: The lower housing class residents of Hoi Lai Estate, due to the lower physical mobility and weaker purchasing power they have, show higher dependence on SSP, particularly Central SSP for satisfying their basic daily needs. If such needs of them are not satisfied, the natural outcome is that they feel frustrated, and they tend to attribute their grievances to the city planning of SSP, which is supposed to facilitate improvement in the built, economic and social environment of the community. Oppositely, the higher housing class people of the Four Dragons, because of the higher physical mobility and stronger purchasing power they have, their dependence on SSP for satisfying the basic needs is lower. As they do not have high expectation on SSP for satisfaction of their needs, their discontent over it is lower relatively.

6.4.5 *Summary*

We have findings as follows for this section:

Firstly, in terms of housing class, residents of public housing show the highest satisfaction with the living environment, city planning and public order of SSP.

Secondly, in terms housing class, the lowest mean score to the living environment, city planning and public order of SSP is given by the Tong Lau residents.

Thirdly, in terms of cluster, residents of Shek Kip Mei and Pak Tin Estates show the highest satisfaction with the living environment, city planning and public order of SSP.

Fourthly, upon closer examination, Hoi Lai residents show much higher satisfaction over living environment than residents of the Four Dragons do.

Fifthly, dissatisfaction over city planning is much higher among the Hoi Lai residents than do the residents of the Four Dragons.

From above, we can conclude that living in SSP is a good choice for the less well off class people because it provides the necessary supports that suit their basic needs. Hence, for many of them, moving their home away from SSP is not a wise option, even though the spatial environment they currently have is not idyllic. The aforementioned suggests that this applies best to the Tong Lau residents in the district. Dissatisfaction over the spatial environment are the highest among this group of people, yet due to the convenience they can have in regions neighboring to their quarters (see discussion in Sections 6.2 and 6.3), they do not have the intention to move their home away from SSP, unless a

better choice is provided. Some people consider having been assigned a public rental flat in other districts as a factor that pulls them away. Yet for others, it depends on the location of the public housing estates they are allocated to. Some districts are absolutely not their preference, e.g. Tin Shui Wai, Tuen Mun. For these people, the ideal scenario is having been accommodated to a public rental flat in SSP, so that they can encompass the advantages of both – the convenience of living in the city centre, and an improved living environment.

6.5 Community identity and the sense of place in SSP

Based on above, this section further examines the sense of place and the community identity that SSP residents have with the place of the district. Analysis is based on data we collect from questionnaire survey (V028) and focus group interviews.

Among the 1114 respondents we surveyed, 994 can name one or more landmarks that he / she think can represent SSP (V028), constituting 89.2% of the total. Of the total 2688 multiple responses, the most frequently named landmark was Ap Liu Street (644). It was followed by Golden Computer Arcade / Golden Computer Centre (634), the Dragon Centre (599) and Pei Ho Market (359). These four made up 83.9% of the total votes. While public parks (including Tung Chau Street Park, Sham Shui Po Parks, Nam Cheong Park, etc), which government has invested large sum of resources to build and maintain, get only 101 votes – 3.8% of the votes (Table 6.16).

Table 6.16: Multiple Responses to Landmarks that Represent SSP

	N	%
Ap Liu Street	644	24.0
Golden Computer Arcade/Golden Computer Centre	634	23.6
Dragon Centre	599	22.3
Pei Ho Street Market	359	13.4
The Garden Company Limited	154	5.7
Parks (e.g. Tung Chau Street Park, Sham Shui Po Park, Nam Cheong Park)	101	3.8
Mei Ho House	56	2.1
Others	21	0.7
Don't know/No comments/Refuse to answer	120	4.4
Total	2688	100.0

The named landmarks are places where residents of SSP visit most frequently for satisfying their basic daily needs. Contrarily, the monumental buildings / heritage sites conserved and revitalized by the government, such as Mei Ho House, the Ex-North Kowloon Magistracy Building, Lui Seng Chun, etc. were not nominated frequently. Obviously, the selected sites are “vernacular” urban buildings or architectural environment defined not by architectural style and/or architect, but by social use, social class, spatial ties and accessibility (Hayden, 1999, 4).

Below is what we obtained from the focus group interviews which residents of SSP explained why they considered those places as landmarks of SSP:

Ap Liu Street:

“I choose Ap Liu Street. Merchandizes sold in the street such as electrical devices, mobile phones, etc. are cheap to buy.” (FG4, line 47)

“When I need to buy computer devices, or pirate CDs, VCDs, DVDs, I’ll choose going to Ap Liu Street.” (FG11, 1586)

“It is cheap to repair electrical appliances there. Like months ago when the remote control of my TV set went out of order, I spent only dollars to repair it in Ap Liu Street. This is really good.” (FG15, lines 502-3)

“I opt for Ap Liu Street, because the used merchandizes sold at the flea market symbolize Sham Shui Po – old and ruined.” (FG15, line 491)

Golden Computer Arcade / Golden Computer Centre:

“I think Golden Computer Centre can best represent Sham Shui Po. Though it is not as old as other places (historic sites in the district), they are really well known ... Now even foreign tourists love visiting the shopping malls and have a look of the computer devices.” (FG13, lines 414-8)

“I opt for Golden Computer Arcade, because now even the computer festival is held in Sham Shui Po, not in Wan Chai, this help more people

have a better understanding on Sham Shui Po. Usually the computer devices sold in the shopping malls are cheaper [than anywhere in Hong Kong].” (FG15, lines 493-4)

Dragon Centre:

“[I consider the Dragon Centre as the landmark representing SSP], because it is well known.” (FG3, line 970)

“It has an indoor roller coaster, which is the only one in Hong Kong. Though it no longer functions, it leaves a strong impression on me.” (FG15, lines 470-1)

“When I have date with friends, we will meet up at the Dragon Centre ... Because it is easy to find, and its logo is sharp.” (FG16, lines 330-1)

Pei Ho Market:

“Groceries sold in the market are cheap.” (FG8, line 1032)

“Actually the lady she just said she loves to stay in Sham Shui Po because those kinds of things (the markets) really make her like her own home. Because it’s quite cheap also that area, you know, kind of trolleys, there are many hawkers, something like that.” (FG9, lines 558-87)

In summary, the sense of place that SSP residents have is cultivated on the basis of the vernacular community environment of the district, not the architectural monuments. These vernacular built environments have the “power of place” that nurtures citizens’ memories “to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory.” (1999, 9) As identity is intimately tied to collective or social memories interconnected with the experiences of people sharing the same locale, the memories stored in the community environment in turn help nurture the more profound, subtle and inclusive identity of what it means to be people of a community (Hayden, 1999, 9). Regarding this, a proper approach to managing the built environment can be a way that the sense of place and community identity in the district being heightened.

6.6 Conclusion

6.6.1 Summary

The spatial pattern of urban lives of the residents of SSP this chapter analyzes can be concluded as follows:

Firstly, SSP residents derive satisfaction from the places of the district, especially the central market place, in their urban lives, because the places located facilitate the provision of low costs of living, and are freely accessible to them.

Secondly, the lower class people of SSP are more dependent on the central market place for satisfying their basic daily needs (purchasing daily accessories, having leisure and entertainment).

Thirdly, due to their reliance on Central SSP in satisfying their needs, the

less privileged people living in the peripheral regions of the district are frustrated with the deficient transportation linkages between the regions they dwell and the central market place. Apart from them, all other SSP's residents show relatively high degree of satisfaction with the transportation.

Fourthly, Tong Lau residents are discontented with the community environment of SSP. Yet, there are still ample of reasons for them to settle down in the district, e.g. low living costs, convenient transportation, etc.

Fifthly, because of their dependence on the vernacular places of SSP in satisfying their daily needs, residents of SSP identify most with landmarks that are closely related to their daily lives, examples are Ap Liu Street, the Dragon Centre, Pei Ho Market, etc. Heritage sites and monumental buildings, e.g. the Ex-North Kowloon Magistracy Building, Lui Seng Chun, that are distant to their daily lives do not matter in nurturing their community identity.

6.6.2 Policy recommendation

As place is important in people communal lives in an urban setting, policies can be implemented to improve people's lives in SSP:

Firstly, as the residents of SSP are dependent on Central SSP in satisfying their basic daily needs, special care should be taken in implementing urban renewal. If possible, no major reconstruction should be carried out, because it would have grave effect on the place of SSP and hence the lives of the less privileged people. First of all, the "gentrification" process and rise of land rent would push the urban poor out of SSP and they can no longer enjoy living in the city hub which is well connected by public transportation. Secondly, as the rent of land goes up with large scale reconstruction, the market place now

selling daily accessories at low prices cannot be sustained easily. This will boost up the costs of living of the district and push the poor away from it. Thirdly, street life in SSP will be undermined following the restructuring of flea markets. All these are the crux that affects “the right to the city” of the poor. Residents of SSP we interviewed have raised concern on these possible outcomes of urban redevelopment (see FG3, lines 364-71, FG5, lines 999-1000, FG12, lines 451-58, FG16, lines 236-64). The District Officer has rightly pointed out: “why do we need get rid of poverty in SSP? If we do so, where can the poor dwell? [At least] we should have a place to accommodate them.”

Secondly, though no large scale urban renewal should be implemented, actions should be taken to improve environmental hygiene, building safety and public order in SSP.

