

IMAGES AND APPENDICES

**'A colony of shopkeepers':
spaces of consumption in Hong
Kong's New Town public
housing estates,
1954-1989**

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Submitted to the Department of History
in accordance with the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Nottingham

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WITH THANKS TO FIBI KUNG FOR
GENEROUSLY SHARING HER
TYPEFACE DESIGN BASED ON 1960S
MAPS OF HONG KONG.

TYPE DESIGN: HONG KONG MAP TYPE
BY FIBI KUNG

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Due to the large number of images used and referenced in the thesis, all images have been collated here in this document. These are a combination of images from the personal collection of Ko Tim-keung, the Government Information Services Department (GIS) and photographs of the contact sheet albums at the GIS Photo Library in North Point, Hong Kong, images taken in the archive at the PRO and University of Hong Kong Special Collections, and some photographs from online sources such as Hong Kong Memory, SCMP, Newspaper SG and the Hong Kong Housing Authority website.

CHAPTER I:
THE HAWKER PITCH

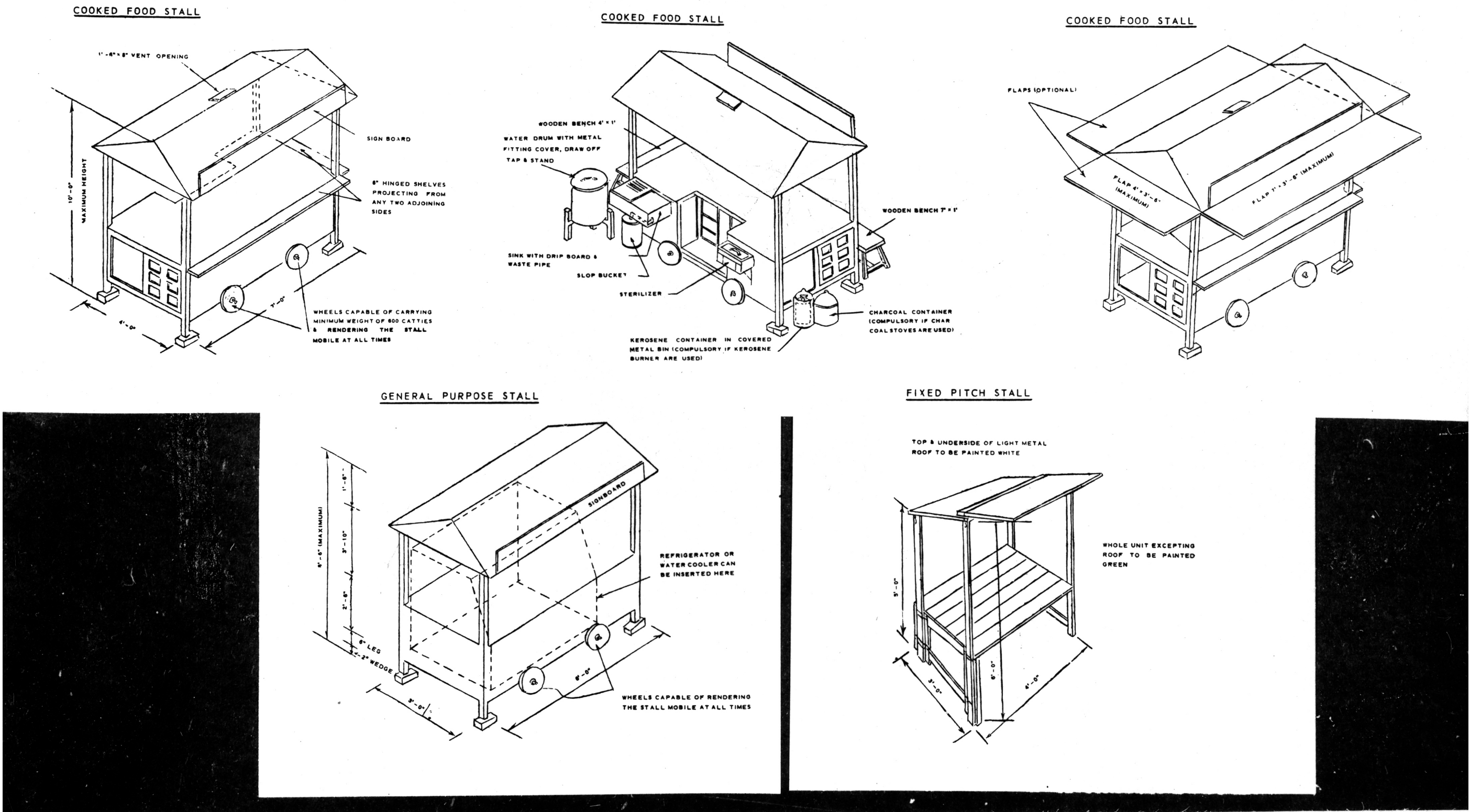


Figure 1.01: Hong Kong Government Information Services (GIS), Plans for cooked food stalls, copied from the govt. Gazette, copied by D. Ching, 28th November 1963, 375 2662/6.

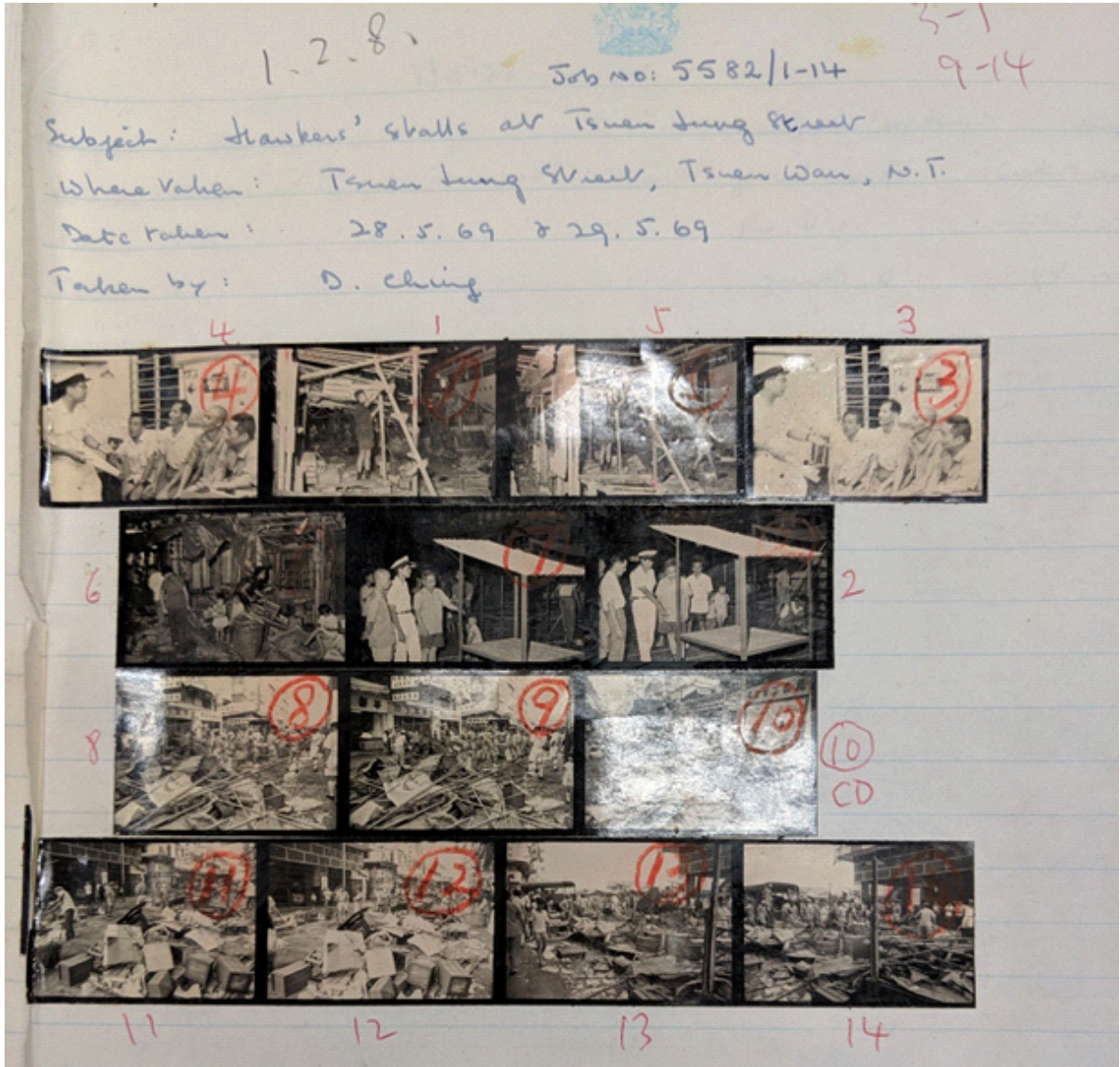


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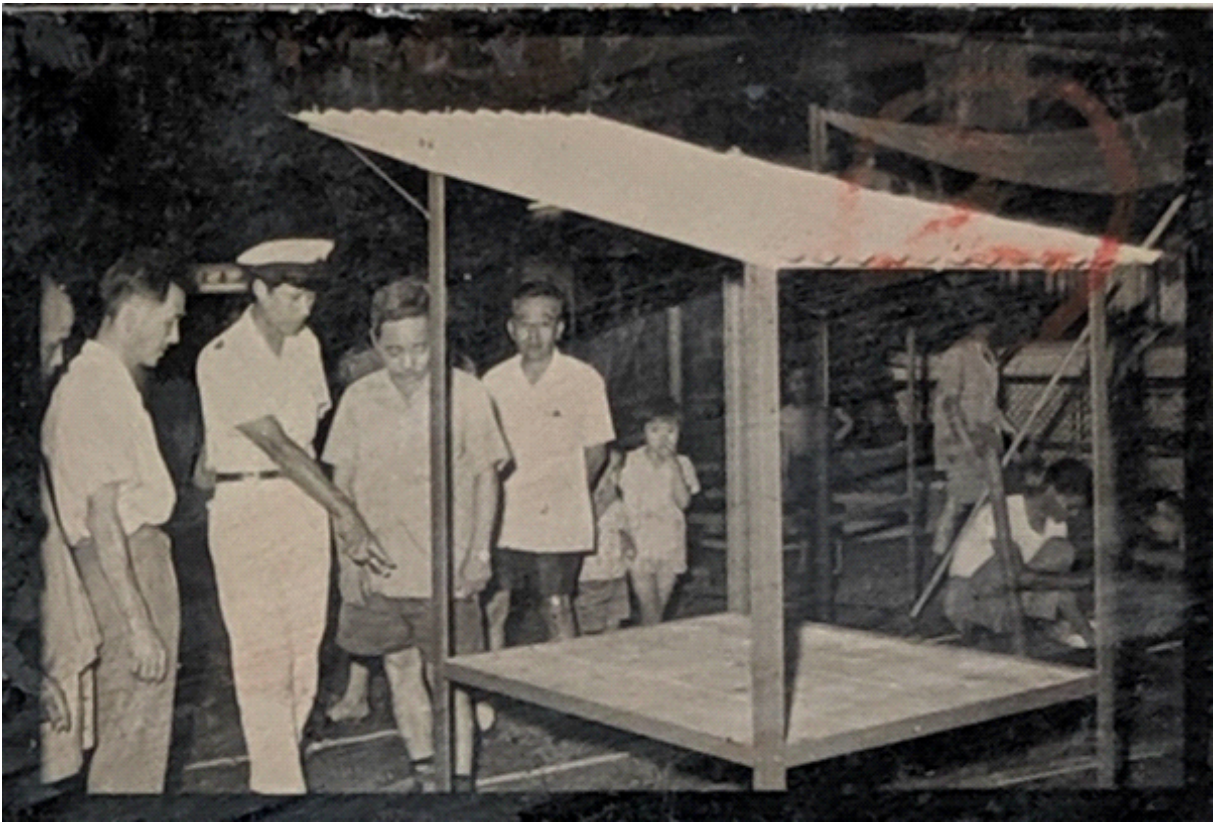


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Figures 1.06: Arthur Hacker, GIS (1973), *Clean Our Buildings, Keep Hong Kong Clean Campaign*, M+ Online collection, <<https://www.mplus.org.hk/en/collection/objects/poster-clean-our-buildings-keep-hong-kong-clean-campaign-201969/>>



Figure 1.07a & b: Personal photography collection of Dr. Ko Tim-keung (via personal correspondence), Sau Mau Ping Estate, 1970, SauMauPing 1970.

CHAPTER 2:

THE HAWKER BAZAAR



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Figure 2.06: View over Kwun Tong, 1975. In front is Sau Mau Ping Estate completed between 1964 – 1966. Kwun Tong Resettlement Estate is in the centre, Wo Lok Estate can be seen behind. Accessible at: https://www.hkmemory.hk/collections/public_housing/All_Items/images/201307/t20130702_61436.html?f=search&t=search_data.jsp&path=channelid=230719|searchword=kwun+tong|keyword=kwun+tong

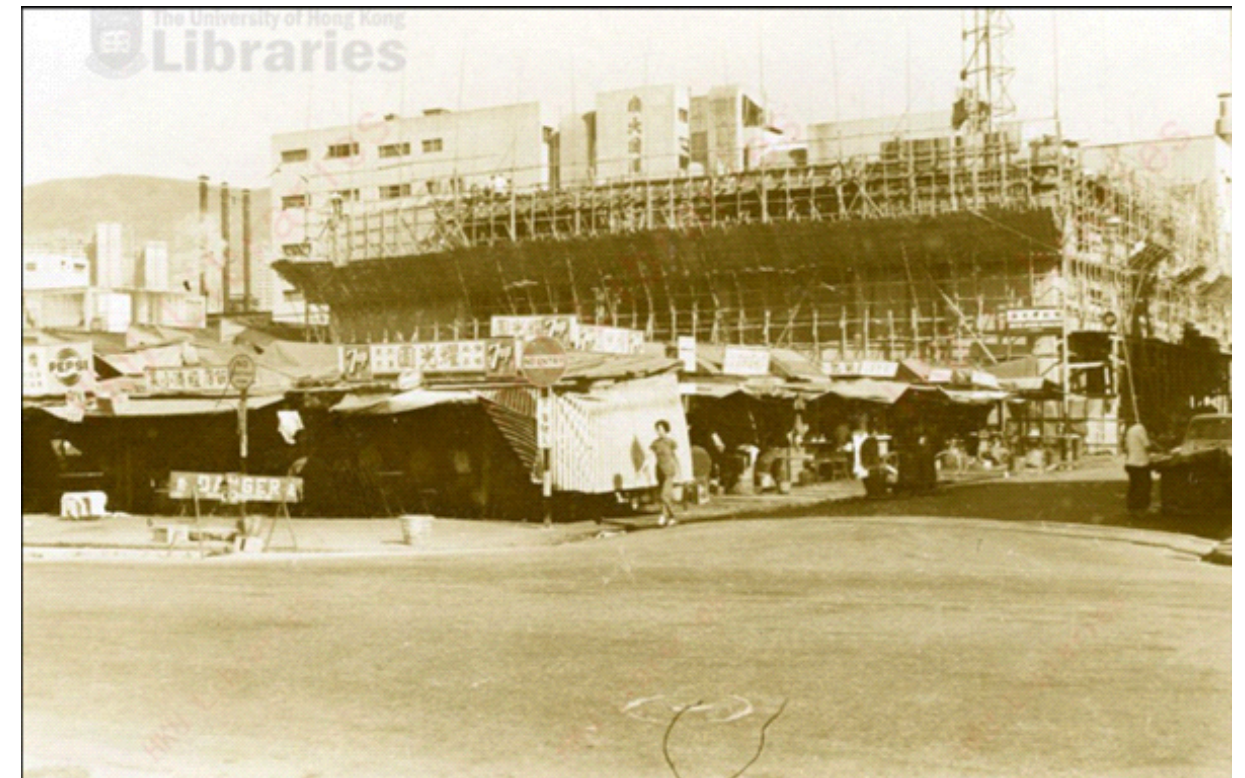


Figure 2.07: Hong Kong, University of Hong Kong Special Collections (HKUSC), Digital Image Database (DID), 'Cooked Food bazaar in Kwun Tong', by Chow Kwok Wah, Norah, 1965, MSSG-53-009. <<https://digitalrepository.lib.hku.hk/catalog/f4752k727#?c=&m=&s=&cv=>> [Accessed 19th Feb 2020]



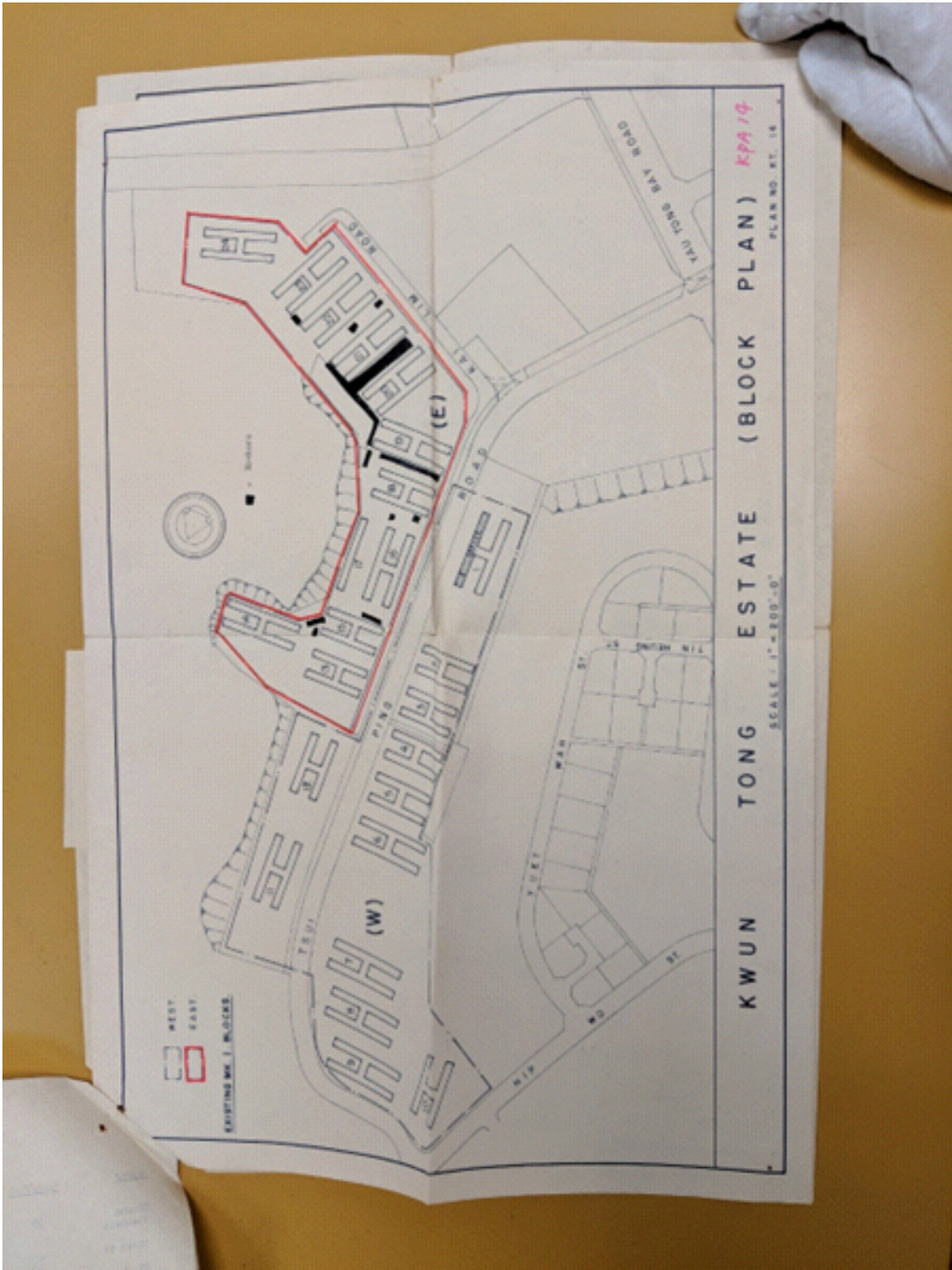
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Figure 2.08b: HKUSC, DID, HKU SpecialCollections, 'Kwun Tong' by Tung, Jing-ying, Doreen, 1965, MSS 333.7095125 T926<<https://digitalrepository.lib.hku.hk/catalog/tq57t425k#c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-1518%2C-210%2C8527%2C4195>> [Accessed 19th Feb 2020]



