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**Governance Capacity and Collaborative Action in
Hong Kong: The Structure and Dynamics of
District Level Community Building**

By

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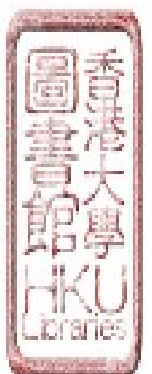
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Capstone Project Report submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the Master of Public Administration

Department of Politics and Public Administration

The University of Hong Kong

2016



Declaration

We declare that this Capstone Project Report, entitled “Governance Capacity and Collaborative Action in Hong Kong: The Structure and Dynamics of District Level Community Building”, represents our own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or any other institution a degree, diploma or other qualification.

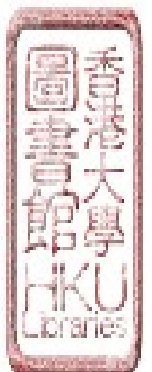
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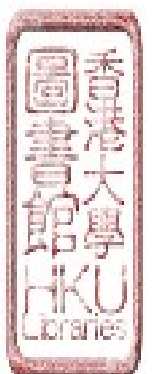
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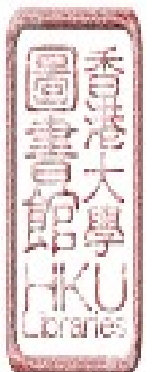
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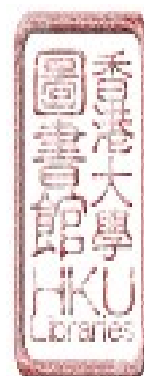


Abstract

The District Administration Scheme launched in the early 1980s was a landmark policy initiative implemented by the Colonial Government as a pilot model of collaborative governance. District Boards (now named as District Councils) covering the whole territory of Hong Kong were set up as a consultative platform to facilitate management and provision of a restricted scope of community services in the locality. Such mode of collaborative governance of citizen participation anchored at the level of consultation of community stakeholders remained largely unchanged till the United Kingdom handed over the sovereignty of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China on 1 July 1997. The post-handover political landscape of Hong Kong has undergone significant changes, coupled by citizens' growing awareness of political rights and higher expectations among the general public for the accountability of the Government. As a result, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government has been under severe criticisms for lacking legitimacy and governance efficacy. Moreover, a series of administrative blunders have led to pressure for the Government to enhance its governance capacity in order to regain the confidence of the people of Hong Kong. Such



developments have become the driving force for enhancing the roles and functions of the District Councils. At the district level, the District Councils have been given a more prominent status in the collaborative governance mechanism as a result of the dissolution of the two Municipal Councils and the decision of the Chief Executives that the District Councils could contribute more to the governance of district-based affairs. The Government has, upon a major review of the roles and functions of the District Councils, successively introduced a series of initiatives including the Pilot Scheme on Enhancement of District Administration through District Management Committees, and the Signature Project Scheme. District Councils are provided with more resources as well as greater decision-making powers and responsibilities in relation to the management of district facilities and provision of community services. The collaborative governance by network as postulated by Emerson (2011) et al. and different levels of citizen participation as postulated by Arnstein (1969) best portrayed the governance model of the District Councils which has witnessed a closer partnership among the Government, the District Councils and other community non-governmental stakeholders networked by the District Councils for the sake of effective community building. Notwithstanding the general picture of the enhanced roles and functions of the



District Councils over time, community-building considerations peculiar to individual District Council also have a significant bearing on the effectiveness of community building. The contrasting experiences of the two District Councils in implementing the Signature Project Scheme in their own districts offer insights into the significance of district-specific community building considerations by drawing reference to the study of Mattessich and Monsey (1997).

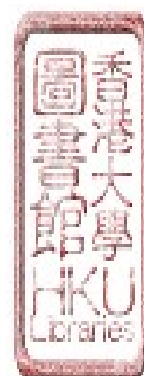
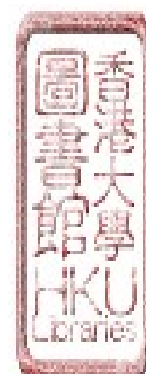
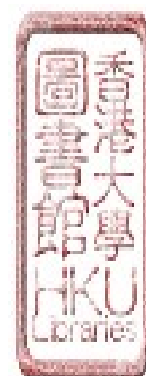


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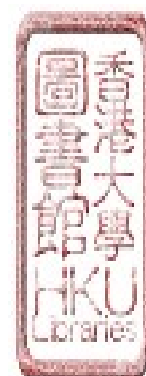


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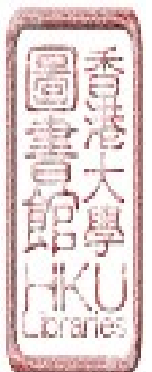
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List of Abbreviations