Thirdly, transportation linking up the peripheral regions of the district, i.e. Hoi Lai, Fu Cheong, Shek Kip Mei, Pak Tin, Chak On Estates, etc should be improved. The fares should be kept at affordable levels.

Fourthly, recreational facilities that suit the needs of the residents of SSP should be provided. More indoor playgrounds modeled after 5th Floor of Pei Ho Municipal Services Building should be built in the district so that the deprived groups, especially those dwell in the cramped Tong Lau suites can spend their leisure time under the air-conditioned, pleasant environment.

VII. Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1 Weakening Social Capital and Civic Association

Social capital and civic association in Shamshuipo are not as strong as expected. The reshuffling of residency, coupled with the inflow of new immigrants and new middle class, means that the pre-existing neighbourhood has been waning. Social fabrics in SSP does not epitomise a high degree of networks and trust as expected. Social contact of SSP residents is quite restricted district-wide and territory-wide. Trust still remains within core and extended family while trust in friends and neighbours is comparatively weak.

Our study reconfirms the positive function of social capital and civic association on perception on quality of life and satisfaction on social relations in SSP. People with greater scopes of social networks tend to have a more positive attitude towards their quality of life. Moreover, increase in quality of life exists alongside an increase in people's satisfaction with the social relations in SSP as a whole. Respondents with no friends are not the group which is mostly discontented with their life. Their satisfaction, although still modest in comparison with the groups marked by many friends, may be explained by using the concept of public space.

Bonding social capital, according to our finding, provides emotional support, comfort and joy, which are often mediated with the intervention of civic associations. Trust can be easily developed among this homogenous network. We find that higher bridging social capital is also correlated with high satisfaction of quality of life. However, social support networks in SSP do not

operate any better than those in Tin ShuiWai. Social networks for residents of SSP remain excessively homogenous. In other words, the bridging type of networks is weak in the district, which makes it difficult for local residents to tap into the resources inherent in the classes different to them.

Though all residents in SSP do not have strong social capital, some particular vulnerable groups have even weaker than the average which may need our attention. New immigrants have the narrowest scope of social networks. Low income families have lowest social trust in friends. For the 'tong lau' residents, the bridging type of social capital is in particular short supply.

Civic associations have major pitfalls, structurally and operationally, and these drawbacks scupper their effort in fostering social capital in the district. social assets enshrined in the newly emerging middle class can be transferred and complementary to the worse-off in the district.

7.2 Recommendations to Strengthen Social Capital and Civic Association

Firstly, rebuilding trust and association is a major strategy to strengthen social capital in SSP by enhancing bonding social capital and develop new bridging social capital to improve the quality of life of the SSP residents.

Secondly, we also propose to enhance bonding social capital by extending emotional support from family to friends and neighbor by promoting self-help & mutual-help activities and groups like elderly volunteer group, single parent group, neighbor-watch programme etc. Adequate funding and place should be

set up to encourage NGOs and civic organization to initiate more self-help and mutual-help activities. A district-based resource centre for self-help groups and associations to provide information, advice as well as meeting space will be a focal point to boost up self-help and mutual-help activities and associations.

Thirdly, face-to-face interaction is one of the most important elements to create trust. Government should provide more public space in SSP like small garden, covered playgrounds to foster more face-to-face interactions of residents to facilitate their gathering, chatting and informal interaction. The town planning should give priority to this public space rather than merely residential or commercial area.

Fourthly, developing new bridging social capital is also equally important. Bridging social capital can be built up naturally and easily in economic exchange activities, community economic development projects is a good strategy to develop new bridging social capital between different classes. Government and District Board can support old and new community economic projects like 2nd hand shop, consumer co-op for green products to facilitate cross-housing class exchanges and interaction

Fifthly, external intervention in the form of voluntary organizations is required for the local residents to come together, which provides a platform for social capital to develop and sustain.

Sixthly, we propose to establish new initiatives in District Level Community Development, by employing social workers of NGOs to fill in the gap of the structural holes between different classes, ethnicities and

communities.

Seventhly, facilitating formation of different residents groups and association in SSP, no matter civic, welfare, self-help, recreational, cultural and religion will promote social capital in a more organized and sustainable way by means of a “Residents’ Space (居民空間)” model. The key idea of the “Residents’ Space (RS)” is that it is not a “centre”, which just focus on organized groups and activities or a “community hall” which provides meeting rooms or sport venues. Our concept of a RS is a mix of the Pei Ho Street Market and Dragon Centre (wet market + sports facilities + free air-conditioned space + open space + small shops & stalls), which based on the most representative “landmark” of the residents in SSP. The function of the space is to provide meeting place, information channels and a place of various attractions. Community Hall and Estate Community Hall can be redeveloped into the RS model and to be managed and used by local people

7.3 Widening Socio-Spatial Divisions

SSP is a heterogeneous and fragmented district. Heterogeneity and fragmentation of SSP causes disconnections and even conflicts among different socio-economic groups and housing classes.

Residents in “tong lau” gave negative ratings to living environment, law and order, and city planning. It can be attributed to the poor living conditions of occupants of tenement and suite at “tong lau.” Large-scale clearance of these ill-equipped housing is impractical since they have accommodated a large proportion of poor people who are unable to find a living place either

through the private housing market or the public housing scheme. Urban redevelopment projects may worsen the situation of the disadvantaged. They may push up the rent and compel the occupants to move, causing a heavy financial burden and a sense of insecurity for the disadvantaged.

“Four Dragons”, as the opposite extreme to “tong lau” residents in the socio-spatial division, is a protected and exclusionary enclave. It has a clearly defined boundary in the outskirts of SSP and strict security served as a physical means of exclusion. It is also a self-contained community that further diminishes its external contact. The gentrified appearance of the “Four Dragons” is a social means of exclusion that alienate its neighbourhoods. Inadequacy of public facilities was a common concern of “Four Dragons” and Hoi Lai Estate dwellers, but Inter-classes and inter-communities connections were notably rare in that cluster.

. 7.4 Recommendation to Narrowing Socio-Spatial Divisions

We believe that a coherent and solidarity of community image can, to some extent, alleviate the fragmentation and disparity problems exists in SSP. The attachment to community can be improved by an asset-based and strength-based perspective in studying and understanding the people living in SSP, which rectified the limitation of the traditional problem-based and need-based approach. Promoting appreciation of the local characteristics and culture is also important. It can be facilitated by local cultural and heritage tour, oral history projects as well as setting up a local museum.

Public housing would enable those residents in “tong lau” to have a liveable, secure and pleasurable living condition, more public rental housing flats should

be provided in SSP to shorten the waiting time of the applicants of public housing, who are living in “tong lau.”

Also, recreational facilities that suit the needs of the residents of SSP should be provided. More indoor playgrounds modelled after 5th Floor of Pei Ho Street Municipal Services Building should be built in the district so that the deprived groups, especially those dwell in the cramped tong lau suites can spend their leisure time under the air-conditioned, pleasant environment.

In central SSP, public facilities like community library, children playground and small park can be built not only fulfill the leisure and recreation need of the residents, but also provide public space and atmosphere to enhance inter-classes and inter-communities interactions and connections.

In addition, staff of Home Affairs Department may organize more area-wise activities and events to facilitate connections between the NGOs in the Hoi Lai Estate and the Home Owners’ Corporation of the Four Dragons to facilitate building up of bridging social capital.

. 7.5 Recommendation of Place upon Urban Life

The lower housing class residents (public housing and Tong Lau residents) tend to be dependent on Central SSP for purchasing daily accessories more than the higher housing class people (private housing residents) do. People from the lower housing class (i.e. Tong Lau and public housing residents), because of the lower physical mobility and weaker connection with other districts they have, show lower tendency to purchase daily accessories and have the needs for leisure and entertainment satisfied outside SSP, hence have higher dependence on SSP, particular Central SSP for satisfying such need.

As the residents of SSP are dependent on central SSP in satisfying their basic daily needs, special care should be taken in implementing urban renewal. If possible, no major reconstruction should be carried out, because it would have grave effect on the place of SSP and hence the lives of the less privileged people.

In addition, the “gentrification” process and rise of land rent would push the urban poor out of SSP and they can no longer enjoy living in the city hub which is well connected by public transportation. The rent of land goes up with large scale reconstruction, the market place now selling daily accessories at low prices cannot be sustained easily. Street life in SSP will be undermined following the restructuring of flea markets. We recommend a “Renewal” rather than “Demolish and Rebuild” strategy for urban renewal projects in Central SSP, where the common image of SSP is relied on and a livable environment to sustain their livelihood.

We believe that maintaining the function of central SSP is important for the poor residents. In this light, transportation linking up the peripheral regions of the district, i.e. Hoi Lai, Fu Cheong, Shek Kip Mei, Pak Tin, Chak On Estates, etc should be improved. The fares should be kept at an affordable level.