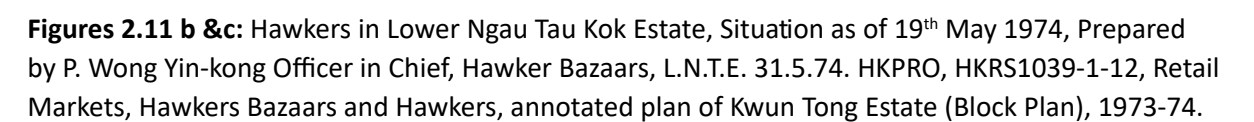
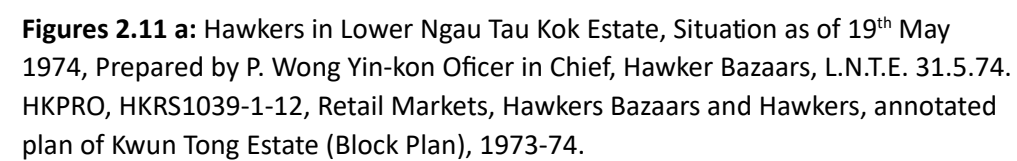
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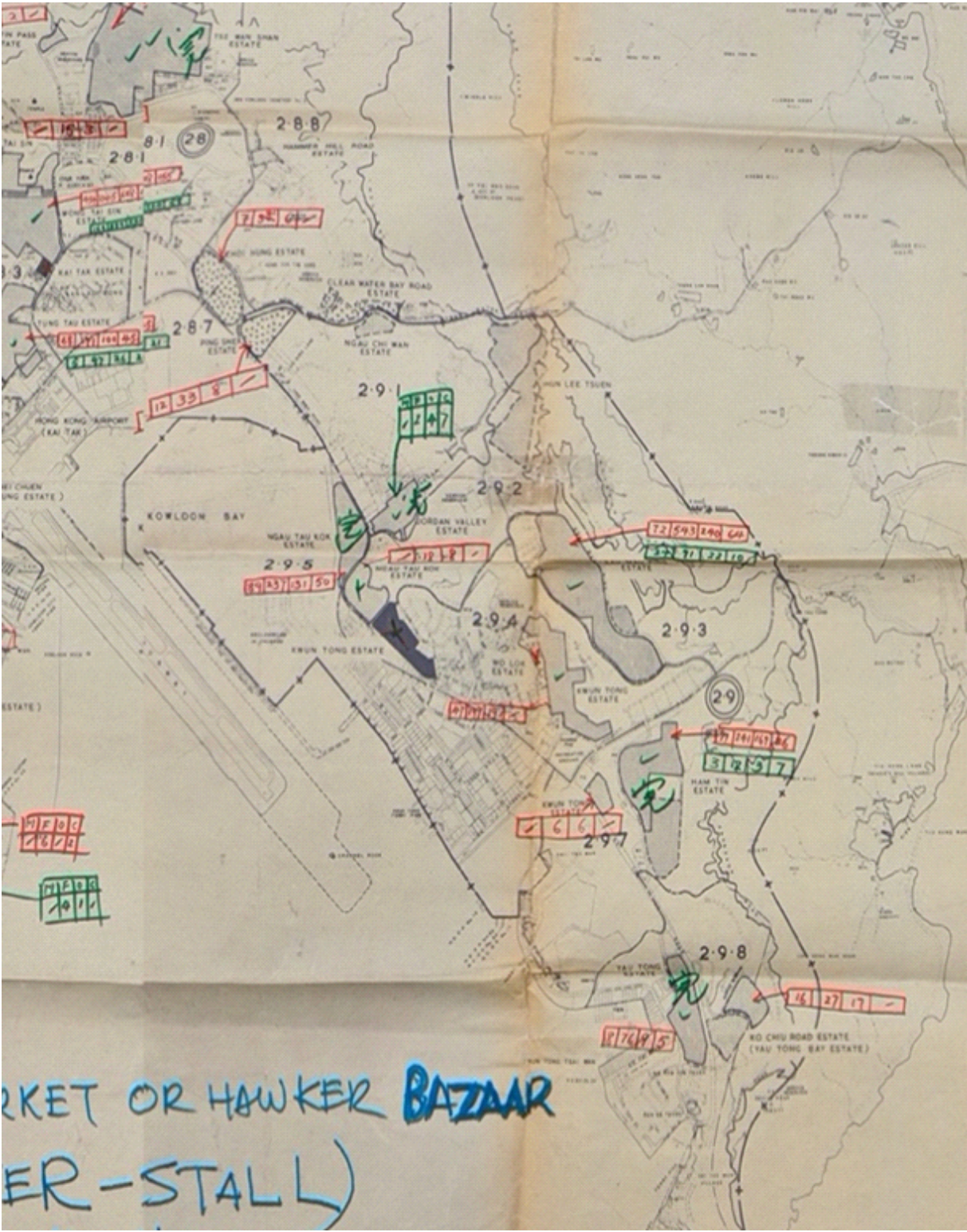
Annotated plan of west side of Kwun Tong Estate locating the illegal hawker bazaar, for hawker and market survey conducted in 1973-74. HKPRO, HKRS1039-1-12, Retail Markets, Hawkers Bazaars and Hawkers, annotated plan of Kwun Tong Estate (Block Plan), 1973-74.







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Figures 2.12 b: Annotated Map of Kowloon and New Kowloon indicated hawker bazaars and markets at Resettlement and Low Cost public housing estates from survey conducted in 1973-74. HKPRO HKRS1039-1-12, Retail Markets, Hawkers Bazaars and Hawkers, Annotated map, Distribution of Existing and Proposed Housing Estates in Kowloon and New Kowloon, 1973-74.

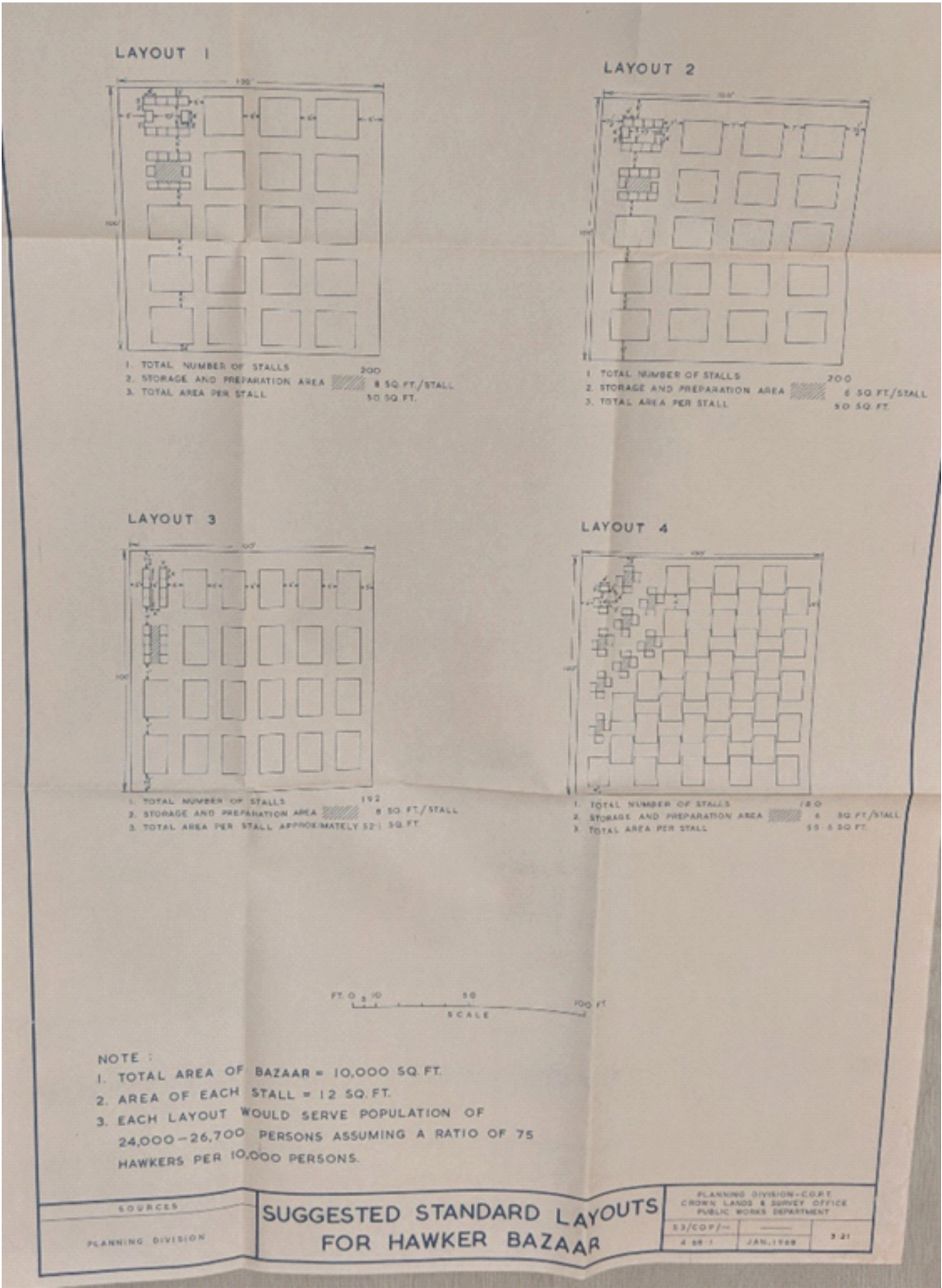


Figure 2.13: HKPRO, HKRS 1039-1-10, Suggested Standard Layout for Hawker Bazaar, From Sec. Colony Outline Plan, Working Committee No. 3 LSO 53 CCP/-CP, 6th January 1968.

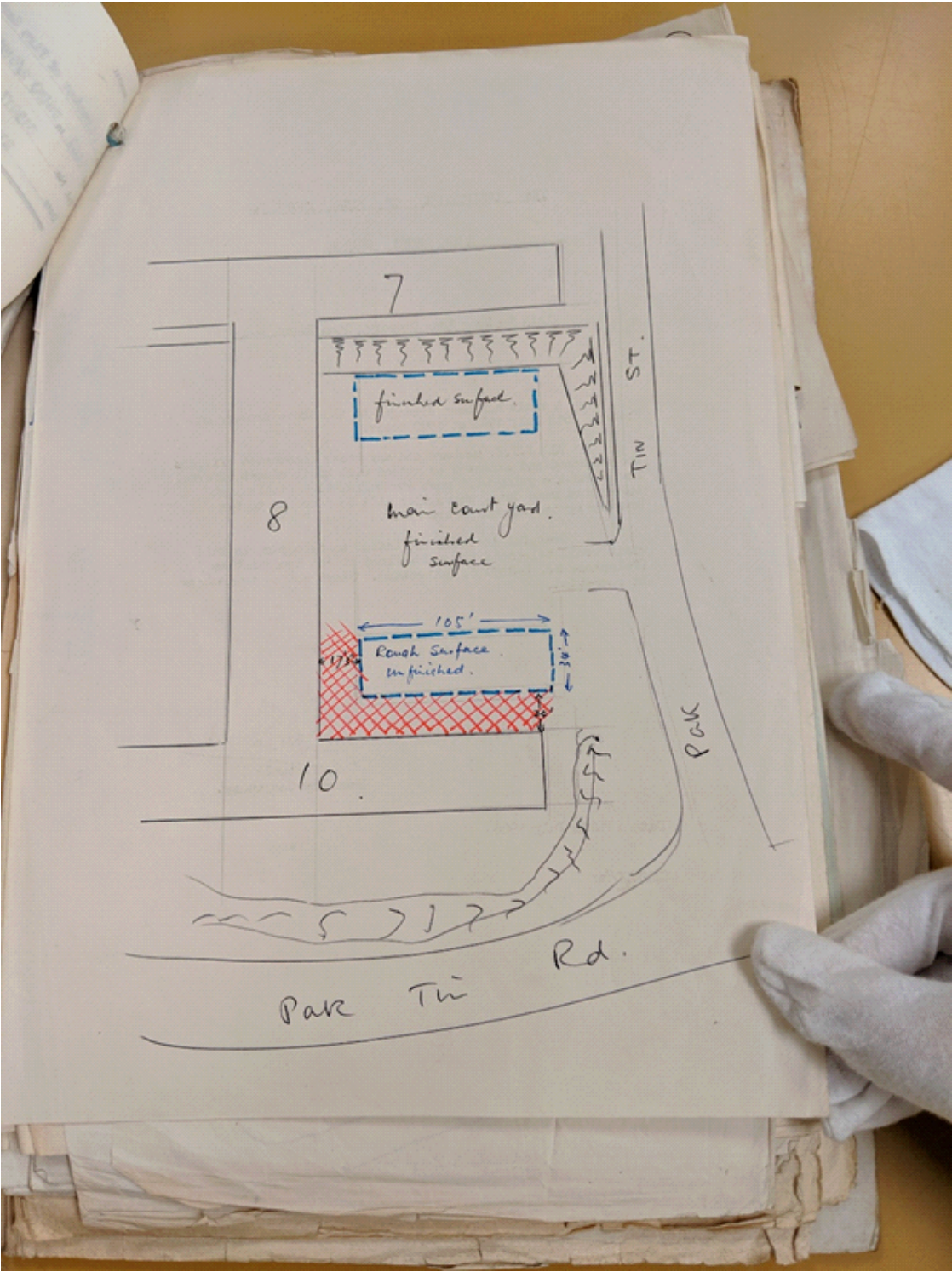


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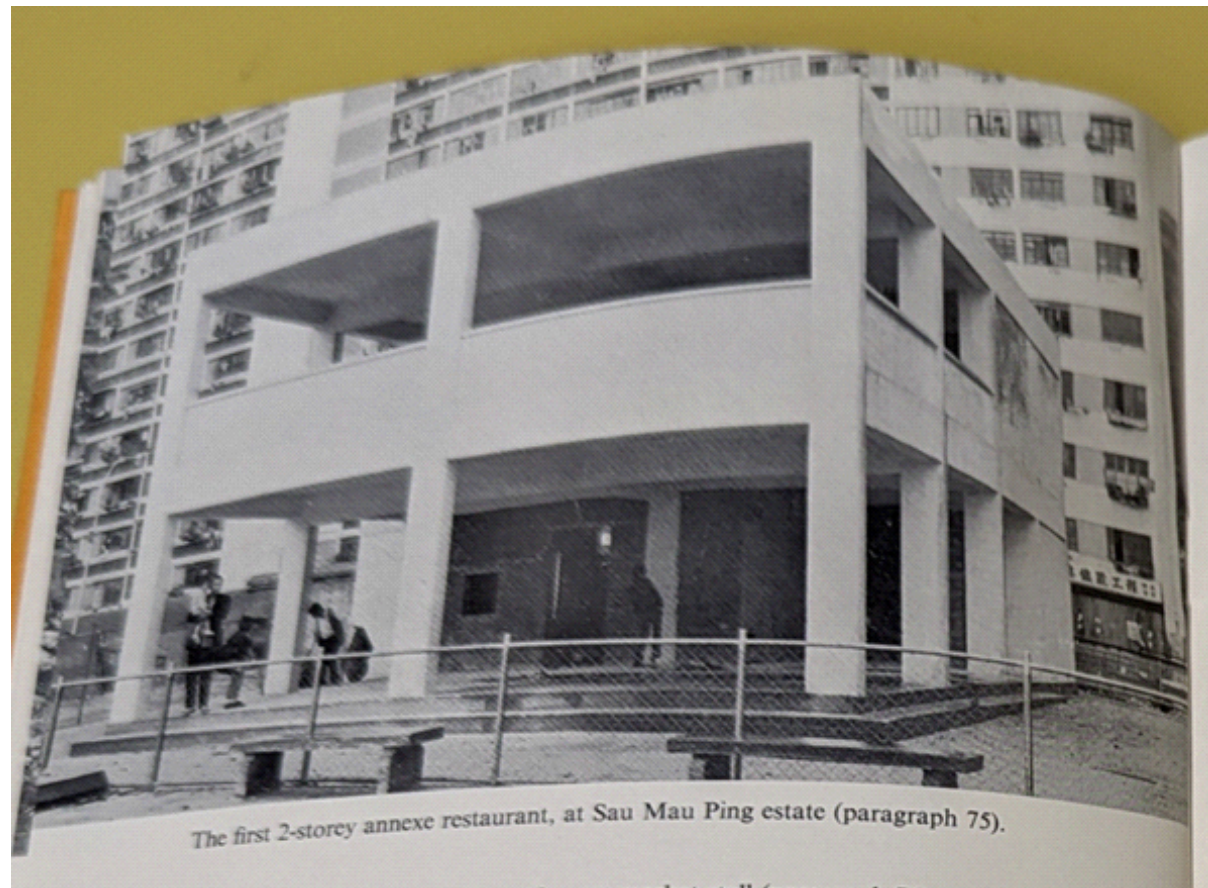


Figure 2.15: The first 2-storey annex restaurant, at Sau Mau Ping Estate, Kwun Tong, LSE, 51H R52, Hong Kong Commissioner for Resettlement, *Annual Departmental Reports, 1969-1970*, Hong Kong Government Printers, 1970, p24.



Figure 2.16: GIS, Oi Man Estate, Kowloon and NT, 20th February 1979, taken by E. Chang, 125 19565/32, 33, 50, 55.

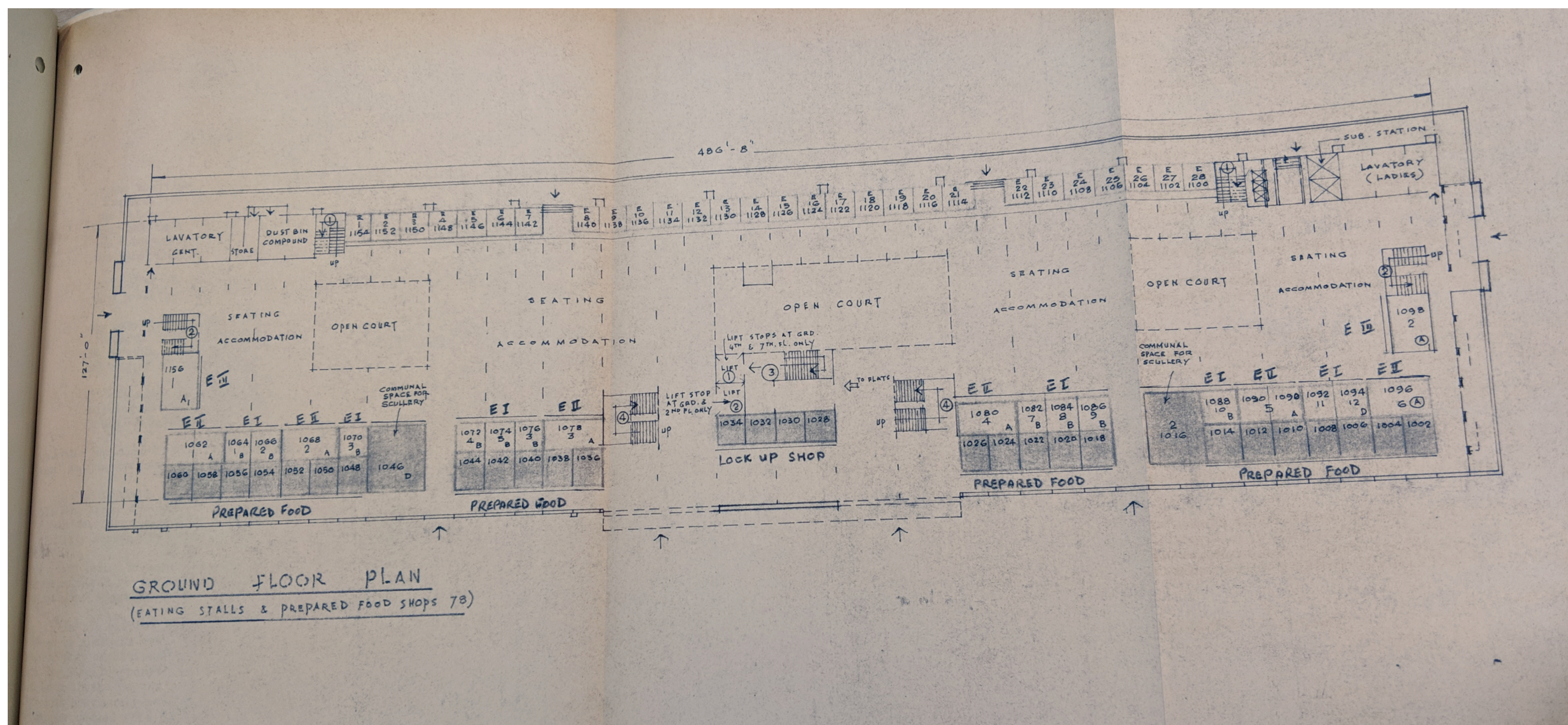


Figure 2.17: 'The Hygiene Division of the Department considers that cooked food stall bazaars of the Singapore-style as shown in the layout plan at Appendix I with certain improvements may be established in areas where there is an actual need for cheap eating facilities.' PRO, HKRS 438-1-78, Committee Paper FFP/9/69, Licensing of Cooked Food Stalls - Review of Policy, 24th June 1969.

CHAPTER 3:

MODULAR AND
MULTI-STOREY MARKETS

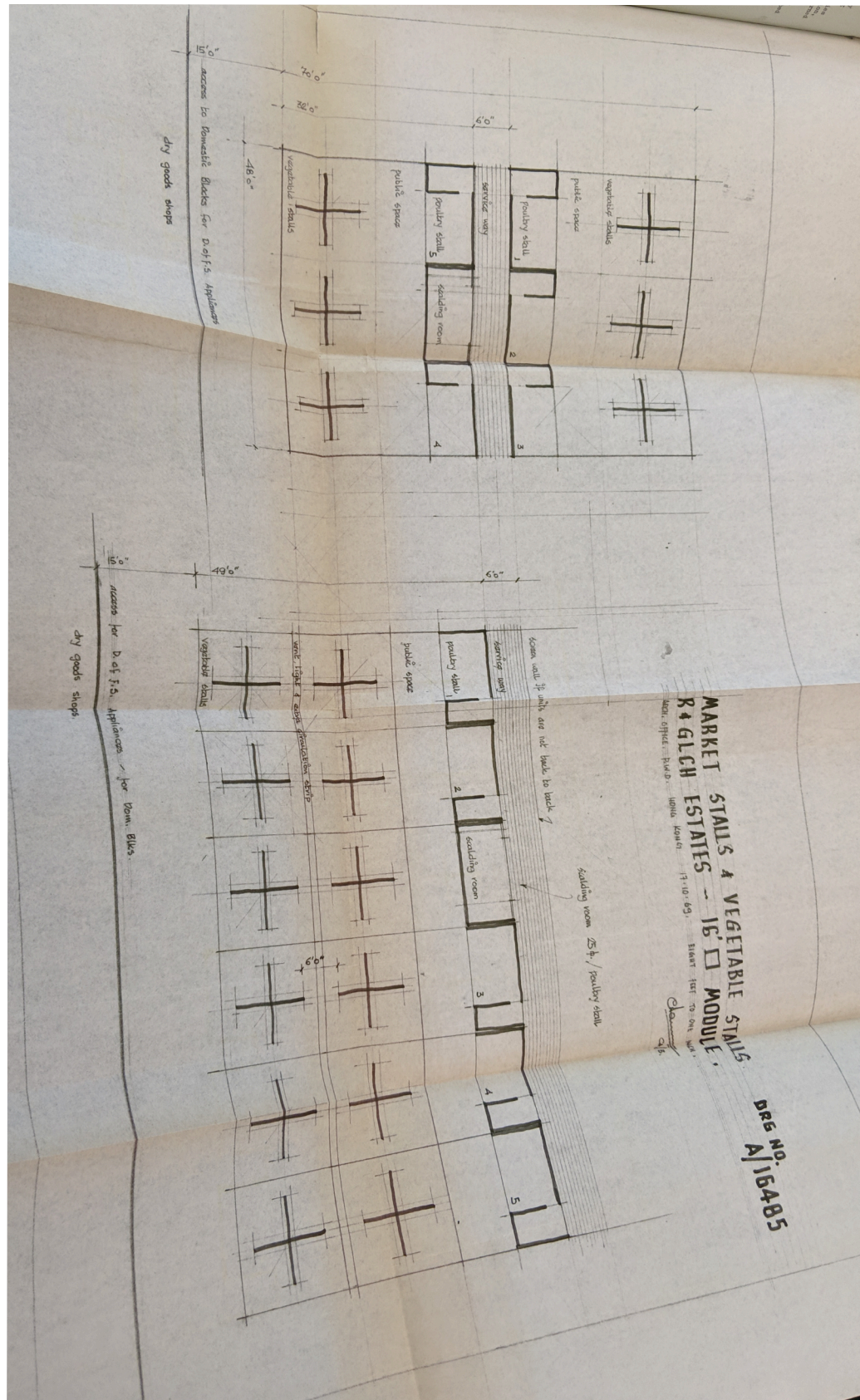


Figure 3.01: HKPRO, HKRS 438-1-78, Market Stalls & Vegetable Stalls R&GLCH Estates 16' Modules, Arch Office, PWD Hong Kong, DRG No. A/16485, 17th October 1969.

