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Redevelopment of Kowloon Walled City
A Feasibility Study
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A WORKSHOP REPORT
PREPARED BY
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* photographic illustration
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objectives of the Study

For decades, the Kowloon Walled City has been a mysterious place to most people of Hong Kong. The Convention of Peking in 1898 eventually turned the area into a "no-man's land". Due to the ambiguity in jurisdiction it had been an ideal place for criminal hide-away, prostitution and drug centre. Nowadays, order has been restored but the area has become a dingy slum which accommodates about 40,000 population.

The environmental problems have aroused increasing concern from both the British and the Chinese Governments as well as from the general public. Buildings are constructed without paying respect to Buildings Ordinance and Fire Services Regulations. There is little natural lighting and ventilation for living units inside the boundary. Fire access are the narrow alleys running between the congested building blocks. Due to structural reasons piped water cannot be provided. Hygienic and sanitary conditions are frustrating and open drains are found everywhere. Various kinds of industries causing environmental nuisance are operated just next to the
domestic dwellers. Food manufacturers are unlicensed and the Urban Services Department is unable to control them from using poisonous additives in their products. Besides, unlicensed dentists operate without any supervision. However, improvements to all these situations cannot be achieved without a comprehensive redevelopment programme.

This study intends to review the development of Kowloon Walled City in the historical context and tries to investigate into the feasibility of the redevelopment and how it can be carried out. Redevelopment by the Government in general or in this particular area have not been successful in the past. However, the improving Sino-British relationship and the formation of Land Development Corporation give a new hope in redeveloping the area.

1.2 Methodology

The author has adopted a Neo-Marxist approach in the analysis of the development of the Kowloon Walled City in relation to the political-economic environment. This approach helps to achieve a better understanding of the underlying dynamics of built environment.
However, as a planner, the author hopes to work for the people instead of being a mere agent of the State. In this regard, she has suggested the feasibility of redeveloping Kowloon Walled City, hoping this will meet the genuine needs of the local residents.

It is essential to obtain accurate information on local characteristics before one can plan for the area. However, data on Kowloon Walled City is extremely limited, mainly because of its political status and social circumstances. The statistics on population characteristics provided by the Census and Statistics Department is unrealistic. Information and data used in this report are mainly collected from interviews with staffs of various Government departments, District Board member, social worker, secretary of the Kai Fong Welfare Advancement Association and local residents; as well as from secondary sources like literature review and newspaper cuttings. Nevertheless, the author believes these information are the best she can obtain on this sensitive area.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Role of State in Hong Kong

When the British Government first took over Hong Kong in 1841, Hong Kong was 'a barren rock with hardly a house on it' (Collins 1951, P.20). Nevertheless, Hong Kong has transformed from an entrepot to an industrial economy and a major financial centre after the Second World War.

Throughout the economic development, the Government has claimed to have adopted 'laissez-faire' and 'positive non-intervention' policies which are being challenged. Schiffer (1983) argues that the Hong Kong Government has in fact actively intervened in the economic development and facilitated capital accumulation through various measures. Like all capitalist states, it acts for 'the protection and reproduction of the social structure (the fundamental relations of production), in so far as this is not achieved by the automatic process of the economy' (Mandal 1975, P.474). Since the conditions of capital accumulation will change in the long run, and so will the form of State and strategies of intervention (Clark and Dear 1981, P.59).
In order to facilitate capital accumulation, the Hong Kong Government must be ready to provide or maintain suitable environment of social and political stability and suitable conditions to increase the competitiveness of local product. On the other hand, the Government is a big landlord who also wants to accrue profit itself. Meanwhile the Government also realizes that the fractions of capitalist interests are not always united and so the Government must set a balance for the long term interests of capitalist class as a whole.

2.1.1 Maintaining Social and Political Stability
Social and Political Stability is fundamental to the reproduction of labour and accumulation of capital. The emergence of Hong Kong as an industrial centre attributed much to its social and political stability which attracted the entrepreneurs and capitals from Shanghai and Canton when China turned red. On the other hand, the development of Hong Kong as a financial centre has attracted a lot of foreign capital and hot money from abroad and if Hong Kong is socially and politically unstable, these capital will easily retreat and will
smash all the hopes on economic advancement. Since the existence of Hong Kong depends very much on its economic success, the State must try to protect it from any possible instabilities.

In order to ensure social and political stability in Hong Kong, the Government has imposed strict limitations on the political activities of the trade unions and they are not allowed to use their funds for any political purpose whether within or outside the Colony. In this way, trade unions are barred from both international contacts and political activities. Besides, the State also acts as a crisis manager. After the riots in 1967, it has set up the City District Office Scheme to 'channel' the grievances of the grassroot and serve as a 'bridge' between the Government and the mass.

On the other hand, Offe (1974) points out that 'the existence of a capitalist state presupposes the systematic denial of its nature as a capitalist state'. The Government mystifies its alliance with the capitalist class by introducing a large number of social services and medical programmes, education
and housing policies to serve the basic needs of the people. These serve to maintain the social and political stability and, moreover, to serve as 'collective consumption' through which the wages of the labour can be kept at the lowest level. Furthermore, the introduction of District Boards and Representation Government is also an effective stabilizing force as they help to channel public views and discontents in a 'proper' and 'administered' way.

2.1.2. **Provision of Conditions for Capital Accumulation**

Hong Kong is an export-led economy and is extremely vulnerable to the ups and downs of the world market. In order to facilitate capital accumulation, the Government has tried very hard to promote foreign trades and enhance the competitiveness of the local labor-intensive oriented industries.

a. **Trade Promotion Institutions**

In the mid 1960s, in view of the increasing competition in the world markets from other developing countries like Singapore, Korea and Taiwan, the Government established three statutory bodies to provide supporting services to the export-oriented industries.
The Trade Development Council, established in 1966, aims at promoting Hong Kong exports abroad by sending trade missions abroad and participating in overseas trade fairs.

The Hong Kong Export Credit Insurance Corporation was established in 1967 as a non-profit making public corporation. It provides a range of export credit insurance policies to local exports and covers the risks of bankruptcy, insolvency, default and repudiation of contract as well as political and economic risks involved in export transactions.

The Productivity Council was set up in 1967 and is responsible for promoting higher productivity in manufacturing industries by providing consultancy and technical services to local manufacturers. The Hong Kong Productivity Centre is the executive arm of the Council.

b. Scarce Labour Legislations

The Government tries to facilitate maximum Labour exploitation by providing little labour legislations. There is no minimum wage, no full paid maternity leave, no limit on hours of works for male workers over the age of 18, no sickness benefits, no unemployment insurance,
no pension scheme and no free medical aid. Absence of these regulations allows the maximum capital accumulation at a low labour cost.

c. Collective Consumption

Chen (1980) suggests that the rapid economic growth in Hong Kong should largely be related to the ability of Hong Kong to keep prices rising at a much less rapid rate than other countries and to the maintenance of a strong demand for its manufacturing export by the overseas markets. Prices are kept low mainly by the low labour costs with low wages and high labour productivity. Chen (1980, P.14) points out that index for labour productivity climbed from 58 in 1961 to 82 in 1966, and to 100 in 1971 and further to 128 in 1976, while the real wage index was 100 in 1964, 146 in 1971 and increased to 160 in 1977.

As discussed, there are little labour legislation to safeguard the benefits of the workers and so the rate of real wage increase is relatively low. Nevertheless there are significant increase in labour productivity in a stable social and political environment without much grievances from the labours. This is made possible by a comprehensive social
wage, including coverage of health, education, social services and above all housing (Castells 1986).

Within a capitalist mode of production, capitalists who have ownership over means of production aim at maximizing their profit by reinvesting in sectors where profits can be made. However, there is a discrepancy between 'use values' and 'exchange values' among commodities so that what is necessary to consume does not correspond to what is profitable to produce. Therefore basic needs which are in themselves not profitable, eg. shelter and health, will not be provided by individual capitalists. In such circumstances, state intervention for collective consumption becomes necessary to assure the reproduction of labour power (Castells).

Public housing and other social programmes for collective consumption has a progressive effect on income distribution. Taking into account of the subsidy from Government to the tenant of a public housing unit alone, real wages were increased by 70% (Leung 1977, quoted in Castells 1986, P.98). As such, wages in the manufacturing sector have been
able to be maintained at a relatively low level without major industrial conflicts or social outburst. By taking charge of collective consumption, the State becomes more dependent on the capitalist interests because the funding of public investment relies very much on taxing their profits. As a cycle, the State will endeavor to facilitate further capital accumulation for its own existence. However, there are some structural contradiction between the State and the capitalists as the taxation of profits for the public investment may slow down capital accumulation because it directs funds from alternative uses more helpful to accumulation (Pretecille, 1981).