CDO	City District Officer
CE	Chief Executive
DAS	District Administration Scheme
DB	District Board
DC	District Council
DFMC	District Facilities Management Committee
DMC	District Management Committee
HAD	Home Affairs Department
HKSAR	Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
KTDC	Kwai Tsing District Council
KTDO	Kwai Tsing District Office
KTDSP	Kwai Tsing District Signature Project
KTSCHCA	Kwai Tsing Safe Community and Health City Association
LegCo	Legislative Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPO	Non-Profit Making Organisation
OGCIO	Office of the Government Chief Information Officer
PSI	Private Sector Involvement
SDC	Southern District Council
SDSP	Southern District Signature Project
SPS	Signature Project Scheme
TPB	Town Planning Board
WHO	World Health Organisation

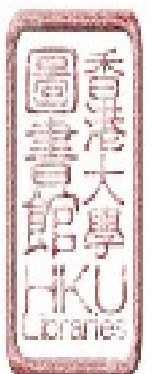


Chapter 1: Introduction

Focus and Objectives of the Project

With the growing impact and awareness of the influence of the general public as well as citizens' rising aspiration for greater involvement and participation in public affairs, particularly those district-level community building issues, the people of Hong Kong, similar to people in other places, have cherished higher expectation for the Government to deliver public services more suited to their needs and in a more efficient manner. The traditional mode of public administration, which relies heavily on Government-led initiatives, is no longer appropriate and adequate for meeting public expectations. Collaborative governance, which is a model of public administration stressing a co-production process with the concerted efforts of various stakeholders in the delivery of public services, has over the past few decades gained growing recognition as an emerging force in the field of public administration.

The main objective of this project is to study the community building efforts implemented since the colonial era and the subsequent developments until the present. The Hong Kong Government has taken incremental steps over the years to enhance the governance capacity through the collaborative governance mechanism

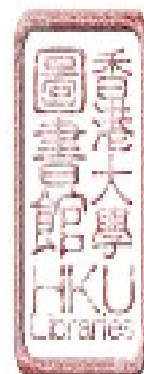


of the District Administration Scheme (DAS) mainly through the functioning of District Councils (DCs) (formerly titled as the District Boards (DBs) from 1982 to 1999). Collaborative governance projects rolled out by certain DCs are reviewed to ascertain whether and to what extent the underlining policy objective of promoting greater and wider public participation in the form of collaborative governance at district level has been realised.

Background of the Research

Hong Kong was a British Colony until the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) under the People's Republic of China on 1 July 1997. Before the handover, the colonial administration was characterised by an executive-led style Government. There was limited participation by the general public in local administration and politics. (Fong, 1984)

Owing to the increasing complexity of Hong Kong society, the Colonial Government found it important to improve the administration at district level so as to enable the local residents to make contribution to the development of district communities. (Yu, 2001) This development coincided with the improved educational and living standards of the locals which had enhanced their aspirations

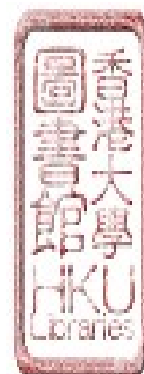


for greater and wider participation in district administration. (Fong, 1984) Thus, the Colonial Government implemented the DAS in 1982 with the formation of DBs in 18 districts. (Fong, 1984) One of the major objectives of the DAS was to “promote public participation in district affairs”. (Constitutional Affairs Bureau, 2006)

After the implementation of the DAS in 1982, the Colonial Government had conducted various reviews but they were largely related to the composition of the DBs. Before the handover, the roles and functions of the DBs in the context of collaborative governance remained largely intact.

Immediately after the handover of sovereignty, changes in the political and economic conditions and environment posed challenges to the governance legitimacy of the HKSAR Government. These are the underlying factors for the HKSAR Government to move towards a more collaborative governance model.

At the district administration level, the Government began to devolve certain governance functions to the DCs partly as a result of the dissolution of the two Municipal Councils, and partly in response to public demands for improvement in governance. In a paper submitted to the Legislative Council (LegCo) on 22 October 1999, the Government proposed that there should be various ways to strengthen the roles of the DCs. (Task Force on Reorganisation of Municipal



Services, 1999) In 2005, the Government initiated a major review of the functions and composition of the DCs to allow DCs to participate in the management of district facilities. (Constitutional Affairs Bureau, 2006) Besides, DCs are also involved in monitoring the environmental hygiene services/facilities and the promotion of cultural, recreational and sports activities. (Yu, 2001) The diagram below depicted the developments over the relevant periods.

