

CHAPTER 3 DISTRICT AND COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS

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I. Definitions, methodology and background

Definition

- 1 The definition of Community and District-based Organizations employed by this study follows the definition on “Development and Housing” adopted from the elaborated International Classification of Non-profit Organizations (ICNPO) developed by John Hopkins University, with some modifications to suit the environment in Hong Kong. The sub-sectors under the Development and Housing sector in the ICNPO classification include Economic, Social, and Community Development; Housing; and Employment and Training.
- 2 However, these sub-sectors possess quite distinct features in the Hong Kong context. In this study, economic and social development is considered within the function of the Third Sector, so it is addressed in each of the sector reports. Regarding employment and training, these are typically services provided by professional and business associations and vocational schools, and are discussed under the Professional and Business and the Education and Research sectors in this study. Therefore, community, neighbourhood, and housing organizations have been grouped together into one sector. Nevertheless, the description of community, neighbourhood and housing organizations used by ICNPO largely remains unchanged and is applied to this study.¹
- 3 Community and district-based organizations in this study refer to organizations working towards improving the quality of life within communities or neighbourhoods, including residents’ organizations, housing associations, and housing management and rehabilitation. Due to the large numbers and different types of community and district-based organizations in Hong Kong, this sector has been broadly divided into six sub-sectors for the purposes of this study, namely *kaifong* associations, mutual aid committees (MACs), residents’ associations, owners’ corporations, rural organizations and clansmen’s organizations.² Note that there are no Third Sector organizations in Hong Kong acting as housing associations or providing housing management and rehabilitation. District women’s associations were included in the Social Services sector, while district business associations were included in the Professional and Business sector.

Methodology

- 4 Two major research methods are used in this study: (a) survey and (b) interview. For the survey, different methodologies were applied to different sub-sectors in the sampling process. The total number of organizations in this sector is estimated to be 10,200. According to the Land Register, the population size for owners’ corporations is about 6,810,³ which accounts for 40% of the total number of organizations in the Third Sector. Because of the large population size and homogeneity of owners’ corporations, only a 6% sample was drawn. For other

sub-sectors within the district and community-based sector, a 20% sample was drawn.

- 5 Regarding the interview, one to three organizations in each sub-sector in the district and community-based group were interviewed. For *kaifong* associations, residents associations, MACs, and owners' corporations, organizations in different districts were selected to reflect the characteristics of a particular district. In addition, organizations in both public and private housing estates were selected. For rural committees and village organizations, in addition to geographic locations, organizations of two different levels were selected, namely rural committee and village council.⁴ For the clansmen sub-sector, organizations were established based on either geographic origins (e.g. provinces and cities) or family names. Two organizations based on family names and one organization based on geographic origins were selected to be interviewed.
- 6 The results gathered from the interviews are likely to provide detailed information for analysis. No focus group discussion was conducted for the district and community-based group.

Sub-sector	Approximate population size	No. interviews
Owners' Corporation	6,810	1
Mutual Aid Committee	2,839	1
Residents Association	125	3
Rural Committee	67	3
<i>Kaifong</i> Association	75	3
Clansmen	271	3
Total	10,187	14

- 7 It should be noted that some interviews were conducted before the questionnaires were sent out. There might be a discrepancy between the way district and community-based organizations were classified and the way they classify themselves in the questionnaires.
- 8 Researchers encountered some difficulties in conducting this study. For example, many organizations were not willing to take part in this study, and indicated that they did not want to be interviewed or to receive questionnaires. Lack of trust could be a cause for this. In addition, it is difficult to contact representatives from district and community-based organizations, as many of them do not have an office, or only have part-time staff members. Also, the contact numbers for many organizations, such as the owners' corporation and MAC sub-sectors, are the private numbers of individuals. Because of time constraints and the large number of organizations covered in this sector, a limited number of organizations were interviewed for this study. A total of 14 interviews were conducted, representing 0.14% of the sector.

Background

- 9 The majority of the organizations in the District and Community sector are residents' organizations, including *kaifong* associations, mutual aid committees, residents' associations and owners' corporations. As these residents'

organizations share some common characteristics, this study will discuss their general roles and the issues faced by these organizations as a whole.