2.1.3 Capital Accumulation by the State: Hong Kong Government as a Big Landlord

Unlike most other capitalist states, the Government is the sole landowner in Hong Kong. It can achieve capital accumulation independently through land sales. The disposal of land is solely controlled in the hands of the State. It has practised a high land price policy by limiting supply of land and selling most leases to the highest bidder at public auctions. The revenue obtained
are used to cover expenditure in collective consumption and other infrastructure provision. The percentage of revenue from land sales in total Government revenue fluctuates throughout the years and reached a peak of 38.2% in 1980-81 (Wu 1983).

2.1.4 Balance of Capitalist Interest

Individual capitalists, each acting in their own immediate self-interest, can produce an aggregate effect which may be antagonistic to their collective class interests (Harvey). The Government must, therefore, try to maintain a balance of interests so that conflicts among the various fractions of capital can be solved. Sometimes, the Government may have to sacrifice short term interests of some fractions of capital for the long term interests of capital accumulation (Dunleavy, 1980).

Such conflicts exist not only among capitalists, but may also occur between the State and the capitalists. While the State tends to accrue maximum profits from land sales through a high land value policy, the high land costs has reduced the competitiveness of Hong Kong's export industries as against other industria-
lizing countries. In order to maintain the long term interests in capital accumulation, sometimes the State has to reconcile to promote industrial development by, eg. the setting up of Industrial Estates Corporation in 1977.

2.2

The China Element

2.2.1

Increasing Economic Links with Hong Kong

It is believed that China is willing, though reluctantly, to tolerate the existence of Hong Kong as a British Colony mainly because of its economic values to the achievement of China's national goal (Lau, 1982). Economically, Hong Kong regularly provides about one-third of China's hard currency earnings and 40% of her foreign exchange. It also serves as a highly convenient and efficient conduit for capital funds, market information, managerial expertise, technological transfer and provides access to international trade and financial institutions (Jao, 1985).

In recent years, there are increasing economic ties between China and Hong Kong. In 1982, China replaced Japan as Hong Kong's largest supplier and became Hong Kong's fourth largest export market. In entrepot trade, China was Hong Kong's largest country of destination
in 1980 and has been the largest country of origin since 1969.

Moreover, China in recent years has invested some US$4 billion in Hong Kong through 50 Chinese representatives and trade offices in more than 300 projects (South China Morning Post 1984, as quoted in Jao 1985, P.39). Besides, China used to be a net debtor to Hong Kong before 1982 but the relationship has been reversed since then. By the end of the third quarter of 1984, China's net claims on Hong Kong reached a considerable sum of US$1758 million (Jao 1985, P.39). These show that China does have a strong vested interest in Hong Kong's financial viability and the growing net lending is a conscious attempt on China's part to stabilize the financial system in Hong Kong (Jao 1985).

In the period 1972-79, prices in the world export increased by 131% and those of exports from developing countries to Hong Kong went up by 166%, but prices of Chinese products coming to Hong Kong increased only by 91% (Chau, 1983). The maintenance of price stability is essential for Hong Kong's international competitiveness in enabling
the continuation of high economic growth with a lower rate of inflation and lower costs of living than its competitors (Castells, 1986).

2.2.3 Maintenance of Stability and Prosperity
Because of Hong Kong's economic values, China has endeavored to sustain the economic growth in Hong Kong. Indeed, 'stability' and 'prosperity' are the two code words during the negotiation between British and Chinese Governments on the future of Hong Kong. The determination of the Chinese Government to maintain Hong Kong's prosperity is manifested by the introduction of 'one country, two systems' as stipulated in the Joint Declaration. The Chinese solicitude for Hong Kong is also seen from the fact that during the currency crisis of 1982-83, China lost about US$1.1 billion as the result of the sharp depreciation of Hong Kong dollar, and yet it has refrained from passing the loss onto Hong Kong through raising the supply prices of Chinese goods (Jao 1985, P.40). This patronizes social stability in Hong Kong especially during the crisis years. With the close-knit economic linkages and financial investment in Hong Kong, it is believed that
China will try to 'protect' Hong Kong from any possible social and political instability so that it can continue to enjoy the benefit of Hong Kong's prosperous economic growth.

2.3 Process of Built Environment

As suggested by Harvey (1978) it is necessary for the capitalist society to create a physical landscape which is broadly appropriate to the purpose of production and reproduction. A fraction of capitalists will use the built environment in the appropriation of rent and for speculation activities, while another fraction is keen in the construction interests.

However, built environment represents the exchange values of fixed capital investment in a specific point in time and they will form barriers to further accumulation. Therefore, these past capital investment will have to be destroyed in order to open up new room for further accumulation with new construction. 'Under capitalism there is, then, a perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its own condition at a particular moment in time, only to have to destroy it, usually in the course of a crisis, at a subsequent
point in time (Harvey 1979, P.124). In this way, the built environment is subject to continuous and rapid transformation with simultaneous construction and destruction of physical landscapes (Cuthbert, 1984).

2.4 Development of Kowloon Walled City in Theory

The uniqueness of Kowloon Walled City lies in the Convention of Peking, 1898, which stated that the area would remain in Chinese sovereignty. Although it was taken over by the British Government the following year, this was never officially recognized by the Chinese Government. This historical background hinges the development of the Walled City.

As a capitalist state and a landlord, the Hong Kong government tried to resume and develop the area but met strong opposition from both local inhabitants and the Chinese Government. In order to maintain the social and political stability of Hong Kong as a whole as well as the diplomatic relationship between British and Chinese Government, the local Government did not insist on the implementation of the redevelopment plans. On the other hand, the Chinese Government has not pushed hard for the sovereignty of
the Walled City since such action may cause social and political disruptions in Hong Kong and this may in turn potentially jeopardize the economic benefits it has been enjoying from Hong Kong. Under such subtle relationship, the Walled City remains 'untouched'.

Despite the Government's inability to initiate or regulate development within the Walled City, the built environment there must necessarily be reproduced for further capital accumulation. Demolition and construction of buildings took place after the Second World War. Since there is no Government's regulations, the redevelopments are undertaken by private developers who manipulate the built form to the utmost development potential. Living conditions, hygiene and environment there are unsatisfactory. However, such spatial development is contributive to the process of capital accumulation as it provides cheap accommodation for the workers and so lowers the costs for labour reproduction. Therefore the situation is tolerated by the local Government.
3. KOWLOON WALLED CITY: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 The Early Settlement

With the discovery of Sung Pottery and refugee courts of the Sung Royalty nearby, it is commonly believed that the Kowloon Walled City had been established since Sung Dynasty (960-1297 A.D.) as an official centre to administer salt production. The officials and troops stationed there also extended their authority over vast areas of what is now known as the New Territories (Colonial, 1933-35).

Kowloon Walled City was situated about a quarter of a mile from the sea shore. It was built along the mountain slope, raising from the plain to the summit of the hill and forming a parallelogram, measuring 700 feet by 400 feet. It was enclosed by a stone wall built in 1847 presumably as a precautionary measure to ward off British invasion after the cession of Hong Kong Island. The central position of the city was occupied by the Yamen. The main gate at the South-east led to the suburbs, known as Kowloon Street, which was a market centre for surrounding villages. In 1841, the city contained civil officials and a military garrison. The garrison amounted to 544 and the civil population to 200. There
were no shops or business places inside. The inhabitants were mainly fishing folks and farmers or they were dependent on the military. A school, Lung Chun Yee Hok, was established inside the city in 1847, to stimulate the morale of local inhabitants and to set a good example for the foreigners to follow. It became not only a well-regarded school but also the venue for meeting among officials and local gentry.

3.2 Existence of the Kowloon City as a Historical Incident

3.2.1 Convention of Peking 1898

On June 9, 1898, the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong was signed in Peking. The document leased to Great Britain an area "indicated generally on the annexed map" for 99 years and stated that

"Within the city of Kowloon the Chinese officials now stationed there should continue to exercise jurisdiction except so far as may be inconsistent with the military requirement for the defence of Hong Kong. Within the remainder of the newly leased territory Great Britain shall have sole jurisdiction. Chinese officials and people shall be allowed as heretofore to use the road from Kowloon to Hsinan.

"It is further agreed that the existing landing place near Kowloon City shall be reserved for the convenience of Chinese men-of-war, merchants and passenger vessels, which may come and go and lie there at their pleasure and for convenience of movement
of the officials and people within the city."

As such, the whole New Kowloon, New Territories and other adjacent island were leased to Great Britain, in addition to the Hong Kong Island and Kowloon Peninsula formerly cessioned in the Treaty of Nanking 1842. However, the small area of Kowloon Walled City was left out and this later becomes a problem left by history.

3.2.2 Why Kowloon Walled City was Retained under Chinese Jurisdiction

The fact that the Chinese Ministers maintained jurisdiction in Kowloon Walled City, despite the limited geographical location, indicated that on the issue of the transfer of administration, it was the principle rather than the practice of reservation that was important (Wesley-Smith 1973, P.85).