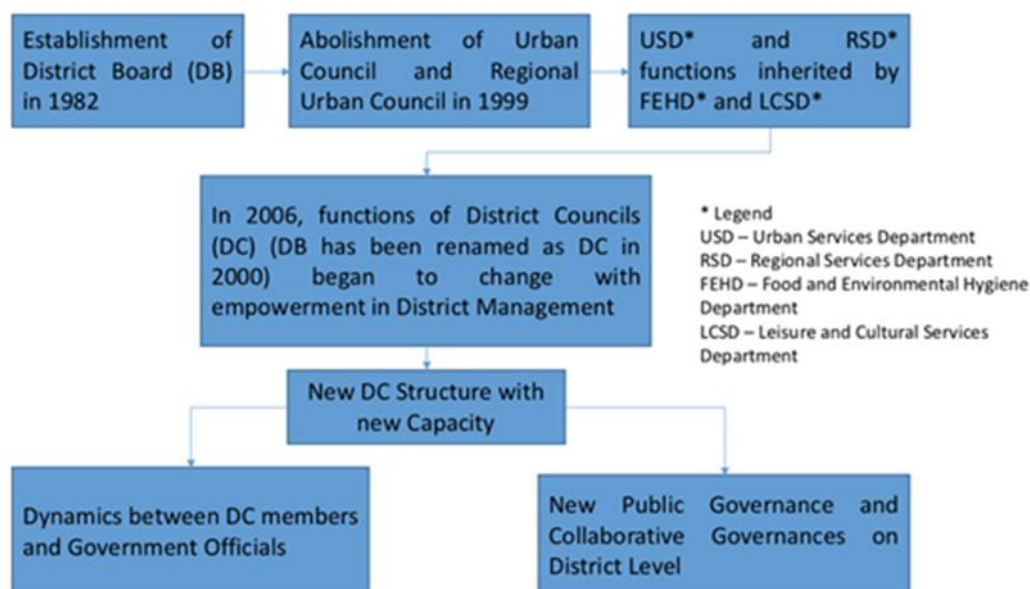
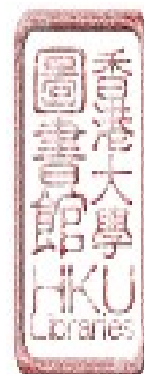


Figure 1: Development of District Boards and District Councils since 1982

The milestone for an advanced level of collaborative governance approach to district administration was reached when the Chief Executive (CE) announced in the 2013 Policy Address that “district administration should be complemented by active district participation. It should not be the sole responsibility of the

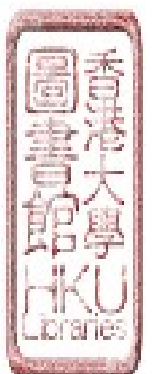


Government. The way forward is to delegate certain tasks and responsibilities to the DCs so that they can assist in delivering district services and promoting district development”. (Policy Address, 2013)

Research Questions

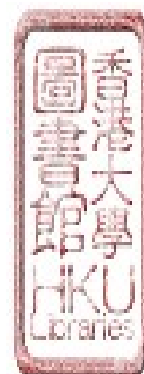
Given the developments outlined above in relation to the evolution of roles and functions of the DCs since the implementation of DAS in 1982, the research interests of this project are placed on the nature of district-level community building of Hong Kong viewed through the lens of collaborative governance. The research questions are as follows:

- a) What models of governance have been adopted by the Government since the implementation of the District Administration Scheme in 1982?
- b) How has the Government’s governance capacity, especially its collaborative governance capacity, been enhanced as result of the evolution of district governance and initiatives for community building?
- c) How might the governance capacity for collaborative district level community building be further enhanced?



Consistent with these research questions, the key proposition of the study is that owing to the political dynamics and complexity of the Hong Kong community since the economic take-off in the 1970s, the government has responded by implementing the DAS to boost community building efforts by tapping the input of community leaders and representatives of local residents with a view to facilitating implementation of government policies/programmes at district level through a collaborative process. It is shown through the process of the evolution of the collaborative governance model of the DBs from “advisory” in its early years, to more “consultation” following the dissolution of the Municipal Councils and the direction towards more “participation” as advocated by the current term of Government.

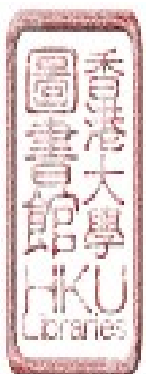
The proposition is derived from the analysis of the collaborative dynamics from both vertical and horizontal perspectives. From the vertical perspective, the analysis focuses on the evolution of the DBs/DCs in terms of its role and structure from 1982 to present. From the horizontal perspective, the analysis focuses on the comparison of the experiences of two DC districts in implementing the Signature Project Scheme (SPS), which was announced by the CE in the 2013 Policy Address with the allocation of a one-off grant of \$100 million to each DC to implement SPS



project. (Home Affairs Department, 2016) The collaborative governance process that has taken place at the Kwai Tsing DC (KTDC), which is the first DC to launch SPS, is selected as a case example for comparison against the experience of the Southern DC (SDC), which has recently suffered setback in launching the SPS project. (Home Affairs Department, 2016)

Overview of the Analytical Framework

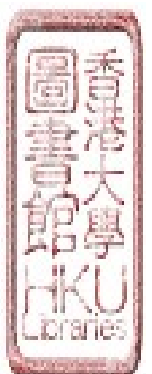
Governance models are reviewed to identify collaborative governance as the relevant basis of the analytical part of this study. Guided by scholarly concepts and models put forward by academics in the fields of public administration, an analytical framework is drawn up. It is an integrated system-based collaborative governance model, supplemented by a citizen participation typology and studies on community building, which seeks to facilitate examination and evaluation of the dynamics and structure of community building. It analyses how the collaborative dynamics driven by external drivers in the wider system context shapes collaborative actions in community building and affects the governance capacity thereof.