- 10 Although there is no consensus on the definition of a residents' organization, many recent studies have used the definition given by Leung.⁵ Leung defines a residents' organization as "*an organisation which can be many things in practice, from an informal group of neighbours campaigning for better amenities to a large bureaucracy registered as a company with formal membership and operating community services including community centres, schools, and clinics. It refers to a group of concerned and dedicated people who work together providing members with service and defending their common interests in their immediate residential vicinity*".⁶

Kaifong Associations⁷

- 11 *Kaifong* associations (traditional mutual aid organizations) emerged in 1949 with help from the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs in the colonial Government. In the late 1940s, there had been an influx of refugees from China in need of social welfare. At the time, there was limited social welfare service available; the Department of Social Welfare was not established until 1958. In view of this, some local leaders established *kaifong* associations, whose main purpose was to provide low-cost or free services, such as health care and education, to help the poor.
- 12 After 1958, the Government used *kaifong* associations as a bridge between itself and local people. In the early 1960s, *kaifong* associations started to provide more services, such as arbitration of local domestic and marital disputes, sponsoring save-water campaigns and settlement of disputes over water rationing, fire prevention and registration of persons. These services were gradually replaced by professional services operated by Government departments and voluntary welfare agencies.
- 13 The riots in Hong Kong in 1966-67 prompted the Government to increase its contact with the public. After the Government established City District Offices in 1969, the *kaifong* associations gradually declined.⁸ Still, though the public awareness of *kaifong* associations is low, many of them are still active.

Residents' Associations

- 14 Multi-storey buildings' resident associations started to develop in the late 1960s, with support from the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs in the colonial government.⁹ A residents' association is usually formed by the residents of different building blocks in public or private housing estates. Instead of focusing on the issues of an individual building block, residents' associations address the issues of the whole housing estate.

Owners' Corporations

- 15 With the economic growth in the 1950s, more and more multi-storey buildings were built. Sale of separate units of shops, flats or floors instead of the whole

block was commonly adopted by the developers. After a study on the legal and practical problems affecting sub-divided buildings in 1961, the Government enacted the Multi-storey Buildings (Owners' Corporation) Ordinance in 1970 to improve the management in the multi-storey buildings in Hong Kong.¹⁰ Under this ordinance, owners of a building are encouraged to form themselves into owners' corporations to facilitate the management of their building.

- 16 The Multi-storey Buildings Ordinance could not handle complicated issues arising from unfair provisions in deeds of mutual covenant (DMCs), which are mutual agreements by all owners in the same lot under the same Land Grant for the management of the buildings. As DMCs were mostly drafted by the developers in their own favour, frequently the developer maintained the perpetual right to act as manager of the buildings. Formation of owners' corporations or owners' committees was often not provided. Therefore, in 1993, the Government enacted the Building Management Ordinance (BMO) to replace the Multi-storey Buildings Ordinance.
- 17 In the 1990s, there was an increasing number of cases where the actions of owners' corporations were contested by smaller groups of owners. Hence in 1998, the Government amended the BMO, and made it clear that owners were given an express power to renovate, improve or decorate the common parts of their buildings and to pass resolutions they wish in this regard in general meetings.¹¹
- 18 Over the years, conflicts on obligations and responsibilities between the corporations, the owners, and management agents arose. Hence, the BMO was substantially amended in 2000 to better facilitate the formation of owners' corporations and to further improve standards of building management. Although the BMO has specific requirements on the formation of owners' incorporations, their formation is voluntary.

Area Committees

- 19 Although Area Committees are not within the scope of this study, it is necessary to mention them since they led to the development of other residents' organizations. Area Committees were formed in districts in 1972 primarily to promote public participation in the Keep Hong Kong Clean Campaign and Fight Violent Crime Campaign.¹² With favourable results from those campaigns, the Government started to encourage the establishment of residents' organizations.

Mutual Aid Committees (MACs)

- 20 The Government introduced the concept of mutual aid committees (MACs) in 1973. A MAC is a voluntary body formed by the residents of a building. In addition to the favourable outcome in mobilizing residents in the government-initiated campaigns mentioned above, there was another reason to introduce MACs. When the Multi-storey Buildings Ordinance was enacted in 1970, it was sometimes difficult to find enough owners to form a corporation for proper management. Hence, MACs were launched as an alternative approach to forming owners' corporations.