Perhaps, the significant consideration in the maintainence of jurisdiction was the saving of face. In fact, the British Government agreed to this arrangement as 'sop' to Chinese dignity (Miners 1981, P.191). Another explanation is given in the 'Ancient Book of Law in the Royal Court' that any Emperor who lost one city during his regime would
be prohibited to enter the Royal Temple in the capital for an indefinite period, until that city had been recovered. Therefore, the Emperor ensured the retention of all China's cities in the early treaties with foreign powers regarding the granting of concessions or leasing of territories on the coast (Colonial, 1933-35). Similarly, the Walled City of Weihaiwei was retained when Liaotung Peninsula was leased to Great Britain in 1898.

Nevertheless, the Nanking Government explained in 1948 that the Ching policy in retaining the jurisdiction in the Walled Cities during the European and Russian 'Scramble for Concession' was to signify ultimate rights over the leaseholds by retaining sovereignty over a specific area (Lai 1947, P.98-101).

3.2.3 Taking Over of Kowloon Walled City

Although the Peking Convention was effective on July 1, 1898, Great Britain delayed the assumption of authority in the New Territories to the next year when the United States Navy ceased to use Mirs Bay as its naval base in the Philippines War (Wesley-Smith 1973, P.86).
However, the occupation of the New Territories in April, 1899 met with some organized resistance. Villagers destroyed the matsheks for the official flag-hoisting ceremony. The Governor then demanded the Canton Viceroy to provide 'ample protection' for those workers building the matsheks in the area. Accordingly 600 Chinese troops arrived but half of them went to the Walled City and others to Sham Chun. In the Governor's opinion, the Canton Viceroy was reluctant to suppress the uprising, but only intended to oppose by force against the removal of Chinese Customs Stations by the local Government (Wesley-Smith 1973, P.89-90). Subsequently, the British Government ordered the occupation of Kowloon Walled City and Sham Chun. For the next six months, the Chinese Government continued to object to the British action in these two cities. In October, Britain returned Sham Chun but not Kowloon Walled City.

Consequently, by Order in Council of December 27, 1899, "the exercise of jurisdiction by the Chinese officials in the city of Kowloon having been found to be inconsistent with the military requirements for the defence of Hong Kong", and so the Walled City was
declared to be "part and parcel of Her Majesty's Colony of Hong Kong ..... as if it had originally formed part of the said Colony" (Wesley-Smith 1973, P.93). As far as Britain was concerned, the issue was settled but this was never agreed by the Chinese Government.
Past Government Effort in Redevelopment of the Kowloon Walled City

4.1 The 1933 Episode

The concept of Garden City was prevalent in the 1920s and 30s. After the completion of Kowloon Tong residential estates in 1930, Kowloon City was intended to be another grid-iron-patterned suburb (Tregear and Berry 1959, P.17, quoted in Wesley-Smith 1973, P.74).

In June 1933, the Hong Kong Government proposed to preserve the old city as 'a place of popular resort and antiquarium interests' (Bristows 1984, P.44-46). At that time, there were 436 people living in 64 houses inside the walls. A notice was issued to the inhabitants stipulating resumption of land and offering compensation in money and land in Kau Shut Ling near Tze Wan Shan.

However, the resumption was protested by local residents and Canton officials, claiming that the residents' livelihood would suffer from the move. Then the Hong Kong Government offered to construct new houses for families affected at Government's expenses.

In 1935, when new houses were completed and the Government ordered the evacuation
of the Walled City, China objected again on the ground of hardship. Nevertheless, the Hong Kong Government was given approval to take legal action against recalcitrant occupiers. In 1937, the whole area was evacuated under the compensation scheme. By 1940, all buildings inside the Walled City except the old Yamen, Lung Chun Yee Hok building and one private dwelling were demolished.

During Japanese occupation, the area was practically deserted and the walls were demolished in 1943 to provide material for extension of Kai Tak Airport.

After the war, the Chinese Government planned to restore administration in the Kowloon Walled City by establishing Chinese civil courts there, but the action was postponed in the interests of harmonious Sino-British relations (Lai 1947, P.98-101).

4.2 1948 Continuation

After the Second World War, there was a large and rapid influx of Chinese refugees to Hong Kong. At the end of 1947, there were about 2000 inhabitants in the Walled City. In
January 1948, the staff from Public Works Department accompanied by the police expelled the inhabitants and demolished their huts. The local inhabitants stroke strong protests and several of them were injured in the fights with the police. This aroused wide-spread sympathy. There were firings at the British Consulate in Canton and students demonstration in Shanghai. The Chinese Government supported the residents and distributed money to them in a 'comfort mission'. The Nanking Government officially protested to Great Britain since they considered that 'according to their interpretation of the Peking Convention, jurisdiction in Kowloon City was reserved to China' (Lai 1948, P.98-101). Although the British Government was unable to accept this interpretation, they did not care to exacerbate Anglo-Chinese relations, and therefore the eviction programme was discontinued (Wesley-Smith 1973, P.77).

4.3 The 1963 Incident

As early as 1960, plans for general development of the area including part of Kowloon Walled City were published. They met immediate opposition from local residents. At the end
of 1962, resettlement notifications were 'forcibly issued'.

In January 1963, when the local authorities attempted to resettle occupants of the Walled City and demolish a corner of it for the Tung Tau Resettlement Estate, local residents expressed great indignation and they formed a Kowloon Walled City Anti-Demolition Committee. This was supported by the People's Republic of China who protested to the British Charge' d' affaires in Peking that "the city of Kowloon is China's territory and within Chinese jurisdiction and this has all along been as in history". The official reply from British Government denied the validity of the Chinese claim, yet agreed to defer "for the time being", action in the Kowloon Walled City (June 1969, P.256, quoted in Wesley-Smith 1973, P.77). Afterwards, the Tung Tau Resettlement Scheme was amended and occupants of the Walled City were left undisturbed.
5. THE EXISTING KOWLOON WALLED CITY

5.1 Physical Aspects

5.1.1 Location, Boundary and Area

Kowloon Walled City is situated in Central Kowloon, in less than a mile to the north-west of the Hong Kong International Airport. It is surrounded by Mei Tung Estate in the North, Tung Tau Estate in the East and Sai Tau Tsuen Squatter Area in the South and the West. Sai Tau Tsuen Squatter Area has now been demolished for the construction of Carpenter Road Park. (Fig. 5.1 and 5.2) Because of the close proximity to the airport, strict Airport Height Restrictions ranging from 45.72m P.D. to 51.82m P.D. are imposed under the Hong Kong Airport (Control of Obstruction) Ordinance. (Fig. 5.3 and 5.4)

Regarding the boundary of the Walled City, there is no clear identification after the removal of the walls by the Japanese in 1943. Nevertheless, the Government identifies the Kowloon Walled City as the area surrounded by Tung Tau Tsuen Road in the North, Lung Shing Road in the East, Lung Chun Road in the South and the West City Road in the West. Houses built on the eastern side of Lung Shing Road and those on the Western side side of
Kowloon Walled City—
a distant view from
the Hong Kong
International Airport

A closer look at
the facade fronting
Tung Tau Tsuen Road

Figure 5.2: Kwoloon Walled City: Its Environs
Sai Tau Tsuen, originally situated at the South and West of Kowloon Walled City, have now been demolished for construction of the Carpenter Road Park.

Mei Tung Estate is located to the North.

Tung Tau Estate (currently under renovation) stands to the East.

Figure 5.2 (cont'd): Kowloon Walled City- Its Environs
Figure 5.3: Airport Height Restriction
Note the irregular building form as a result of the variation of airport height restriction.

Figure 5.4: Impact of Airport Height Restriction on Building Form
West City Road are also included. (Fig. 5.5)

The total area of the Walled City is 6.5 ha.

5.1 Landholding

Because of the peculiar political status of the Walled City left by history, it is still commonly regarded as being under Chinese sovereignty. Since 1963, the local Government has ceased to claim sovereignty over the area. Accordingly, the District Lands Office does not keep land and building records of the area.

Landholding in the Walled City is not recognized by the Government. It is based on the customary recognition of rights among neighbours and a piece of land is belonged to the first person who built on it. Transaction of landholding is based on trust. Since it is not recognized by the Government, the parties involved in a property transaction usually find a witness to the signing of the contract, the most common of which is the Kai Fong Welfare Advancement Association.

5.1.3 Building Conditions

There are, at present, about 300 buildings
Figure 5.5: Boundary and Layout of Kowloon Walled City
altogether within Kowloon Walled City, with average height of 11 storeys. With the exception of the former Yamen and Tin Hau Temple, all of these buildings were built/rebuilt after the Second World War. Since the area is not under the control of the Buildings Ordinance, the developers tend to exploit development potentials to the maximum but 'cut' the building costs to the minimum, resulting in an unsafe and unhealthy environment:

a. Substandard Building Material/Services and Inadequate Structure

Whilst in general buildings are constructed of reinforced concrete, the quality of material employed are always substandard. According to the inspection by a Building Surveyor, the steel and reinforcement used are generally under-strength and cement mix used are too weak (Chiang, 1980). Moreover, all building structures are not rested on proper foundations (piles or caisson). Although developers claim that the whole area is bedded by a piece of large rock and hence no piling is necessary, the arrangement is still considered risky particularly when there is perpetually no proper site investigation or geotechnical
assessment. In fact, the author has noticed during a site visit that one of the buildings has already started to tilt.