The analytical framework guides, structures and informs the empirical research in subsequent chapters to, first, examine the evolution of the roles and functions of the DCs, and, second, evaluate the collaborative actions of two selected DCs in community building. Synthesising the analytical framework with the empirical research helps address the three aforementioned research questions and hence test the validity of the proposition of this study.

Research Methodology

The study adopts a qualitative research methodology. The main reason for conducting a desk-top research is that the major proposition of the study and the research questions derived from it are explorative in nature. The main purpose is not to nullify a set of hypotheses or to identify the causation or correlation between independent and dependent variables. The analytical framework is designed in a way to explain the development and phenomenon of collaborative governance and community building at district level in Hong Kong, which is manifested by the activities of the DCs. A desk-top research shall suffice to provide qualitative data to identify and illustrate the interrelationship among the events and activities underlying collaborative governance and community building. The findings and

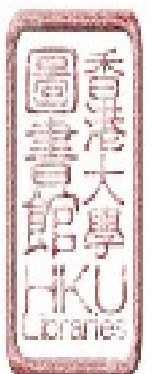


conclusion of this study point to the direction for more in-depth future research in the subject matter. (Family Health International, 2005)

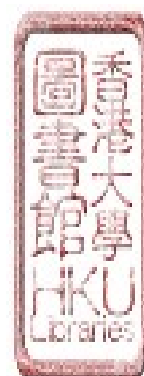
On the basis of the above-mentioned research methodology, qualitative literature review is carried out on the academic journals and books, relevant Ordinances, meeting minutes and papers of DCs, relevant discussion papers of LegCo and Government Bureaux/Departments, and other government documents, previous academic studies on similar subject, news report, etc., so as to look into the evolution of the composition, roles and functions of DCs during the relevant period. Such methodology is considered appropriate for this study. The availability of complete and comprehensive government papers on the subject allows the study to be conducted in a systematic way without losing sight of core issues.

Overview of the Following Chapters

Chapter 2 presents a review of the analytical framework which serves as an anchor to structure, guide and inform the research. In chapters 3 and 4, empirical analysis is conducted to apply case studies from vertical perspective (for chapter 3) and horizontal perspective (for chapter 4) on the basis of the analytical framework.



Chapter 5 is the conclusion drawn from the findings of this study. The conclusion provides insight to the dynamics of collaborative governance at district level. Recommendations are made on ways that the Government could further enhance the capacity of the current governance model through the platform of the DCs.

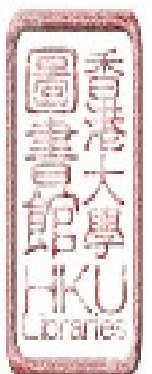


Chapter 2: Analytical Framework

Introduction

This chapter provides the essential elements of a comprehensive analytical framework in support of the empirical studies in Chapters 3 and 4. The analytical framework is developed to study how collaborative governance shapes and influences district level community building in Hong Kong. Governance is the basis of the analytical framework. Knill and Lenschow's (2003) typology of governance modes is drawn on to put things into perspective by showing different kinds of actions taken by people in the public and private sectors under different relationships.

Collaborative governance as one of the governance models is studied in details with reference to an integrated system, which explains governance in terms of how such people interact, what actions people take, and what types and combinations of capacities are required to enhance the effectiveness of actions as a collaborative process. In this regard, the integrative framework for collaborative governance proposed by Emerson et al. (2011) is drawn on and supplemented where appropriate by the ladder of citizen participation proposed by Arnstein (1969) to



study the dynamics and structure of collaborative actions in the context of district administration, the output of which is district level community building.

Community building is a core part of this study. Mattessich and Monsey's (1997) study on factors influencing community building is drawn on to underpin collaborative actions being outputs of the collaborative governance model. It shows how collaborative governance is harnessed to enhance the capacity of community building. Figure 2 shows a diagram illustrating the elements and their relationship in collaborative governance for community building.