深水埗社區生活調查 2010

香港中文大學
香港亞太研究所



SN : _____

訪問員備註

督導員備註

II. 被訪者的就業及家庭情況

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2 <input type="checkbox"/> 有	<p>(6B) 係做全職，定係兼職呢？</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td>1 <input type="checkbox"/> 全職</td> <td>9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2 <input type="checkbox"/> 兼職</td> <td>0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3 <input type="checkbox"/> 全職及兼職</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 全職	9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答	2 <input type="checkbox"/> 兼職	0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用	3 <input type="checkbox"/> 全職及兼職		v006b _____																
1 <input type="checkbox"/> 全職	9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答																							
2 <input type="checkbox"/> 兼職	0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用																							
3 <input type="checkbox"/> 全職及兼職																								
9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答	<p>(6C) 請問你做盛行呀？【詳細寫下】</p> <p style="text-align: right;">999 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 000 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用</p> <hr style="width: 80%; margin: 5px auto;"/> <p>(6D) 你做緊乜嘢職位呢？【詳細寫下】</p> <p style="text-align: right;">999 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 000 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用</p> <hr style="width: 80%; margin: 5px auto;"/> <p>(6E) 你喺邊區返工呢？</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td>1 <input type="checkbox"/> 中西區</td> <td>12 <input type="checkbox"/> 屯門</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2 <input type="checkbox"/> 灣仔</td> <td>13 <input type="checkbox"/> 元朗</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3 <input type="checkbox"/> 東區</td> <td>14 <input type="checkbox"/> 北區</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4 <input type="checkbox"/> 南區</td> <td>15 <input type="checkbox"/> 大埔</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5 <input type="checkbox"/> 深水埗</td> <td>16 <input type="checkbox"/> 沙田</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6 <input type="checkbox"/> 九龍城</td> <td>17 <input type="checkbox"/> 西貢</td> </tr> <tr> <td>7 <input type="checkbox"/> 黃大仙</td> <td>18 <input type="checkbox"/> 離島</td> </tr> <tr> <td>8 <input type="checkbox"/> 觀塘</td> <td>77 <input type="checkbox"/> 無固定工作地點</td> </tr> <tr> <td>9 <input type="checkbox"/> 油尖旺</td> <td>99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒絕回答</td> </tr> <tr> <td>10 <input type="checkbox"/> 葵青</td> <td>00 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用</td> </tr> <tr> <td>11 <input type="checkbox"/> 荃灣</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	1 <input type="checkbox"/> 中西區	12 <input type="checkbox"/> 屯門	2 <input type="checkbox"/> 灣仔	13 <input type="checkbox"/> 元朗	3 <input type="checkbox"/> 東區	14 <input type="checkbox"/> 北區	4 <input type="checkbox"/> 南區	15 <input type="checkbox"/> 大埔	5 <input type="checkbox"/> 深水埗	16 <input type="checkbox"/> 沙田	6 <input type="checkbox"/> 九龍城	17 <input type="checkbox"/> 西貢	7 <input type="checkbox"/> 黃大仙	18 <input type="checkbox"/> 離島	8 <input type="checkbox"/> 觀塘	77 <input type="checkbox"/> 無固定工作地點	9 <input type="checkbox"/> 油尖旺	99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒絕回答	10 <input type="checkbox"/> 葵青	00 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用	11 <input type="checkbox"/> 荃灣		v006c _____ v006d _____ v006e _____
1 <input type="checkbox"/> 中西區	12 <input type="checkbox"/> 屯門																							
2 <input type="checkbox"/> 灣仔	13 <input type="checkbox"/> 元朗																							
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10 <input type="checkbox"/> 葵青	00 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用																							
11 <input type="checkbox"/> 荃灣																								

(7) 請問你係未婚、已婚定係其他呢？

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 已婚 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 未婚 | |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 分居 | |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 離婚 | |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 配偶死亡或失散 | |

v007 _____

(8) 請問你有無子女呢？

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 有 | |

v008 _____

(8A) 請問你有幾個子女呢？【填上數目】

_____個 99 拒答 77 不適用

v008a _____

(8B) 請問有幾個係18歲以下呢？【填上數目】

_____個 99 拒答 77 不適用

v008b _____

(9) 連埋你自己在內，嘅你屋企總共有幾多人住？（不包括家庭傭工）

_____個【填上數目】 99 拒答

v009 _____

(10) 連埋你自己在內，你屋企總共有幾多個人返工呢？(包括全職及兼職)

_____個【填上數目】 99 拒答

v010 _____

(11) 睇過去一年，你屋企嘅收入來自邊度呢？【出示答案卡2，可選多於一項】

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 自己嘅工資 | 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 投資收入 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 家人嘅工資 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 其他（註明_____） |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 生果金 | 77 <input type="checkbox"/> 無收入 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 傷殘津貼 | 88 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／很難說 |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 綜援 | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 租金收入 | |

v011 a _____

v011 b _____

v011 c _____

v011 d _____

v011 e _____

v011 f _____

v011 g _____

(12) 平均嚟講，你屋企每月 總收入大約有幾多呢？(包括人工、生意收入、儲蓄利息、投資利潤、領取綜援、生果金等) 【出示答案卡3】

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 2,000元以下 | 10 <input type="checkbox"/> 30,000元-39,999元 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 2,000元-3,999元 | 11 <input type="checkbox"/> 40,000元-49,999元 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 4,000元-5,999元 | 12 <input type="checkbox"/> 50,000元-59,999元 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 6,000元-7,999元 | 13 <input type="checkbox"/> 60,000元-79,999元 |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 8,000元-9,999元 | 14 <input type="checkbox"/> 80,000元-99,999元 |
| 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 10,000元-14,999元 | 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 100,000元-149,999元 |
| 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 15,000元-19,999元 | 16 <input type="checkbox"/> 150,000元及以上 |
| 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 20,000元-24,999元 | 88 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道/不定 |
| 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 25,000元-29,999元 | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |

v012 _____

(13) 你覺得以你屋企目前嘅收入，足唔足夠應付日常嘅開支呢？【出示尺度表1】

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常唔足夠 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道/無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 唔足夠 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 足夠 | |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常足夠 | |

v013 _____

III. 空間/社區環境

(14) 你喺深水埗住咗幾耐呢？

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 少於1年 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道/無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 1年至少於5年 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 5年至少於10年 | |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 10年至少於15年 | |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 15年至少於20年 | |
| 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 20年或以上 | |

v014 _____

(15) 你現時嘅居所係屬於乜嘢類型？

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 私人屋苑 | 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 其他(註明_____) |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 居屋/夾屋 | 88 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道/無意見 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 公屋 | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 板間房 | |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 唐樓單位 | |
| 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 唐樓套房 | |

v015 _____

(16) 你現時嘅居所係租嘅、自己買嘅、親屬借出嘅、定係僱主提供嘅呢？

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 租住物業 | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 其他(註明_____) |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 自置物業 | 88 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道/無意見 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 親屬借出嘅 | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 僱主提供 | |

v016 _____

(17) 睇過去一年，你平時有幾經常去以下地方買日用品？

(17A) 屋企附近（即居住屋村／屋苑或街道）【出示尺度表 1】

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 好少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 間中 | |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 經常 | |

v017a _____

(17B) 深水埗區內其他地方【出示尺度表 1】

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 好少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 間中 | |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 經常 | |

v017b _____

(17B1) 咁最經常去邊度買呢？【出示答案卡4】

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 深水埗舊區（如桂林街、鴨寮街、北河街、基隆街一帶） | 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 其他（註明_____） |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 石硤尾、白田村一帶 | 88 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 富昌村、南昌村一帶 | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 長沙灣 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 荔枝角 | |
| 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 美孚 | |

v017b1 _____

(17C) 深水埗區外【出示尺度表 1】

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 好少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 間中 | |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 經常 | |

v017c _____

(18) 睇過去一年，你有幾經常去以下地方消閒娛樂？

(18A) 屋企附近（即居住屋村／屋苑或街道）【出示尺度表 1】

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 好少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 間中 | |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 經常 | |

v018a _____

(18B) 深水埗區內其他地方【出示尺度表 1】

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 好少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 間中 | |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 經常 | |

v018b _____

(18B1) 咁最經常去邊度呢？【出示答案卡4】

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 深水埗舊區（如桂林街、鴨寮街、北河街、基隆街一帶） | 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 其他（註明_____） |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 石硤尾、白田村一帶 | 88 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 富昌村、南昌村一帶 | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 長沙灣 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 荔枝角 | |
| 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 美孚 | |

v018b1 _____

(18C) 深水埗區外【出示尺度表 1】

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 好少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 間中 | |

v018c _____

(19) 如果10分代表最好，0分代表最差，你會俾深水埗幾多分：

_____分

88 不知道／無意見

99 拒答

v019 _____

IV. 生活質素

(20) 你同唔同意以下嘅講法呢？【出示尺度表 1】

【讀出 A 至 E】

	非常 唔同 同意 1	唔同 同意 2	同 意 3	非常 同意 4	不無 知意 道見 8	不 回 答 9	
A. 我嘅生活大致上符合我嘅理想	<input type="checkbox"/>	v020a_____					
B. 我嘅生活狀況十分良好	<input type="checkbox"/>	v020b_____					
C. 我好滿意我嘅生活	<input type="checkbox"/>	v020c_____					
D. 目前我已擁有我認為生命中重要嘅嘢	<input type="checkbox"/>	v020d_____					
E. 如果我可以再活一次，我幾乎唔會作出任何改變	<input type="checkbox"/>	v020e_____					