Besides, building services are also kept to a bare minimum. This is illustrated by the fact that there is only one building installed with lift despite the average height of the buildings is 11 storeys.

b. Reduction of Floor Height and Lack of External Space Between Buildings

Although there is no building control in the area, the Government has somehow imposed Airport Height Restrictions stringently to ensure aircraft safety. Consequently, developers turned to minimizing floor to floor height to achieve maximum number of saleable storeys. This has resulted in very uncomfortable headroom and obstructions to ventilation.

The living environment is further deteriorated by the fact the buildings are always made abutting each other and built over the already narrow 'streets'. (Fig. 5.6) The effects are that windows are always blocked off and the streets are virtually turned into internal corridors. Under such circumstances, ventilation and natural lighting for most
Building structures are protruding into the streets and cover them up.

Cubicles are built above a corridor to make its headroom even lower.

Figure 5.6: Unscrupulous Maximization of Living Space
Cages are commonly found...

so are roof structures

and more!

Figure 5.6 (cont'd): Unscrupulous Maximization of Living Space
of the living units are far from satisfactory. (Fig. 5.7)

c. Lack of Fire Escapes
Due to the lack of planning and concern, proper escape routes and fire services installation are virtually non-existent in the buildings in the area. Exit-ways and stairways from the different building blocks are often seen merging into one narrow lane and corridors are usually messed up with electricity cables, water pipes and the alike.

As recently pointed out by the Kowloon Acting Deputy Chief Fire Officer a small fire in any of the building units could easily turn into a fatal disaster. In fact, it is quite impossible for the fire brigade to fight the fire as it will extremely be difficult for them to find the way through the complicated access networks which have no record (Grindrod and Yu 1986, p.1).

5.1.4 Water Supply
The Walled City is provided with 8 standpipes within the boundary. (Fig. 5.8 and 5.9) Besides, as informed by Mr. Steve Ng, District Board member, it is also served by about 300
Thank God these windows can still be opened!

While some others are not so lucky.

Therefore, installation of air conditioners often becomes a necessity.

Figure 5.7: Ventilation
Water is precious in Kowloon Walled City, so take the buckets to bring water home

wash the clothes and rice at the standpipe

or even take a bath there!
Also note the polythene pipes waiting to tap water to dwellings.

Figure 5.9: Water Supply
scientific wells dug by the residents. However, the local residents complained that the quality of well water is deteriorating probably because of the increase of sewage flow underground.

Illegal supply of water is common. There are several water supply companies within the Walled City. They tap water from the standpipes and provide the piped water to the household units at a rate ranging from $30 to more than $100 per month, depending on the number of hours of water supply a day. Sometimes the tapped water is mixed with well water, and so the quality is not guaranteed.

The local residents have requested the Government to provide piped water to their houses. However, there are technical difficulties in the provision. As explained by the District Officer/Kowloon City, the building structures are too weak to take the water pressure and the lanes are too narrow to be dug up for underground water pipes. Although the Government claims that the various departments concerned are still working hard for a solution, it seems that the possibility for piped water provision is very dim.
5.1.5 **Drainage and Sewage**

Open drains are aligned at the sides of the narrow streets sloping down to the drains at Sai Tau Tsuen. These cause much nuisance to the living environment and are traps for young children and old people.

As regard sewage, it is noted that most buildings are provided with aqua privy. However, sewage are usually led underground or linked to the open drain. This further deteriorates the living environment with bad smell as well as the quality of well water underground. (Fig. 5.10)

5.1.6 **Electricity and Telephone Services**

Electricity and telephone services are provided within the Walled City. A electricity transformer is located on Lung Chun Road.

However, it is observed that electricity cables are hung overhead along the narrow lanes. Very often, water are found dripping from the pipes illegally lined along these cables. This may cause potential hazards to the residents. (Fig. 5.11)
Most drains run along the narrow 'streets

Sewage are linked to open drains and further deteriorates environmental quality

See the rat making its way into the hole on the ground?

Figure 5.10: Drainage and Sewage
"Streets are overhung with electricity cables and water pipes, with refuse around.

At various locations, one have to bend down and cover his head when walking under the low-hanging cables and the leaking pipes.

Figure 5.11: Electricity Cables and Water Pipes in Narrow Alleys
5.2 Administration

The Kowloon Walled City falls in the administration district of Kowloon City and lies within the constituency of Kowloon City and Sai Tau of Kowloon City District Board. (Fig. 5.12)

Different Government departments have varied attitudes towards the Walled City. In general, the Government is willing to provide basic services to serve the inhabitants there who are taken as residents of Hong Kong. For example, the Urban Services Department collects garbage. Nevertheless, the Government departments are much more cautious especially in land and building matters. As a matter of fact, no rates on land are collected in the area.

5.2.2 Population Characteristics

a. Population and Density

According to the 1981 Census, there was a total population of 33,917 in TPU 2.8.5 Street Block 02 which included Kowloon Walled City and Sai Tau Tsuen Squatter area. (Fig. 5.13) As informed by the town planner in the Urban Area Development Office/Kowloon, Sai Tau Tsuen had a population of 19,300 in 1981, and thus leaving
Figure 5.12 District Board Electoral Boundaries - Kowloon City District

Scale: 1:20 000

District Boundary
Constituency Boundary

District Name, Code Letter & Land Area Covered

Kowloon City & Sai Tau
Kowloon Tong & Ma Tau Wai
Ho Man Tin North
Ho Man Tin South
To Kwa Wan North
To Kwa Wan South
Hung Hom North
Hung Hom South

Series & Sheet No.
Edition 2 - 1984
Figure 5.13: Tertiary Planning Units and Street Blocks - 1981 Census
14,617 people in the Walled City. This population figure is considered unrealistic as the District Officer/Kowloon City estimates that there are approximately 40,000 inhabitants.

If there are 40,000 inhabitants living in the 6.5 hectare area, the Walled City has a density of 6,154 person per hectare and in the most densely populated area in Hong Kong. (Sham Shui Po: 1,654 persons/ha.; Mongkok: 1,610 persons/ha.; Hung Hom: 1,198 persons/ha.).

Since District Officer/Kowloon City advises that the socio-economic characteristics of the Walled City resembles very much those of other squatter area, the Census statistics are still employed to give some illustration.

b. Demographic Structure

Population in TPU 2.8.5 Street Block 02 is predominantly younger male. 61.07% of the residents are below the age of 30. (54% of 18,584 male residents and 46% of 15,333 female residents). (Fig. 5.14) This is probably attributed to the large number of young male immigrants newly from China living in the Walled City and the squatter area.
c. Household Size
The household size in the Street Block is generally smaller than those in the territory. 55.63% of the households have 3 or less persons (18.99% for singleton, 36.64% for 2 - 3 persons household) as compared to 46% for the territory (15.2% for singletons, 30.8% for 2 - 3 persons households).

d. Type of Living Quarters and Degree of Sharing
74% of living quarters are private housing blocks with self-contained facilities. About 22% of living quarters are simple stone structures and temporary housing.

Sharing of living quarters among households is a common phenomenon. 20% of living quarters are shared between 2 or more households and about half of which are shared by 3 or more households.

5.2.3 Social Organization
There are a member of social services centres delivering services to residents of the Walled City. Although the Government does not actively engage in social services provision within the Walled City, it has facilitated these provision by granting the buildings
of the former Yamen to Chinese National Evangelic Church (CNEC).

The CNEC runs a centre for the elderly which has more than 100 members, most of whom are local inhabitants. (Fig. 5.15)

A children and youth centre run by Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups is also operated in the former Yamen, rented at a nominal rate from CNEC. The centre organizes activities for children and youths living within and outside the Walled City alike.

Apart from these organizations, there is also an informal rehabilitation centre for the drug addicts run by a missionary under a lady known as Miss Pullinger.

Besides, the Kowloon Walled City Kai Fong Welfare Advancement Association functions as a liaison body between the residents and the Government departments on the provision of various services. It also witnesses property transaction for the local residents and has installed the street name plaques. (Fig. 5.16)

Despite the various social services centres functioning in the Walled City, the community spirit among the residents are low. As informed
Children and Youth Centre

Centre for the Elderly

(both are operated in the premises of the former 'Yamen')

Figure 5.15: Social Services in the Walled City
Street lighting (note that the old lamp fitting has been superseded by modern luminaires)

Posters pleading promotion of hygiene

Figure 5.16: Efforts by the Kowloon Walled City Kai Fong Welfare Advancement Assn.
by Mr. Tommy Hor, assistant centre-in-charge of Kowloon City Children and Youth Centre, the residents have little sense of belonging because they find the area uncomfortable and they tend to stay late outside so that when they come back they will go to bed. There are little communications among the neighbours. Most people will move out when they are financially better off.

