# **PhD corrections**

Corrections	Notes from Vivien	
Vivien's contribution to global     Asian historiography should     be inserted into the     introduction.	See pt 2.	
2. The collaborative research element should also be pointed towards in the introduction.  2. The collaborative research element should also be pointed towards in the introduction.	Added additional paragraph to the very start of the thesis:  'Taking a design historical approach, the thesis contributes to the discourse of design and material culture in Hong Kong, and a broader historiography of Asian postwar history. I position myself at the intersection of history, design, anthropology, and urban studies, with a broad range of methodological approaches. As such, my thesis intends to assert the role of ethnographic and collaborative approaches to research, emphasising how experiences within research affect and ultimately draw out historical narratives. This is particularly important given that I conducted the fieldwork for this thesis in 2019, a momentous year which saw the beginning of the Anti-Extradition Movement in Hong Kong, as well as major and historically unprecedented change to Hong Kong society as a consequence of government responses to this movement. Thus, the thesis speaks to the urgency for richer and diverse narratives of Hong Kong history that go beyond only political, colonial dynamics and include a transnational, material and spatial approaches to the study of Hong Kong's past.'	
3. The thesis needs another 'once over' edit, eliminating repetition, reducing overlong sentences and, particularly, strengthening (by shortening) the very long chapter introductions.  4. We would also like Vivien to strengthen her voice within the thesis, so it doesn't appear as a surprise at the	The thesis has been copy-edited for clarity, typos and formatted. Several paragraphs have been deleted from the introduction and conclusion, and structure rearranged.  As per comments from the viva, subheadings have been simplified to e.g. 1.1a etc.  See response to pt 2.	
end only.  5. We would like Vivien to give	I have split the historical background section into two	
some more thought how to better integrate the history and context of Hong Kong section better into the thesis. We realise that Vivien has tried putting contextual information within each relevant chapter, but that this reorganisation had not worked for her previously. May we ask her to look at this again? If not integrating this	preambles, one before Ch 1 and 2 and another before Ch3 and 4. Both preambles include signposts to the relevant sections in the thesis e.g. (Ch 1.2,2,2). I have also designed a multi-layered timeline which records key dates, figures, sites and events mentioned in the thesis, as well as other significant global events. This will be available in the appendix.  I have included in the Thesis Structure section (p28):	

context into the body of the thesis, then perhaps strengthening this broad history section to become a robust chapter in its own right? Or perhaps stripping it back entirely and integrating key points only in other parts of the thesis (including within a new stronger version of the introduction).

'The thesis is structured around four chapters, with each of these based on a major 'space of consumption' found in New Town public housing estates. These are the hawker pitch, the hawker bazaar, modular and multistorey markets, and commercial complexes and malls. Although I trace a rough chronology of these 'spaces of consumption' in Hong Kong, this thesis instead emphasises the non-linear histories of these spaces. In order to give adequate historical background, I have included two preambles: one pertaining to the pitch and the bazaar chapters, and the other to the modular market and commercial complex chapters. These have been included to contextualise the moments in time discussed in these chapters and provide signposts to relevant sections within the thesis. As each chapter demonstrates, these spaces overlap and coalesce with each other in the housing estate, and can be experienced to some degree in the urban landscape of Hong Kong today. A multi-layered timeline of spaces of consumption, highlighting figures, spaces, and events with relevant page numbers, is also included in the appendix.'

6. Vivien should talk more explicitly about the role of resistance in quotidian practises. Also, we ask that Vivien look through both of our independent reports, reflecting on our discussions within the viva, and explicitly strengthen her arguments vis a vis some of our questions/calls for greater clarity.

I had previously not been as explicit in the use of 'resistance' as terminology so as to avoid falling into the political rhetoric that often surrounds Hong Kong history, especially with hawkers. I have opted to focus primarily on the spatial and material 'obstructions' or 'appropriations' as the means in which stallholders and consumers 'resisted' rather than explicitly political forms of resistance. I have therefore added for clarity as follows:

Added to pp39-40 (with footnote 3):

'Although hawkers have been associated with explicit forms of political 'resistance', I focus instead on the quotidian forms of resistance enacted by hawkers and their patrons.'