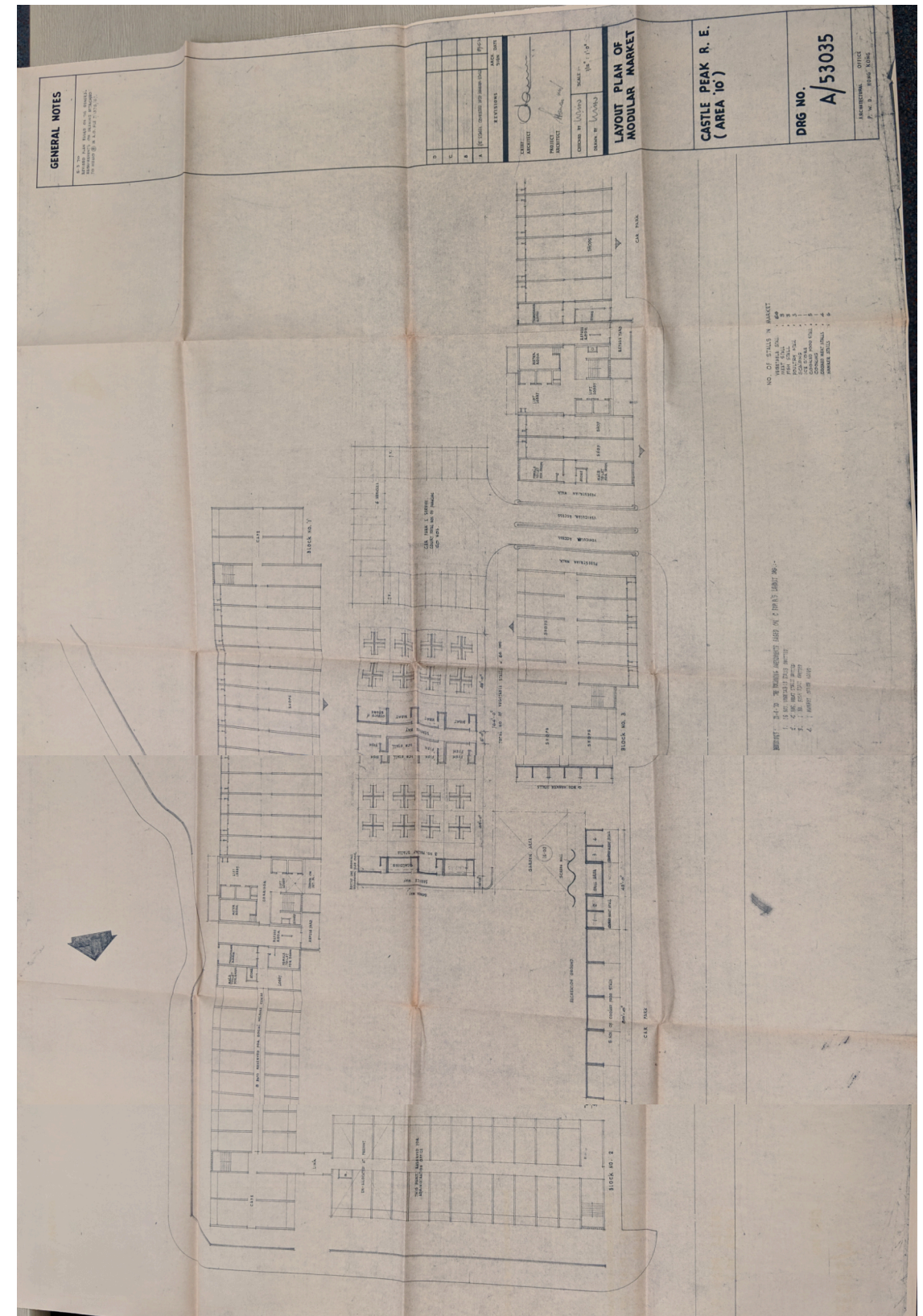


Figure 3.02a: 'General notes: 5th March 1970, Revised plan based on the General Requirements on drawing attached to Memo 4 in A.O file 7/1376/67'. HKPRO, HKRS 1039-1-11, Layout Plan of Modular Market, Castle Peak R.E. (area '10), Arch Office, PWD, Hong Kong, DRG A/53035

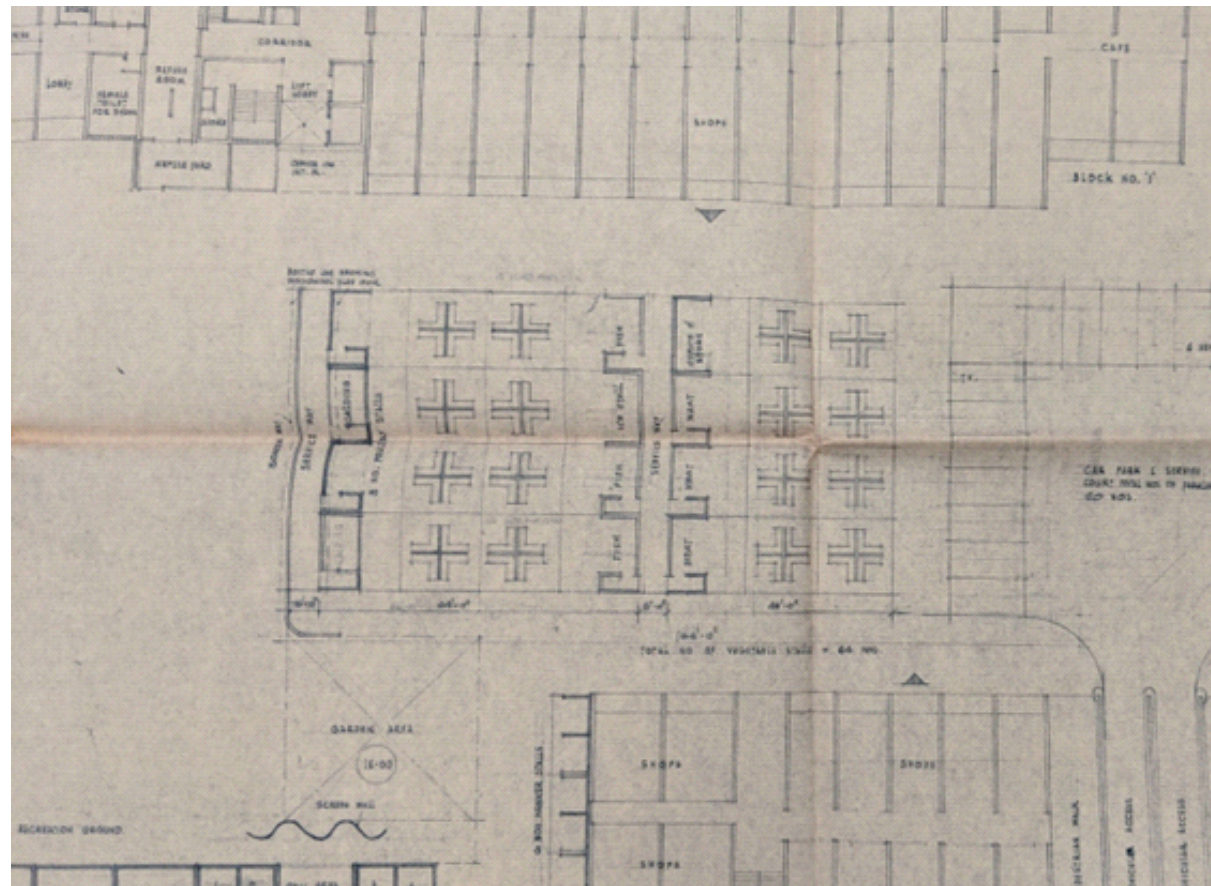


Figure 3.02b: HKPRO, HKRS 1039-1-11, Layout Plan of Modular Market, Castle Peak R.E. (area '10), Arch Office, PWD, Hong Kong, DRG A/53035

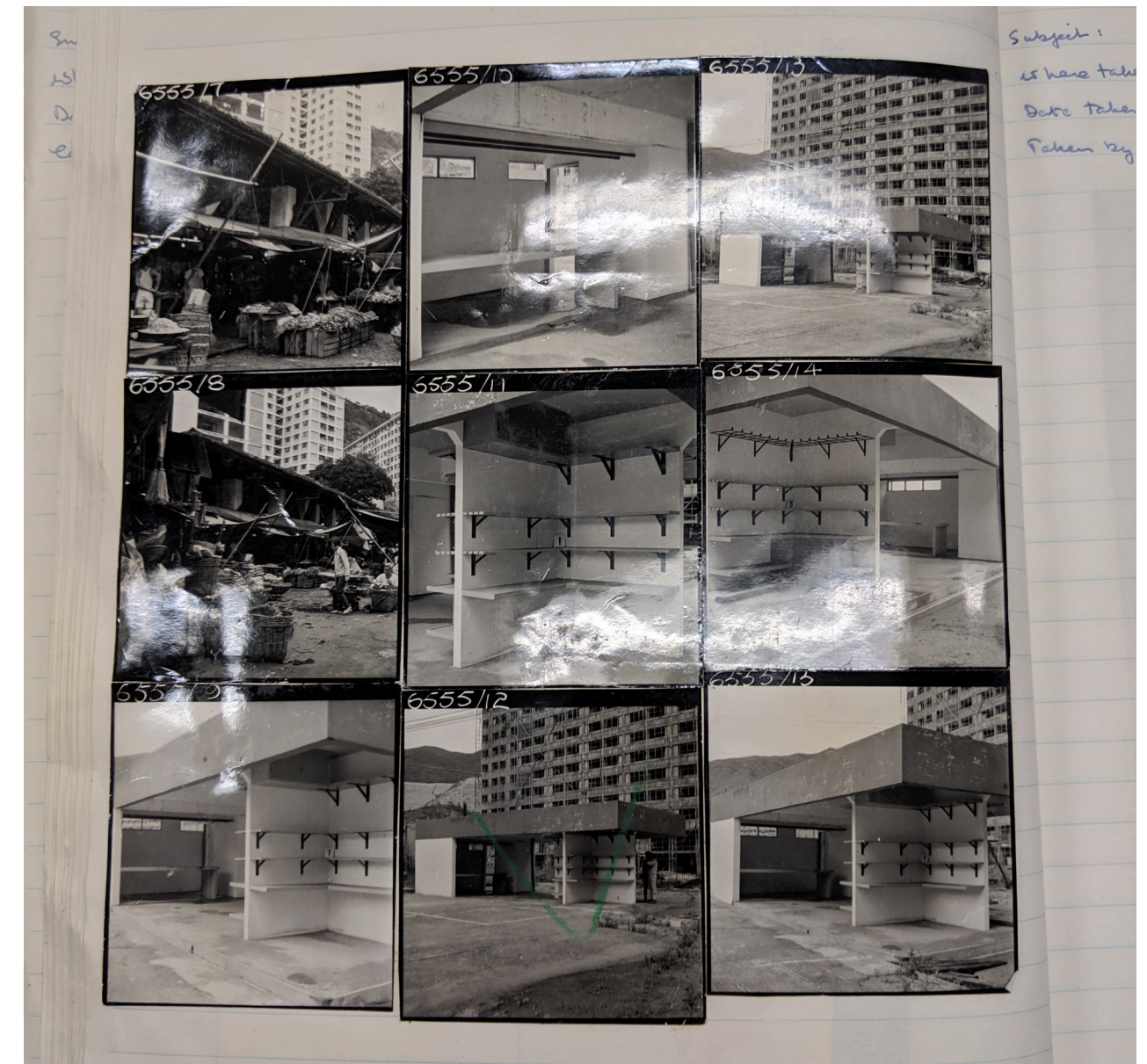


Figure 3.03 a: GIS, New kind of hawker stalls (module stalls) at Chai Wan, 27th May 1970, taken by K.T. Leung, 352 6555/1-15.



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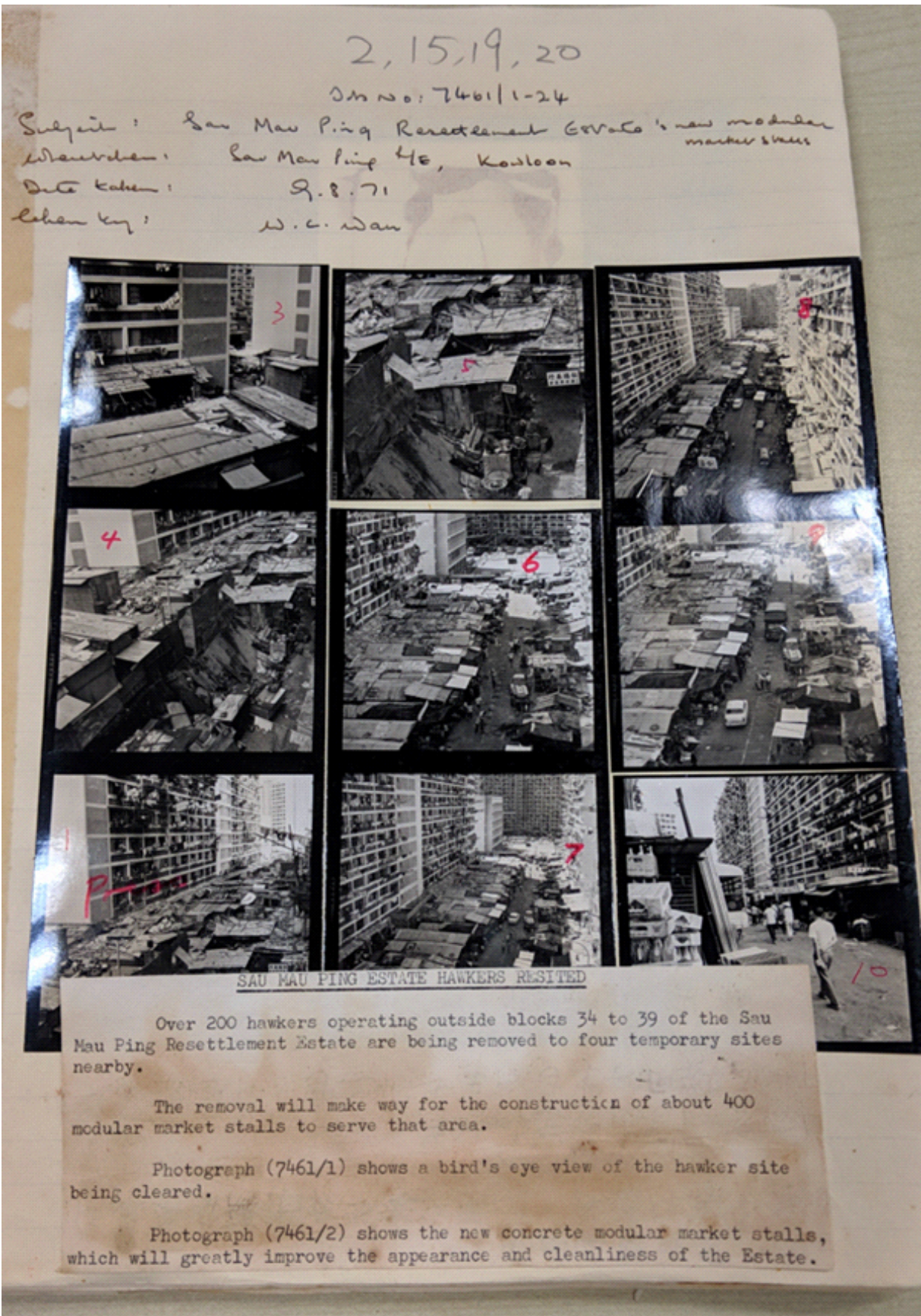


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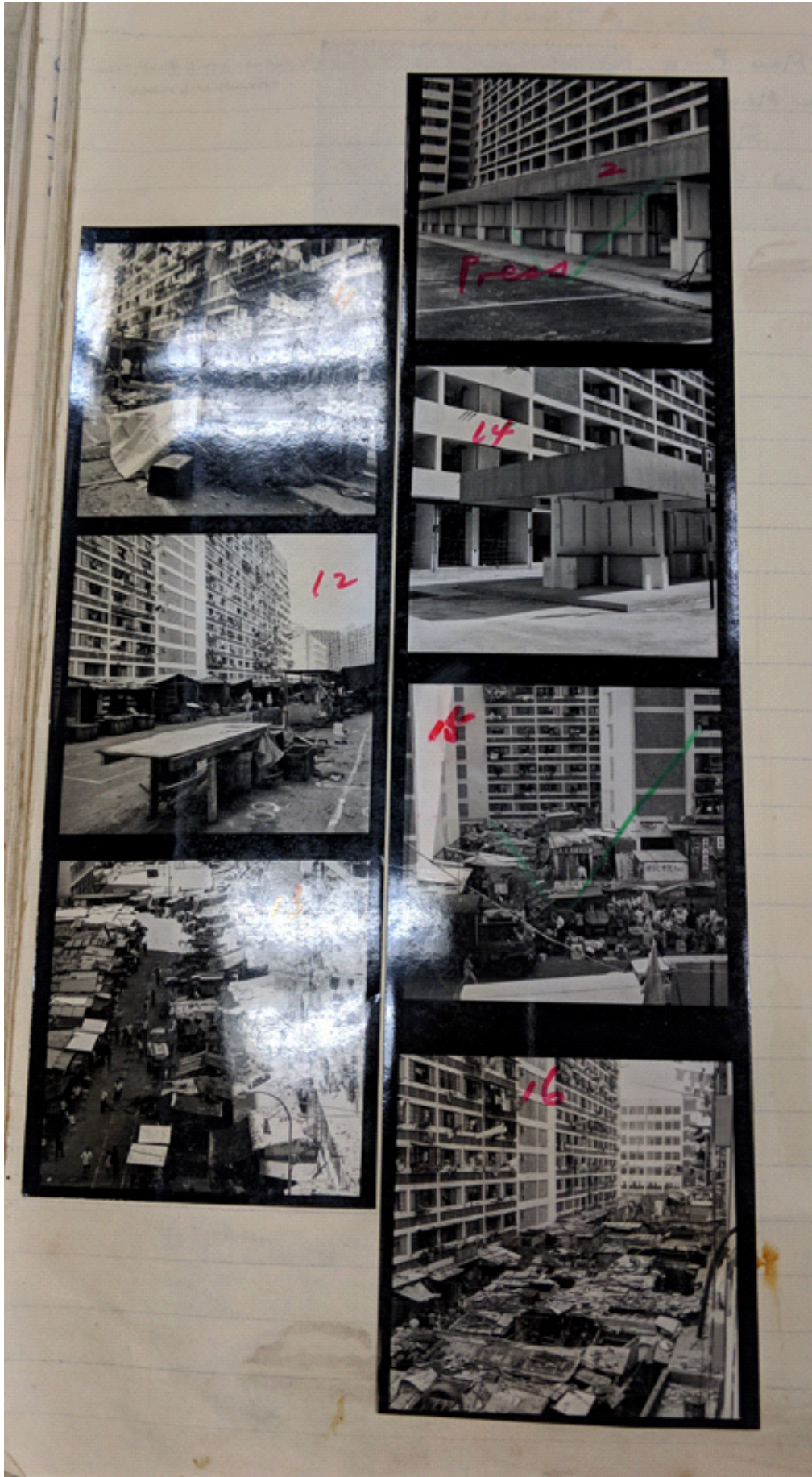


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Figure 3.05b: GIS, Kwai Hing Low Cost Housing Estate, Tsuen Wan, 3rd January 1972, Taken by P. Chow, 123 7828/6.