5.2.4 Business Establishments
According to a survey conducted by the Kowloon Walled City Kai Fong Welfare Advancement Association in 1983, there was a total of 645 business and factory establishments operating within the Walled City. These include 89 clinics, 97 dental clinics, 77 shops, 28 restaurants, 12 electrical appliances shops, 10 real estate agencies, 30 factories in textile, 44 in garment manufacturing, 56 in metal processing/production, 93 in plastic products, 41 in manufacturing, 35 in meat and 33 in cake production. (Fig. 5.17 and 5.18)

As remarked by the Secretary of the Kai Fong Welfare Advancement Association, there are notable increase in dental clinic and meat/fish-ball manufacturing in recent years. (Fig. 5.19)
<table>
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<th>dentist</th>
<th>shop</th>
<th>restaurant</th>
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<td>93</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.17: Business Establishments

Source: Kowloon Walled City Kai Fong Welfare Advancement Committee (1983), 20th Anniversary Special Publication
Figure 5.18: Business Establishments
Figure 5.19: Concentration of Unlicensed Dentists
While it is believed that almost all business operations there are run without licences from the Government, fish-ball and meat-ball manufacturing attracts special attention. The fish/meat-ball manufacturers are found using salicylic acid in their products. The acid is a prohibited additives which can cause irritation to the mouth, throat and digestive system. Although the Government claims that the Walled City's special status under the 1898 Convention had been 'over-ruled' by the Order in Council the following year, there are no plans for legal action against the manufacturers, and the department concerned only rely on 'persuasion' in dealing with this matter.

5.2.5 Legal Authority and Public Order

The court has ruled that the laws of Hong Kong also applies in the Kowloon Walled City as established re Wong Hong Case in 1959 that the defence lawyer's argument on Chinese jurisdiction was found unacceptable by the courts (Wesley Smith 1973, P.77).

In such regard, the Government began to send in police to arrest offenders. Starting from 1980, a special Walled City Police Patrolling
Unit was set up to provide round the clock patrolling. (Fig. 5.20)

The Walled City used to be a criminal blackspot, gambling and pornographic centre run by the triad society. Nowadays, the infamy has gone although prostitutes are still found waiting for customers especially on Lung Shing Road. The crime rate in the area resembles that in any region in Hong Kong. In fact, police statistics show that in the first seven months of this year, the crime rate appears relatively low in consideration of the size of the population. Burgaries top the list with 81 arrests, followed by 35 for robbery, 27 for dangerous drugs, 10 for one-woman brothels and 3 for gambling and 26 illegal immigrants arrested (Grindal and Yu, 1986).

While the police are enthusiastic in arresting criminal offenders, they are less active in dealing with civil cases. The same attitude is also found in other Government departments as demonstrated by Urban Services Department dealing with the fish-ball manufacturing case.

5.2.6 Accommodation and Real Estates Activity
People are attracted to live in the sub-standard
USD collects refuse everyday

and the Police maintains 24 hour patrol in the area

Figure 5.20: Government Services provided for the Walled City
environment of the Walled City mainly by the cheap rent and selling price. Accommodation in the Walled City costs about 1/2 to 1/3 of that in nearby districts. A 100 sq. ft. room rents at $400 - 500 a month and a 300 sq. ft. flat rents at only about $900. The selling price of a 400 sq. ft. is around $80,000 while that of a 800 sq. ft. is about $100,000. However, there are big variation on the prices of the flats depending on whether natural lighting and ventilation are available. (Fig. 5.21)

It is observed that old buildings are built with larger flat size of 600 - 800 sq. ft. but new ones are only 300 - 400 sq. ft. The changing flat size partly reflects the trend of smaller families. More significantly, since the building land is not crown land and does not have a crown lease, the banks will not provide any mortgage for the flat buying. Therefore, smaller flats are more popular because they cost less to be bought in cash.

Redevelopment was common in 1970s when there was a property boom especially in small domestic units. During the boom years, an average of 10 buildings were redeveloped each year.
Cheap accommodation is undoubtedly an attraction to the lower income group.
Buildings with natural ventilation and lighting were more likely to be redeveloped because they could be sold at higher prices. Redevelopment are carried out by the land owner or by private developers. In the latter case, the private developers will negotiate with the land-owner for the right of development by compensating a few units in the new building.
Noxious exhaust fumes seeping through domestic dwellings

Contaminated waste water runs into open drains

Figure 5.22: Environmental Problems arising from Industrial Undertakings
6. DIFFICULTIES TO BE ENCOUNTERED IN THE REDEVELOPMENT OF KOWLOON WALLED CITY: A Review in Past Experience

6.1 Problems in Specificity to Kowloon Walled City

6.1.1 Protest from the Chinese Government

The past experiences in redeveloping Kowloon Walled City by the Hong Kong Government all met with strong protest from the Chinese Government who claims that 'the City of Kowloon is Chinese territory and has been so all along in history'.

The attitude of the Chinese Government towards Kowloon Walled City has been subtle, as it has not so far, demanded the recognition of the right to jurisdiction in the Walled City. However, it is pointed out that since the Chinese Government has regarded all treaties signed in the 'Scramble for Concession' as unequal and therefore inherently invalid, any demand of jurisdiction right in the Walled City would implicitly recognize British's right to occupy the rest of the New Territories until 1997 (Miners 1982, P.180). Despite such worries, the Chinese Government still feels obliged to support the complaints of the residents of the Kowloon Walled City against redevelopment, as in the 1963 Anti-Demolition Incident.
In such circumstances, it is suggested that diplomatic negotiation with the Chinese Government to obtain their consent is required before any redevelopment proposals are to be implemented.

6.1.2 Opposition from Local Residents

Local residents posed strong opposition to the past redevelopment plans mainly because of the two following reasons:

a. Patriotism

Local residents believed that the Kowloon Walled City belonged to China and that any resumption of the land would mean intrusion to Chinese sovereignty, therefore they had to strike opposition to protect the land. Moreover, they believed that such action would render support from the Chinese Government, so that they were steadfast to their 'principles'.

b. Unsatisfactory Compensation

On the other hand, some residents objected to redevelopment proposals because they were not satisfied with the compensation and rehousing arrangements. For example, in the 1933 Redevelopment Episode, the residents suffered from hardship as rehousing was offered
at Kau Shut Ling which was a distant and remote location at that time.

If redevelopment for the Walled City is to be proposed in the future, it is necessary to obtain support and co-operation from the residents. However, it will not be easy to persuade the patriotic Chinese to give in, unless they are led to believe that the redevelopment scheme is also supported by the Chinese Government. On the other hand, 'adequate' compensation and 'satisfactory' rehousing have to be arranged to minimize social disruption.

6.2 Problems in Urban Renewal in General

In the past 20 years, the Government has engaged in various redevelopment schemes aiming at improving the poor environmental quality of the dilapidated buildings in the Main Urban Area. These include Pilot Scheme Area in Sheung Wan, Environmental Improvement Area in Wan Chai and other districts, Comprehensive Redevelopment Area in "Tsim Sha Tsui Four Street." Besides, the Hong Kong Housing Society also carries out small-scale in-situ redevelopment projects. However, these efforts have not achieved much success and a number
of problems are encountered in the process.

6.2.1 Lengthy Negotiation in Land Acquisition
Very often, there are multiple ownerships for the property to be redeveloped, and a few owners refusing to sell their property will obstruct the whole project. At times, this is further complicated by absentee ownership.

6.2.2 Financial Limitation and Controversy on Cost and Profit Sharing
While the Government realizes the need for redevelopment, it is reluctant to give financial support to the schemes. This is probably attributed to the fact that these projects will not accrue direct profit like land sales. With such considerations, the Government is unwilling to involve itself in lengthy negotiation and complicated rehousing and compensation issues.

Since there is no financial support from the Government, small owners may find difficulties in participating in comprehensive redevelopment schemes because of their limited financial capacity.

On the other hand, cost and profit sharing among the participants can be very controversial.
and it is usually very time-consuming to work out a commonly agreed method.

6.2.3 Rehousing of Tenants and Relocation of Incompatible Users

Rehousing of Tenants and relocation of incompatible users can be a very complicated issue and may cause discontent from the affected parties.

Theoretically, affected tenants should be resited nearby in order to minimize social disruption. However, some tenants may not be able to afford to move in new buildings and when public housing may not be available in the vicinity, they may be displaced to the public housing in the new towns, or moved to other slum areas.

Just as problematic are the small scale industries which are commonly found in old residential blocks. Very often, these industries are incompatible with residential uses and have to be relocated upon redevelopment. However, it is not always possible to find appropriate sites nearby for their accommodation.

Both the Study for Harbour Reclamation and Urban growth and the Territorial Development
strategy suggest that future direction of
development should be centralized within the
Main Urban Area. In order to gather momentum
in redevelopment, a new administration body
taking charge of all the redevelopment problems
is required.
NEW LIGHTS FOR REDEVELOPMENT

7.1 Improving Sino-British Relationships

Redevelopment of the Kowloon Walled City in the past met strong opposition from the Chinese Government who claimed the sovereignty over the area. It is recalled that Mr. Hsu Jia-tun visited the Kowloon Walled City in August 1983, not long after he resumed the duty as the Director of the Xinhua News Agency (Hong Kong Branch). This signifies the Chinese Government's concern over this piece of 'Chinese' land: its sovereignty and development.