- 21 The primary aims of a MAC are to promote a sense of friendliness, to foster mutual help and responsibility among members, and to promote better security, a better environment and, generally, more effective management within the building.¹³ Initially, the Home Affairs Department promoted MACs as a one-year experimental scheme to deal with the management problems in buildings. Because of their effectiveness, MACs became a permanent scheme. When the scheme was first launched, MACs were promoted in private buildings. It quickly extended to public housing estates, industrial buildings, temporary housing and squatter areas.

Rural Organizations

- 22 Rural organizations have a long history in Hong Kong. They can be dated back to more than 200 years ago when early arrivals settled in what is now known as the New Territories in Hong Kong. These early-settlers established villages in different parts of the New Territories. When the Japanese occupied Hong Kong in 1941, they introduced a village representative system. This system continued after the war ended in 1945. The main role of village representatives was to solve the problems of villagers, such as arbitrating disputes and allocating family assets. With the help of the District Offices under the British administration, village representatives set up rural committees in different areas of Hong Kong. Rural committees were formed between the 1940s and the 1960s. At present, there are 27 rural committees in Hong Kong.¹⁴ The Heads of the rural committees are automatically given seats on the District Councils.

Clansmen Organizations

- 23 Many clansmen organizations have existed since 1950s and 1960s.¹⁵ Because of the influx of refugees from China in the late 1940s, clansmen organizations were established in Hong Kong to help the refugees from their home regions in China or refugees who share the same family lineage. During that time, the service provided by clansmen organizations primarily included social welfare, job referrals, accommodation of new immigrants, and financial aid. In the early days, they functioned on an informal basis. In the 1980s and 1990s, they officially registered themselves as voluntary organizations to comply with official requirements.¹⁶

II. Current picture from the study

Description [catalogue] of the landscape of the subject area

- 24 There are an estimated 10,200 district and community-based organizations in Hong Kong.¹⁷ The breakdown is as follows: 75 *kaifong* associations, 6,810 owners' corporations, 2,839 MACs, 125 residents' associations,¹⁸ 67 rural organizations, and 271 clansmen's organizations.
- 25 The structure of district and community-based organizations is relatively homogenous within each sub-sector. For owners' corporations and MACs, the organization is based on an individual building block. If the building contains fewer than 50 flats, the minimum number of people in an owners' corporation is

three, as stipulated by the Building Management Ordinance.¹⁹ Residents' associations are usually formed by the residents of a housing estate in an area that contains more than one building block. Therefore, the number of members in these kinds of organizations varies depending on the size of a building. For other sub-sectors, organizations are typically composed of boards and/or executive committees.

Role in economy

Employment

- 26 Based on the results of the interviews, it was discovered that the employment generated by the district and community-based sector is quite limited. All the members on the boards or executive committees are working on a voluntary basis. Most organizations hire only one to two full-time or part-time staff, although some larger *kaifong* associations and clansmen's organizations hire around 20 staff members.
- 27 Despite the large number of organizations in the district and community-based sector, they are not a major economic force, as the Third Sector in Hong Kong is dominated by education and social services. The outlook for employment growth in this sector is pessimistic, as public awareness of and participation in this sector have been declining. Although the number of jobs generated by this sector is small, it does provide opportunities for volunteers to serve the community. Volunteering issues will be discussed in greater depth in the Management/Staffing section of this study.

Expenditures

- 28 Expenditures of the district and community-based sector are limited because of the small number of employees and the organizations' financial constraints.

Role in society

- 29 The district and community-based organizations may not be major contributors to the economy. Nevertheless, they play the following important roles in society.

Service Providers

- 30 Primarily, the organizations in this sector are service providers for their community. For example, some *kaifongs* provide low-cost nurseries, clinics and medical services, while others offer courses, such as knitting, flower-arrangement, calligraphy, dancing, and so on. Moreover, volunteers from many of the residents' organizations provide help to the people in their community, such as helping out the elderly in applying for social welfare from the Government.