#### Fn 3:

See Josephine Smart for resistance of hawkers in Hong Kong. More recently, notions of quotidian resistance in Hong Kong, China and Taiwan have been explored in a special issue in *Cultural Studies*, with these being linked to the shaping of identities. Suzanne Hall has also linked the frame of 'ordinary cities' developed by Jennifer Robinson with 'everyday resistance' as part of *making* urban space by migrants in the UK. See Stephen C. K. Chan, 'Resistance, Activism and Ordinary Life: An Editorial Introduction',

Cultural Studies, 36.2 (2022), 171-84.; Suzanne M Hall, 'Migrant Urbanisms: Ordinary Cities and Everyday Resistance', Sociology, 49.5 (2015), 853-69.; 'Dog Kings, Triads, And Hawkers: Spatial Monopoly Among The Streer Hawkers In Hong Kong', Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue Canadienne d'études Du Développement, 4.1 (1983), 158-63. P69: Entangled with the broader politics of the right to space, hawkers participated in (via public complaints) and with (by appropriating policy) bureaucratic forms of quotidian resistance, taking advantage of various loopholes and platforms to undermine government decisions. P106: The shortcomings of these mundane, everyday decisions meant that the bazaar allowed hawkers to appropriate these loopholes. P236: Through consumption practices, low-income residents of public housing estates could adapt ideas of modernity to suit their own lifestyles as small forms of quotidian resistance. All typos, and page See notes below, and all typo errors and clarity points on numbering to be addressed sheet have been completed. as contained within the independent reports from the Note that the quote of Yang is correct and does not require examiners (above) and the sheet handed to Vivien by Su the before 'Other'. Lin at the end of the viva.

## Su Lin notes:

Su Lin corrections	Notes from Vivien
1. I did want to ask the candidate about the logic of including a large section entitled 'historical background' which is neither part of the introduction nor a chapter in itself. Can this be a chapter, or if necessary, a preamble? As it relies on some primary sources I wondered if it would be better recognised as the product of a large amount of work and synthesis of existing literature.	I have now adjusted the historical background section into two preambles and a timeline. Please see response to pt 5 of shared corrections.

2. There is quite a lot of literature review and historical background that we need to get through before getting into the deep ethnographic approach that is promised at the outset of the thesis. I wondered if the candidate could temper expectations and discuss the historical work or historical context at the beginning of the methodology section. Could the literature review, too, come before the methodology?	The literature review in the introduction has been moved to before the methodology section.
3. There are some issues with presentation of the thesis, including the need for consecutive pagination. There are random black lines on the left margin scattered throughout the thesis. There are some blank pages (I think Figure 1.07 is missing?) and lack of captions in the Appendix section. I will provide the candidate with a list of typos and minor points of clarity during the viva.	Figures 1.07a&b are on the previous page. I have given a page break between chapters so as to give some space to each section – each image chapter has now been titled for clarity.
4. I was happy to see the discussion of Singapore and shared practices regarding the management of market spaces in Chapter 2. I wondered if more could be made of the broader Asian landscape of such spaces and their management earlier in the thesis, particularly in the introduction (referencing Michael Sugarman's work, perhaps). There is more of this in the conclusion, but I thought we could see this earlier.	Added to pp25-26 (literature review, paragraph on 'satellites') with references:  'This also alludes to the transnational exchanges outside of colonial relationships. For example, Singapore (both pre- and post-independence) and Japan, have been acknowledged in the literature as comparative territories for housing and consumption, but less so as direct influencers or collaborators in Hong Kong's development.'
5. I also wondered whether the thesis would benefit from a map at the beginning that gives us a sense of where the sites discussed in the thesis are located in Hong Kong.	District specific maps are now included in Appendix G, as well as an interactive map available on UMap: https://umap.openstreetmap.fr/en/map/spaces-of- consumption_1038821
6. The introduction to chapter 1, for instance, is wonderfully evocative but might give us a sense of the breadth and density of these sites across the landscape of Hong Kong. There is mention of the hawkers' relationship to the	Added an additional line to the beginning of ch 1, p39:  'Hawkers ranged from individuals with innovative selfmade equipment for carrying, cooking and moving their goods to sell while on the move, to the intensely packed carts and stalls that were crammed into the narrow streets and squares in the city.'

welfare state - as a 'public service', which comes up a few other times in the thesis – I would like to discuss with the candidate the development of these sites in relation to changing political configurations of Hong Kong. It might be too simplistic (of me) to see this as a transition from a welfare state to developing HK as a capitalist centre, but perhaps the candidate could elaborate on this.

7. In chapters 2 (and 3), I wanted to see more discussion of the materiality of these spaces, particularly the use of concrete (perhaps as an indication of permanency). There is some discussion on p.58 of making Yue Man Square 'concrete' – does this mean a market?

There is certainly an existing discourse in architectural history and theory about concrete as a utopian material within Modernist architectural ideas. More recently, there has been more debate about the problematic outcomes of this, particularly in relation to its perceived 'permanence' against ideas of heritage, conservation and the climate. This would be a fascinating scholarship to develop in the context of Hong Kong but would require extensive additional research and contextualisation (ie. On Modernist architecture in HK, this is currently developing in the scholarship) beyond the scope and word count allowance of this thesis. I have however:

Added additional lines in ch 2, p105 with footnote 50:

'Nevertheless, the design and materiality of such containment was still unclear. As shown in the market/bazaar and in the ongoing resettlement programme, buildings literally made of concrete were not necessarily more permanent, or less chaotic in their material make up.'