On the other hand, Mr. M. Thomas, Attorney-General of the Hong Kong Government and Mr. A. C. Golsworthy, head of Hong Kong Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the British Government paid a visit to the Kowloon Walled City in November, 1985. Although they claimed that their visits were unofficial and for private interests, the visits at least indicated the concern of the top Government officials on the development of the area.

With the improving Sino-British relationship and the signing of the Joint Declaration of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the People's
Republic of China on the future of Hong Kong in 1984, there throws some new lights on the feasibility of redeveloping the Walled City.

After the future of Hong Kong has been settled, the two Governments (British and Chinese) have become able to discuss the issues concerning Kowloon Walled City in an open and frank manner. Without doubt, the Walled City will be returned to the Chinese Government, together with the other parts of Hong Kong, in 1997. Meanwhile, the Chinese Government will not assert right to sovereignty on the area before 1997 since this will cripple the relationship with the British Government and, more significantly, will arouse confidence crisis and social instability which will have an adverse effect on Hong Kong's prosperity and in turn, China's economic benefits. As such, there should be no controversial discussion on the status of Kowloon Walled City as any such discussion will be already meaningless.

With visits paid by top Government officials, the Governments concerned should have become aware of the depressing environment of the area: the over-crowdedness, no water supply, no natural lighting and ventilation, and above
all, no fire escape routes. Indeed, there are urgent needs in improving the living conditions of the area. However, given the structural constraints, improvements will not be possible without comprehensive redevelopment.

In view of the improving Sino-British relationship and the urgent need for redevelopment, this may be a suitable time to bring out a redevelopment proposal which is designed to meet the genuine needs of the local residents. Of course, any such proposals must give 'face' to the Chinese Government so that the national dignity is maintained. Moreover, they have to be discussed with the Chinese Government, probably through the Joint Liaison Group, to obtain their consent.

7.2 Softening Attitudes of the Local Residents

It is recalled that previous Government redevelopment proposals aroused serious protests from the local residents. However, time has changed. Nowadays, people have become less radical. Most residents live there because of the cheap accommodation rather than the patriotic emotions of living on a piece of 'Chinese' land. In fact, a high percentage of the residents are recent immigrants from
China and they do not bother with the Chinese jurisdiction over the area. In general, the residents are more concerned with the environmental problems.

As expressed by Mr. Law Hio-Cheung, founding member of the Kai Fong Welfare Advancement Association and one of the leader of 1963 Anti-Demolition Committee, "Some residents with strong roots or comfortable homes will, of course, protest. Some may actually prefer to move to public housing estates or other areas ... given adequate compensation and adequate alternatives, I think things can be worked out ... Nowadays it is the economic well-being of the people that is important. ... We don't say things like 'we have to defend Chinese territory with our lives' any more" (Grindrod and Yu, 1986). Indeed, in talking to some local residents, they express a positive attitude towards redevelopment provided that 'reasonable' compensation and rehousing in the main Urban area are offered.

Given the changing attitude, redevelopment proposals may now be more acceptable to the local residents than ever before. Of course, much bargaining may be required in the amount
of compensation and location of rehousing. However, if the proposal is supported by the Chinese Government and the local residents realize that they do not have a backing for protest, and that the conditions offered to them are the best they can ask for in comparing to their squatter counterparts, they may be more co-operative.

7.3 Land Development Corporation as New Means in Undertaking Redevelopment Projects

In view of the land shortage and the possibility of maximizing development potential in Main Urban Area, the Special Committee on Land supply recommended in 1981 to the Governor to investigate into the feasibility of establishing Land Development Corporations (LDC) as a means to increase private sector involvement in land production and also to amalgamate private land to achieve comprehensive development. After detailed investigations by the consultants and various departments, the Lands and Buildings Advisory Committee will soon submit recommendations on the formation of a Land Development Corporation to promote urban redevelopment for consideration by the Governor-in-Council.
7.3.1 Major Characteristics of the Land Development Corporation (LDC)

a. Organization

The LDC will be an independent statutory body established by means of an Ordinance. It will have a Board of Directors comprising a Chairman, a Chief Executive and up to 7 members, at least 2 members will represent the Government.

There will be three sections concerned with housing, project management and building management reporting to the Chief Executive who will be answerable to the Board.

b. Objectives

The objectives of the corporation will be as follows:

i) to improve the quality and economic benefits of developments by assembling larger sites;

ii) to ensure equitable treatment of tenants;

iii) to provide improved community facilities, including better traffic circulation;

iv) to encourage participation of land owners in the development process;

v) to speed up private sector development in selected areas;

vi) to minimize the need for direct Government subsidies, and the application of compulsory acquisition powers.

c. Land Acquisition

The corporation will be expected to negotiate
with existing property owners for the acquisition of property within the area identified for redevelopment. However, it is recognized that there may be circumstances which will prevent the LDC from acquiring certain properties. In these cases, independent panels will be formed to ensure that the offers made to owners by LDC are reasonable. Where there is absentee ownership or after the panel is assured that LDC has made genuine efforts but unable to purchase the properties concerned, the Government will be willing to consider taking action to resume outstanding properties. All cases involving resumption will be considered by the Governor-in-Council, and, even after resumption has been taken, an owner will still have a right to appeal to the Lands Tribunal for determination of compensation under the Resumption Ordinance.

d. Housing and Compensation
i) Owner-occupiers:
Offers made to owner-occupiers by the LDC will be sufficient to enable them to purchase modern property of similar size and in the same general areas as their original premises.
ii) Owners:
Owners will be encouraged to participate in the redevelopment investment by having a share in the subsidiary company in charge of the project, or they can opt to accept cash compensation.

iii) Tenants:
Tenants will be offered replacement accommodation or in lieu of this, cash compensation. Decanting accommodation may be provided by the Housing Society or as part of the development. It is stressed that Housing Authority Property should not be used for decantation purposes.

e. Profit-Sharing
A prime objective of the corporation is to encourage participation by small owners in the development process. In order to protect the small owners from the vagaries of the property market, owners may elect to participate in a distribution of a proportion of any profit which results from the development. If the development make a loss, it will be absorbed by the LDC and so property owners will not lose anything.
f. Development
Subsidiary companies will be formed under the LDC to undertake individual development project. These companies will be responsible for raising finance from the private sector, negotiating with property owners for acquisition of their property as well as planning and implementation of development including negotiating with private sector developers for joint projects.

g. Finance
An initial loan will be funded by the Government to finance the setting up and operating costs of the corporation. However, the LDC, through its subsidiary companies, is expected to raise finance to fund individual development from private sector sources.

7.3.2 Evaluation of the LDC in the Redevelopment of the Walled City
The setting up of the LDC echoes with the Government policy of minimizing financial support for redevelopment programmes. However, it opens up a new way in undertaking redevelopment and facilitates such projects to be carried out in the Walled City.

First of all, the acquisition of land in the Walled City is very complicated as some of the
owners may not be willing to give up their flats because of patriotic values and the alike. However, LDC will be authorized to acquire the land through negotiation with the owner of the property and if this fails, the Government will step in for resumption. In such circumstances, 'compulsory' acquisition of land enables the assembly of sites for redevelopment.

Secondly, compensation for owners and owner-occupiers will be so generous that they are likely to be co-operative. Even though if they are not satisfied with the compensation, their complaints will be dealt with by Lands Tribunal. Such arrangements will smoothen the process of land acquisition.

Thirdly, rehousing for tenants will be more flexible if it is dealt with by the Hong Kong Housing Society or the LDC itself because there will be no strict regulation on the eligibility of the tenants to be rehoused. In fact, large number of the local residents are new immigrants, and if strict qualifications, such as 10 years of residence in Hong Kong, are to be applied in rehousing policy, then these new immigrants are likely to be displaced to
temporary housing area in the New Territories and this will lead to lots of grievances and complaints. With the flexibility in enhancing qualifications, most tenants will find redevelopment desirable because this will improve their living environment.

However, the redevelopment of the Walled City by LDC is not without problems. One major obstacle is finance. Since financial resources are to be raised from the private sector for the redevelopment, the financial viability or profitability of the project directly affects the implementation of the project (Fong, 1986). As the Walled City is densely populated with some 10,000 household units (as estimated by District Officer/Kowloon City), amounts paid for compensation in land acquisition or resumption may be tremendous. Moreover, the rehousing arrangement for 40,000 residents may impose a big financial burden on the LDC. On the other hand, the area is subject to stringent airport height restrictions and so development potential is limited. In view of these problems, private developers may not be interested in financing this project because it may not be profitable. Under such circumstances although LDC will undertake
to absorb any losses in redevelopment, it is still envisaged that difficulties in securing adequate funds for the project will be encountered.

Another problem to be solved related to rehousing of tenants. The concept of LDC states that decantation accommodation will be provided by Housing Society or LDC. However, it should be aware that provision of accommodation for some 40,000 residents (number of owner-occupiers or tenants likely to accept cash in lieu of rehousing are unknown) is not an easy task and will have great land and financial implications.