Educators

- 31 Second, district and community-based organizations act as educators. Many organizations in this sector run kindergartens, schools and adult classes for both

their communities and the general public in Hong Kong. There are a number of examples from organizations interviewed. Kiangsu and Chekiang Residents (H.K.) Association runs four schools in Hong Kong, one elementary school and three secondary schools. The association indicated that it would continue to place emphasis on education in future development plans.²⁰ North Point *Kaifong* Welfare Advancement Association opened a school with an educational institute in 2001. The school provides marginal youth with an education opportunity.²¹ The association also offers some skills training classes to adults, such as in computers, accounting and business management, to meet changing needs.²² Sap Pat Heung Rural Committee also runs schools, including one elementary school and one secondary school in Yuen Long.²³ The Mui Clan's Association also indicated that they hope to award scholarships to students if they have more funding in the future.²⁴

Social Clubs

- 32 District and community-based organizations also act as social clubs. Many of the organizations in this sector organize social activities, such as outings, dinner gatherings and banquets, on special occasions. Almost all of the interviewees indicated that they organize outings every year. Some organizations, particularly *kaifong* associations and village organizations, arrange activities specifically for the elderly, so that they can enjoy such things as Chinese drama and opera. Some clansmen's organizations run restaurants, which provide places for members to get together. Frequently, the offices of district and community-based organizations act as the gathering place and activity room for their members. They use the office to play mahjong and socialize with each other.

Cultural and Religious Roles

- 33 Another important role performed by district and community-based organizations is arranging for participation in cultural and religious functions. For example, Tai Po Tsat Yeuk Rural Committee sponsors various activities on Chinese festivals, such as dragon boat festival, mid-autumn festival, Chinese New Year celebration, and national day.²⁵ Yuen Long Sap Pat Heung Rural Committee organizes an annual Tin Hau Dan parade, which has been a tradition for 40 years.²⁶

Bridges between the Government and the People

- 34 District and community-based organizations act as a bridge between the Government and the people. Our interviews disclose that many leaders or committee members of district and community-based organizations are also represented in Area Committees, District Councils, or other Government consultative bodies in their districts. Therefore, they provide different communication channels and facilitate communication between the Government and the people.

Philanthropists

- 35 District and community-based organizations also act as philanthropists. Though many groups in this sector said that they have limited resources and funding, some

organizations with more resources manage to make donations to other non-profit organizations.²⁷ For example, Tsat Yeuk Rural Committee has made donations to several organizations, including United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Hong Kong Children's Cancer Foundation, Medecins Sans Frontieres, Po Leung Kuk, Pok Oi Hospital and Nethersole Hospital.²⁸

III. Links among the Government, the market and the Third Sector

Interaction with the Government

- 36 As mentioned before, one of the major roles of the district and community-based organizations is to provide communication channels between the Government and the people in the communities. The interaction between the Government and the district and community-based organizations is primarily through the representation of the leaders of these organizations in Area Committees, District Councils, or other Government consultative bodies in their districts.
- 37 While some organizations in this sector have meetings regularly with various Government bodies, others meet with Government bodies on an ad hoc basis. For instance, residents' organizations usually have irregular meetings with the Hong Kong Police, District Offices and the Home Affairs Department. Another example of interaction is the presence of liaison officers from District Offices and the police at meetings of rural committees in their respective districts.
- 38 Our interviews showed that community-based organizations would like to have more interaction and communication with the Government. One interviewee from a residents' organization mentioned that they would like to engage in discussions with the Government on the subject of Hong Kong's economy, which directly impacts the residents and the community.
- 39 Organizations in this sector often invite Government officials as their guests of honour in their large-scale activities, which is another form of interaction. Through such contacts, district and community-based organizations maintain friendly relationships with Government officials.