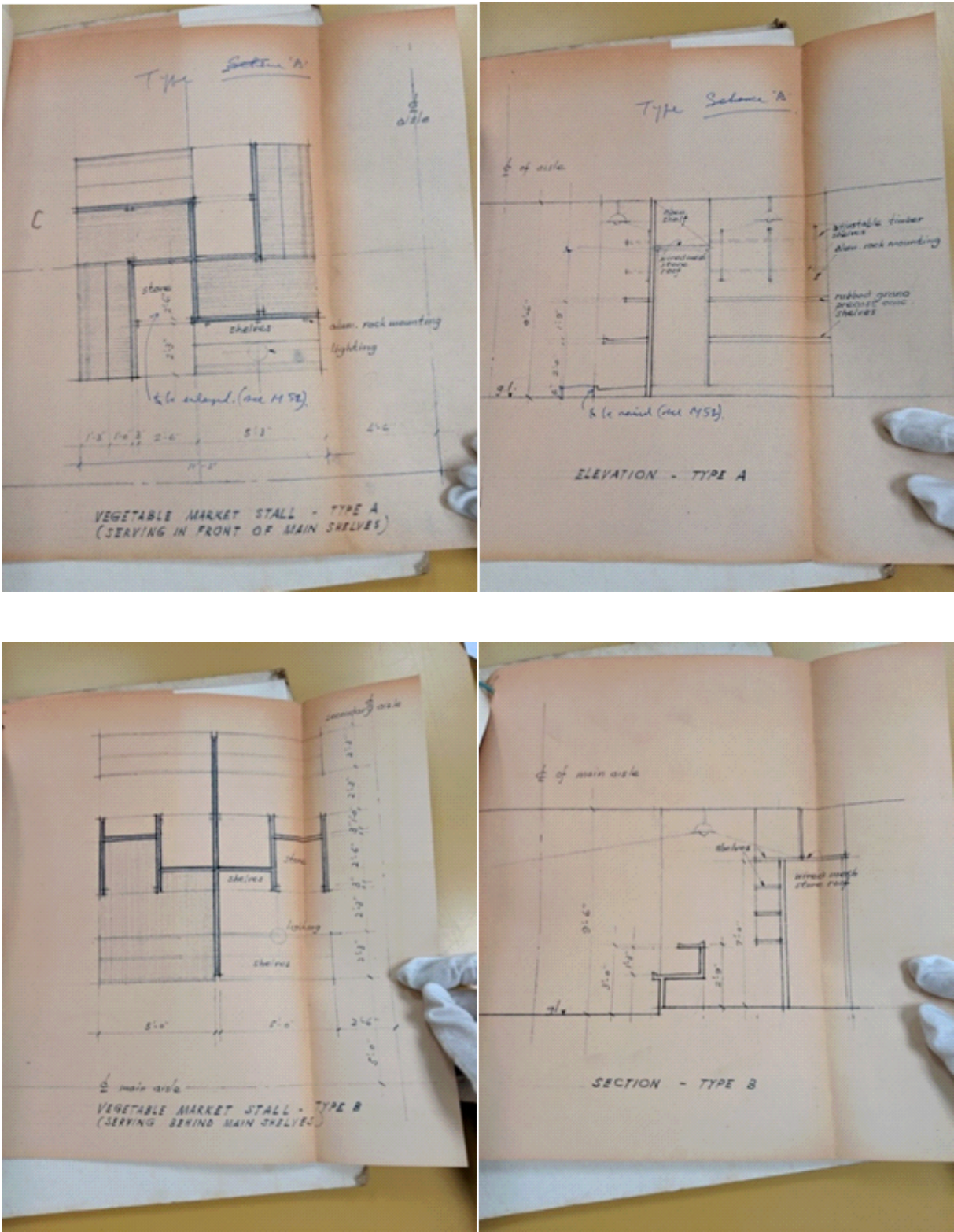


Figure 3.06: HKPRO, HKRS 1588-3-2, The Design of Market Stalls in Public Housing Estates, 'The Design of Market Stalls', 22nd November 1972.

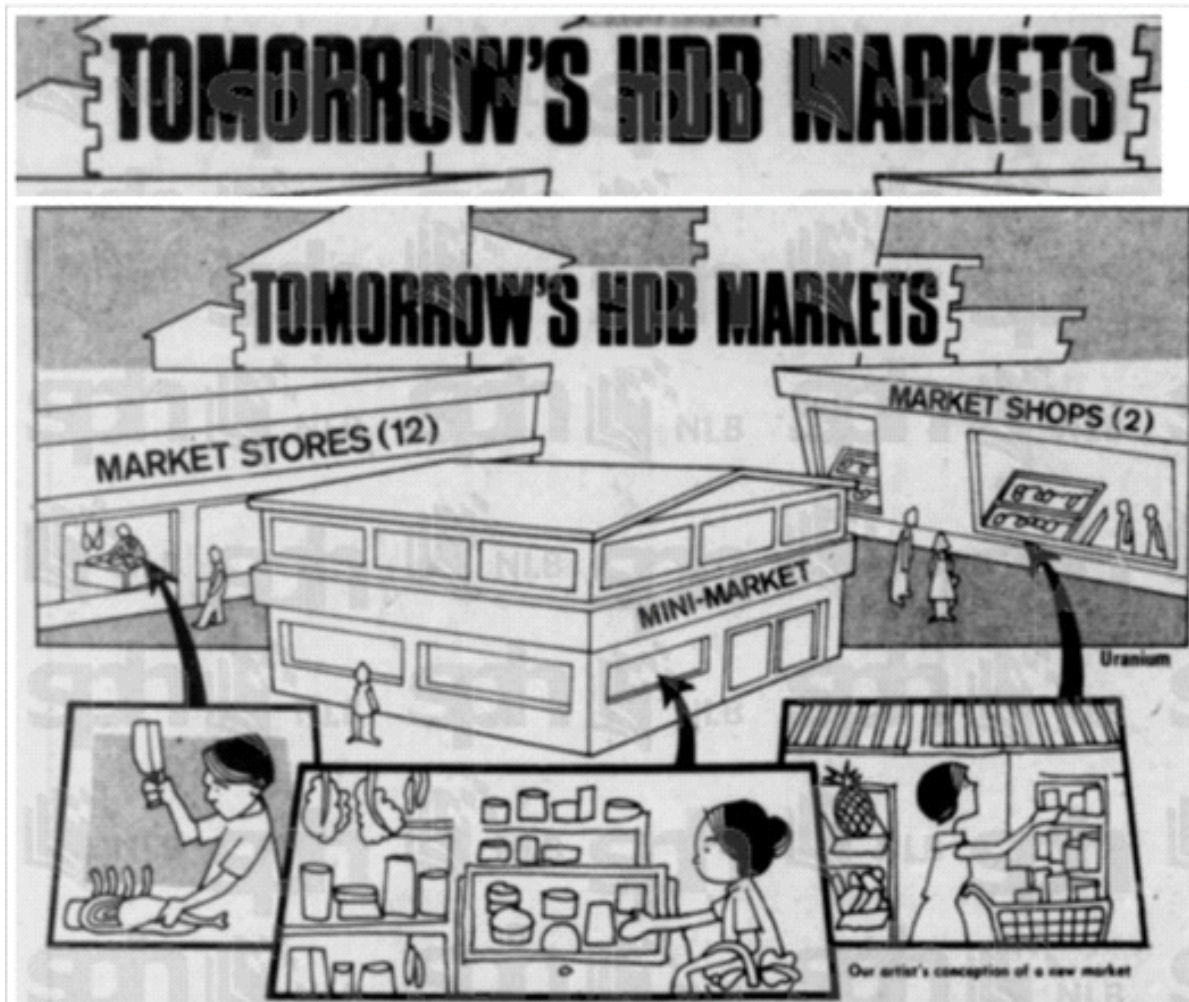



Figure 3.07: Newspaper SG, 'Tomorrow's Markets' *The Straits Times*, 7th August 1982, p15 <<https://eresources.nlb.gov.sg/newspapers/digitised/article/straitstimes19820807-1.2.58>> [Accessed 11th July 2020].

Discovery Bay: The Natural Style in Shopping, Dining, Living.



THE DISCOVERY BAY COMMERCIAL CENTRE
An area encompassing over 40,000 square feet, overlooking the extensive curvature of Tai Pak Beach, the Discovery Bay Commercial Centre boasts

Hong Kong's most notable names: The Peninsula Group of restaurants, Park 'N' Shop, The Hong Kong & Shanghai Banking Corporation, Wing On Department Store and Bank. Other shops include Richter Sports, Discovery Corner, an exhibition centre, magazine store, florist, laundry, wet market and much more. At Discovery Bay, you can dine in The Windsurfer Restaurant, selecting from a wide variety of seafood and other delicious dishes and enjoy music and natural scenery. And on a fine day, you can laze in the sun on the restaurant terrace and be served with tasty barbecues prepared beside your table.

RECREATION
The Residents Club is now open with

EDUCATION
The Kindergarten and lower Primary classes of Discovery Bay International School will commence in September 1983 in a newly built school set in an attractive environment. The School aims to offer high standard education following a British

SECURITY CONTROL
Round-the-clock security service is provided by a specially trained private security force backed up by a computerized Automated Management System to monitor building alarms and building services operations. Government Police, Fire and Ambulance services have their own departmental stations on site and a Medical Centre is available to serve the needs of residents and public alike.

TRANSPORTATION
Fly one hour from Hong Kong to Discovery Bay, taking less than 10 minutes per stop. This includes our own boats and HKT's ferries. Within Discovery Bay, internal transport is by air-conditioned double-deckers. And of course, in this natural setting, nowhere is so far to walk or cycle.

RESIDENCES
From single flats to 1,200 square foot spacious garden houses and flats, all levels and sizes of homes with panoramic views of the beach, green mountains and neighbouring islands are in the sparkling sea.

Or shop to your heart's delight in

The Discovery Bay Lifestyle
Hong Kong Resort Co. Ltd.

Today, the township of Discovery Bay on Lantau Island is more than a dream. It is a beautiful reality where a versatile series of housing plans is supported by a comprehensive scheme: transport system, security control, recreational programmes and educational opportunities for you and your children. Set within a natural environment, these blend together to create a healthy and secure living, comparable nowhere else in Hong Kong. And along with this natural living, an integrated concept in shopping and dining has evolved: The Discovery Bay Commercial Centre.

THE DISCOVERY BAY COMMERCIAL CENTRE

An area encompassing over 40,000 square feet, overlooking the extensive curvature of Tai Pak Beach, the Discovery Bay Commercial Centre boasts

Hong Kong's most notable names: The Peninsula Group of restaurants, Park 'N' Shop, The Hong Kong & Shanghai Banking Corporation, Wing On Department Store and Bank. Other shops include Richter Sports, Discovery Corner, an exhibition centre, magazine store, florist, laundry, wet market and much more. At Discovery Bay, you can dine in The Windsurfer Restaurant, selecting from a wide variety of seafood and other delicious dishes and enjoy music and natural scenery. And on a fine day, you can laze in the sun on the restaurant terrace and be served with tasty barbecues prepared beside your table.

Or shop to your heart's delight in

Figure 3.08a & b: ProQuest Historical Newspapers (PHN), 'The Discovery Bay Lifestyle', *South China Morning Post*, 11th May 1983, p23.

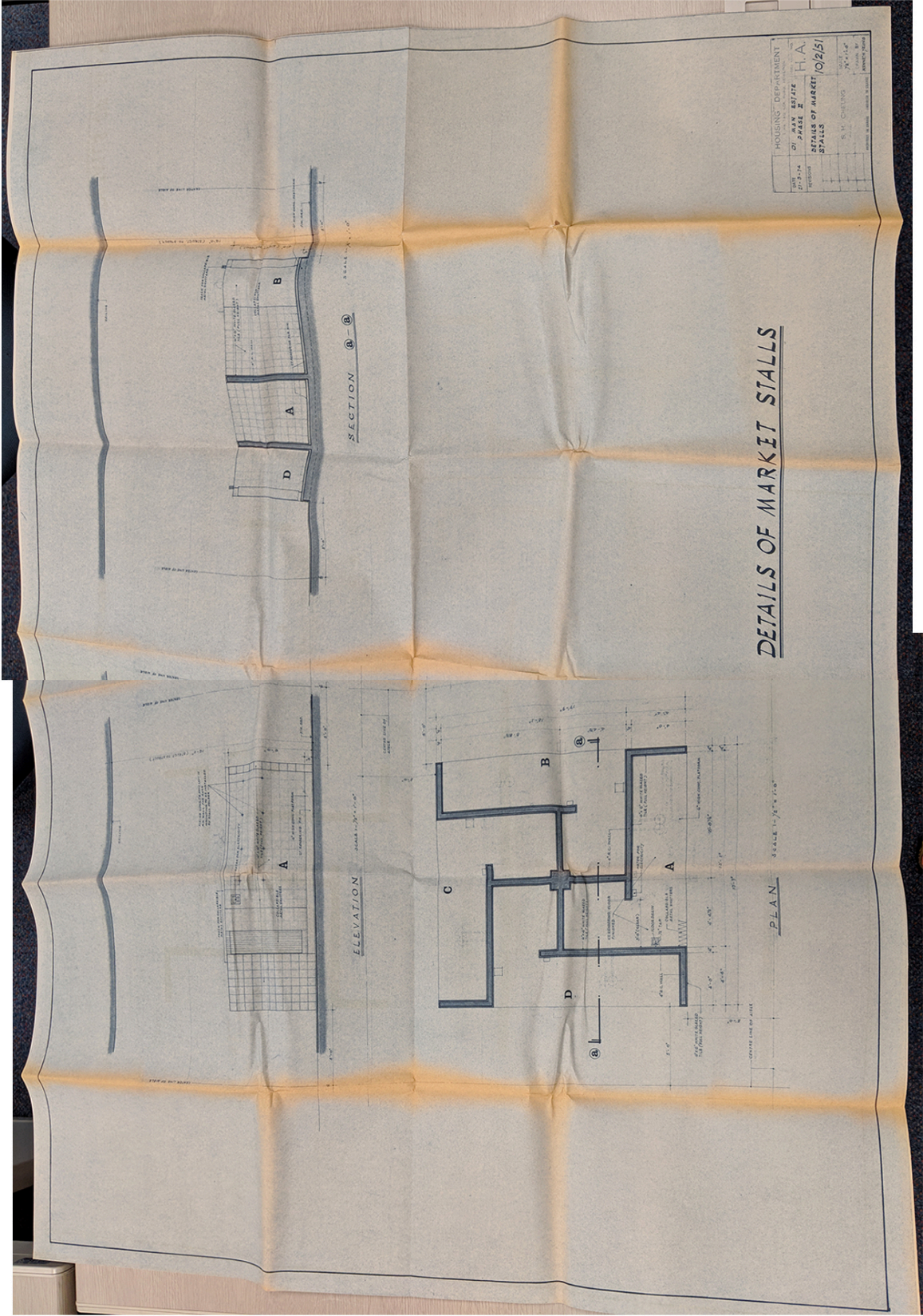


Figure 3.09: HKPRO, HKRS 1588-3-2, Oi Man Estate Phase II, Details of Market Stalls, 21st March 1973, Drawn by Kenneth Yeung.



Figure 3.10: 'Oi Man Estate Popular: All 1,242 flats at Wai Man House and Chung Man House in Oi Man Estate are now fully occupied. The two blocks house about 8,300 people. Another four blocks with 1,990 flats will be ready for occupation between November this year and January 1975. Picture shows a section of the modular market serving the residents.' GIS, HKRS 11603/7, Oi Man Estate, Kowloon, 4th October 1974, Taken by P.Chow.

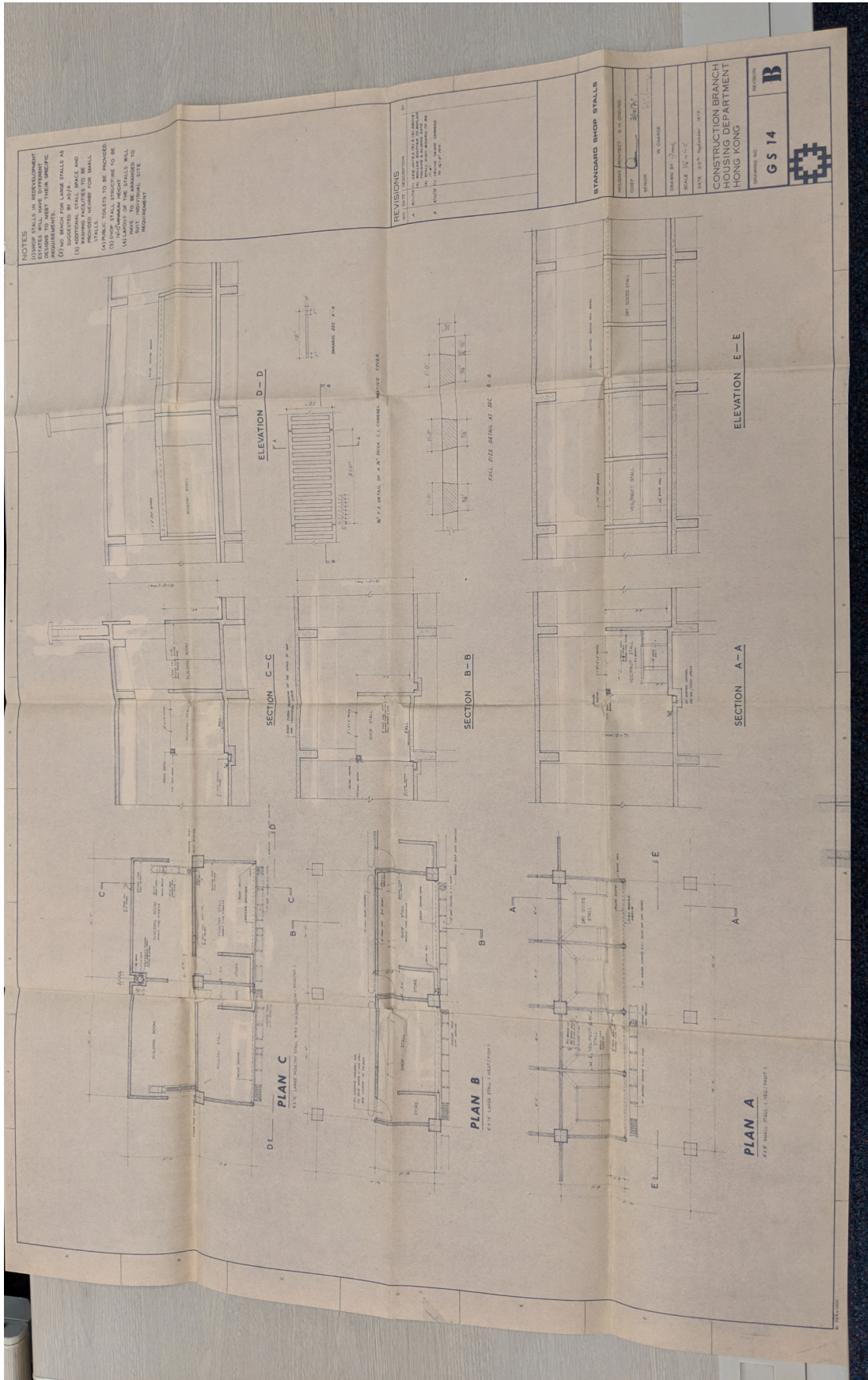


Figure 3.11a: HKPRO, HKRS 1588-3-2, The Design of Market Stalls in Public Housing Estates, Summary of H.M.'s/E.M.'s comments on Modular Markets, Group A, 1973

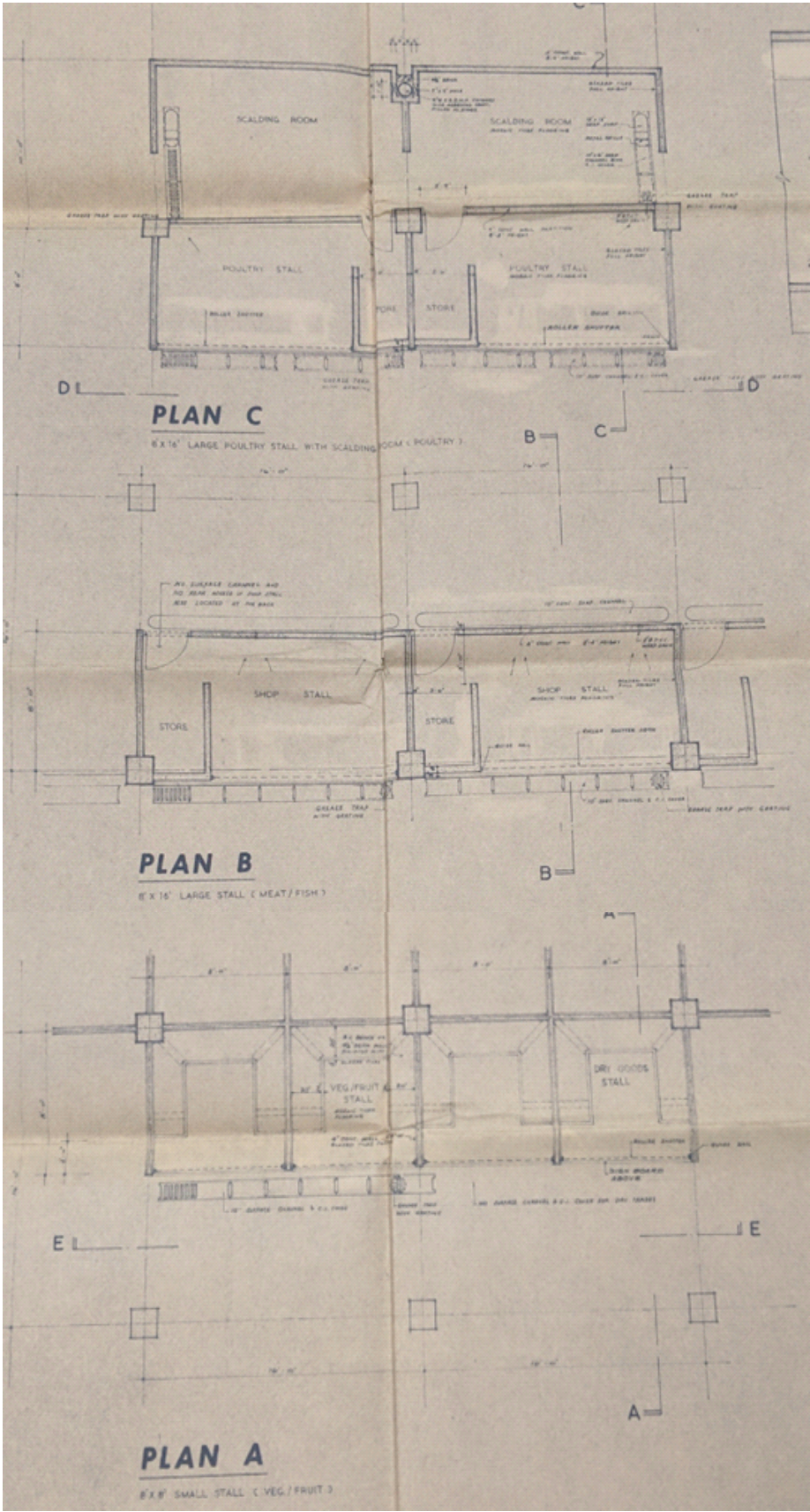


Figure 3.11b: HKPRO, HKRS 1588-3-2, The Design of Market Stalls in Public Housing Estates, Summary of H.M.'s/E.M.'s comments on Modular Markets, Group A, 1973