(21) 具體嚟講，你滿唔滿意以下各方面嘅生活狀況呢？【出示尺度表 1】

【讀出 A 至 G】

	非常 唔滿 意 1	唔滿 意 2	滿 意 3	非常 滿意 4	不無 知意 道見 8	不 回 答 9	不 適 用	
A. 家庭生活	<input type="checkbox"/>	v021a_____						
B. 身體健康	<input type="checkbox"/>		v021b_____					
C. 精神健康	<input type="checkbox"/>		v021c_____					
D. 經濟狀況	<input type="checkbox"/>		v021d_____					
E. 居住環境	<input type="checkbox"/>		v021e_____					
F. 工作【只問有工作者】	<input type="checkbox"/>	v021f_____						
G. 社交生活	<input type="checkbox"/>	v021g_____						

(22) 你目前嘅生活狀況，同3年前相比，係差咗、差唔多，定係好咗？

- 1 比3年前差
2 差唔多
3 比3年前好

- 8 不知道／無意見
9 拒答

v022_____

(23) 以你估計，喺3年後，你嘅生活狀況，係會差啲、差唔多，定係好啲？

- 1 比目前差
2 差唔多
3 比目前好
8 不知道／無意見
9 拒答

v023 _____

IV. 社區身份認同

(24) 當講到你嘅社會階層時，你覺得你自己係屬於以下邊一個社會階層呢？係上層、中上層、中層、中下層，定係下層呢？

- 1 下層
2 中下層
3 中層
4 中上層
5 上層
8 不知道／很難說
9 拒答

v024 _____

(25) 你覺得喺香港你算唔算係窮人？

- 1 唔算
2 算
8 不知道／很難說
9 拒答

v025 _____

(26) 你覺得深水埗區貧富懸殊問題嚴唔嚴重？【出示尺度表1】

- 1 非常唔嚴重
2 唔嚴重
3 嚴重
4 非常嚴重
8 不知道／很難說
9 拒答

v026 _____

(27) 你覺得深水埗區以下嘅社區關係好唔好呢？【出示尺度表】

【讀出 A 至 D】

- | | 非
常
差
1 | 差
2 | 好
3 | 非
常
好
4 | 不
無
知
道
見
8 | 不
回
答
9 | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| A. 不同社會階層嘅關係 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | v027a_____ |
| B. 不同年齡階層嘅關係 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | v027b_____ |
| C. 本地居民同內地新來港人士嘅關係 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | v027c_____ |
| D. 不同種族嘅關係 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | v027d_____ |

(28) 你覺得以下邊三個地標最能夠代表深水埗？

【出示答案卡5，並在下列第1、2及3個地標的橫線上寫上地標的相應號碼。】

1. 嘉頓中心
2. 黃金電腦商場／高登電腦中心
3. 鴨寮街
4. 北河街街市
5. 西九龍中心
6. 公園（如通州街公園、深水埗公園、南昌公園）
7. 美荷樓
8. 其他（註明）

第1個地標：_____ 888 不知道／無意見 999 拒答 v028a _____

第2個地標：_____ 888 不知道／無意見 999 拒答 v028b _____

第3個地標：_____ 888 不知道／無意見 999 拒答 v028c _____

(29) 你覺得以下邊三個活動最能夠代表深水埗？

【出示答案卡6，並在下列第1、2及3個活動的橫線上寫上活動的相應號碼。】

1. 天光墟
2. 服裝及布匹批發
3. 電腦器材／電子產品買賣
4. 大排檔、小飯店、茶餐廳
5. 街市買賣活動
6. 賣淫／毒品買賣
7. 社區服務（如二手店、食物銀行）
8. 其他（註明）

第1個活動：_____ 888 不知道／無意見 999 拒答 v029a _____

第2個活動：_____ 888 不知道／無意見 999 拒答 v029b _____

第3個活動：_____ 888 不知道／無意見 999 拒答 v029c _____

(30) 你滿唔滿意深水埗區以下嘅情況呢？【出示尺度表1】

	非 常 唔 滿 意 1	唔 滿 意 2	滿 意 3	非 常 滿 意 4	不 知 道 見 8	不 回 答 9	
【讀出 A 至 E】							
A. 居住環境（如空氣質素、噪音）	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	v030a_____
B. 治安	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	v030b_____
C. 區內交通	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	v030c_____
D. 城市規劃（如買野方唔方便、多啲公屋、多啲私樓）	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	v030d_____
E. 重建安排（如賠償、安置等）	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	v030e_____

(31) 你同唔同意以下說法呢？【出示尺度表 1】

【讀出 A 至 B】

- A. 我樂於同人講我住嘅深水埗
 B. 我想為深水埗區內居民服務

非 常 唔 同 意 1	唔 同 意 2	同 意 3	非 常 同 意 4	不 無 知 道 見 道 8	不 回 答 9
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

v031a _____
 v031b _____

(32) 如果可以選擇嘅話，你會唔會搬呢？

- 1 唔會
 2 會

- 8 不知道／無意見
 9 拒答

v032 _____

(32A) 咁你會唔會搬離深水埗區呢？

1 唔會

(32A1) 咁你會搬去深水埗邊類型嘅單位？

- 1 大型私人屋苑（如西九四小龍、美孚新村）
 2 舊區唐樓
 3 舊區單幢私樓
 4 公屋
 5 居屋／夾屋
 6 其他（註明_____）
 88 好難講／無意見
 99 拒答

0 不適用

v032a _____

v032a1 _____

2 會

(32A2) 咁你會搬去邊區？

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 中西區 | 12 <input type="checkbox"/> 元朗 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 灣仔 | 13 <input type="checkbox"/> 北區 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 東區 | 14 <input type="checkbox"/> 大埔 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 南區 | 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 沙田 |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 九龍城 | 16 <input type="checkbox"/> 西貢 |
| 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 黃大仙 | 17 <input type="checkbox"/> 離島 |
| 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 觀塘 | 88 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道 |
| 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 油尖旺 | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒絕回答 |
| 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 葵青 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 10 <input type="checkbox"/> 荃灣 | |
| 11 <input type="checkbox"/> 屯門 | |

8 不知道／無意見

9 拒答

0 不適用

v032a2 _____

(33) 如果10分代表歸屬感非常大，0分代表歸屬感非常小，你對深水埗嘅歸屬感有幾多分呢？

_____分

88 不知道／無意見

99 拒答

v033 _____

(34) 唔同人對深水埗嘅範圍有唔同理解。喺你心目中，以下屋苑屬唔屬於深水埗區？

【讀出 A 至 B】

唔 屬 於 1	唔 屬 於 2	不 知 道 8	無 意 見 9	不 回 答
------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	-------------

A. 西九四小龍（即碧海藍天、泓景臺、宇晴軒、昇悅居）

v034a _____

B. 美孚新村

v034b _____

IV. 社會資本／組織與政府的關係

(35) 你覺得你多唔多朋友？【出示尺度表2】

1 無【跳往第38題】

8 不知道／無意見【跳往第38題】

v035 _____

2 非常少

9 拒答【跳往第38題】

3 幾少

4 幾多

5 非常多

(36) 以你所知，你多唔多朋友住喺深水埗？【出示尺度表2】

1 無

8 不知道／無意見

v036 _____

2 非常少

9 拒答

3 幾少

4 幾多

5 非常多

(37) 喺你認識嘅同區朋友之中，有無係同你唔同社會階級嘅人？

1 無

8 不知道／無意見

2 有

9 拒答

0 不適用

v037 _____

(38) 你有幾信任以下嘅人呢？【出示尺度表1】

【讀出 A 至 F】

非 常 唔 信 任 1	唔 信 任 2	信 任 3	非 常 信 任 4	不 知 道 8	無 意 見 9	不 回 答 0	不 適 用
----------------------------	------------------	-------------	-----------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	-------------

A. 家人

v038a _____

B. 親戚

v038b _____

C. 隔離鄰舍

v038c _____

D. 同區朋友

v038d _____

E. 其他區嘅朋友

v038e _____

4 同事 00 不適用

(43) 若果你想搵工，多唔多朋友可以幫到手？【出示尺度表2】

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 幾少 | |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 幾多 | |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常多 | |

v043 _____

(44) 若果你遇上經濟困難，多唔多朋友可以幫到手？【出示尺度表2】

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 幾少 | |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 幾多 | |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常多 | |

v044 _____

(45) 若果你失業，你會唔會搵人或者機構幫你？【只問有工作者】

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 唔會 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 | |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 會 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |

v045 _____

(45A) 你多數會搵邊個人或者機構幫你？【出示答案卡7，可選多於一項】

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 家人 | 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 政治組織或人物 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 親戚 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 志願團體 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 朋友 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 銀行、財務機構 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 同事 | 10 <input type="checkbox"/> 其他(註明：_____) |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 隔離鄰舍 | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 政府 | 00 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |

v045a1 _____

v045a2 _____

v045a3 _____

v045a4 _____

v045a5 _____

(45B) 你難唔難搵到佢地幫呢？【出示尺度表1】

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常難 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 難 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 容易 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常容易 | |

v045b _____

(46) 若果你家庭關係出現問題，你會唔會搵人或者機構幫你？

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 唔會 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 會 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |

v046 _____

(46A) 你多數會搵邊個人或者機構幫你？【可選多於一項】

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 家人 | 7 <input type="checkbox"/> 政治組織或人物 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 親戚 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 志願團體 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 朋友 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 其他(註明：_____) |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 同事 | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 隔離鄰舍 | 00 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 政府 | |