Interaction with the market

- 40 According to our interviewees, interaction between the district/community-based organizations and the market has been minimal. The nature of interaction is limited to event sponsorship by corporations. District and community-based organizations sometimes solicit the private sector for gifts when they organize large-scale activities. However, it has become more difficult to get business sponsorship in recent years because of the recession. Wong Tai Sin Choi Wan Estate Residents' Association indicated that they find it easier to get sponsorship from small businesses in their community.²⁹

Interaction within the Third Sector

- 41 Generally, the organizations in this sector have frequent interaction with other organizations within the Third Sector, especially with other community-based

organizations in the same district or community. For example, the Fraternity of Taikoo Shing Residents has contacts with other neighbourhood organizations in the Eastern District.³⁰ Another example demonstrates the interaction between MACs and residents' associations in the same community. Some of the committee members of the Wong Tai Sin Choi Wan Estate Residents' Association are also the chairmen of MACs of the estate. Hence, the chairmen of the MACs can pass on information from the Residents' Association to the residents of their building blocks in a more effective way.³¹ Sometimes organizations in this sector organize joint activities with other organizations in the Third Sector. For example, the North Point *Kaifong* Welfare Advancement Association has organized a camp with a *kaifong* association in Macau to exchange views on political, economic and education issues in Hong Kong.³² For clansmen's organizations, all the interviewees in this sub-sector indicated that they maintain regional or global networks with their fellow clansmen associations overseas.³³

- 42 Many organizations in this sector maintain contacts with schools. For example, if the district and community-based organizations run schools, their leaders usually constitute the board of governors of those schools. In addition, many organizations in this sector contact schools when they need to mobilize volunteers to help organize big events or activities. Some organizations, for example the North Point *Kaifong* Welfare Advancement Association, often organize activities for students, and have frequent contacts with schools.

IV. Major issues facing the sector

Funding

- 43 Donations from board or committee members constitute the main source of funding for organizations in this sector. Owners' corporations, however, are an exception to this rule. There, the funding is primarily from management fees. In some organizations, members have to donate money in order to sit on the board. However, in the long run, reliance on board/committee members' donations might not be able to sustain funding. Though the Government provides funding for MACs and rural committees,³⁴ such funds only account for a small portion of the total income of these organizations. Some organizations in this sector, especially clansmen's organizations, are member-based, but membership fees are not a major source of income for most organizations. In addition, organizations in this sector generally do not have public fund-raising activities. In 2002-03, only one organization, in this sector, the Aberdeen *Kaifong* Welfare Association Limited, held a Flag Day fund-raising activity.³⁵
- 44 Lack of funding has been a major problem for most district and community-based organizations in Hong Kong. Many organizations indicated that what they need most from the Government is financial assistance. District and community-based organizations can apply for funding from the District Councils when they organize activities. However, this type of financial assistance only accounts for a small percentage of an organization's total funding. In addition, it is not always easy to obtain the required funding because of competition from other residents' organizations in the same community.

- 45 Many organizations indicated that budget constraints hindered their development. They would start new initiatives, organize more activities and provide more services if they had more funding.

Management/Staffing

- 46 Many district and community-based organizations have small offices. Some of them, particularly owners' corporations and MACs, do not maintain offices at all. Therefore, both the organization structure and office infrastructure in this sector are quite simple. District and community-based organizations usually hire only a few staff members, and many of them are part-time clerical staff. Some organizations rely solely on volunteers to do daily administrative work. Management and staffing in this sector tend to be informal. Because of the informal nature of the organizations in this sector and the tight budgets, generally no training is offered to their staff members.
- 47 Organizations in this sector rely on volunteers to a great extent because of limited resources. Many organizations indicated that they need volunteers to help with daily administrative work. The role of volunteers is especially important when these community-based organizations arrange large-scale activities or community events. Most organizations do not have a clear idea of how many volunteers they have, because the number of volunteers depends on the number and scale of their activities. Generally speaking, most district and community-based organizations do not have too much difficulty in recruiting volunteers. For example, *kaifong* associations can mobilize more than 100 volunteers when needed.³⁶ As volunteers play an important role in this sector, organizations need to retain volunteers and maintain good relationships with them. They usually keep in touch with volunteers through personal contacts, schools or their own networks.