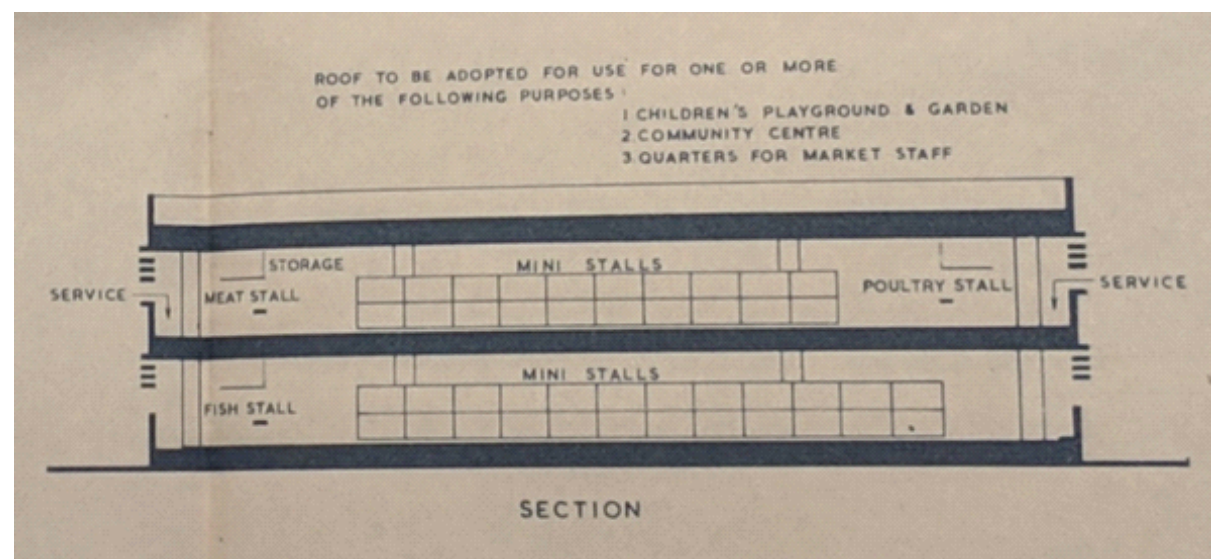
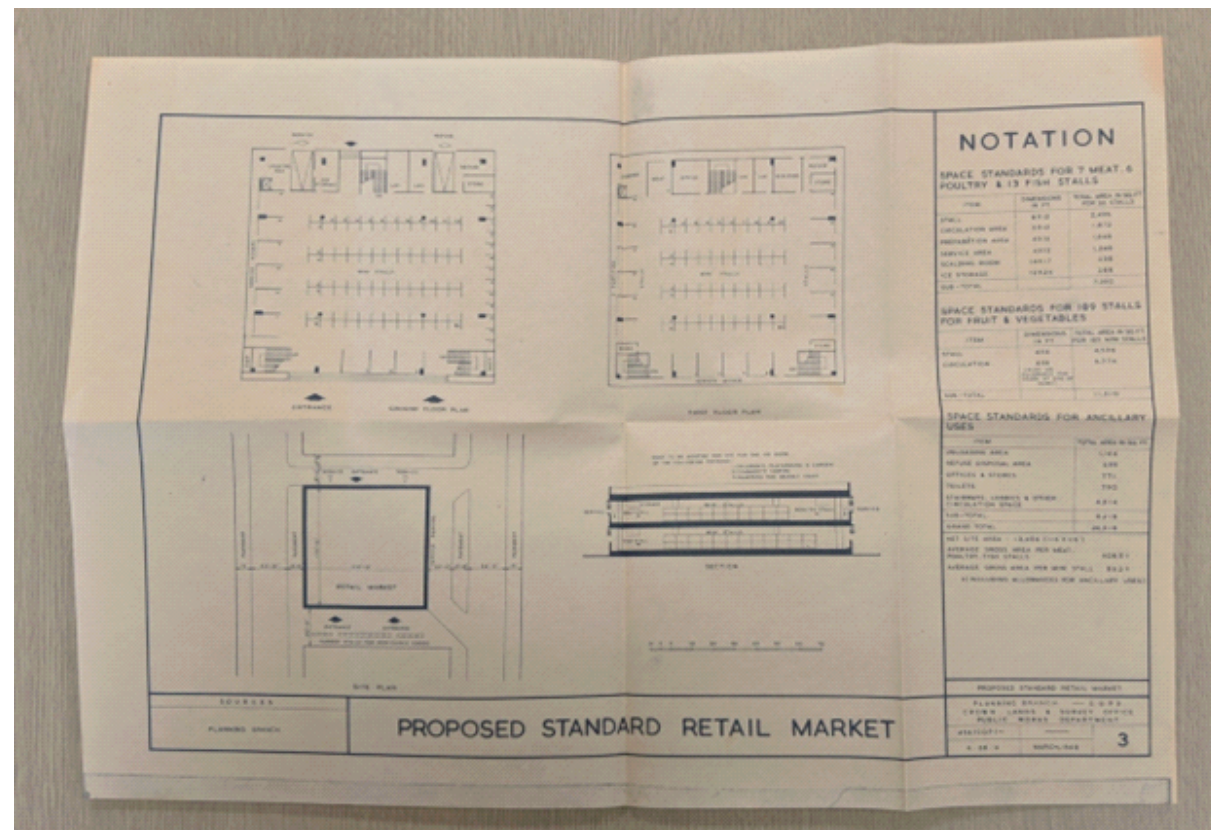


Figure 3.12 a & b: HKPRO, HKRS1039-1-10, Retail Markets, Hawker Bazaars and Hawkers, Directory of Urban Services to SCL&S Colony Outline Planning, Proposed Standard Retail Market, 2nd April 1968.



Figure 3.13: GIS, Wo Che Estate, 28th January 1983, Taken by K. W. Ng, 126 27032/5.



Figure 3.14a: GIS, 22, Tuen Mun New Town - On Ting Estate, 25th September 1987,
Taken by J. Ho, 126 34238/27

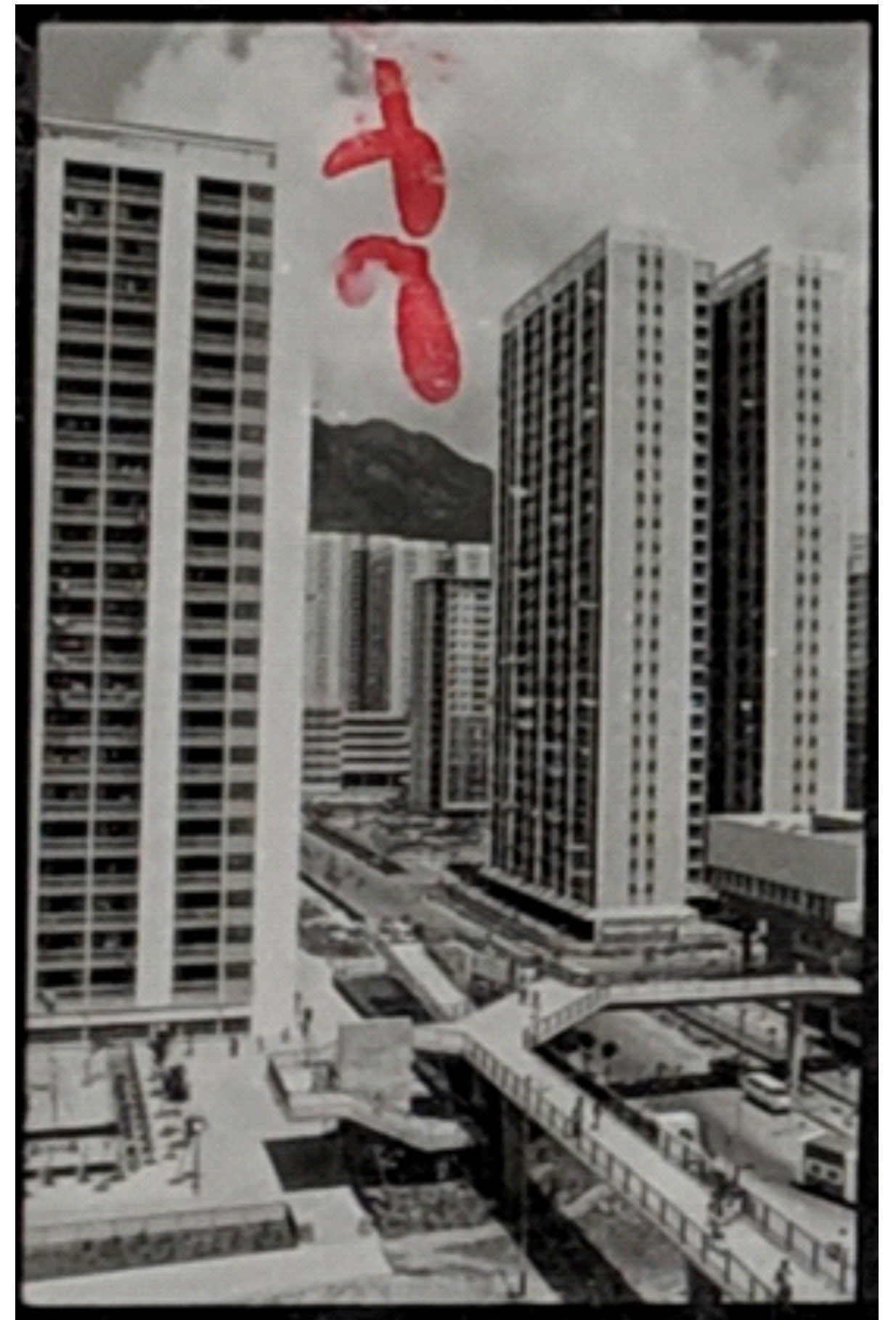


Figure 3.14b: GIS, 22, Tuen Mun New Town - On Ting Estate, 25th September 1987,
Taken by J. Ho, 126 34238/27

CHAPTER 4:
COMMERCIAL COMPLEXES
AND MALLS

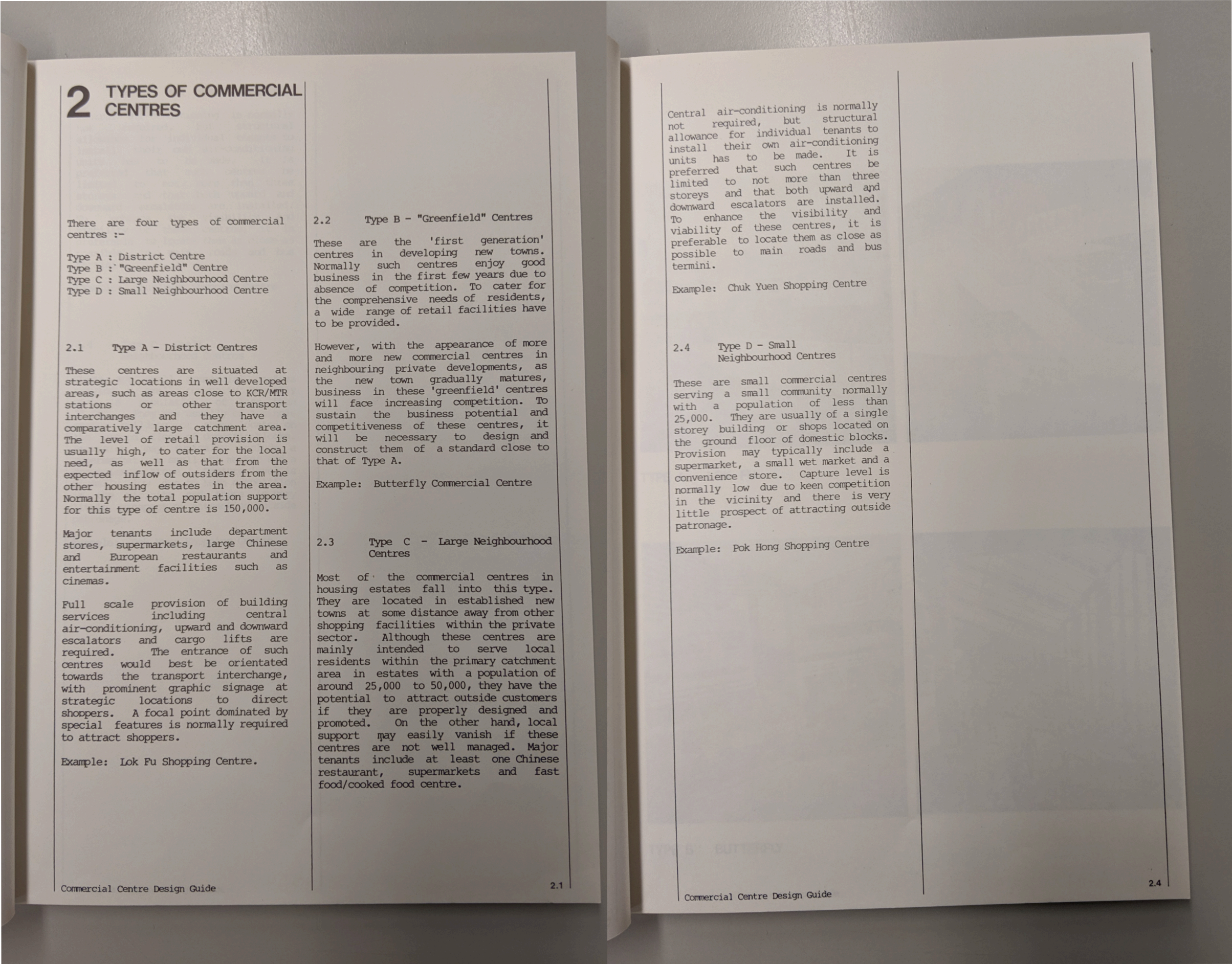
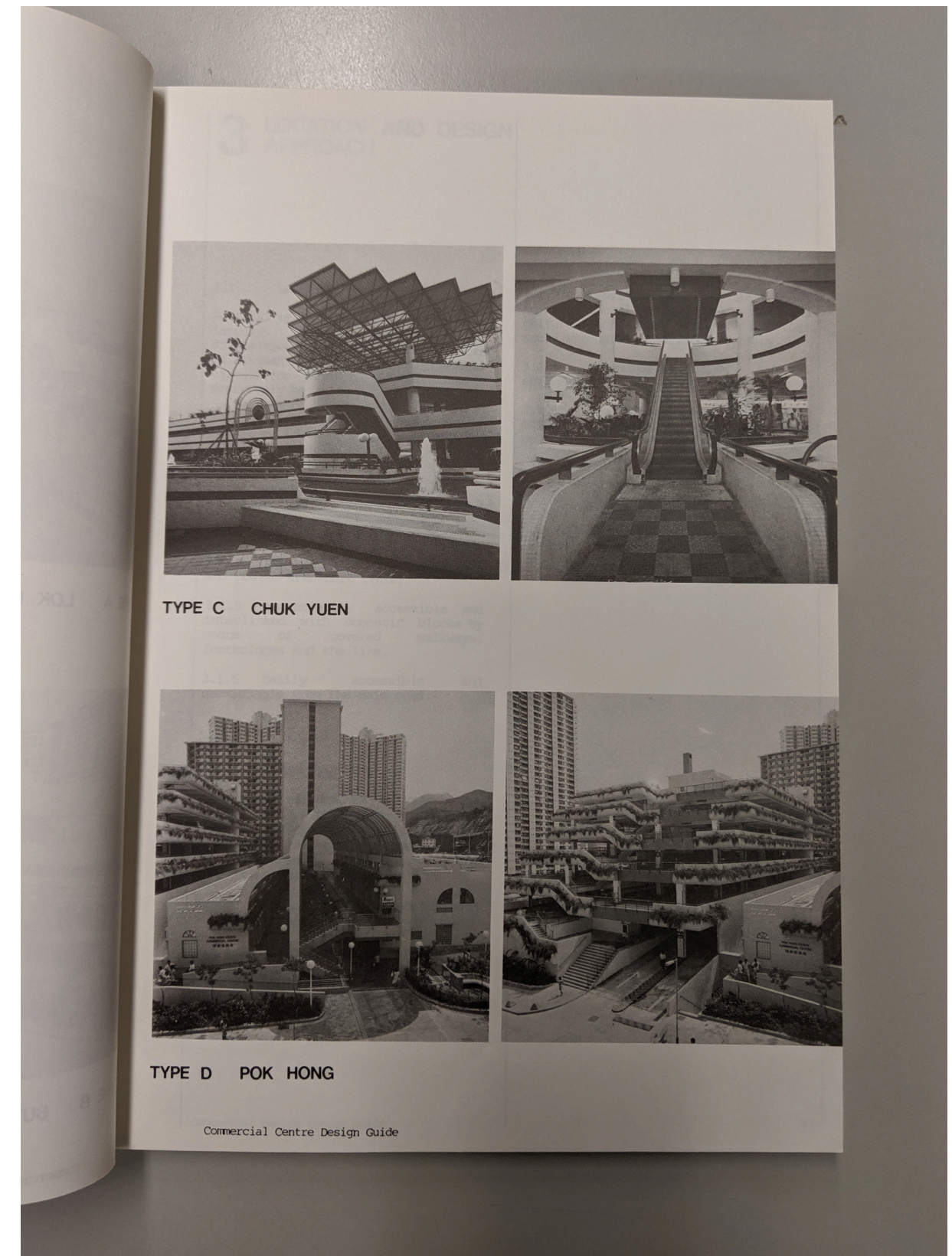
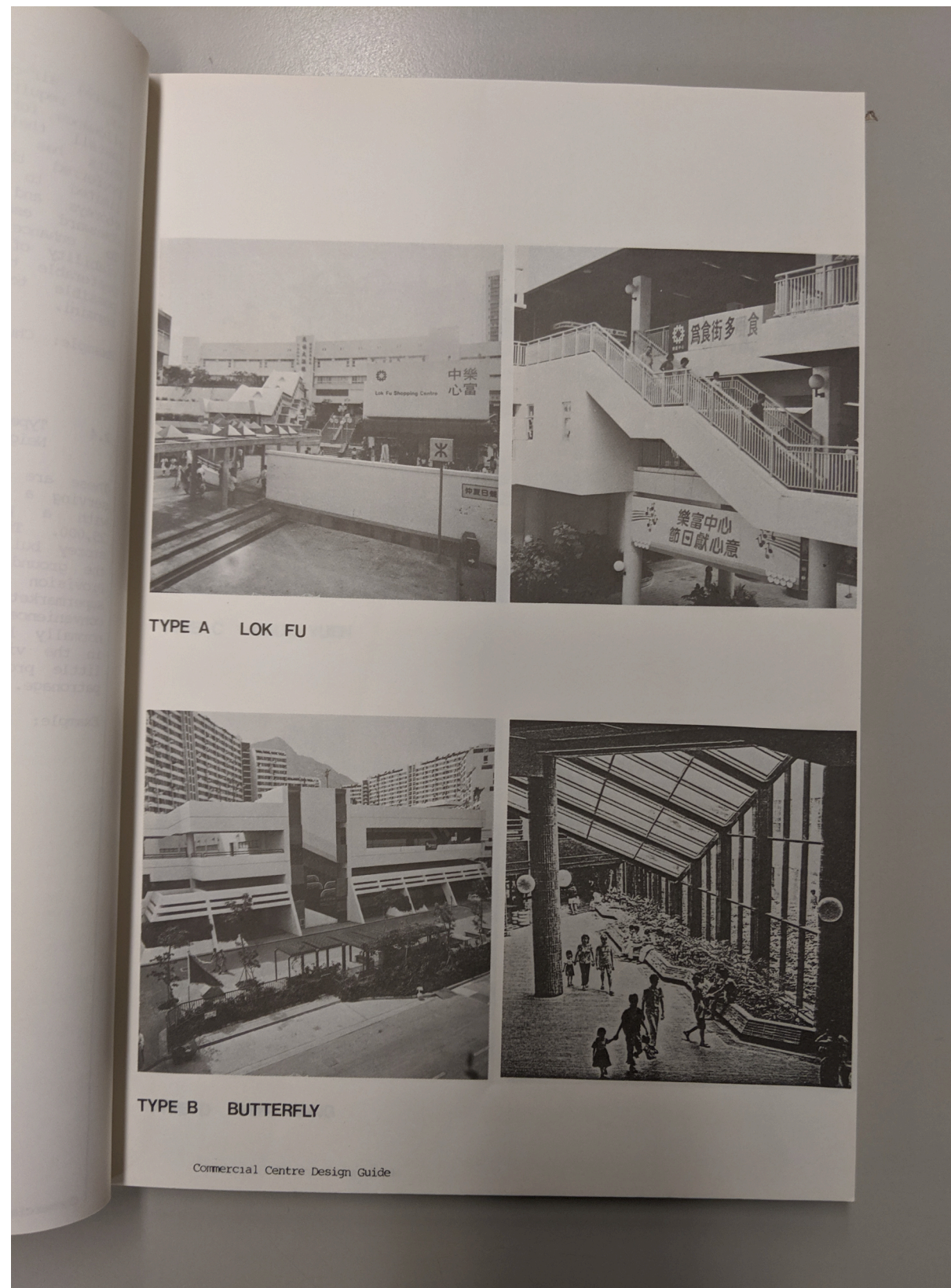


Figure 4.01: Description for the four types of commercial centres. Hong Kong University Special Collections, Housing Department, *Design Guide for commercial complexes in public housing estates*, October 1987, p 2.1 - 2.4



Figures 4.02a & b: Featured images of four case studies of types. Hong Kong University SpecialCollections, Housing Department, *Design Guide for commercial complexes in public housing estates*, October 1987, p 2.5 - 2.6



Figure 4.03: Wah Fu Estate, 1968, Nora Tam *South China Morning Post* Photos <<https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/article/1507310/once-icon-low-cost-living-wah-fu-estates-redevelopment-looms>> [Accessed 19th February 2020]



Figure 4.04: A general view of Wah Fu Estate, 1977, courtesy of Ko Tim-keung, *Hong Kong Memory*, <https://www.hkmemory.hk/collections/public_housing/All_Items/images/201307/t20130702_61487.html?f=search&t=search_dats.jsp&path=channelid=230719|searchword=PLACESIDS%3D%273146%27|keyword=PLACESIDS%3D%273146%27|extend_expr=Place%3DHong+Kong+Island%2FSouthern+District%2FAberdeen%2F%28Street%29%2FWah+Fu+Estate> [Accessed 20th April 2023]



Figure 4.05: Screenshot from *Converging Paths at Public Housing Estates*, 'The Birth of Wah Fu Estate: An Interview with Dr Donald Liao, the Chief Designer of Wah Fu Estate', Hong Kong Housing Authority, 2019 <<https://www.housingauthority.gov.hk/en/about-us/photos-and-videos/videos/converging-paths/index.html>> [Accessed 24th March 2023]



Figure 4.06: GIS, Exterior view of (A) Oi Man Commercial Complex, 14th Nov 1977, taken by P. Chow, 125, 17185/2.