v046a1 _____

v046a2 _____

v046a3 _____

v046a4 _____

v046a5 _____

(46B) 你難唔難搵到佢地幫呢？【出示尺度表1】

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常難 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 難 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 容易 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常容易 | |

v046b _____

(47) 若果你遇到重建或收樓嘅問題，你會唔會搵人或者機構幫你？

1 唔會

8 不知道／無意見

v047 _____

2 會

9 拒答

(47A) 你多數會搵邊個人或者機構幫呢？【可選多於一項】

1 家人

7 政治組織或人物

v047a1 _____

2 親戚

8 志願團體

v047a2 _____

3 朋友

9 其他(註明：_____)

v047a3 _____

4 同事

99 拒答

v047a4 _____

5 隔離鄰舍

00 不適用

v047a5 _____

6 政府

(47B) 你難唔難搵到佢地幫呢？【出示尺度表1】

1 非常難

8 不知道／無意見

v047b _____

2 難

9 拒答

3 容易

0 不適用

4 非常容易

(48) 喺過去一年，你有無嘅錢銀方面幫過以下人士呢？

【讀出A至E】

A. 家人

無	有	忘	拒	不
1	2	8	9	0
<input type="checkbox"/>				

v048a _____

B. 親戚

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

v048b _____

C. 朋友

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

v048c _____

D. 同事【只問有工作者】

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

v048d _____

E. 隔離鄰舍

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

v048e _____

(49) 喺過去一年，你有無嘅錢銀之外嘅任何方面幫過以下人士呢？

【讀出A至E】

A. 家人

無	有	忘	拒	不
1	2	8	9	0
<input type="checkbox"/>				

v049a _____

B. 親戚

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

v049b _____

C. 朋友

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

v049c _____

D. 同事【只問有工作者】

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

v049d _____

E. 隔離鄰舍

<input type="checkbox"/>				
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

v049e _____

(50) 你有無登記做選民？

1 無登記【跳問第 51 題】

9 拒答【跳問第 51 題】

2 已登記

v050 _____

(50A) 請問嘅過去個屆嘅立法會選舉 (2008 年)，你有無去投票呢？

1 無投票

7 當時未登記做選民

9 拒答

v050a _____

2 有投票

8 忘記

0 不適用

(50B) 請問嘅過去個屆嘅區議會選舉 (2007 年)，你有無去投票呢？

1 無投票

7 當時未登記做選民

9 拒答

v050b _____

2 有投票

8 忘記

0 不適用

(51) 你覺得自己最認同邊一個香港政黨？【出示答案卡 8】

0 不認同任何政黨【跳問第 52 題】

88 不知道【跳問第 52 題】

v051 _____

1 民主黨

99 拒答【跳問第 52 題】

2 民主建港協進聯盟 (民建聯)

3 自由黨

4 公民黨

5 香港工會聯合會 (工聯會)

6 民主民生協進會 (民協)

7 社會民主連線 (社民連)

8 (註明：_____)

(51A) 你有幾認同呢個政黨呢？係非常認同、幾認同，定係有啲認同呢？

1 非常認同

8 不知道／無意見

v051a _____

2 幾認同

9 拒答

3 有啲認同

0 不適用

(52) 嘅過去兩年裡，你有幾經常做以下嘅嘢呢？【出示尺度表 1】

【讀出 A 至 F】

無 好 間 經 忘 拒
少 中 常 記 答

1 2 3 4 8 9

A. 參與簽名運動

v052a _____

B. 示威、遊行、靜坐

v052b _____

C. 出席地區組織會議 (例如互委會
會議、街坊福利會會議)

v052c _____

D. 出席政府嘅地區諮詢活動

v052d _____

E. 約見區議員

v052e _____

F. 約見立法會議員

v052f _____

(53) 你係唔係任何組織或者團體嘅會員呢？

- 1 唔係【跳問第 17 頁第 54 題】 9 拒答【跳問第 17 頁第 54 題】
2 係

v053_____

(53A) 邊一個組織或團體係你平日參加得最多嘅呢？

團體名稱：_____

- 999 拒答【跳問第 17 頁第 54 題】 0 不適用

v053a_____

(53B) 對於你所屬【讀出組織名稱】，你過去一年，多唔多參加佢(地)嘅活動？
【出示尺度表 1】

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 好少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 間中 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 經常 | |

v053b_____

(53C) 你所屬【讀出組織名稱】裏面，多唔多有以下背景嘅人呢？
【出示尺度表 2】

【讀出 1 至 4】	無	非	幾	幾	非	不	拒
		常	少	多	常	知	答
	1	2	3	5	6	8	9
(1) 同你唔同社會階層	<input type="checkbox"/>						
(2) 同你唔同種族	<input type="checkbox"/>						
(3) 內地新來港人士	<input type="checkbox"/>						
(4) 同你做埋同一行嘅【只問有工作者】	<input type="checkbox"/>						

v053c1_____

v053c2_____

v053c3_____

v053c4_____

(53D) 你所屬嘅【讀出組織名稱】，多唔多程序同規條，譬如邊個係會長，邊個係普通會員，邊個話得事，全部都分得一清二楚？【出示尺度表 2】

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 幾少 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 幾多 | |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常多 | |

v053d_____

(53E) 通過佢地搞嘅活動，你識到多唔多唔同房屋類型嘅朋友
(如公屋嘅，私樓嘅，唐樓嘅)？【出示尺度表 2】

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 幾少 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 幾多 | |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常多 | |

v053e_____

(53F) 平時多唔多人參與佢地嘅活動？【出示尺度表 2】

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常少 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 幾少 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 幾多 | |

v053f_____

5 非常多

【第53G至53I5題，只問有參加組織或團體者】

(53G) 一個出色嘅志願機構有唔同條件；以下咁多項條件當中，你覺得邊項**最重要**？

【出示答案卡 9】

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 可以企出嚟幫大眾向政府爭取權益 | 6 <input type="checkbox"/> 其他：_____ |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 從中有機會擴潤自己嘅朋友圈子 | 88 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 做嘢唔好求其其，要依足規矩 | 99 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 運作唔應該受到政府嘅干預 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 5 <input type="checkbox"/> 唔理背景係乜，每個人都歡迎加入 | |

v053g_____

(53H) 你有幾同意你可以從【讀出組織】嘅活動中，得到更多有關政府嘅資訊？

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常唔同意 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 唔同意 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 同意 | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> 非常同意 | |

v053h_____

(53I) 你所屬嘅【讀出組織名稱】，平時同香港政府有無接觸？

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> 無 | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> 不知道／無意見 |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 有 | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> 拒答 |
| | 0 <input type="checkbox"/> 不適用 |

v053i_____

(53I) 你同唔同意以下說法？【出示尺度表 1】

	非 常 唔 同 意	唔 同 意	同 意	非 常 同 意	不 知 道	無 意 見	不 回 答
	1	2	3	4	8	9	

【讀出 1 至 5】

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) 【讀出組織】可以代表我地向政府當局反映意見 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) 根據過往經驗，政府當局係會認真考慮【讀出組織】嘅意見 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) 通常政府當局肯用嚟接見【讀出組織】嘅時間，因為要返工或者其他原因，我地都好難遷就得到 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) 即使政府當局願意接見【讀出組織】，不過我地又無嗰方面嘅專業知識，變咗溝通都只不過係「雞同鴨講」 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) 好多【讀出組織】嘅活動搞得成，除咗有心人嘅貢獻外，仲有賴政府嘅資助 | <input type="checkbox"/> |

v053i1_____

v053i2_____

v053i3_____

v053i4_____

v053i5_____

(54) 平時你有無上網嘅習慣？

- 1 無
2 有

- 8 不知道／無意見
9 拒答

v054_____

(54A) 咁你平均每日會用幾多時間上網？

_____小時 88 不固定／很難說 99 拒答 0 不適用

v054a_____

(55) 你有無試過因為想知多啲政府嘅資訊而上網睇政府嘅網頁？

- 1 無
2 有

- 9 拒答
0 不適用

v055_____

(55A) 你有幾經常會咁做？

- 1 好少
2 間中
3 經常

- 8 不知道／無意見
9 拒答
0 不適用

v055a_____

(55B) 咁你滿唔滿意政府網頁提供資訊嘅功能？【出示尺度表1】

- 1 非常唔滿意
2 唔滿意
3 滿意
4 非常滿意

- 8 不知道／無意見
9 拒答
0 不適用

v055b_____

(56) 你有無試過使用政府嘅網上服務（例如網上付款、交稅）或者下載同遞交申請表？

- 1 無
2 有

- 9 拒答
0 不適用

v056_____

(56A) 你有幾經常會咁做？

- 1 好少
2 間中
3 經常

- 8 不知道／無意見
9 拒答
0 不適用

v056a_____

(56B) 咁你滿唔滿意政府嘅網上服務？【出示尺度表1】

- 1 非常唔滿意
2 唔滿意
3 滿意
4 非常滿意

- 8 不知道／無意見
9 拒答
0 不適用

v056b_____

(57) 你有無試過去政府嘅網頁向政府提交意見或者投訴？

- 1 無
2 有

- 9 拒答
0 不適用

v057_____

(57A) 你有幾經常會咁做？

- 1 好少
2 間中
3 經常

- 8 不知道／無意見
9 拒答
0 不適用

v057a_____

(57B) 咁你滿唔滿意政府網頁嘅提交意見或投訴功能？【出示尺度表1】

- 1 非常唔滿意
2 唔滿意
3 滿意
4 非常滿意

- 8 不知道／無意見
9 拒答
0 不適用

v057b_____

為方便我哋嘅工作人員複查問卷，請問你可唔可以講俾我知你嘅聯絡電話號碼同埋你嘅姓名呢？

姓名：_____ 電話：_____

有沒有電話：
v901 _____

(902)我 計劃 今年搞一啲討論小組，討論吓深水埗嘅社區情況，唔知你有無興趣參加呢？

- 1 無興趣
- 2 有興趣
- 8 不知道／視乎情況
- 9 不回答

v902 _____

=問卷完成·多謝合作=

【以下由訪問員填寫】

年 月 日：
v903 _____

訪問員姓名：_____ 訪問員電話：_____

訪問需時：
v904 _____

訪問日期：_____年_____月_____日 訪問需時：_____分鐘

性別
v905 _____

訪問員性別： 1 男 2 女

【以下由各負責人填寫】

問卷收驗員姓名：_____ 問卷交收日期：_____年_____月_____日

複查記錄	第一次	第二次	第三次
複查員姓名			
複查日期及時間			
問卷複查結果 (請詳細寫下)			