Public Awareness

- 48 Public awareness of, and public participation in, the district and community-based sector is low among Hong Kong people. During the interview process of this study, it seemed that many of the district and community-based organizations did not even realize that they belong to the Third Sector. If organizations in this sector do not know the role they play in society, it would be unrealistic to increase public awareness and participation.
- 49 Many of the longitudinal surveys carried out by the Hong Kong Transition Project show that the attendance in meetings and activities in community-based organizations was low, with the exception of owners' corporations. In 2002, the attendance rates for activities in different sub-sectors were as follows: 4% in *kaifongs*, 6% in MACs, 2% in clan associations and 12% in owner's corporations.³⁷ Participation in *kaifongs* and MACs shows a continuous decline. The attendance in MACs has dropped from 15% in 1988 to 6% in 2002, while the attendance in *kaifongs* fell from 7% in 1988 to 4% in 2002. Only 2% of the respondents said they would express concern or seek help from MACs/*kaifongs*/unions.³⁸ Furthermore, the contact with MACs and *kaifongs* dropped from 11% in 1998 to only 2% in 2002.³⁹ The Hong Kong Transition Project attributed the low participation rate to lowered funding and support from

the Government for the MACs.⁴⁰

- 50 Though Government support is important, it is also necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of the communication channels between the organizations and the people they serve. If there is minimal contact between the organization and its members or residents, the public awareness would necessarily be low.
- 51 The low participation in clansmen's organizations reported by the Hong Kong Transition Project is also consistent with findings from this study. According to the interviews, one major problem faced by the clansmen's organizations in Hong Kong is the indifference of the younger generation to this kind of organization.⁴¹ Because of societal changes, young people today have different concerns and priorities. That is why few young people have joined clansmen's organizations in recent decades.⁴²
- 52 This problem is not unique to clansmen's organizations. *Kaifong* associations have difficulty recruiting new members as well, especially younger members.⁴³ The *kaifongs* suggested that if the Government actively encouraged the *kaifong* associations and recognized their roles, this problem might be overcome.⁴⁴
- 53 Organizations in the district and community-based sector use different ways to communicate with their members and with the public. Owners' corporations, MACs and rural organizations usually post notices and announcements on the notice board in their buildings or villages. *Kaifongs* and residents' associations often use banners or posters to inform the public of their activities. Some larger organizations publish regular newsletters. Most organizations still rely on ordinary mail. Internet communication in the district and community sector is very limited.

Government policies

- 54 Just like other organizations in the Third Sector, the development of the district and community-based sector is greatly influenced by Government policies. In the 1970s and 1980s, residents' organizations were the main communication channels between residents and the Government. However, the situation changed in the 1980s. One interviewee indicated that after the Government created Area Committees and District Councils, *kaifong* associations gradually became less important. One scholar has commented that the *kaifong* associations were never given any formal and institutionalized channels for participation in policy decisions, and the decline of the *kaifongs* is due to the decreasing recognition given to them by the Government as grassroots spokesmen.⁴⁵ Many feel that district and community-based organizations are gradually fading in the community, with District Councils trying to supplant them or compete with them.⁴⁶
- 55 A representative from a residents' organization expressed the view that community-based organizations still have a vital role to play as a communication channel between the residents and the Government. Although political parties and District Councils represent the people, their efforts are geared towards electoral politics. On the other hand, district and community-based organizations represent the grassroots level, which provides a different perspective from that of the District Councils. In addition, these organizations are not constrained by electoral

politics. It is important to have various and wide participatory channels for communities to express their views.

- 56 Government support and encouragement is very important to the development of district and community-based organizations. At present, the attitude of the Government is unclear. Without Government encouragement, it would be difficult to sustain the roles of these organizations.

Ethics

- 57 No ethical issues, such as honesty, corporate integrity and accountability, were reported in the interviews. Though many organizations in this sector are small or informal, they are still accountable to the residents or communities they serve. As most people in the district and community-based organizations work on a voluntary basis, they need to commit their time and efforts to the work they do. Without such commitments, it would be difficult to develop the organizations and to add value to society.

V. Conclusion

- 58 Although district and community-based organizations have a rather long history in Hong Kong compared with other organizations in the Third Sector, the public awareness and participation is rather low in this sector. However, the contribution of these organizations is significant. In addition, the district and community sector provides volunteering opportunities for residents in their communities, and the intangible values inherent in volunteering cannot always be quantified.
- 59 This report is based on literature review, interviews with district and community-based groups and survey data so far collected from questionnaires completed by these organizations. As this study looks at the district and community-based sector as a whole, the sub-sectors within this group are not discussed in detail. And as the number of organizations in this sector is large, and each sub-sector has its unique issues and problems, further studies need to be undertaken, particularly at the sub-sector level, if the Government plans to foster better policies to promote the development of district and community-based organizations in Hong Kong.