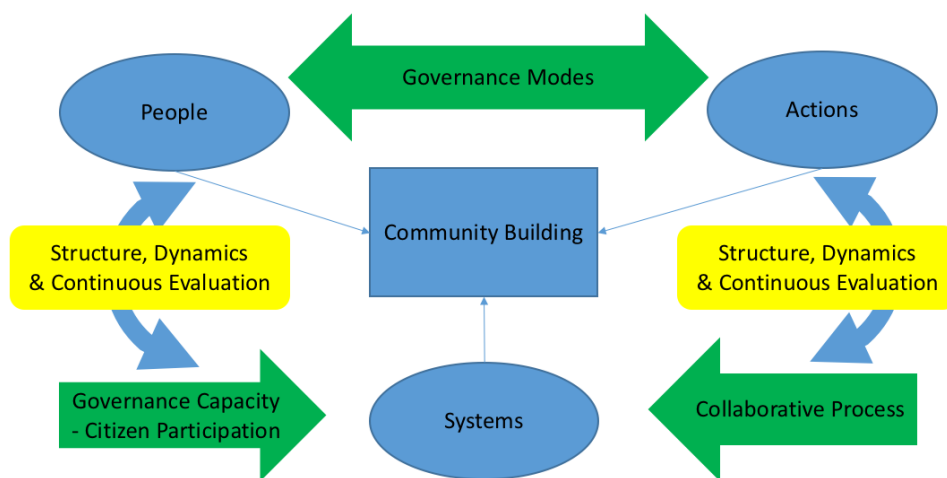
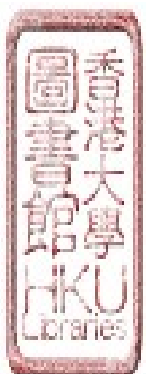


Figure 2: Elements and Relationship in Collaborative Governance for Community Building



Governance and Collaborative Governance

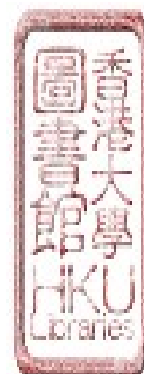
Definition

Governance refers to a collective process of coordinating efforts of individuals with a view to solving problems affecting the public at large or realising a goal for the overall benefit of the society. (Ansell, 2012) Governance is an important conceptual framework relevant to the whole process of public policy making and implementation. It provides a useful analytical lens through which the interaction of people, system and actions is studied and the capacities which shape and influence district level community building in Hong Kong are identified and evaluated.

Scholars define governance that exists in polities in different ways owing to the emphasis placed on the degree or modes of steering by the state/public actors in coordinating the inputs from the private actors aiming to obtain wider societal engagement in public-policy making or implementation. (Knill and Tosun, 2012)

Modes of governance

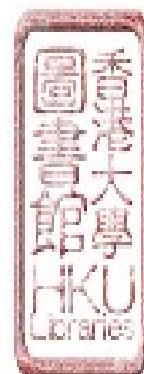
There are three broad modes of governance, namely governance by hierarchy, governance by market and governance by network. (Knill and Tosun, 2012) Such conceptual framework is further enriched by a two-dimensional analytical



framework suggested by Knill and Lenschow (2003). The first dimension is about the extent of cooperation between the public and private actors in formulating and implementing policies. The greater dominance one party exerts over another, the lesser room for cooperation between the two parties. The second dimension, degree of legal obligation, refers to hierarchical and nonhierarchical modes of the state's use of force to sanction compliance with public policies. The positioning of one sector vis-à-vis another is either driven by a command-and-control relationship characterised by legally binding arrangements or one which allows room for negotiation and voluntary agreement. (Knill and Tosun, 2012)

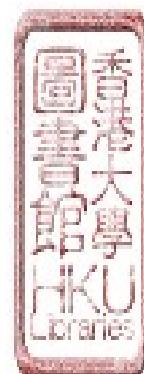
Under governance by hierarchy, state actors dominate the scene and command-and-control actions are the rules of the game. This governance mode corresponds to interventionist governance (Knill and Lenschow, 2003), which is characterised by a high degree of legal obligation (i.e. top-down intervening command and control style with the state ensuring compliance by means of binding rules) and low level of co-operation of public and private actors (i.e. limited governance capacity of private actors). (Knill and Tosun, 2012)

Under governance by market, private actors (i.e. market forces) have the final say over allocation of resources and provision of goods and services, which allow



little room for Government intervention. This corresponds to private self-governance (Knill and Lenschow, 2003), which is characterised by a low level of public and private sector co-operation whereby private actors dominates the planning and implementation of public policies while the state plays a complementary or mediating role. Allocation of resources is not determined by legally binding rules set by the public sector but by the voluntary arrangement agreed among the players of the private sector. (Knill and Tosun, 2012) This mode of governance also encompasses regulated self-governance as described in the following paragraph.

Governance by network is somewhere in the middle whereby state and private actors are engaged in negotiation and discussion as well as voluntary agreement in allocation of resources; dominance of a particular class of actors is rare. (Knill and Tosun, 2012) This corresponds partially to regulated self-governance and fully to cooperative governance. (Knill and Lenschow, 2003) Regulated self-governance is characterised by legally binding rules set by the state, i.e. regulation (which gives rise to its partial character as governance by hierarchy); a self-regulatory regime which gives the private sector a significant say over how the rules are enforced (which gives rise to its partial character as governance by market). The relationship

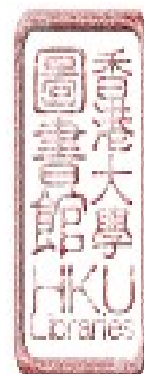


of between public and private actors in the areas of policy formulation and implementation is characterised by a cooperative relationship (which gives rise to its partial character as governance by network). Under cooperative governance, the private sector assumes a dominant role and participates in policy making, including the setting of the rules for governance, on an equal footing with the public sector.