戶數：
v906 _____

編碼員姓名：_____

準被訪者：
v907 _____

錄入員姓名：_____ 錄入複查員姓名：_____

配偶同住：
v908 _____

Appendix 2. List of Semi-structured Interviews

	Name	Position	Organization	Type	Date
1	FUNG Kin Kee	Member	LegCo / District Council / ADPL	Political	July 27
2	CHONG Chi Tat	Member	District Council / DP	Political	August 2
3	WONG Sui Man Tiny	Team Leader	Tung Wah Yu Mak Yuen Integrated Services Centre	Social Services (Multiple)	August 2
4	LI Chong Hing Anthony	Social Worker	International Social Service Hong Kong Branch	Social Services (Multiple)	August 4
5	CHU Lai Ying Phoebe	Acting Supervisor	Hong Kong Christian Service Shamshuipo Central Integrated Children & Youth Service	Social Services (Youth & Children)	August 4
6	LAW Lap Man	Senior Programme Officer	YMCA of Hong Kong (Cheung Sha Wan Centre)	Social Services (Multiple)	August 10
7	CHENG Wing Shun Vincent	Member	District Council / DAB	Political	August 24
8	LEUNG Yee Wah Eva	Centre-in-charge	Hong Kong Federation of Women's Centres	Social Services / Advocacy	August 24
9	WONG Chi Kan, TSE Siu Kwong	Supervisor	Community Development Service, Caritas Hong Kong	Social Services	August 26
10	AU YEUNG Tat Chor	Organizer	Alliance Concerning CSSA	Advocacy	September 8
11	WONG Chi Yung	Member	District Council / ADPL	Political	September 10

	Name	Position	Organization	Type	Date
12	Anonymous		Shun Ning Road Concern Group	Advocacy	Written reply and informal exchanges
13	HUI Kam Shing	Executive	ADPL Social Services Centre	Social Services	September 20
14	SZE Lai Shan	Community Organizer	Society for Community Organization	Advocacy	September 24
15	CHOW Irene	Organizer	Industrial Relations Institute	Advocacy	September 27
16	TONG Man Bill	Chairman	Employee's Safety, Training and Rehabilitation Services Limited	Social Services	September 28
17	CHU Yin Ngan Doris	Senior Social Worker	Hong Kong Christian Service Integrated Service Centre for Local South Asians	Social Services	October 15
18	YAU C.H. Lawrence	Director, Corporate Communications	Urban Renewal Authority	Public institution	October 19
19	Rev. LAM Shing Man Ephraim Sr. LEE Lai Kwen SHIU Kwok Wai Augustine	Parish Priest Pastoral Sister Member	St. Lawrence's Church	Religious	October 26
20	CHAN Pik Ha	Pastor	Light of Yung Shu Tau Christian Society	Religious	November 2
21	CHAN Wing Shiu May	SSP District Officer	Sham Shui Po District Office	Public institution	November 4
22	YEUNG Mei	Executive Director	New Women Arrivals League	Advocacy	November 4
23	YU-LIU May Yee	SSP Social Welfare Officer	Social Welfare Department	Public institution	November 12

	Name	Position	Organization	Type	Date
24	CHAN Tung	Chairman	District Council	Public institution	November 17
25	TAM Jayson	Pastor	EFCC (Evangelical Free Church of China) Yan Fook Church	Religious	November 29

Appendix 3 List of focus group interviews with Sham Shui Po residents

Group	Types of Residents	Date	Number of Participants
1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residents of tong lou suite / cubicle apartment • CSSA recipients • HK permanent residents / new immigrants 	October 13, 2010	7
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residents of tong lou suite / cubicle apartment • CSSA recipients • New immigrants 	October 15, 2010	4
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residents of tong lou suite / cubicle apartment • Non-CSSA recipients / Low income group • HK permanent residents 	October 17, 2010	5
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • residents of tong lou suite / cubicle apartment • Non-CSSA recipients / Low income group • New immigrants 	October 24, 2010	1
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public housing residents • CSSA recipients • HK permanent residents 	November 12, 2010	4
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public housing residents • Non-CSSA recipients • HK permanent residents 	November 7, 2010	1
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public housing residents • Non-CSSA recipients/low income group • HK permanent residents 	October 31, 2010	3
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public housing residents • Non-CSSA recipients/low income group • New immigrants 	October 10, 2010	3
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnic minorities 	November 24, 2010	5
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnic minorities 	November 24, 2010	5
11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residents of private housing estates • Middle class / Upper-middle class 	November 14, 2010	4
12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residents of private housing estates • Middle class / Upper-middle class 	November 21, 2010	4
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male • Residents of public housing • Low income group 	November 18, 2010	5
14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Male • Residents of tong lou • Low income group 	November 19, 2010	3
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secondary student / Unemployed youth • Public housing residents 	March 11, 2011	7
16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students of higher diploma or associate degree programme / employed youth • Residents of public housing / tong lou 	March 11, 2011	5

Appendix 4: Interview Guides for Community Leaders

Besides the structured questionnaire survey, this research project will also use the method of intensive interview for both community leaders and ordinary men. Here, the term ‘community leader’ is loosely used. Formally, the term refers to the leading figure of a specific civil society organisation which operates in SSP. Informally, the term denotes those people who are identified in the questionnaire survey as having the most power in the community, although they may not possess a leading position in any particular civil society organisations. In this sense, leadership is a perceptual concept in our research. The leaders identified are in no sense necessarily the most powerful people in the district, not least in quantitative terms.

To fit into the objectives and analytical framework of the research, a range of broad and open-ended questions will be posed to the community leaders. These questions are by no means exhaustive; rather they provide the researchers with clear directions to get the interviews started and probe the interesting issues that arise from the interview process:

- Socioeconomic structures and tensions 社會經濟結構和衝突
 - In your view, the concerns of which class of people (e.g. housing class/demographic class) that you are mostly taking care of?
你最關注哪一個階層人士（例如住屋階層／人口組別）的訴求？
 - What kind of assistance are you and/or your organisation is providing to the people that you mostly concern yourself (e.g. financial, information, training, counselling, religious proselytise or mutual aid)?
你和／或 貴機構向你的服務對象提供哪些支援（例如：經濟、資訊、培訓、輔導、宗教或互助計劃）？
 - Are there any conflicts among the group of people that you help? Do you feel that tensions have existed between the class of people that you help and the other class of people in SSP? What is the degree of tensions?
你的服務對象之間有沒有衝突？你認為你的服務對象與其他處於不同社會階級的深水埗居民存有緊張關係嗎？他們之間的緊張關係有多深？
 - What are the origins of these conflicts among the people in your organisation and/or between the class in your organisation and that in other organisations (e.g. competition for material resources, places in training, recreational facilities or land use; differences in the type of housing, values or ethnicity; differences in the length of stay in Hong Kong)?

什麼原因導致 貴機構的服務對象之間的衝突和／或階級衝突，以及貴機構與其他機構的衝突（例如：資源分配；培訓配額；康樂設施或土地使用權；住屋種類、價值觀或種族差異；居港年期的差異）？

- Do you think the tensions are irreconcilable? If yes, could you provide the reasons? If no, could you provide us some examples that you and/or your organisation has tried to mediate the conflicts? To what extent your efforts are effective in bridging the schisms between various groups of people?

你認為這些衝突是難以排解嗎？如是，為什麼？如不，你能否列舉一些你和／或 貴機構參與排解糾紛的例子？你認為你們的工作對排解不同人士之間的分歧有多大效用？

- As far as you are concerned, are there any community-wide organisations in SSP that can incorporate different classes of people into a single organisation? To what extent can these community-wide organisations foster a sense of social cohesion between the different classes in SSP, and in what manners can they pull this off?

以你所知，深水埗區內有沒有社區組織有能力將不同階層人士吸納在一個單一的組織裡？這些社區組織有多大程度上能促進區內不同階層人士之間的社區凝聚力？它們用什麼方法做到？

- Social networks and social capital 社會網絡和社會資本

- In the course of your operation, did you observe the fact that the members and/or the people that you help has become more integrated, in terms of either mutual trust, norm of reciprocity and cooperation? In your observation, how come they have been more integrated?