Without solving these problems, the redevelopment of the Walled City will not come to reality. In this regards, the author boldly proposes suggestions for solution which will be discussed in the next chapter.
8. Redevelopment Strategies

8.1 Political Negotiation on Land Status

The land status of Kowloon Walled City has been eccentric and controversial. The British (Hong Kong) Government has, based on the Kowloon Order in 1899 ruled that "Kowloon City is part and parcel of Her Majesty's Colony of Hong Kong ..... as if it had originally formed part of the Colony". However, the attitude of the Government towards the Walled City is ambiguous and not all Hong Kong Laws are applied there. On the other side, China has not exerted jurisdiction over the area, but claims that "the Walled City is Chinese territory and it has been so all along in history". Interestingly, the two Governments have, somehow, avoided the question of sovereignty because such controversial issues will undoubtedly provoke social unrest and instability and also jeopardize the friendly Sino-British relationship. Nevertheless, the Chinese Government had in the past expressed strong protest to the British Government upon redevelopment projects carried out by the local Government.

In order to facilitate smooth implementation of the redevelopment project, it is essential to arrange for a diplomatic negotiation. The
issue may have to be put on the agenda of the Sino-British Joint Liaison Group. This serves to show respect to the Chinese Government over this particularly sensitive issue and besides, the redevelopment scheme may have land implications which will have to be sorted out by the Joint Liaison Group.

The main objective of the negotiation is not on the sovereignty over the area, but to obtain the consent of the Chinese Government on the redevelopment. In fact, as the Walled City will be returned, together with the rest of Hong Kong, to China in 11 years, it will be unimportant to discuss the sovereignty question at this stage. As the environmental problem is so pressing improvements have to be done soonest.

The Chinese consent will, like all her actions, have political implications. It will indicate the attitude of the Chinese Government towards the well-being of the local residents, as well as her confidence in the future of Hong Kong. The consent can be very diplomatic without stating the sovereignty question which can be embarrassing to either of the Governments. Nevertheless, it can be given in a form of
supporting the redevelopment scheme in its administration and funding.

8.2 Administration

Redevelopment launched by the Government in form of a clearance programme will not be desirable for both the Chinese Government and local inhabitants as this will displace most inhabitants to the public housing or temporary housing area and cause them 'hardship'.

The formation of Land Development Corporation provides a better alternative. The redevelopment scheme will be carried out by the LDC under which a subsidiary company will be formed for this particular project. The subsidiary company will be responsible for raising finance from the private sector, negotiating with property owners for acquisition of their property and planning and implementation of developments including negotiating with private sector developers for joint project.

The subsidiary company can involve support from the Chinese Government by incorporating one of her real estate development companies in the joint venture.
8.3 Financial Arrangement

Formation of the LDC stresses that financial support from the Hong Kong Government will only be restricted to the operation cost of the corporation and that private sector financial resources will have to be raised for individual redevelopment projects.

Given the limited development potential of Kowloon Walled City both because of the small size of the area, the airport height restriction, and the complicated problem and substantial financial commitment in compensation and rehousing, it is envisaged that there is little profit margin, if any. In such regards, it will be very difficult to attract financial support from the private sector.

As discussed in the earlier section, since the redevelopment project is a politically sensitive issue that it will have to obtain support from the Chinese Government. As a token of consent, the Chinese Government may give financial support through her banks. Besides, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, as a 'Central-bank' of Hong Kong, should also participate in the investment. This will start a joint venture of the two Governments.
8.4 Rehousing Responsibility
Decantation accommodation has to be provided by either the LDC or the Hong Kong Housing Society. Since the subsidiary company of the LDC is not a long-standing organization and will be wound up after the completion of the redevelopment project, it will be more appropriate for the Hong Kong Housing Society to be responsible for the rehousing.

8.5 Land Development
At present, buildings in the Walled City has exploited the development potential to the maximum. Any redevelopment scheme will only aim at decreasing the density of population to improve the living environment. In fact, with a small area of 6.5 areas, it is impossible to accommodate a population of 40,000 in a decent and acceptable environment. Therefore, additional land is required.

Rehousing may be provided at distant locations or in the new towns where land is available. However, this might be strongly objected by the local residents and probably would not be agreed to by the Chinese Government because of the 'hardship' for 'her' residents. An alternative is to provide accommodation within
the main urban area and ideally within the Kowloon City District. Since nearly all developable land in the main urban area has been built on and the rest have been earmarked for public housing developments, there is a shortage of land for such purpose.

One possibility is to utilize the piece of adjacent land. Large part of this area is zoned District Open Space in the Outline Development Plan and will be developed into the Carpenter Road Park. (Fig. 8.1) The development of the Carpenter Road Park is required to fulfill the requirement of District Open Space in the Planning Area No.10 (KPA10) in accordance with the Hong Kong Planning Standards and Guidelines. However, it is noted that several large parks including Morse Park, Olympic Gardens, Kowloon City Park and Junction Road Playground are located in the vicinity and they may help to meet the demand of the residents in the district. (Fig. 8.2) Moreover, so informed by the District Officer/Kowloon City, the area was zoned Open Space mainly upon Environmental Protection Agency's recommendation that this area was environmentally undesirable for residential development because of the serious noise pollution from the aircraft.
Nevertheless, as the residents of the Walled City have accustomed to the noise, they will be happy to live here.

In view of the well provision of Open Space in the vicinity and the preference of the residents of the Walled City, the alternative of using the Open Space for the decantation accommodation of the Walled City Redevelopment is considered feasible. One major consideration is, in so doing, it will set a precedence to people affected by squatter clearance and redevelopment scheme to ask for rehousing within the main urban area by rezoning land uses.

Another piece of land zoned G on the Outline Development Plan and currently used for temporary market will also be included in the development plan. The originally intended car parks and commercial uses will be provided in the redevelopment scheme.

8.6 **Land Implication**

A large area of the site will be rezoned RS and will be built and managed by the Hong Kong Housing Society. The land should be granted to the Society at a nominal rate. Since the land will be developed into rental public
housing, it will not be included in the 50 ha/year quota for land development as stipulated in the Joint Declaration.

The land zoned C/R will be developed for private tenament building, the land price should be charged at a reduced rate to facilitate the redevelopment. Besides, these areas will be counted into the land development quota. Nevertheless, in view of the special situation, the Chinese Government may agree to raise the quota as required.

8.7 Community Participation

'Planning is for the people' has been a slogan in the planning profession for decades. However, land-use planning in Hong Kong means the resolution of conflict between the divergent interests of three clements - elites, interest groups and bureaucracy - in the matter of land and buildings (Bristow 1984, P.19).

Community participation is a means of involving people outside Government in the planning process. However, it is often manipulated by the power holders to 'educate' or 'cure' the participants (Arnstein 1969, P.216, quoted in Soen 1981, P.184). The real objective of
community participation is to allow people to participate in the planning process and voice out their own opinions. It should be a 2-way process: While sufficient information and explanation on the planning proposal should be given to the people, the grassroots should also be given chances to express their genuine needs and demands.

In order to achieve this in the Kowloon Walled City Redevelopment Scheme, it is necessary to set up a 'redevelopment committee' under the subsidiary company. All parties concerned including the developer, the owners and the tenants will be represented to solicit their views and reconcile their demands. In fact, participation of all interest groups in the early stages of the redevelopment process will help to reduce unnecessary conflict and discontent at a later stage.
9. PLANNING PROPOSAL

9.1 Objectives

The objectives of the redevelopment scheme are:

a. to upgrade the existing substandard living environment and infrastructure to commensurate with currently accepted minimum standard;

b. to ensure adequate and orderly provision of supporting community facilities and amenities;

c. to control the use and configuration of land and buildings;

d. to provide a safe and convenient vehicular and pedestrian network within the area;

e. to preserve the historical buildings, and

f. to minimize social disruption to the residents.

9.2 Target Population

The current population in Kowloon Walled City is around 40,000. It is expected that residential movements will occur upon redevelopment. However, the number of residents to be moved away will not be obtained until a registration exercise is carried out at a later stage. On the other hand, new residents will be moving into the new blocks. Nevertheless, given the limitations in the development potentials, it is estimated that accommodation will be available for a population of 40,000.
Rezoning of Land Use

Since the land currently earmarked for Carpenter Road Park and Car parks with commercial uses will be incorporated in the redevelopment programme, rezoning of land in the Outline Zoning Plan is a statutory pre-requisite to plan implementation. These areas have to be rezoned to C/R on the OZP. (Fig. 9.1)

On the other hand, rezoning of land uses on the Outline Development Plan is also required to facilitate detail designation of land uses including C/R, RS and IC, as shown in Fig. 9.2.