Governance by market and governance by hierarchy are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Rather, they supplement each other. Governance by market is still subject to the rules and regulations formulated by Government or a market infrastructure designed and monitored by the Government. On the other hand, governance by hierarchy still needs to count on the private sector for capacity and expertise in delivering certain types of goods and services. (Knill and Tosun, 2012)

Governance by network is essentially about the building up of governance capacity through a collaborative process emphasising the interdependence of the public and private sectors and the voluntary partnership between the two. (Knill and Tosun, 2012)

The table below summarises the three modes of governance which are fully integrated with Knill and Lenschow's (as cited in Knill and Tosun, 2012) typologies.



		Co-operation of Public and Private Actors	
		High	Low
Degree of Legal Obligation	High	Governance by hierarchy, network and market <i>(Regulated self-governance)</i>	Governance by hierarchy <i>(Interventionist governance)</i>
	Low	Governance by network <i>(Cooperative governance)</i>	Governance by market <i>(Private self-governance)</i>

Figure 3: Three Modes of Governance

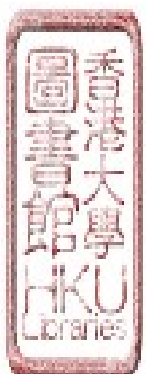
Source: Adapted from Knill and Lehmkuhl, as cited in Knill and Tosun (2012)

Integrative Framework of Collaborative Governance: Dynamics and Structure

From cooperative governance to collaborative governance

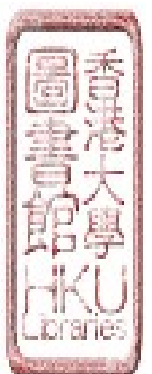
Underlying governance by network is mainly cooperative governance as identified by Knill and Lenschow (2003), which is characterised by a high degree of cooperation between public and private sectors conducted through voluntary agreement. Such governance mode has gained increasing attention and prominence as the mainstream of public administration nowadays and forms the basis of the analytical framework. Its application can be enriched through the concept of collaborative governance.

Emerson et al. (2011) defined collaborative governance as “the processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people



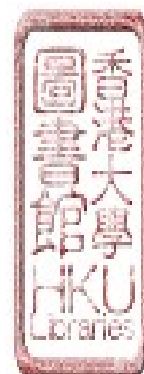
constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of governments, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished.” (p.2) Both collaborative governance and cooperative governance stress a high level of cooperation between public and private sectors as well as the equal footing of public agencies and private actors in decision making and implementation.

Ansell and Gash (2007) defined collaborative governance as a “governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented and deliberative and that it aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets.” (p.544) Ansell also defined three types of collaborative governance. He perceived collaborative governance as a kind of democratic citizen engagement; with the positive results of capacity building and satisfactory policy outcomes. Collaborative planning is aimed at consensus building through direct engagement of stakeholders. Watershed partnerships feature involvement of public and private stakeholders as a group to deliberate public policy within defined policy areas. It has three subtypes: citizen-based, agency-based and mixed groups. Regulatory negotiation features

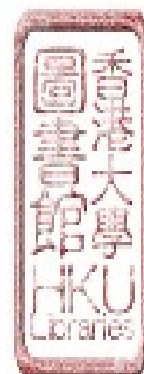


early engagement of stakeholders in the policy-making to iron out acceptable policies. (Ansell, 2012) Factors affecting the success of collaborative governance include willingness of stakeholders in participation, leadership, mutual trust, institutional design and composition of stakeholders. The criteria for evaluating collaborative governance includes achieving agreement, cost and benefits efficiency, stakeholder's satisfaction and knowledge/ learning and social capital acquired. (Ansell, 2012)

While comparing different theories of collaborative governance, it is noted that Emerson's model emphasises multiple partnerships among public, private and civic sectors as well as a non-linear and interactive process while others lay more emphasis on the role of state in initiating the engagement and the linear process from policy formulation to policy implementation. Emerson et al.'s model is broader in scope and applicable to different contexts and constellations of public policy making and decision-making spheres. However, Emerson et al.'s model does not mention much about the effect of citizen participation and community building on collaborative governance. Other studies are needed to supplement this aspect.