在你的工作裡，你有否察覺到你的團隊和／或服務對象之間變得團結，例如存有互信、互惠和互助的關係？根據你的觀察，是什麼原因令他們團結起來？

- Do you feel that the people in your organisation are more concerned about their own affairs than with the welfare of the whole SSP? Why do you have this feeling? Do you agree with the fact that the internal integration of your organisation reduces their possibility to hang out with other people in the district, especially with those who have different backgrounds with themselves? Can you share your ideas with us?

你認為 貴機構的成員比較關心他們切身的事項多於整個深水埗社區的福祉嗎？為什麼你會有這樣的感覺？你同意 貴機構的內部團結會減少與社區內其他人士的接觸的機會，特別是與不同背景的人士的交往嗎？你能與我們分享一下你的意見嗎？

- If using the Likert Scale, how do you perceive the mobilisation capacity of

your organisation? What are the purposes of mobilisation? What are the factors that help you mobilise the ordinary men (e.g. trust, norm of reciprocity, shared values, and/or common interests)?

如運用李克特量表，你認為 貴機構的動員能力有多高？動員的目的是什麼？是什麼原因令你能動員居民（例如：信任、互惠互利、共同價值及／或共同利益？）

- How often do you have contact with other organisations in SSP? Could you provide us with some more details about the contact, like the organisations that you contact and the nature of contact?

你與深水埗區內的其他團體的接觸有多頻繁？你能否給我們關於這些接觸的詳情，例如與你們有聯繫的包括什麼團體？那些是什麼類型的聯繫？

- How often do you cooperate with other organisations in SSP in pursuing your objectives and goals? What kinds of organisations that you tend to cooperate, and why? Do you feel that such external cooperation can extend the horizons and trust of the people that you are helping?

在你的工作裡，你有幾經常地與深水埗區內的其他團體的合作？你通常與哪些類型的團體合作？為什麼？你認為與其他團體合作能擴大 貴機構的成員的視野及他們和其他人的信任嗎？

- Do you have contact with other voluntary and community groups outside SSP? Please specify the names and nature of these societal groups. How often do you have this contact? And what is the purpose of the contact?

你有否與深水埗區外的志願和社區團體聯繫？這些團體的名稱和性質是什麼？你與它們的接觸有多頻繁？接觸它們的原因是什麼？

- Do you think that the people in SSP have very loose connections with other people beyond the district? If yes, do you see this as a problem and how do you plan to tackle this?

你認為深水埗區內的人士與其他地區的人士的聯繫鬆散嗎？如是，你認為這是一個問題嗎？你將如何解決這個問題？

- Public organisations and social capital 政府機構與社會資本

- In conventional wisdom, it is often regarded that for voluntary and community organisations it is better to avoid as far as possible contact with public organisations because autonomy is central to the working of NGOs. Do you agree with this statement? Why?

一個傳統的說法是：志願和社區組織應盡量避免與政府機構接觸，因為獨立自由對非政府組織來說是至關重要。你是否同意這個說法？為什麼？

- How do you perceive your relationships with public organisations (e.g. government departments, the District Council and the Urban Renewal Authority)? Partners (two-way traffic)? Service providers (one-way traffic)? Competitors or even adversaries? Why do you have this perception?
你與政府機構（例如：政府部門、區議會和市建局）的關係如何？是合作伙伴（相互交往）？是服務提供者（單向交往）？是競爭者或甚是敵人？為什麼你會有這樣的理解？
- Do you agree that the public organisations (e.g. government departments, the District Council and the Urban Renewal Authority) are trustworthy? According to your experience, in what circumstances can the trust be developed/ undermined?
你同意政府機構（例如：政府部門、區議會和市建局）是可信任的嗎？根據你的經驗，在什麼情況下會促進／破壞互信？
- Do you think the trust between the public organisations and voluntary groups is essential for a healthy community? For what reasons this kind of trust is deemed so important for a healthy community?
你認為政府機構和志願組織之間的互信對促進健康社區重要嗎？為什麼？
- Do you think the financial support, in terms of regular grants and/or service agreement, and information exchange from public organisations are important for the successful running of your organisation? Do the public organisations offer sufficient support for the running of your organisation?
你認為政府機構的財政支援，包括定期撥款及／或服務協約、資訊交流，對 貴機構的成功運作重要嗎？政府機構有否對 貴機構的運作提供足夠支援？
- In your view, do the public organisations offer sufficient chance for you to channel your demands and grievances? Could you elaborate more on the channels through which you can convey your demands and grievances to the public organisations (formal channels and/or informal channels)?
你認為政府機構有提供足夠的機會讓你表達訴求和不滿嗎？你能否闡述有哪些渠道能讓你表達需求和不滿（正式及／或非正式渠道）？
- Do you think your opinions have been seriously taken by the government? Could you provide me with some specific examples in which your opinions have been taken/ignored by the public organisations?
你認為政府有認真聽取你的意見嗎？你能否舉一些政府機構曾聽取／忽視你的意見的例子？
- With the benefit of hindsight, what are the major conditions for trust to be developed between the public organisations and voluntary groups?

你認為政府機構和志願組織建立互信的重要條件是什麼？

- Physical environments, community identity and quality of life 地理環境、社區認同和生活素質
 - Do you think that the three clusters that we have highlighted in our research are three segregated areas in terms of personal connections? No matter what is your answer, could you share with us why you have this feeling?
你認為我們研究的三個區域，在個人聯繫來說，是三個分割的區域嗎？為什麼？
 - Do you think the major routes separating the three clusters are one of the reasons for the segregation of personal connections to develop? Are there any other reasons according to your experience and observation?
你認為區內的道路設計是導致這三個人口交往、聯繫分割區域的出現的其中一個原因嗎？根據你的經驗和觀察，有沒有其他原因導致這三個分割區域的出現？
 - In comparison with urban planning, do you wonder if socioeconomic structures (e.g. housing class, demographic features and/or ethnicity) are more important in explaining the segregation?
你會否認為社會經濟結構（例如：住屋階層、人口特徵及／或種族）比城市規劃更能解釋區內的分割現象？
 - If I say that the people living in lodging flats are more likely to hang around with their mates and join voluntary groups than people living in newly emerged private housing like Banyen Garden, do you think so? Why do not agree or disagree with my statement?
你是否同意租住板間單位的人士比居於新型私人屋苑如泓景臺的人士多與鄰居交往和參加志願組織？為什麼？
 - Do you think that ordinary men in SSP have a strong identification with the district? According to your experience, why is the case?
你認為深水埗區市民對社區有很強的認同嗎？根據你的經驗，為什麼會有這樣的情況？
 - Do you think that close social networks and harmonious neighbourhood are an important factor for fostering a strong sense of community identity? Let me put it the other way. In comparison with historical sites and landmarks, are social networks and harmonious neighbourhood are still the most important factors contributing to the community identity?
你認為緊密的社會網絡和和諧的睦鄰關係是促進社區認同的重要因素嗎？或者說，相對於歷史遺址和地標，社會網絡和和諧的睦鄰關係是促進社區認同更重要的因素嗎？

- If using the Likert scale, how ordinary people rate their quality of life in general? In your contact with them, what are the major factors that make them happy with their daily life, and what are the major factors that make them unsatisfied?

如運用李克特量表，區內市民會如何評價他們的生活素質？根據你與他們接觸的經驗，令他們滿意日常生活的主要原因是什麼？令他們感到不滿是什麼原因？

- Do you think that ordinary people will feel happier living in SSP if they have a strong sense of identification with the district? 你認為對社區強烈的認同感能提升深水埗居民對在區內生活的滿意程度嗎？
- In your opinion, what are the advantages and disadvantages of urban renewal programmes in SSP? How would you suggest for improvement? In what ways do you channel your views to the related public organisations? 你認為深水埗區的市區重建計劃有什麼好處和壞處？你有什麼建議來改善這些計劃？你能循哪些渠道向相關政府機構表達你的意見？

Appendix 5: Guides for Focus Group Interviews with SSP Residents

A. 社會經濟結構及張力

- 你在深水埗生活多久？住在那裏（樓宇類型）？你能簡單描繪你在深水埗的生活方式嗎？
- 你認為你屬於社會那一階層（例如住屋階層／人口組別 / 經濟組別等）？
- 深水埗是人口多元的社區，你認同嗎？你交際的網路裏，有沒有你認為不屬於你同一階級的人在？
- 你滿意你在深水埗的生活嗎？深水埗能給你提供工作和生活上的機會多嗎？
- 你認為深水埗區居民之間對社會資源（公共資源分配、培訓配額；康樂設施或土地使用權等）的爭逐嚴重嗎？
- 據你理解，與你競爭資源的，是那些人？他們是和你同一階層，還是不同？
- 你如何與他人競爭資源？你會以什麼方法爭取以享得更多的社會資源？

B. 社會網路及社會資本

- 總體而言，你對你在深水埗的生活，有何不便？又有何訴求？
- 當你遇有生活上的困難時，會向外求助嗎？向什麼人（親戚、朋友） / 機構（政府、社會服務團體）求助？為什麼？
- 那些人 / 機構就在你家附近嗎？
- 那些人 / 機構能為你提供什麼幫助？
- 若你有向他人求助，那是什麼人？你和他 / 她們是什麼關係？你認為他 / 她們和你是屬於同一階層嗎？你多向他 / 她們求助嗎？你們之間有形成什麼樣的互助網路嗎？
- 若你有向機構求助，那是什麼機構？你能簡要描述那機構的特色嗎？你多向它們求助嗎？你以什麼準則選擇服務機構？
- 在遇到困難要尋求幫助時，在政府部門和社會服務團體之間，你會選擇何者？為什麼？