OI MAN COMMERCIAL COMPLEX
South China Morning Post (1946-Current); Feb 3, 1975;
 ProQuest Historical Newspapers: South China Morning Post
 pg. 10



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Figure 4.07: PHN, 'Oi Man Commercial complex', *SCMP*, 3rd Feb 1975, p10.



Figure 4.08: GIS, GV of Lai Yiu Estate Commercial Complex, 11th November 1977, taken by P. Chow, 125, 17161/36.

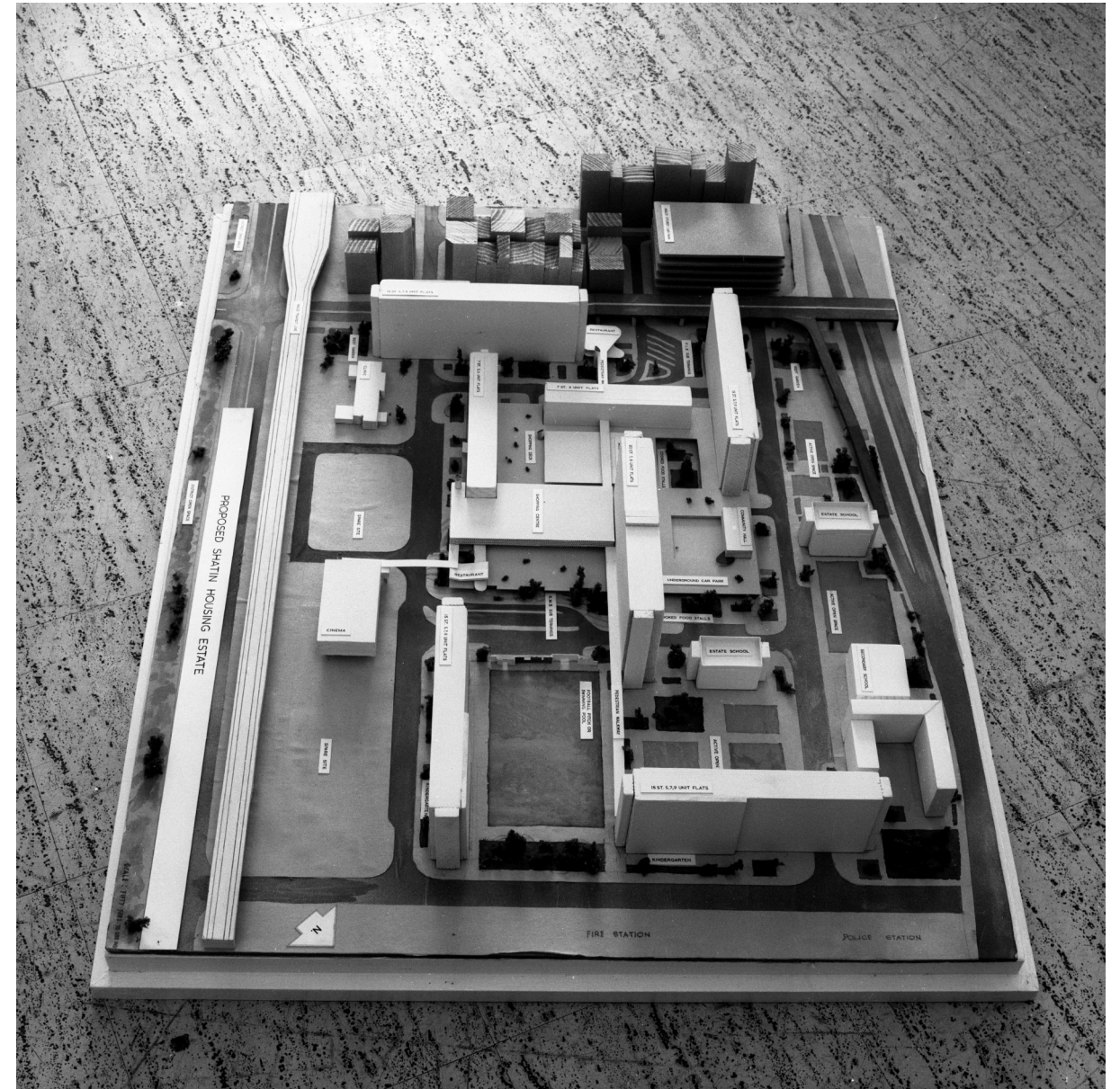


Figure 4.09: GIS, Models of Government Low-Cost Housing Estate in Shatin (Lek Yuen) , 28th Jun 1972, taken by D. Au, 123, 8292/8.



Figure 4.10: GIS, General view of Lek Yuen Estate, 11th Oct 1977, taken by D. Au and S. Chiang, 125,16953/13, 15-17.

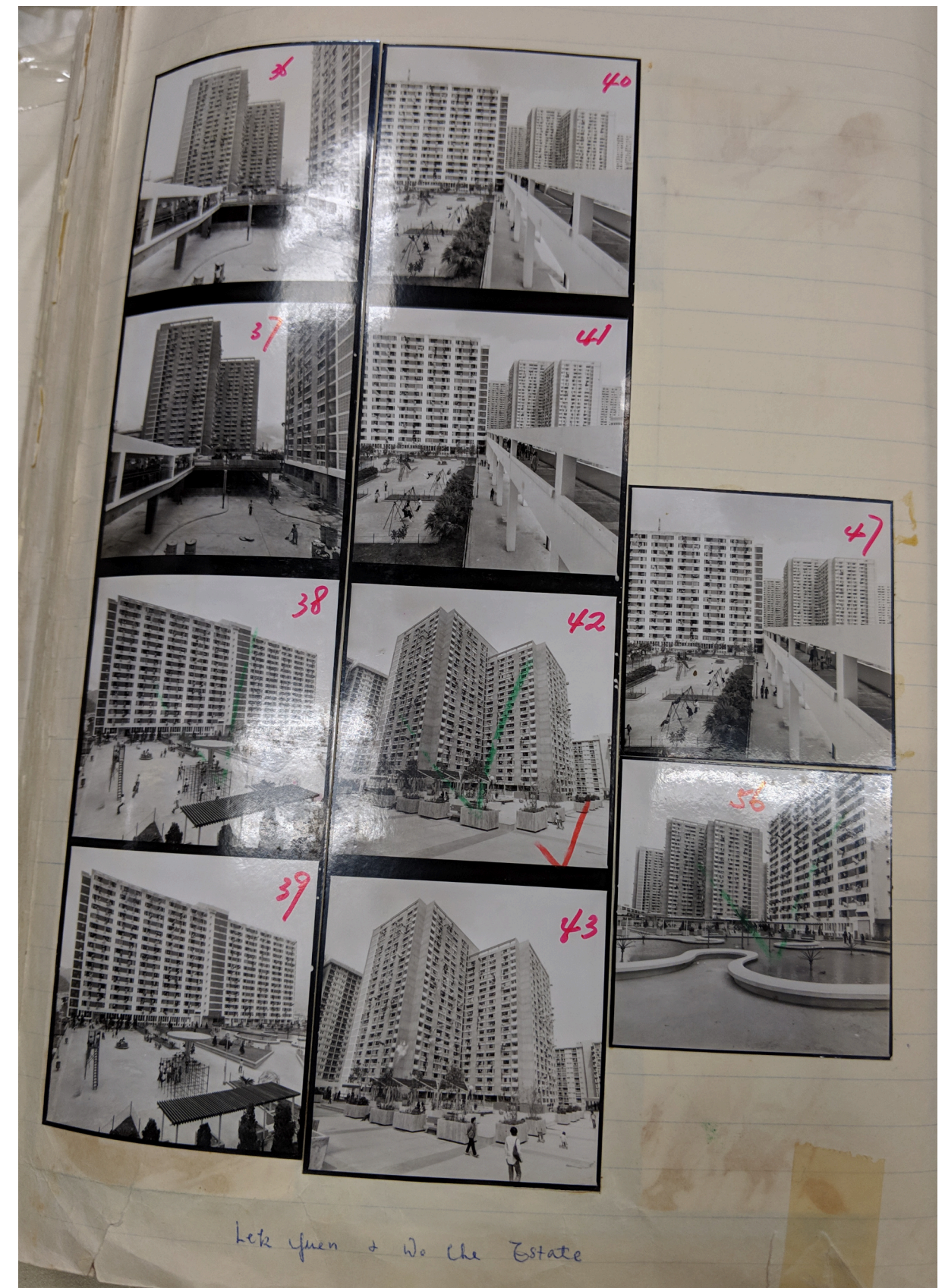


Figure 4.11: GIS, Lek Yuen and Wo Che Estate, 20th February 1979, taken by E. Cheng, 125,19865/36-48.



Figure 4.12: Lek Yuen Estate and Wo Che Estate, 1982, *MMIS*, PHP1-8-14, Accessed 27th Jan 2020
[Available at: [link](#)]



Figure 4.13: GIS, GV of Lek Yuen Estate Commercial Complex, 11th November 1977, taken by P. Chow, 125, 17161/20.



Figure 4.14: SCMP via Getty Images, A supermarket located in the new Lek Yuen Estate in Sha Tin, 5th Jul 1977, taken by Robin Lam Kit, Accessed 9th November 2019, [Available at <https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/supermarket-located-in-the-new-lek-yuen-estate-in-sha-tin-news-photo/1095953812?adppopup=true>].



Figures 4.15a, b, c, d, e ,f , g & h: Excerpt pages from various issues of Shoppers Weekly. HKUSC, Shoppers Weekly, 1980-81, no/1, no.7, no.9.

In the midst of rising prices...

Make the most of your shopping dollar

HAS YOUR weekly trip to the supermarket become a major financial battle?

Have you noticed every week how your food bill seems bigger than the one before?

Before long you might be carrying a calculator with you to work out comparative prices or even tallying up your bill as you go.

Family budgets are being squeezed hard all the time as food prices rise and anyone on a low income could be finding once-basic food items are now almost on the luxury list.

This is because inflation has driven up the prices of many items without a corresponding increase enough to keep up with it.

And increased food costs and wage bills inevitably create a continuing spiral in the price of our food.

So it is important to get the most for your money at your supermarket.

By following the guidelines we give you this week, you could easily save yourself some valuable dollars and at the same time get

beans may seem a bargain price but will become expensive if half are left unused then thrown out.

However, for non-perishable items such as sugar, flour, rice and pasta, bulk sizes prove a saving.

Something cheap is not necessarily a good value. A large bottle of detergent may seem cheap but if it is ineffective you may use twice as much as a dearer brand.

This goes for meat as well. There is nothing more expensive than a tough old piece of meat.

DECIDE HOW TO SPEND your food budget.

Fresh food is always cheaper than convenience food, so if you have time to cook you will save by buying fresh meat and vegetables.

But if you're pushed for time you will pay more for frozen foods and canned goods.

out girls that they are specials.

Be alert for wrong weights when big bargains in some food items are on offer.

SELECT YOUR OWN produce.

You'll always get better value at the store when you can select your own fruit and vegetables. Pre-packaged items may be arranged to conceal bad or damaged food. Also you can weigh the exact amount that you want and not have to settle

for a larger quantity than you really need. It may subsequently be wasted.

DANGERS TO LOOK FOR

Specials at your normal supermarket may be good value but there can be traps. Be careful of "bait advertising" where some suppliers advertise a limited quantity of goods at a reduced price but when the customer turns up she is told "Sorry we've sold out." This gets the shopper into the store where she will probably buy.

Another area where you can and up spending more than you intended is when you get multiple ticketing. That is when a second or third price ticket is added to an item leaving the others showing. A shopper may not become aware of the price she has paid until she arrives home and checks the cash register receipt.

So, next time you go shopping at your supermarket, remember these words of advice and check whether your food bill is any lower!

[illegible]



Figures 4.16: HKUSC, DID, 'A village in Sha Tin', c. 1960s, S2008.0198 <<https://digitalrepository.lib.hku.hk/catalog/8k71np10z#?c=&m=&s=&cv=&xywh=-187%2C-34%2C1373%2C675>> [Accessed 19th Feb 2020]



Figures 4.17: HKUSC, DID, 'Restaurants, Sha Tin Market Town', by Chow, Yim-bing, Sheila, A land use survey of Shatin Town, 1964, MSS 333.7095125 C552, MSSG-52-004 <<https://digitalrepository.lib.hku.hk/catalog/000003025#?c=&m=&s=&cv=>> [Accessed 19th Feb 2020]



Figure 4.18: 'Shatin New Town under development: This is the construction site of Shatin New Town during its early stage of development. The old Shatin Market is on the right', 1975, courtesy of Ko Tim-keung, *Hong Kong Memory* <https://www.hkmemory.hk/collections/public_housing/All_Items/images/201307/t20130702_61435.html?f=search&t=search_datas.jsp&path=channelid=230719|searchword=Shatin+new+town|keyword=Shatin+new+town> [Accessed 19th Feb 2020]



Figure 4.19: SCMP via Getty Images, 'The future Sha Tin Town Centre with the Shing Mun River in the background. The old Shatin Village in the centre will be cleared to make way for the bus terminal. Lek Yuen Estate on the far left', c. 1970s, taken by c. Y. Yu <<https://www.gettyimages.no/detail/news-photo/the-future-sha-tin-town-centre-with-the-shing-mun-river-in-news-photo/1126288342>> [Accessed 9th November 2019].

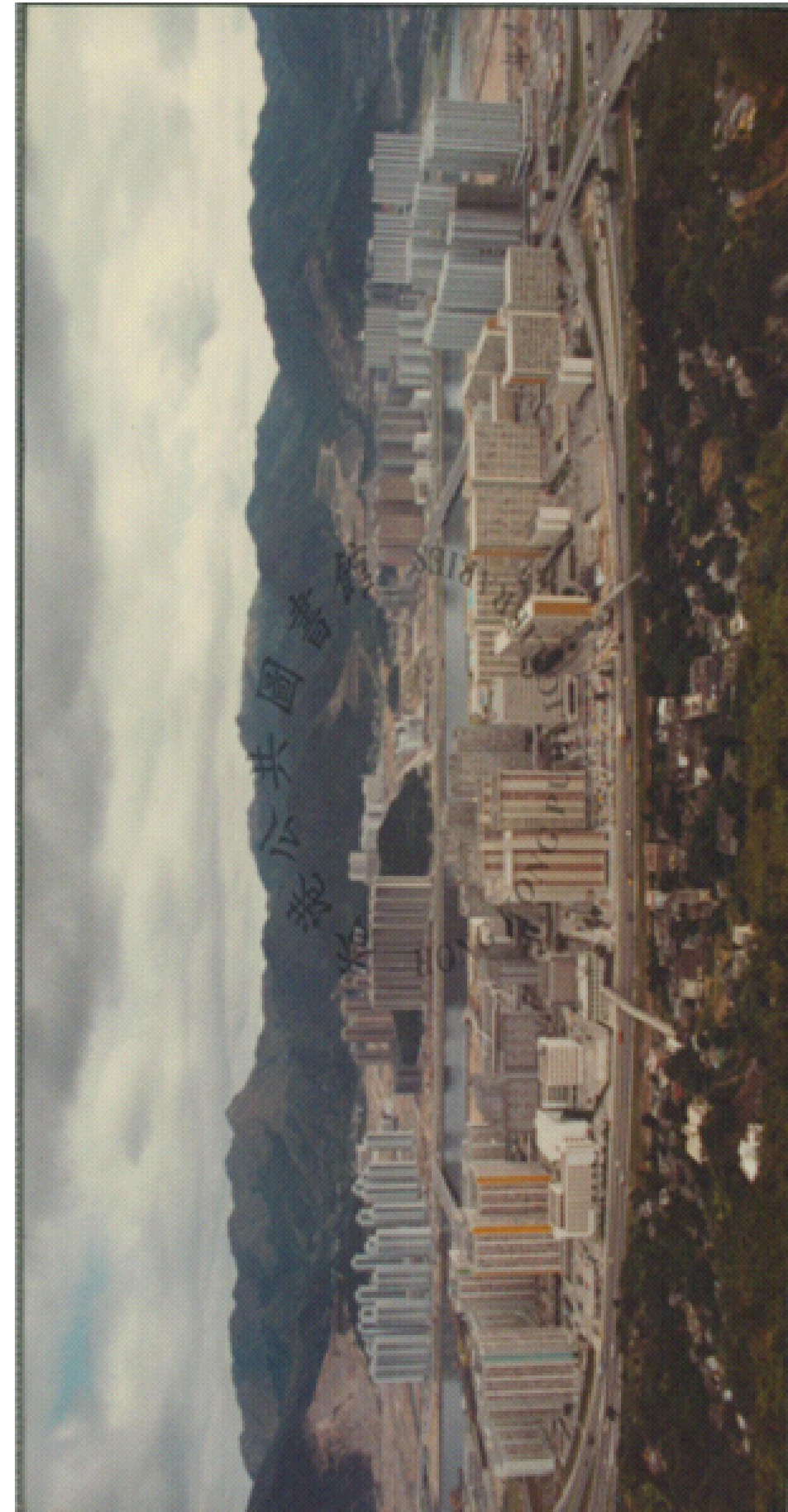


Figure 4.20: 'Sha Tin town centre. Wo Che Estate on the left and Lek Yuen Estate on the right.' Sha Tin Town Centre, 1982, *MMIS*, PHP11-4-20, <[link](#)> [Accessed 19th Feb 2020]

Hong Kong's New Towns public housing estates, 1954-1989

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MOST SHOPS WILL OPEN IN TWO WEEKS

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An exciting new Christmas experience for all the people of Hong Kong

JOIN IN —
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EXPERIENCE —
the exciting design of — Asia's largest indoor musical fountain — the entrance arena — Asia's longest 200-foot skylight — the amphitheatre — the rooftop gardens

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the department stores — exciting new shops — boutiques — restaurants — six cinemas — Japanese snacks — fast food — swimming pool — water world — mini-golf — bowling and roller skating and much, much more.

THRILL —
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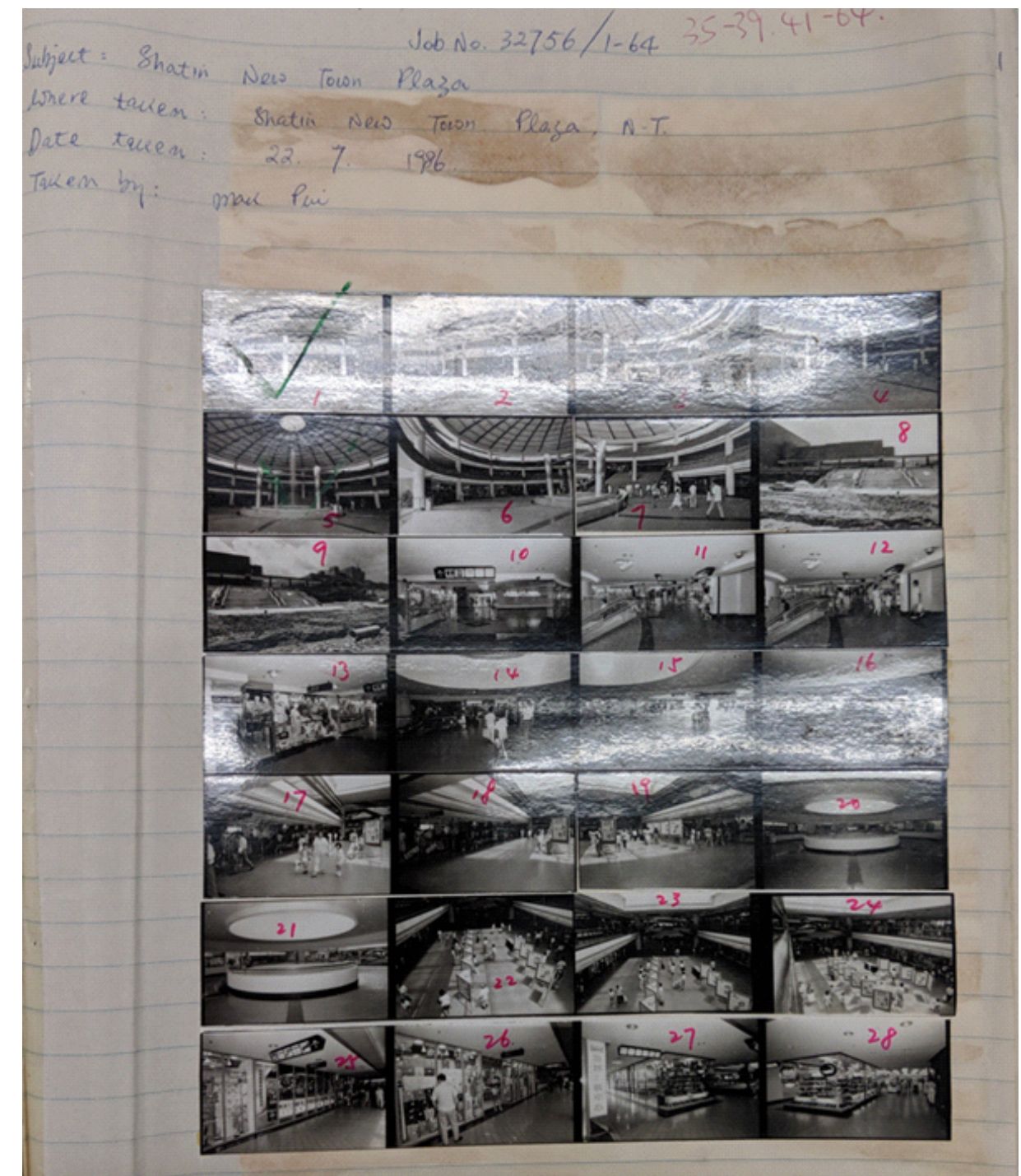
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Figure 4.21: PHN, 'New Town Plaza', SCMP, 3rd Dec 1984, p11.Figure 4.22a: GIS, Sha Tin New Town Plaza, 22nd July 1986, taken by Mau Piu, 354,32756/1-64.