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- ¹ The definitions of community and neighbourhood organizations, housing associations and housing assistance used by the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project are as follows: *Community and neighbourhood organizations*. Organizations working towards improving the quality of life within communities or neighbourhoods, e.g. squatters' associations, local development organizations, poor people's cooperatives. *Housing associations*. Development, construction, management, leasing, financing, and rehabilitation of housing. *Housing assistance*. Organisations providing housing search, legal services, and related assistance. Details of the ICNPO classification are available at <<http://www.jhu.edu/~cnp/pdf/method.pdf>>.
- ² The term "clansmen's organizations" in this study includes organizations whose membership is restricted to people who come from the same part of China or who have the same surname.
- ³ The total number of owners' corporations was provided by the Land Registry in September 2002.
- ⁴ One of the interviewees, Tai Po Tsat Yeuk Rural Committee, is regarded as an organization at the village council level in this study, though its English name is rural committee. Its Chinese name (xiang gong suo) actually means village council. Also, Tai Po Tsat Yeuk is not one of the 27 rural committees in Hong Kong.
- ⁵ The definition was cited in several studies. For example, Lau, C.L. (1993), *The role and functions of a MAC*, unpublished M. Soc. Sc. Dissertation, The University of Hong Kong; Sze, S.F. (1995), *Residents' organizations at the crossroads: a case study of Tuen Mun Forth-Viewers*, unpublished M.S.W. Dissertation, The University of Hong Kong; Wong, Y.L. (1990), *Resident organization at the crossroads: illustrations from three resident associations in Kwai Tsing District*, unpublished M. S. W. Dissertation, The University of Hong Kong.
- ⁶ Leung, C.B. (1986), "Community participation: the decline of residents' organisations," in Cheng J.Y.S. ed., *Hong Kong in Transition*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press. Chapter 13, pp.355.
- ⁷ The description of the history of *kaifongs* is largely drawn from Leung, C.B. (1982), "Community participation: from Kai Fong association, mutual aid committee to district board," in Cheng, J.Y.S. ed., *Hong Kong in the 1980s*, Hong Kong: Summerson (HK) Educational Research Centre, pp. 152-170 and Wong, A. (1972), *The Kaifong associations and the society of Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Orient Cultural Service).
- ⁸ Leung, C.B. (1982), "Community participation: from Kai Fong association, mutual aid committee to district board," in Cheng, J.Y.S. ed., *Hong Kong in the 1980s*, Hong Kong: Summerson (HK) Educational Research Centre.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ See the Land Registry for the description on the history of owners' corporation, available at the Land Registry's website at <<http://www.info.gov.hk/landreg/en/about/1950.htm>>, viewed in October 2002.
- ¹¹ See the Building Management Ordinance (1998), Cap. 344, Section 18(2) (fa).
- ¹² Hong Kong: The Facts 2000/01 has a description on the current composition of Area Committees and their functions: The functions of area committees are to encourage public participation in