## Fn 50:

The materiality and aesthetics of concrete has been debated within discourses of Modernist architecture and heritage, and concrete's role in the climate crisis. Indeed, in Hong Kong during this period, concrete's status as a volatile, temporary and destructible material is demonstrated in the deterioration of several housing estates to dangerous levels caused by cement which had been mixed with sea water. This, and the 'temporary' nature of the market challenges the Modernist rhetoric of concrete as a sure and stable expression of modernity. This would be a fascinating continuation of current discourses of Modernist architecture in Asia, but is beyond the scope of this thesis. See Adrian Forty's book Concrete and Culture: A Material History for a wide critique of the materiality of concrete Adrian Forty, Concrete and

Culture: A Material History, London: Reaktion Books, 2013. See also T. C. Liauw, 'Influence of Seawater on Reinforced Concrete Buildings', Building Science, 9.2 (1974), 125–29. For further reading on concrete, materiality and heritage, see: Chun Wai Charles Lai, 'Cement and "Shanghai Plaster" in British Hong Kong and Penang (1920s–1950s)', in Building Knowledge, Constructing Histories [2 Vols.] (presented at the 6th International Congress on Construction History (6ICCH 2018), July 9-13, 2018, Brussels, Belgium, 2018), pp. 291–98

<a href="https://structurae.net/en/literature/conference-paper/cement-and-shanghai-plaster-in-british-hong-kong-and-penang-1920s-1950s">hong-and-penang-1920s-1950s</a> [accessed 30 November 2021].; Þóra Pétursdóttir, 'Concrete Matters: Ruins of Modernity and the Things Called Heritage', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 13.1 (2013), 31–53.; Martino Stierli, 'The Politics of Concrete: Material Culture, Global Modernism, and the Project of Decolonization in India', in *Rethinking Global Modernism* (Routledge, 2021).; Aidan While, 'The State and the Controversial Demands of Cultural Built Heritage: Modernism, Dirty Concrete, and Postwar Listing in England', *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 34.4 (2007), 645–63.

#### In ch 3 p154 with footnote 37:

Such an emphasis on concrete as a material indication of cleanliness and a sense of permanent improvement (in spite of previous temporary markets also being made of concrete) suggested a shift in approach to markets alongside the Modernist design of estates.

## Fn 37:

As Adrian Forty states, 'Concrete is *modern*...it is one of the agents through which our experience of modernity is mediated....concrete realised the prospect of transforming nature, and of transforming ourselves and our relationships with each other.' Adrian Forty, Concrete and Culture: A Material History, London: Reaktion Books, 2013, p 14.

8. Could the candidate give us more detail about the differences between a market and a bazaar? Part of my argument is that there can, in some cases, be very little difference between the two. Neither can be defined, for example, on the basis of being inside or outside, or by different vernacular names (both referred to as gaai si), and both are aesthetically very similar. The Hong Kong government actually struggled to define the difference even after the modular markets were created since these still operated alongside other types of temporary bazaars and

markets.

In theory, the major differences can be summarised as follows:

- i. bazaars cannot sell meat, fish and poultry;
- ii. bazaars were always designed to be temporary.

However, since the HK government allowed some bazaars to sell meat etc., many markets were also temporary (including the modular ones initially), and many bazaars (mostly food bazaars) still exist today and therefore were not temporary in practice it is difficult to say how they truly differ.

I feel that this ambiguity has been sufficiently detailed in the thesis, and is specifically articulated in a paragraph in the chapter where I note (p85):

'To that end, the terminology of the modern bazaar in Hong Kong is expansive. Several labels used in government documents, such as 'hawkers', 'hawker stalls', 'cooked food bazaars', 'hawker bazaars', 'markets', 'temporary market', and the names of specific streets and squares, all relate to the notion of the bazaar and very often seep into each other in the archival record and everyday language of these spaces. This is by nature of the bazaar as an ambiguous ephemeral space that often took shape in between other structures, transforming and borrowing from the spaces that it occupied and often merging with other aspects of the urban landscape. Its multiplicity also reflects the structure of Hong Kong's urban planning after the 1950s, which involved multiple parties and conflicting discussions about the future. The bazaar nevertheless requires dedicated analysis separate from hawkers and markets, precisely because of its ambiguity. This chapter therefore intends to work with this lack of clarity and tangibility about what constituted the hawker bazaar as a central feature of the bazaar itself, including the way it was named and identified.'

9. Discussion of one of the photos – fig. 2.09 – says this is about an interaction between market and bazaar, but these looks like a meat and vegetable stalls – are they not categorised in similar ways?