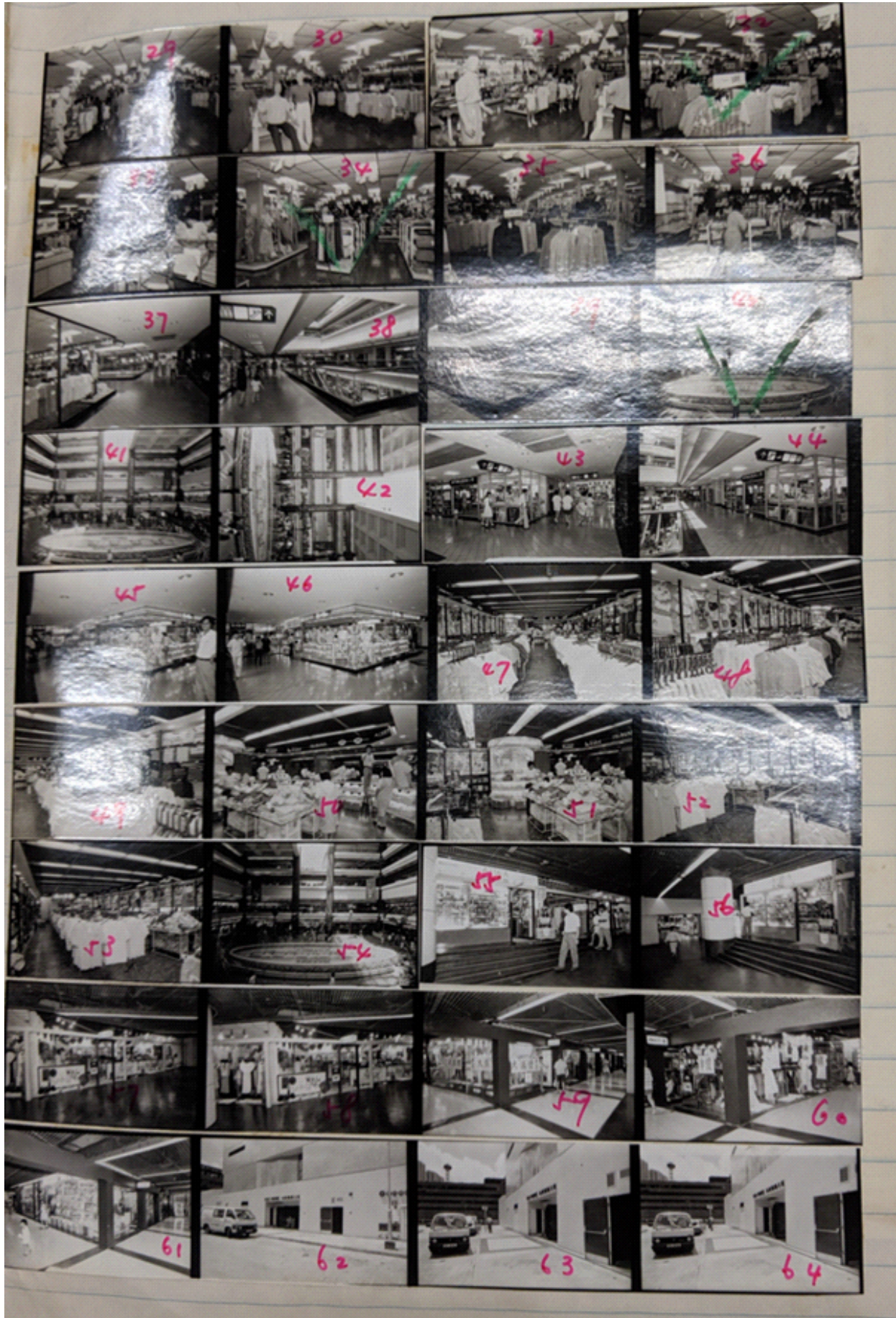


Figure 4.22b: GIS, Sha Tin New Town Plaza, 22nd July 1986, taken by Mau Piu, 354,32756/1-64.

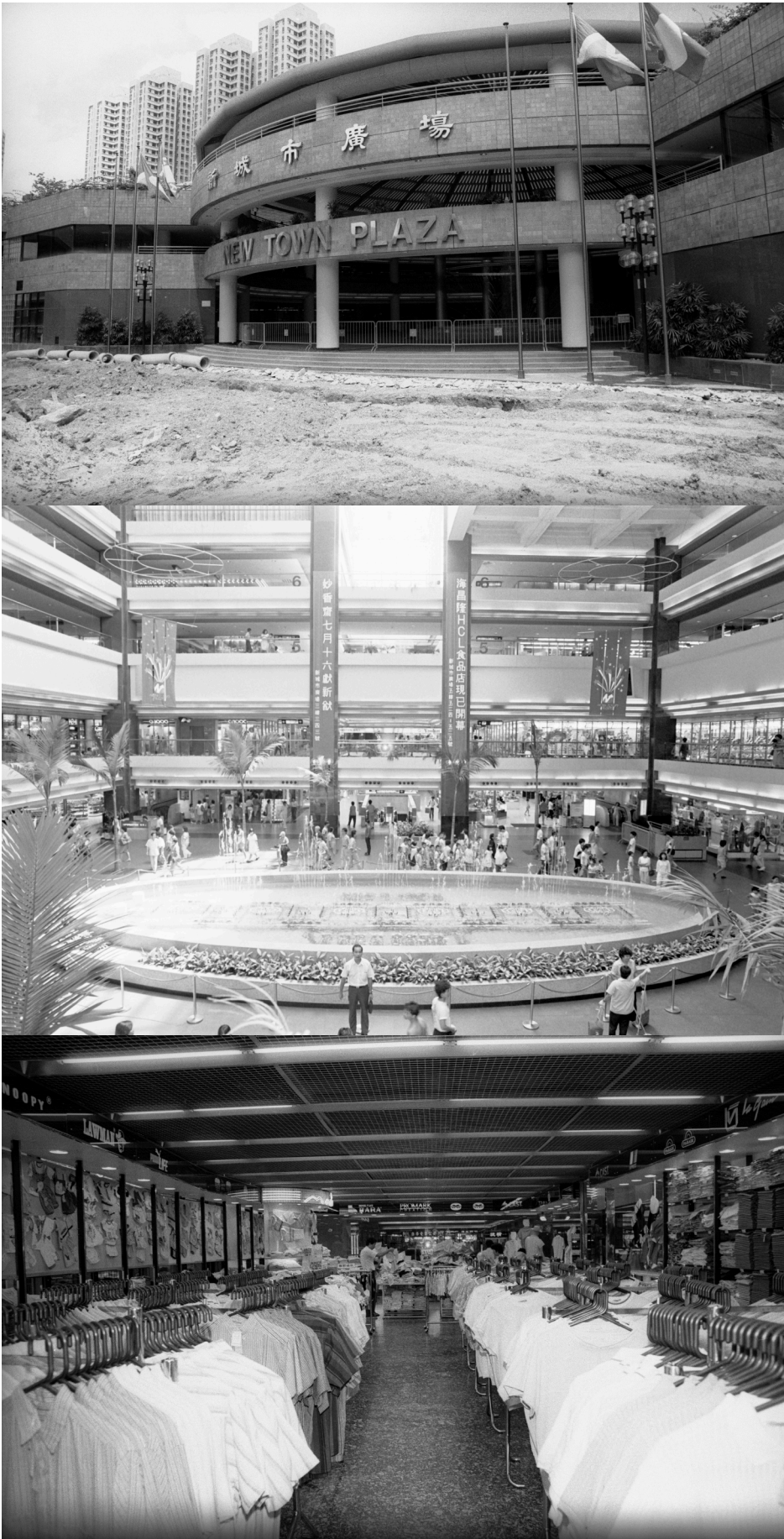


Figure 4.23a, b &c: GIS, Sha Tin New Town Plaza, 22nd July 1986, taken by Mau Piu, 354,32756/2, 40, 47.

APPENDICES A-F: SITE VISITS

The following Appendices A-F are short reflections and photo-assemblages from site visits conducted in the summer and autumn of 2019. While these have not directly been referenced in my thesis, I have included them to demonstrate my methodology of inhabiting and interacting with the spaces studied in this thesis. While I understand these are spaces in their contemporary form, I also recognise the importance of learning about space beyond its photographic representation, where possible. Experiences such as travelling to and from these estates help me to contextualise the distances and scales of the spaces discussed. Such embodied knowledge then helps me to articulate some of the concepts used in the thesis, particularly when it involves sensorial and experiential aspects of space. I was, in essence, constructing my own 'sphere' of research through these site visits.

Many of these visits were joined and aided by friends and family members, as well as the informants who contributed their stories to this research. Walking and talking are methods too often omitted from historical narratives. I include these appendices in an effort to show some of the visual-material potentials of such methods, as well as how these might offer avenues for alternative histories of space.

A KWUN TONG

WO LOK ESTATE 17TH APRIL 2019



The first few days arriving in Hong Kong started in Kwun Tong, my parent's birthplace. Wo Lok Estate happens to be where they both grew up, living with multiple generations in one flat. Walking around the commercial streets, the roads are busy with people more than cars - Styrofoam boxes and wooden pallets full of fruit and vegetables sit on the kerbside in front of the shops they'll go into in due course. The mixed smells of air-conditioning and raw meat, and sounds of the rhythmic 'thunk' of cleavers hitting chopping boards, drift by as we walk around in the middle of the road. We take a route around Yuet Wah Street, turning into the heart of the estate. The pedestrianised area on the estate still include some of the earlier street furniture, but the old 'globe' climbing frame and playground are no longer there. The green balconies have all had their share of transformation and renovation - clear additions of air conditioning units, window panels, trailing house plants and contraptions for hanging laundry characterise each one.



The single ground floor shop in one of the blocks was less for regular groceries than to buy cigarettes or biscuits for an errand. Instead, you had the option of shopping from the commercial shophouses we had just walked past, or heading down to *gai liu* 'chicken coop', the old Kwun Tong Resettlement Estate hawker bazaar. The estate had long been demolished since my parents moved to the UK. The stairs down to the lower part of the hill, now leading straight into the 'new' Tsui Ping Estate is however, still there. My uncle had apparently gone to kindergarten in one of the Resettlement estate rooftop schools, and my father's family shopped at the bazaar. My mother's family on the other hand rarely did, with my mother having a visceral reaction to the smells and sensations whenever she had to go to the bazaar as a child.



TSUI PING ESTATE 17TH APRIL 2019

I was somewhat more familiar with Tsui Ping Estate. Having visited the Public Records Office next door several years earlier, I had frequented the shops and looked in at the restaurants on its two floors during lunch breaks. I had always admired its interesting architectural features, having photographed the coral pink spiral staircases and crescent-shaped balconies. I liked the stationery and toy shop on the first floor and I always made a point to visit. Walking down the steep stairs from Wo Lok Estate brings you to that first floor, right by the escalators back down to the ‘sitting out’ area where I would eat my supermarket onigiri. To me, it seemed like an unusual design at the time, and I was happy to find out that it did indeed have a special story after speaking to Rosman Wai on the design. This time I could understand a little more about its relationship to Kwun Tong and public housing estate history as a whole.





B OI MAN ESTATE

11TH JUNE 2019



Oi Man Estate had been on my list of estates to visit, since it was constantly in the research material. Although everyone always had something to say about Wah Fu Estate, I was intrigued that much less had been written about Oi Man. I had time towards the last few days of my research trip and took my friend along to see what public housing in Hong Kong were like. We had stopped in a small *caa caan teng* to have Hainanese chicken rice before heading to the market area to buy a cold drink. The interior of the modular market had been renovated already, but there was still scaffolding around one side of the market. A few shops were also on the ground floor but felt very much one in the same with the one-storey market structure. It was somewhat busy, and people were walking in and out of both spaces freely. Walking across to the commercial complex, it didn't seem busy inside. McDonalds now dominated the main viewpoint of the building, taking the central shop space on the corner. The white and yellow cladding indicated REIT had been along fairly recently to privatise the complex. The colourful cladding on all the market buildings I had seen all over Hong Kong was one of the clearest distinctions since my last research trip three years prior, and I regretted that I hadn't been to see the estate earlier.



C TSUEN WAN

FUK LOI ESTATE 17TH APRIL 2019



I had been to Fuk Loi Estate several times, just purely through the interests of other people in my life. One of my aunts lived in the Kwai Fong area, and I had stayed in her flat for a night or two during my trip. Fuk Loi was a place of interest to my father and his siblings because it had the same design as their childhood home in Kwun Tong, Wo Lok Estate. They loved to say that Fuk Loi was treated better, and they kept pointing out how well maintained it was. This area of Tsuen Wan certainly felt more leafy and composed, and since Moon Lok Dai Ha (a Hong Kong Housing Society estate) was next door, it had a much more enclosed community feel than in Kwun Tong. Still, I think the residents treated their balconies much the same, with some impressive self-made structures for holding their houseplants and various screens to help maintain some privacy.



During this trip, I had visited this area of Tsuen Wan a few times with various people. My father's childhood friend Rita has become a friend and mentor of sorts to me, and she had brought me to this area to show me the freshly painted Heung Che Market and Cooked Food Centre. It was still publicly owned, and had an easy, comfortable atmosphere as the evening started to bring people out to eat and socialise together. It was neat and tidy, looking especially well-kept due to the new coat of paint. But the inside worked just like any other market - packed full of mismatched things, but somehow still always neatly arranged and working like a well-oiled machine.

This little block of housing and market also happened to become a place to get my bearings in Tsuen Wan, which I found to be rather big and confusing to manoeuvre. The station is busy and has several exits in either direction, and in order to head towards The Mills (a local space with a museum and gallery I frequented for its exhibitions, and where some of my friends worked at that time) I had to go past Fuk Loi over the pedestrian bridges. The direction takes you through several malls, which I love to walk through for both the plethora of knickknacks and also the well-curated skincare and clothing stores. I've gotten lost in Hong Kong many times this way, rarely buying anything but just enjoying looking at all the things meant to entice you inside.



CHEUNG CHING ESTATE 12TH JUNE 2019



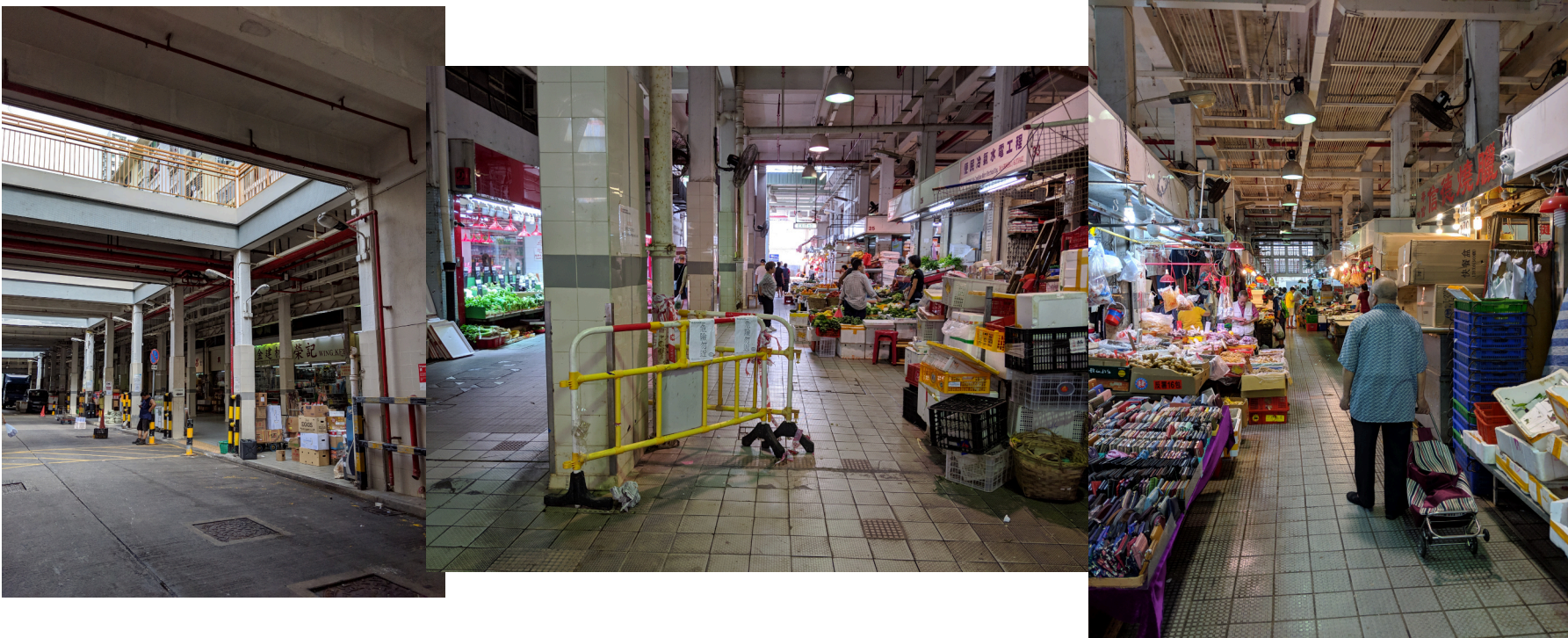
Cheung Ching Estate had been one of those far-off estates on Tsing Yi Island that I had requested to go to with Rita. She had offered to come with me on these adventures since retiring,, yet also retaining much of her enthusiasm for the spaces which had been her work for a long time as civil servant. After visiting Lei Muk Shue Estate and feeling disappointed that not only had the old market been recently demolished, but the whole market had moved to a different spot altogether, I was relieved to find Cheung Ching still in its rugged state. This market was quiet at the odd hour we arrived, but it was interesting to see the shops, most of them with some idiosyncratic arrangement, structure or system to work out the stalls. This 'shopping centre' didn't quite have the feeling of an indoor or outdoor commercial complex, there were no main entrances nor air-conditioning, but since we were out atop the hill on the island, there was a breeze coming through the structure.



D WAH FU ESTATE
17TH MAY 2019



The trip over to Wah Fu Estate was a special one since this was where Rita herself grew up. I had of course been told to visit for a long time, so I was surprised that it was in a much worse state than I had imagined. It looked like it had been rather battered by the elements out here at the edge of Hong Kong. I recognised the elements described in all the oral history accounts I had been listening to and the articles I had read; about the drives right up to the market, and the multiple layers of the market and shops of the floor above. Rita explained what it was like to live in this estate, the strategies for using the elevators to reach the right floors, and which particular sea views she loved. I loved the tiles on the walls of the stairwells and how beautiful they were even after ageing. In spite of the wear and tear, the scale and structure expressed its former glory, and I could see how it might have been impressive with its many clear frames of view and dramatic facades.





It was interesting to see the estate from different points of view from all the photographs. Certain vantages showed so clearly how the commercial complex emerges out of the landscape like a big ship. It was also funny to go past the beloved car park, its features highlighted in bubblegum pink paint, but it was also interesting to see the remnants of the hawker stands outside.



E SHA TIN
LEK YUEN AND WO CHE ESTATES
15TH APRIL, 22ND APRIL, 6TH MAY, 20TH SEPTEMBER 2019

Of all the places in Hong Kong, Sha Tin feels the most familiar. Even so, Lek Yuen Estate had always been just on the other side of one of the main plazas I frequented in Sha Tin New Town Centre, and yet I had never had reason to cross the bridge into the estate. The pedestrian bridge from Lucky Plaza takes you to the back facade of the estate, looking down into a bakery I like, and once you follow a ramp around the corner, you reach a few stairs leading into the main square. A few ground floor shops face inward towards the wet market, and since the outer buildings are taller, the interior part of the estate feels separate from the bustle of the main shopping malls.





To get to the other side of the estate where the commercial complex is, I had to return up the stairs to the bridge network, which crosses over the top of the market and attaches directly through into the ground floor of the commercial complex. To one side are the entrances to the restaurants on the second floor and the supermarket, and on the other side of two glass double doors, there is the balcony looking out over the bus station and the garden. Continuing on the bridge following the length of the garden towards Wo Che Estate provided impressive views over the commercial complex and the fountain - it certainly feels deliberate, even though in some documents, the press releases had emphasised Wo Che as the Racecourse as the attraction rather than Lek Yuen.





I had been to Wo Che Estate before since they had a relatively well-known *dai pai dong* within the estate. I had always travelled there by bus so I hadn't experienced the pedestrian bridge from Lek Yuen before. I remembered the commercial complex to be large, dominating structure in the corner of the estate. Inside there was a skylight, and I remember it being packed inside with shoppers. They had renovated since I was last there, and I paid more attention to the wet market on the ground floor. But it had inevitably changed its interiors since the privatisation of the market. More shocking was leaving the market to find the *dung gu ting*, to discover it was no longer there.



POK HONG ESTATE 10TH NOVEMBER 2019

Pok Hong was another place I wanted to revisit, another location I have visited previously for its *dung gu ting*. I was relieved to see that they were intact, and this time I could explore the commercial complex a little more. I knew that it had been listed in the commercial complex guide, and I could see the idiosyncrasies of the building - it was like no other I'd seen before in Hong Kong, and it retained its small localised character. In spite of its dramatic atrium, it seemed rather understated and hidden from the main road, certainly from the side I had gotten off the bus to get there. The glass atrium of course made the space quite stuffy, even in November, although some were sitting on the benches to chat or read. Shops were still open, and the finish of the interior seemed stylish for an estate that seemed further away from the centre of Sha Tin.



F TUEN MUN

YAU OI AND ON TING ESTATES
24TH SEPTEMBER 2019



To me, Tuen Mun always seemed so big and far away. Since most of my family members live here, it was somewhere I had navigated with other people more than by myself. During my last trip in the summer, I had missed out on a lot of places in Tuen Mun, only having had chance to visit Tai Hing Estate with my aunt. But I was curious to see some of the places that had been mentioned in often in the archives.

This time I asked Jeffrey and Kris from Building Narrative to tour some estates in Tuen Mun with me, since they'd recently invited me to present some of my work to them. They had a lot to share with me since they were both architects and could really give me an impression of how Tuen Mun factored in terms of the different commercial complexes in Hong Kong. These estates were massive in scale to me, even in comparison to Wah Fu Estate. Perhaps it also had to do with the infrastructure and scale of the estates themselves, certainly when I compare them to the likes of those in Sha Tin. The estates flowed so seamlessly into one another that it was hard to distinguish which was Yau Oi Estate and which was On Tine. We found where the main pedestrian interchange between the estates came together, with the dramatic drop over the road underneath.