Planning Principles

New development should observe the Airport Height Restrictions and be compatible with the existing physical fabric. Flexibility must be maintained in the provision of private and public housing. It is aware that information on the inclination of the residents whether they will accept cash compensation or rehousing will only be available at a later stage. In order not to obstruct the progress of the redevelopment scheme, flexibility may be maintained by constructing some convertible blocks which can be easily turned from private tenament buildings into public rental blocks
Figure 3.1: Proposed Rezoning of Land Use on Outline Zoning Plan
Figure 9.2: Proposed Zoning of Land Use on Outline Development Plan
to meet the unpredictable needs.

9.5 Conservation of Historical Buildings

The former Yamen, built in the Ching dynasty and located at the centre of the Kowloon Walled City, will be conserved and can be developed as a community and social services centre. (Fig. 9.3 and 9.4)

The Tin Hau Temple, built a century ago and relocated to the present location after the Second World War, will also be retained. (Fig. 9.5)

9.6 Provision of Community Facilities and Open Space

The area should be adequately provided with community facilities and open space, as recommended in the Hong Kong Planning Standards and Guidelines. However, the provision of various community facilities is often assessed in relation to the larger district of Planning Area No. 10.

9.6.1 Education

a. Kindergartens

Kindergartens have been adequately provided for in the KPA10.
The former 'Yamen' is partly used as a Centre for the Elderly which will be renovated into a comprehensive community centre in the proposed redevelopment.

Two Ching cannons are presently left unattended outside the Yamen. They will be properly restored and displayed, possibly in a small museum of history to be established in the area.

Figure 9.4: Conservation of Historical Traces: the Yamen and the Cannons
The Tin Hau Temple will be retained and renovated upon the proposed redevelopment but not the shrine.

Figure 9,5: Impacts on Religious Elements in the Walled City
b. Primary Schools
Since there is a surplus of 40 classrooms within KPA10, the needs of the local residents can be adequately met.

c. Secondary Schools
The provision of secondary schools is assessed on district basis. The deficit of secondary school within this area will be made up by surplus provision in the adjacent Ho Man Tin and Kowloon Tong area.

9.6.2 Social Welfare and Community Services

a. Neighbourhood Centre
A neighbourhood centre is required and it may be operated in the former Yamen.

b. Children and Youth Centre
A children and Youth Centre is currently run by the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups in the former Yamen.

c. Centre for the Elderly
At present, a centre for Elderly is operated by the CNEC at the former Yamen.

9.6.3 Open Space

a. Local Open Space
According to the Hong Kong Planning Standards
and Guidelines, 2.4 ha of local open space is required for the 40,000 people in the redevelopment scheme.

Pockets of open space will be provided within the rental housing in the form of landscaped courtyards at ground level and roof terraces. The private apartments can also be provided with landscaped podium gardens. Children playground will also be incorporated in suitable locations.

9.7 Traffic Networks

The redevelopment area is well-served by existing district and local distributors. Traffic arrangement within the redevelopment area will be planned to segregate vehicular from pedestrian movements. Carparks and loading bays will be provided at convenient locations.

9.8 Phasing of Implementation

The success of the redevelopment programme depends very much on the harmonious matching of housing provision to the affected residents at the appropriate time. The project is thus phased to:

a. schedule the accommodation to achieve decanting purposes and reduce social disturbances to the residents.
b. Maximize income generation from the private residential blocks to enhance financial viability.

While it is not the intention of this study to propose or recommend a Master Layout Plan for the redevelopment scheme, a conceptual sketch is prepared for the illustration of land use rezoning and phasing of implementation. (Fig. 9.6)
NOTATION *

- public housing blocks (low cost housing + H.O.S.)
- private residential blocks
- P podium car park / commercial development
- renovated Tin Hau Temple
- Cu community centre (incorporating revitalised former ‘Tamen’)
- Co commercial complex (3 storeys) with carpark under
- M market + cooked food stalls
- sch school
- dm drainage reserve

*note that the above notations are also applicable to Figures 9.6a, 9.6b & 9.6c on the following pages

Figure 9.6: Conceptual Proposal on Redevelopment of Kowloon Walled City - Completion
Figure 9.6a: Conceptual Proposal on Redevelopment of Kowloon Walled City - Phase I

NOTATION

building blocks to be completed in Phase I Redevelopment

area to be cleared and demolished immediately after occupation of Phase I buildings

refer to Figure 9.1 for other notations shown
Figure 9.6b: Conceptual Proposal on Redevelopment of Kowloon Walled City - Phase II

- **Notation**
  - Building blocks to be completed in Phase II Redevelopment.
  - Area to be cleared and demolished immediately after occupation of Phase II buildings (note that former 'Yamen' and Tin Hau Temple are to be retained for renovation in Phase III).
  - Also refer to Figure 9.1 for other notations.
building blocks to be completed in Phase III Redevelopment (note that the former 'Yamen' is to be revitalised and incorporated into the comprehensive community centre constructed in this phase. The Tin Hau Temple is also retained and renovated.)

also refer to Figure 9.1 for other notations
10. EVALUATION

10.1. Administration: the LDC

The redevelopment of Kowloon Walled City undertaken by the LDC is a feasible means and has advantages over the Government Squatter Clearance Policy in two aspects:

a. Social Aspect

Generous compensation and rehousing arrangements are attractive to the owners and tenants of Kowloon Walled City and they will be willing to participate in the redevelopment scheme. Community participation in the planning and implementation of the scheme will enhance the better understanding and co-operation between residents and developer and will smoothen the redevelopment process.

b. Political Aspect

The formation of the LDC facilitates the participation of the Chinese Government, through her banks and property development companies, in the redevelopment scheme. Political elements have long been the obstacle in the Kowloon Walled City. However, this new administration will undoubtedly provide a new chance to improve the living environment of the area.
10.2 **Social Considerations**

The proposed redevelopment scheme with rezoning of adjoining land for decantation will certainly minimize social disruption to the residents who will be rehoused within the same district. Furthermore, the phasing of the redevelopment also helps to achieve minimum disruption by fitting in the rehousing and demolition schedule. However, the rezoning of land for rehousing may set a precedence for people who are affected by clearance or redevelopment to demand for rehousing within the main urban area.

Some incompatible industries and business, like fish-ball manufacturing and unlicensed dentists, will be displaced. Nevertheless, this is considered to be a social benefit because they will be subject to Government regulation later on.

On the other hand, the redevelopment scheme can serve to eradicate the bad image on Kowloon Walled City which to most Hong Kong people is often related to crimes and drug-haven.

10.3 **Environmental Considerations**

The redevelopment scheme will improve the living
environment of some 40,000 people who will then be able to enjoy natural lighting and ventilation in a not so overcrowded environment. Proper fire services installation and fire exits provided in the new buildings will reduce the risk of life in case of fires. Incompatible users and industries will be relocated to provide a better environment for the residents.

Besides, the redevelopment scheme will also pull out an environmental blight to the society of Hong Kong.

10.4. Financial Considerations

Financial commitment of the redevelopment scheme in compensation and rehousing is tremendous. The possibility to make a profit in the project is not optimistic, therefore it is unlikely to attract private investment. As discussed, the hinge of the redevelopment scheme lies in the political nature of the issue: the historical background and the political implication of the scheme. Such political considerations will surpass the financial considerations in the implementation of the scheme.
11. **Conclusion**

Built environment is effectuated by and reflected the political-economic requirements of the society at a specific point in time, so is the Kowloon Walled City. The continuance of the ambiguity in sovereignty is the result of preserving Sino-British relationship which is essential for local social stability and economic prosperity. All the Hong Kong Government can do is to tolerate its existence without any disruption which may cause discontent from the Chinese Government. Nevertheless, the Hong Kong Government is successful in confining the expansion of the area, as reflected in the clearance of Sai Tau Tsuen.

Built environment is created with broad appropriation to the purpose of production and reproduction. Since the exchange values of fixed capital investment in a specific point in time will form barriers to further accumulation, rapid and continuous transformation of physical landscape is required (Harvey 1978). In view of political constraint related to the Kowloon Walled City, the Government is unable to initiate developments in the area. Nevertheless, the need for capital
accumulation has been realized by the private capitalists who have been undertaking development programmes there. Development potentials have been fully exploited with minimum services given to the residents.

Indeed, development of physical landscape depends very much on financial viability. Very often, the lower class are exploited at a disadvantageous position. The formation of District Board and the 'Representation Government' provides possibilities of more open and participatory planning. Nevertheless, the redevelopment of Kowloon Walled City depends on the support of the Chinese Government: politically and financially alike.

The author has, in this workshop report, demonstrated that support from the Chinese Government is essential to the redevelopment and suggested how the Chinese Government would give support to the scheme. In fact, the whole issue on Kowloon Walled City is a complicated political issue. The author admits that she may have simplified the solution in an unsophisticated manner. However, the environmental problem of the Walled City is so pressing that redevelopment is an urgency.
It is time for the planners and politicians to come together and give serious consideration to the feasibility of redevelopment, and the author has just started the first step. The author sincerely hopes that redevelopment can be carried out and, perhaps, it can be a monument of harmonious Sino-British relationship and their joint effort in the betterment of the future of people in Hong Kong.
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