Meat and vegetables are both considered 'wet' goods, but meat was technically not allowed in bazaars. The photograph shows the 'borderline' between the two. I have sought to clarify this further by adding a line on p102 with a footnote 44 as follows:

'such photographs demonstrate how the market/bazaar in fact formed a single marketplace through the overlapping of objects, bodies and

conditions, in spite of the different policies assigned to different produce.' Fn 44: Meat, fish and poultry were specifically not allowed to be sold in bazaars for hygiene reasons – however, this was often undermined both by illegal bazaars selling meat, or temporary allowances for bazaars to sell meat by the government. This will be discussed later on in this chapter and the following chapter. 10. Also, in chapter 2, there is An extended footnote has been added on p100, please see mention on p. 71 of hawkers footnote 38: working other jobs – is this Although it is unclear how common it was for factory always the case? Is hawking workers to also taking on a secondary job as a a secondary profession alongside, say, factory work? hawker, many people in working-class communities were used to holding multiple jobs, hence the prominence of outwork and factories within housing estates in Kwun Tong. In Lu and Tsoi's study, they found that the majority of their respondents held hawking as their main job, but this does not clarify the possibility that they might have held other jobs. Se Lu and Tsoi, Table IB40. 11. Also, in the section on I am not sure whether the Singapore hawker centres were Singapore's regulation of considered permanent sites, but this would certainly be an pasar malams to extinction, area of research interest for me in future. For the purpose of is this because hawker the thesis, I have added a section to a footnote on p123, centres are more permanent footnote 101: as part of HDB estates? It is unclear from sources about Hong Kong as to whether hawker centres in HDBs were considered 'permanent' sites within estates by Singaporean planners, therefore justifying the removal of *pasar* malams in their entirety. 12. In chapter 3 (and the overall As far as I have seen, there was no formal involvement of thesis), I wanted to know how residents in the development of the process (e.g. in focus much input shopkeepers and groups or citizen panels). These reports with informal residents had in the writing of interactions are the only indication of the opinions of these policy reports- there is mention of one Chinese shopkeepers and residents. woman, for instance – is this a two-way process of developing these areas, and if so, can this be stressed further? 13. In chapter 4 (and the overall This was briefly discussed in the viva and it is likely that thesis), the focus is on the consumption did increase following the economic boom of experiences of working-class the late 1960s. However, as I have argued in ch 4, the and middle-class families as emphasis on a consumer society was largely pushed by the consumers, particularly from the 1970s and 1980s. To HKHA and the Hong Kong government. As the oral history what extent is this an accounts I have used in ch 4 suggests, many families did not indication of the increasing have much spending power, and even if they did, expressed a purchasing power of discomfort with spending on consumer items. However, with residents? Can the thesis be the increased production of social housing, it may have more explicit the class dimensions of these estates,

or had they always been occupied by a mix of working class and middle-class residents? seemed that working-class and middle-class people had excess money to spend, or at least the security of a home to encourage consumer practices.

From anecdotal accounts, some estates had been occupied by more working-class residents and others were more middle-class. However, as discussed about the various housing programmes (such as the Low Cost Housing Programme, and the Home Ownership Scheme), many working and middle-class people were initially excluded from the public housing estate system. There was also rapid change within families living on estates, who may have moved in with very little consumer power from squatter settlements, to becoming middle-class residents later on. As a result, it is very difficult to find a definitive method to categorise people living on estates.

14. Also, there is mention in this chapter about commercial complexes as extensions of the estate and hence a testament to 'spheres' of consumption which is part of the thesis' methodology. But this is not mentioned in the other chapters - to what extent is this only a characteristic of these new commercial complexes? My sense from the rest of the thesis is that this formulation could be better discussed in other chapters too.

Spheres are also mentioned elsewhere in the thesis, on p41:

'Such a conception brings Massey's notion of
'spheres' to the fore, where the 'pitch' here can be
understood and acknowledged as the sphere or
arena which actors negotiate and navigate, and thus
understanding the hawker pitch as a 'space of
consumption'.'

I have further added for clarification, p83:

'This closely relates to Massey's 'spheres' as constituting multiple, simultaneous narratives. In this way, the various spaces of the hawker bazaar also contextualise 'gaai si' — a phrase which literally translates to 'street market' but rather refers to many types of spatial forms for the purpose of everyday shopping.'

#### pp141-142:

'This section also focuses on the debates around freshness and wetness in the market in relation to the construction of a modern consumer, in an attempt to complicate and further theorise the meaning of the 'wet market' in Hong Kong. In essence, government attempts to define this particular space breaks down when understood within the environmental and sensorial sphere of the market.'

15. I did wonder about the repetition in mentioning the influence of other scholars' work, particularly given this is already in the literature review. I wonder if the discussion of the author's motivations in the conclusion could be moved to the introduction.

The section on the influence of other works has been deleted from the conclusion so as to avoid further repetition.