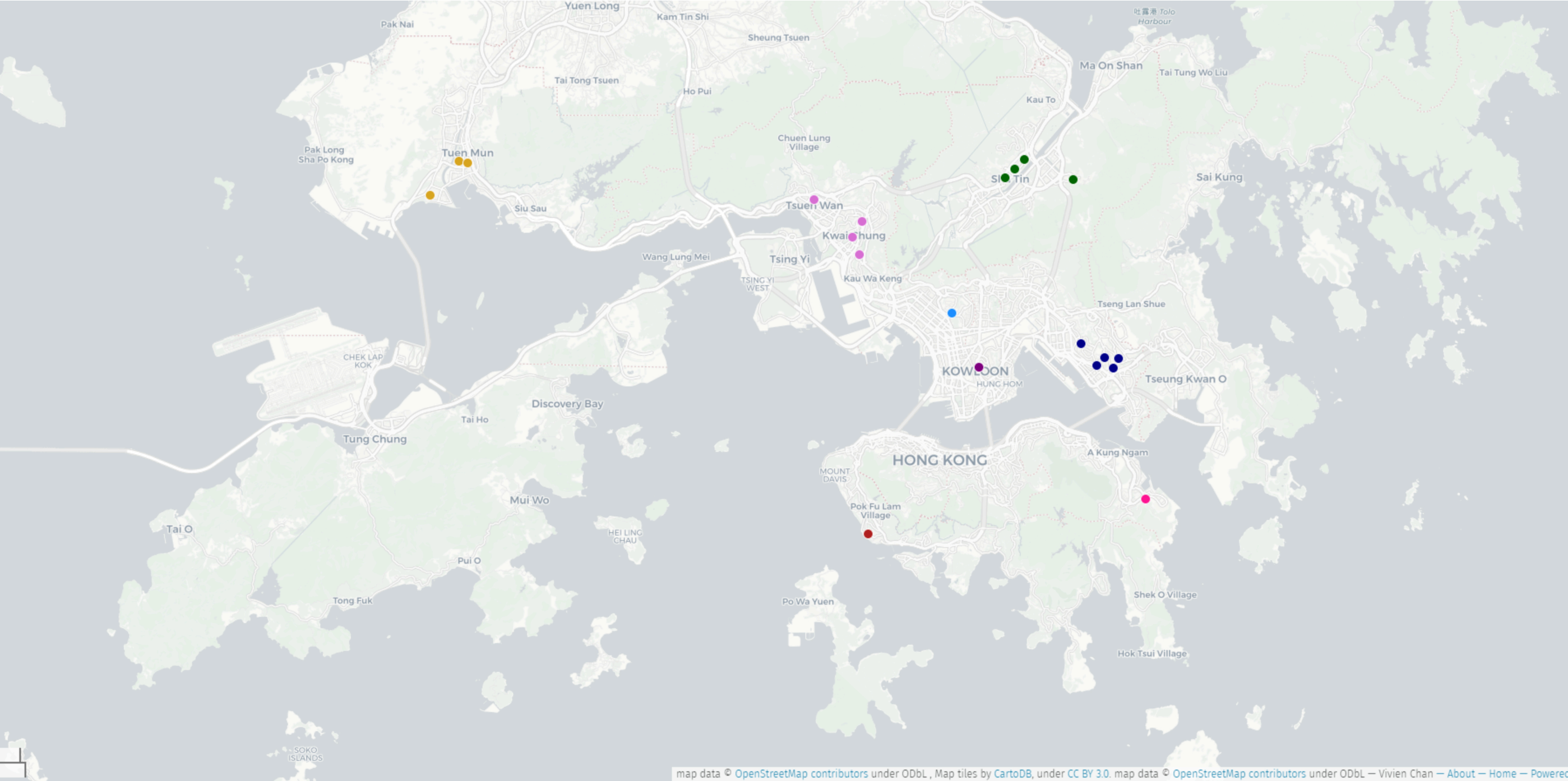


APPENDIX G: MAPS

Here I have included image records of an interactive map of the major sites discussed in the thesis. Although it is not an exhaustive map, it does give a sense of where many of these spaces sit in the landscape, and therefore why many logistical concerns about the New Towns persisted. These included distances from work, traditional commercial and community centres, and indeed from the cosmopolitan centres of Hong Kong on the southern tip of Kowloon and the northern shore of Hong Kong Island.

This map has been compiled using uMap, an open-source tool developed my Open Street Maps. An interactive digital version of the map is accesible at this link: <http://u.osmfr.org/m/1038821/>

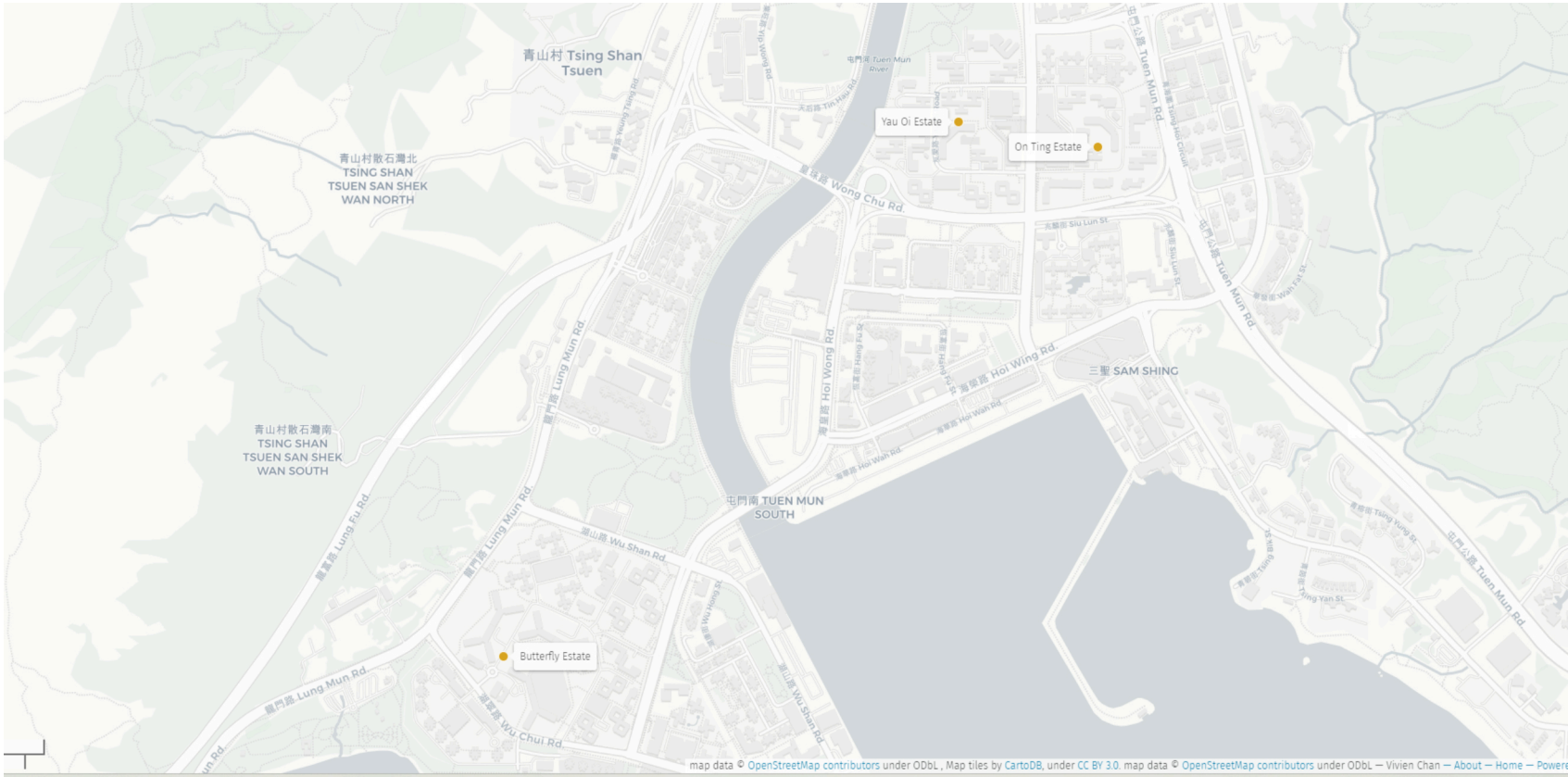
HONG KONG SAR



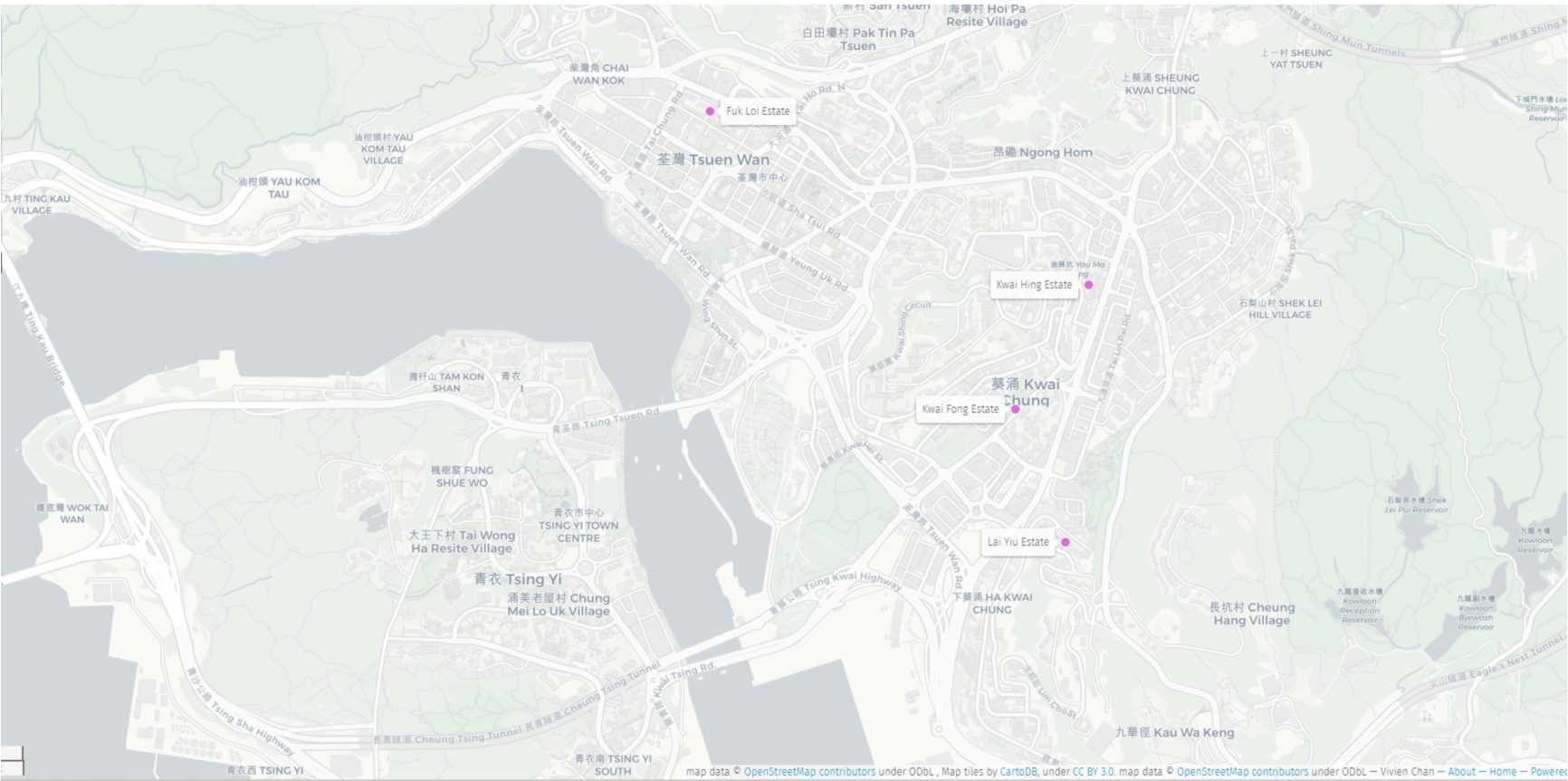
KWUN TONG

SHA TIN

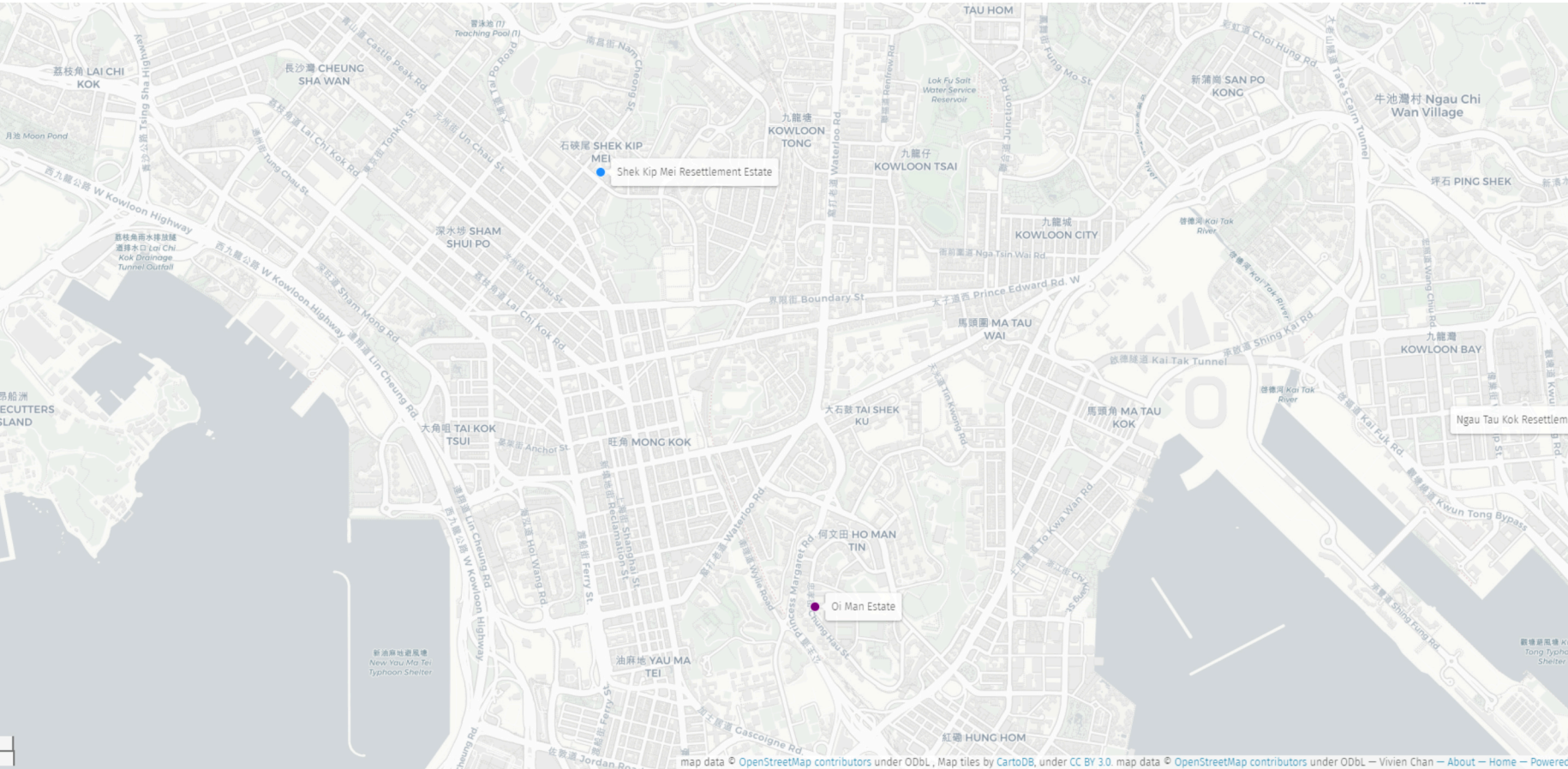
TUEN MUN



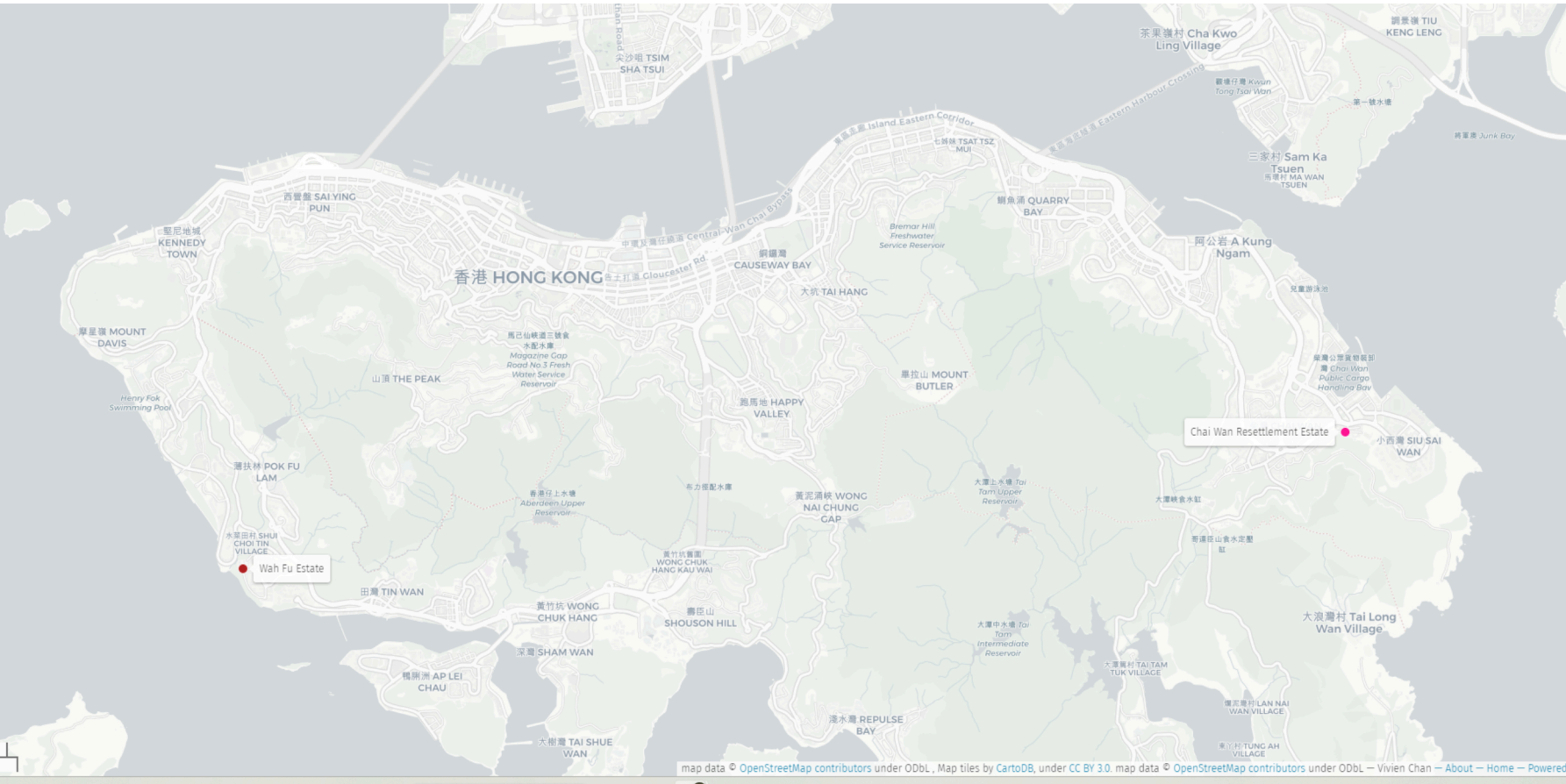
TSUEN WAN



KOWLOON



HONG KONG ISLAND



APPENDIX H: MULTI-LAYER TIMELINE

Inspired by the historical diagrams drawn by Fluxus artist, George Maciunas, this timeline locates the major and minor events related to Hong Kong's political, housing and cultural history as well as global events that affected Hong Kong's condition in the postwar period. This is not designed to be an exhaustive timeline, but rather experiments with showing the interwoven relationship between macro and micro histories of Hong Kong. While some of these events are a result of direct cause-and-effect, other connections show the possibilities of speculative spatial connections in histories of Hong Kong. Such a concept relates back to Doreen Massey's notion of spheres of multiplicity in her definition of space.

SPACES OF CONSUMPTION TIMELINE			
GLOBAL	HK GOVERNMENT	HOUSING	HONG KONG
1842	HONG KONG IS COLONISED BY BRITAIN		FIRST CENTRAL MARKET IS BUILT 146,168
1858	1858 MARKET ORDINANCE 146,151,169		
1860	KOWLOON IS CEDED TO BRITAIN		
1898	NEW TERRITORIES LEASED FOR 99 YEARS		
1927	CHINESE CIVIL WAR BEGINS		
1936	1936 HAWKER ORDINANCE 40		
1937	SECOND SINO-JAPANESE WAR		SECOND CENTRAL MARKET
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THIS TIMELINE ATTEMPTS TO SHOW A MULTILAYERED HISTORY OF CONSUMPTION SPACES IN HONG KONG.		COMPILED BY VIVIAN CHAN FOR HER PHD THESIS:	
Inspired by the historical diagrams drawn by Fluxus artist, George Maciunas, this timeline locates the major and minor events related to Hong Kong's political, housing and cultural history as well as global events that affected Hong Kong's condition in the postwar period. This is not designed to be an exhaustive timeline, but rather experiments with showing the interwoven relationship between macro and micro histories of Hong Kong. While some of these events and a result of direct cause-and-effect, other connections show the possibilities of speculative spatial connections in histories of Hong Kong. Such a concept relates back to Doreen Massey's notion of spheres of multiplicity in her definition of space.		A COLONY OF SHOPKEEPERS: SPACES OF CONSUMPTION IN HONG KONG'S NEW TOWN PUBLIC HOUSING ESTATES, 1954-1989 WITH THANKS TO FIBI KUNG FOR GENEROUSLY SHARING HER TYPEFACE DESIGN BASED ON 1960S MAPS OF HONG KONG. TYPE DESIGN: HONG KONG MAP TYPE BY FIBI KUNG ©FIBIKUNG FIBIKUNG.COM	