A framework on collaborative governance, which is largely based on the collaborative governance regime developed by Emerson et al. (2011), explains the dynamics and structure of collaborative actions as well as governance capacity. Under this framework, drivers were identified to facilitate and to guide the formulation of collaborative governance, which include leadership, consequential incentives, interdependence and uncertainty. (Emerson et al., 2011) The drivers could be meant as “inputs” to the system. Such inputs feed into the processing stage of collaborative dynamics, which consists of three major elements, namely principled engagement, shared motivation, and capacity for joint action. (Emerson et al., 2011) The three elements were interactive, working together to facilitate and generate collaborative action. Once the collaborative action has been taken, the impact will appear inside or even outside the system. Depending on the impact, the system may need to make necessary adaptation, provide feedback and further enhance the processing stage, with a view to facilitating better output in the future. (Emerson et al., 2011)



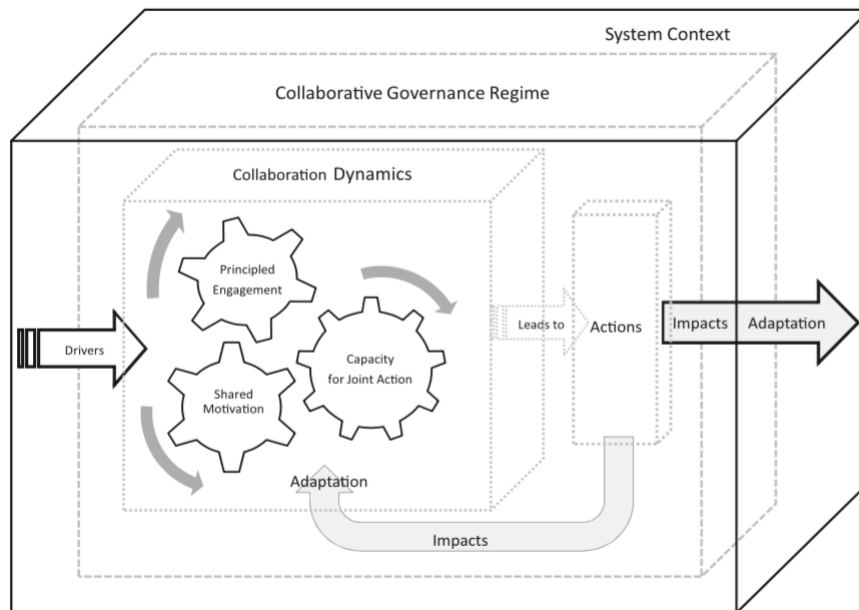


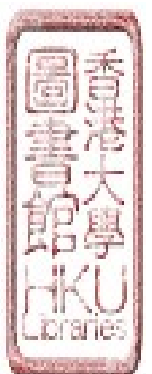
Figure 4: Integrative Framework for Collaborative Governance

Source: Emerson et al. (2011)

Drivers and collaborative dynamics of the integrative framework are discussed in the following paragraphs.

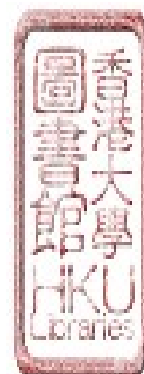
Drivers

There are several key capacities which drive collaborative governance in the Framework. The drivers as defined by Emerson et al. (2011) are crucial for identifying motivating forces of collaborative governance. First of all, leadership is always a crucial factor to steer the collaborative action, especially with the emerging of new leadership in the government. Secondly, consequential incentives refer to the choice of collaboration, which will result in positive (to collaborate)



and/or negative (not to collaborate) incentives to drive collaboration between stakeholders. Thirdly, interdependence refers to the supplementary relationship between stakeholders to secure their needs in resources or any kind of supports, the scenario could also be described as a “give-and-take” approach to drive collaboration. Lastly, uncertainty could be an issue to drive collaboration, in particular when handling untested, brand new policy issue. Risk level could then be shared out by various stakeholders within the collaboration platform.

The four drivers mentioned above cover the major concerns of stakeholders and are sufficient conditions to trigger off a collaborative process among the stakeholders. They are echoed by other collaborative governance models developed by other scholars such as Ansell to some extent. Firstly, the leadership driver is similar to facilitative leadership under Ansell and Gash’s model (2007). Both emphasise the leadership capacity to bring relevant stakeholders together to negotiate and collaborate and to steer the discussion and implementation processes. Secondly, consequential incentives, interdependence and uncertainty are similar to the starting conditions of Ansell’s model, namely incentives to participate and power/resource imbalances. According to Ansell and Gash (2007), the absence of significant power-resource-knowledge asymmetries among the stakeholders and

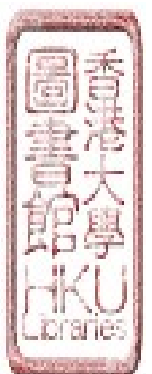


lack of an alternative venue for stakeholders to pursue their interests will increase the willingness and likelihood for stakeholders to engage in a collaborative process.

To realise collaborative action, the existence of motivators is essential and important. Generally speaking, effective motivators should cover benchmarks, namely political feasibility, incentive driven, mutual benefit, and risk sharing. Steer of leadership could facilitate political feasibility; consequential incentive could be incentives driven; interdependence is in fact mutually beneficial by nature; and uncertainty in policy issue could facilitate risk sharing.