C. 空間環境、身份認同及生活素質

- 你對深水埗有認同感嗎？深水埗有什麼方面你認為是好的？又有那些不足？你認同你是深水埗居民嗎？
- 按你的理解，深水埗的範圍包括那些地方？
- 按你的理解，深水埗有什麼地區特色？你的這些理解從何而來（自己的體驗、透過社會團體、傳媒、政府宣傳）？
- 什麼原因讓你擇居深水埗？

- 可以簡單講講你一星期裏每天的日程嗎？
- 你生活活動的範圍有多大？那些生活的需要你能在深水埗得到滿足？那些方面你要在區外才能達成？
- 深水埗有什麼地方你常去的？有那些地方你根本不會去？為什麼？
- 特別針對公共屋村住戶：你有常到區內的較大型私人屋苑嗎？你有常到深水埗的舊區嗎？為什麼？
- 特別針對私人屋苑住戶：你有常到深水埗的舊區嗎？你有常去區內的公共屋村嗎？為什麼？
- 特別針對舊式樓宇住戶：你有常到區內的較大型私人屋苑嗎？你有常去區內的公共屋村嗎？為什麼？
- 總體而言，你滿意深水埗的環境嗎？它有什麼可取的？又有那些方面不可取？
- 你滿意深水埗的空間規劃嗎？它有什麼可取的？又有那些方面不可取？
- 你認為深水埗區內不同地方之間的可通達性強嗎？
- 閒餘時間，你多留在家嗎？如上街（在區內），你通常到什麼地方？為什麼？
- 你會怎樣評價你在深水埗的生活素質？你滿意的有那些方面？不滿的又有那些方面？（工作機會、交通、公共設施、社交網路、居住環境、經濟活動等）

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Glossary of Terms

Community identity: individual orientation to a community. In this project, the notion of community combines territorially-based conception and individuals' subjective perceptions of their community. For the latter, there are six inherent dimensions: (1) members' own perceptions of community boundaries; (2) members' own perceptions of the physical distinctiveness of SSP; (3) members' own perceptions of the social/cultural distinctiveness of SSP; (4) members' own emotional connections to the physical location; (5) members' own emotional belonging to the social/cultural groupings; and (6) members' own evaluation of community functioning.

Housing class: a concept coined by John Rex (1968), referring to a group of people characterized by their occupation of a particular housing type. People who live in different types of housing complexes are supposed to have different patterns of lifestyle, person's association, value and demand. The concept hence points to the study of relations, conflicts and mediation of interests among residents of different housing types in heterogeneous communities like SSP.

Place: a point, or an area on the earth's surface. From the perspectives of cultural landscape studies, place is "the combination of natural and man-made elements that comprises, at any given time, the essential character of a place." (Sauer, 1983). As John Agnew defines it, place is made up of three essential elements. Firstly, it refers to a specific location which is in relation to everywhere else. Secondly, it is a locale, that is, the actual shape of the spatial environment, such as defined by the parks and streets in a city, etc which is associated with people's everyday activities. Thirdly, it denotes a sense of place – the personal and emotional attachment that people have to a place (Agnew, 1987). More recent approaches to the question of place attach importance to the ways that a place is formed. Affected by Henri Lefebvre's "production of space" framework (Lefebvre, 1991), these works look into socio-spatial reconstitution of place, that is, socio-political contestation in the formation of a place on the one hand, and the ways that the spatial environment of that particular place in shaping the socio-political processes. From this process based approach, place is never fixed, rather, it is contestable by different social forces, hence it is fluid (e.g. Dear and Wolch, 1990; Anderson and Gale, 1992; Gregory, 1994).

Quality of life: individual well-being and/or welfare. It can be measured in both objective and subjective approaches. The objective approach generally takes the form of official statistics in relation to a number of political, social and economic features, such as the unemployment rate, housing affordability ratio and educational levels. The subjective approach examines people's self-assessment of quality of life, that is their judgements of needs and satisfactions of life according to individual experiences and expectations.

Social and political participation: the level of participation in terms of social affairs and political activities. They include collective action to influence the decisions of the government or direct action to improve their own livelihood and issues of their concern. In this project, we have adopted a broad interpretation of the meaning in order to capture a comprehensive view of participation of the resident in their social and political lives. Therefore, we have included the participation in institutional (e.g., elections) and non-institutional politics (e.g., protest), participation through non-traditional means (e.g., e-government), and community affairs (e.g., membership in voluntary groups and organizations).

Social capital: defined by Robert Putnam as "features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit." It is a relational concept that exists in the social relations among and/or between individual actors and corporate actors. The relationships between voluntary associations and between voluntary associations and the local authority are major focuses of studying social capital. More specifically, the concept of social capital concerns the extent of social networks in the forms of formal organization and informal ties such as friendship and neighbourhood, the existence of social norms (social trust and reciprocity), and policy, economic and social outcomes as a result of social networks and social norms. Social network can emerge in two forms: bonding and bridging. Bonding network concerns social ties within a particular group, while bridging network measures ties among diverse groups.

"Tong Lau": a walkup building. It can be seen in contrast with "yang lau" which refers to buildings with elevators. Most of them were constructed in the 1950s and 1960s. The height varies from two to four floors, and in SSP six to nine.

術語表

社區身份：個人對社區的認同。在這研究項目，「社區」一詞結合了地理劃分和個人對他們所屬的社區的主觀理解。後者包含六個構成面向：(1) 社區成員對社區地理界線的主觀理解；(2) 成員對社區地理空間特色的理解；(3) 成員對社區的社會文化特色的理解；(4) 成員對社區的歸屬感；(5) 成員對社區內的社會文化組成的歸屬感；及(6) 成員對社區狀況和設施的評價。

住屋階級：由學者 J. Rex (1968) 提出的概念，指根據人們居住的房屋類型分類的社會階層。不同房屋類型的居民有不同的生活型態、人際脈絡、價值觀和需求。因此，這概念指向在具有差異的社區裡，不同住屋階級之間的關係、紛爭和利益整合的研究。

地方：一個地點，或一個地理範圍。從文化地理研究的角度，地方是指「在特定的時間脈絡下，由自然和人為因素共同構成的地方」(Sauer, 1983)。學者 John Agnew (1987) 認為，地方的定義有三大要素。第一，地方是指一個特定的地方，同時又與其他地方相關。第二，它是一個地點，擁有實質外形特點的空間，且與人們的日常生活息息相關，例如城市中的公園或街道等。第三，它是指人們對地方的個人情感。一個地方如何形成是近期關於地方的研究的重要課題。這些研究均受 Henri Lefebvre 的「空間生產」的理論架構影響，旨在探討社會和空間因素對地方的構成和再構成的過程。它們一方面探討一個地方的形成過程中的社會和政治角力，另一方面探討一個特定地方的空間環境對社會政治生態的影響。在這個著重空間的生產過程的研究方法下，地方不是靜止不變的。相反，地方可被不同的社會力量爭奪，因此地方是不穩定的(e.g. Dear and Wolch, 1990; Anderson and Gale, 1992; Gregory, 1994)。

生活素質：個人的福祉和／或福利狀況。生活素質可從客觀和主觀方法量度。客觀方法主要是透過官方關於政治、社會和經濟的數據如失業率、住屋負擔水平和教育水平，來量度生活素質水平。主觀方法建基於人們對生活質素的自我評估，即人們根據他們的個人經驗和期望，識辨他們的需求和量度對生活各範疇的滿意程度。

社會及政治參與：市民參與社會事務和政治活動的程度。社會事務和政治活動包括影響政府決定的集體行動，或市民就改善生活和其他他們所關注的議題的直接參與行爲。在這研究項目，我們採用了對社會及政治參與的廣義理解，從而就深水埗居民的社會和政治範疇的參與度作全面的探討。因此，深水埗居民的建制內的政治參與（如投票）、建制外的政治參與（如示威）、透過非傳統渠道的參與（如網絡）和社區事務的參與（如志願組織和團體）。

社會資本：根據 Robert Putnam 的定義，社會資本是促成互惠協作和合作的社會組織的特質，包括社會網絡、規範和信任。它是一個關於「關係」的概念，涉及個人之間、團體之間的社會關係。研究社會資本的課題包括志願團體之間關係、志願團體與政府機構之間的關係。具體來說，社會資本關注社交網絡（透過正規組織以建立的社交網絡，或非正規的社交網絡如友誼、鄰里關係）、社會規範（社會信任和互惠互利），及社交網絡和規範所帶來的政策、經濟和社會後果。社交網絡包括團結式社交網絡和橋接式社交網絡。前者關注在特定群體內的成員之間關係，後者則指不同群體之間的關係。

唐樓：沒有電梯的大樓。它可視作與「洋樓」（即有電梯的大樓）相對的建築物。唐樓大多數建於 1950 至 1960 年代。樓層數目由兩層至四層不等。深水埗的唐樓樓層數目由六層至九層不等。