- district affairs, to advise and assist in the organization of community involvement activities and the implementation of Government-sponsored initiatives, and advise on issues of a localized nature affecting the area. Area committee members are appointed by the Director of Home Affairs and are drawn from a wide spectrum of the community including district council members of the area concerned. At present, there are 73 area committees throughout Hong Kong. In general, each area committee serves an area with a population, including residents, and mobile population (workers, shoppers, tourist etc.) of about 80,000 to 100,000.
- 13 Hong Kong: The Facts, 2000/01
- 14 The breakdown of rural committees is as follows: four in North District – Fanling, Sheung Shui, Ta Ku Leng, and Sha Tau Kok; two in Sai Kung District – Sai Kung and Hang Hau; one in Shatin District – Shatin; one in Tsing Yi & Kwai Chung District – Tsing Yi; two in Tai Po District – Tai Po and Sai Kung North; two in Tsuen Wan District – Tsuen Wan and Ma Wan; one in Tuen Mun District – Tuen Mun; six in Yuen Long District – Ha Tsuen, Ping Shan, Shap Pat Heung, Pat Heung, Kam Tin, and San Tin; Islands District – Cheung Chau; Peng Chau; Tung Chung; Tai O; Mui Wo; Lantau South; Lamma South and Lamma North.
- 15 Kuah, K.E. and Wong, S.L. (2001), “Dialect and territory-based associations: cultural and identity brokers in Hong Kong,” in Lee, P.T ed., Hong Kong reintegrating with China, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, Chapter 10.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Sources of data include (a) Hong Kong Tourism Board (2001) Association & Societies in Hong Kong; (b) Hong Kong SAR Government Gazette No. 30 of 26 July 2002, List of Approved Charitable Institutions and Trusts of A Public Character; (c) The Land Registry (owners’ corporations list); (d) The Home Affairs Department (mutual aid committees list); (e) Information booklets from the following District Offices: Eastern, Wanchai, Southern, Sai Kung, Kwai Tsing, Tai Po, Tsuen Wan, Central & Western, and Yuen Long; (f) The Yellow Pages 2002.
- 18 In this study, residents’ associations also include owners’ committees, owners’ associations, owners’ and tenants’ associations, and other organizations of a similar nature.
- 19 See the Building Management Ordinance (Chapter 344), schedule 2. The BMO states that if there is no deed of mutual covenant or the deed does not specify the number of persons which is to constitute the management committee, the management committee shall (i) consist of not less than 3 persons where the building contains not more than 50 flats; or (ii) consist of not less than 7 persons where the building contains more than 50 flats but not more than 100 flats; or (iii) consist of not less than 9 persons where the building contains more than 100 flats.
- 20 Information from interview with the Kiangsu and Chekiang Residents (H.K.) Association.
- 21 Information from interview with North Point Kaifong Welfare Advancement Association.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Information from interview with Sap Pat Heung Rural Committee.
- 24 Information from interview with the Mui Clan’s Association.
- 25 Information from interview with Tai Po Tsat Yeuk Rural Committee.
- 26 Information from interview with Sap Pat Heung Rural Committee.
- 27 This study does not have sufficient data to assess the overall contribution from this sector, and donations are usually made on ad hoc basis.
- 28 Information from interview with Tsat Yeuk Rural Committee
- 29 Information from interview with Wong Tai Sin Choi Wan Estate Residents’ Association
- 30 Information from interview with the Fraternity of Taikoo Shing Residents
- 31 Information from interview with Wong Tai Sin Choi Wan Estate Residents’ Association
- 32 Information from interview with North Point Kaifong Welfare Advancement Association.
- 33 Kuah, K.E. and Wong, S.L. (2001), “Dialect and territory-based associations: cultural and identity brokers in Hong Kong,” in Lee, P.T ed., Hong Kong reintegrating with China, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, Chapter 10.
- 34 According to the information provided by the Home Affairs Department (HAD), mutual aid committees (MAC) can claim their operating expenses, such as stationery, from the HAD. HAD reimburses each MAC applicant at most HK\$1,000/quarter.
- 35 Information provided by the Social Welfare Department.
- 36 Information from interview with the North Point Kaifong Welfare Advancement Association and Chang Sha Wan Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd.
- 37 For details of the surveys, please see “The first five years: floundering government, foundering democracy?” of the Hong Kong Transition Project, May 2002 or visit <<http://www.hkbu.edu.hk/~hktg>>.

- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Information from interview with the Lee's Clansmen's Organisation, the Mui Clan's Association, and Kiangsu and Chekiang Residents (H.K.) Association.
- 42 See "The helpful strangers," South China Morning Post, April 5, 2001.
- 43 Information from interview with Chang Sha Wan Kaifong Welfare Association Ltd.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 See Leung, C.B. (1982), "Community participation: from Kai Fong association, mutual aid committee to district board," in Cheng, J.Y.S. ed., Hong Kong in the 1980s, Hong Kong: Summerson (HK) Educational Research Centre; and Leung C.B. (1986), "Community participation: the decline of residents' organisations," in Cheng J.Y.S. ed., Hong Kong in Transition, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press. Chapter 13.
- 46 Many interviewees from residents' organisations mentioned that their roles became less important after the Government set up the District Councils in the 1980s.