Collaborative dynamics

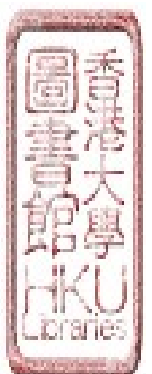
Collaborative dynamics refers to an inter-connected process of generating momentum for collaborative governance (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Ansell, 2012). Principled engagement refers to the processes of discovering and identifying common interests; defining common goals and purposes; deliberation with a view to fostering partnership; and determining procedural and substantive issues which are necessary for collaborative engagement. The crux of principled engagement is to involve people in the deliberation and decision making processes so that the stakeholders concerned will consider that they “own” the decisions. Rather than



merely thinking that the interests are affected by the decisions made, the stakeholders will consider they have a stake in the deliberative process and the decisions made. Ansell's (2012) collaborative governance model lends support to principled engagement in that it also considers face-to-face dialogue (similar to deliberation in Emerson et al.'s (2011) model) forming a key part of the collaborative process.

Shared motivation is the output of a self-reinforcing process of building up trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy and shared commitment. It helps facilitate goal alignment, fuel a willingness to cooperate, foster the development of a shared purpose, and, ultimately, sustain principled engagement. Ansell's (2012) collaborative governance model has elements which are similar to all but one component of shared motivation. According to Ansell and Gash (2007), trust-building, commitment to process and shared understanding are part of the configurations of the collaborative process.

Capacity for joint action involves institutional arrangement, leadership, knowledge and resources. These four elements allow individuals to work with others in a constructive and concerted manner to generate desired outputs in collective manner. Similarities are found in Ansell and Gash's model (2007)



whereby the latter's reference to protocols, ground rules and procedures are considered critical for enhancing the procedural legitimacy of a collaborative process.

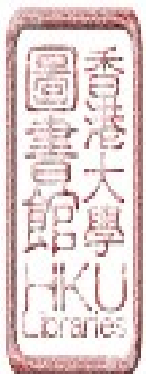
Each of three components of collaborative dynamics by itself and on its own is necessary but not sufficient condition to drive collaborative governance. However, when they are gelled together, they contribute to the effective functioning of the collaborative governance regime as a whole.

Citizen Participation

Citizen participation and collaborative governance

The dimension of citizen participation supplements the integrative framework for collaborative governance and enhances its analytical power. According to Emerson et al. (2011), collaborative governance is more likely to occur if there is a shared vision of collaborative action and collaborative dynamics generates the capacity for joint action. Whether principled engagement occurs and a shared vision of collaborative governance arises depends on the level of citizen participation.

Collaborative governance as defined by Emerson et al. (2011) stresses the idea that people across organisational boundaries are engaged in public policy making

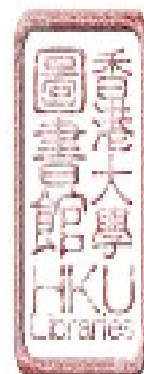


and management for accomplishment of a public objective. It focuses on the equal footing on which public and private sectors interact with each other in the context of collaborative governance. Such emphasis to certain extent downplays the merits of studying the roles played by citizens in shaping decision making in public affairs. While Emerson et al. (2011) suggested that the integrative framework can be applied to inform participatory governance and civic engagement; they recognised that the extent of citizen participation can vary considerably in collaborative governance. (Emerson et al., 2011) It is therefore important to make reference to the typology of citizen participation in order to assess the level of citizen participation in collaborative governance.

Typology of citizen participation

One of the earliest influential discussions on citizen participation is the Ladder of Participation suggested by Arnstein (1969) which used the metaphor of a ladder to describe eight levels of citizen participation, and could be further categorised into three groups, namely “Non-participation”, “Tokenism” and “Citizen Power”.

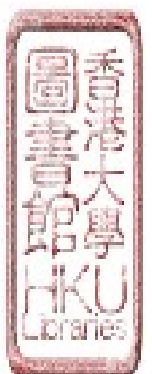
White (1996) suggested four forms of participation: Nominal, Instrumental, Representative and Transformative, which is determined by top-down interest in



participation (i.e. interest to design programmes involving participation of others), bottom up interest in participation (i.e. how participants expect and perceive their participation) and function including display, means, voice and means/end.

Fung (2006) developed a framework to understand the dynamics of citizen participation and a range of institutional possibilities called “The Democracy Cube”. There are three dimensions in citizen participation: (i) who participates; (ii) how participants exchange information and make decision; and (iii) how discussions and policies or public actions are linked. The framework illustrates the extent of citizens’ influence in different institutional designs, and further addresses the issues of democratic governance as being legitimacy, justice and effective governance.

Despite the fact that Arnstein’s (1969) ladder of citizen participation has its limitation in particular on the over-simplification of the characteristic in each level of participation and failure to explain the boundary between levels of participation, it is still one of the influential typology and simple tools informing the level of citizen participation. Hence the typology is integrated into the analytical framework to illustrate the change of level of citizen participation.



In accordance with the Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation, there are eight levels of citizen participation which can be categorised into three groups as depicted below:

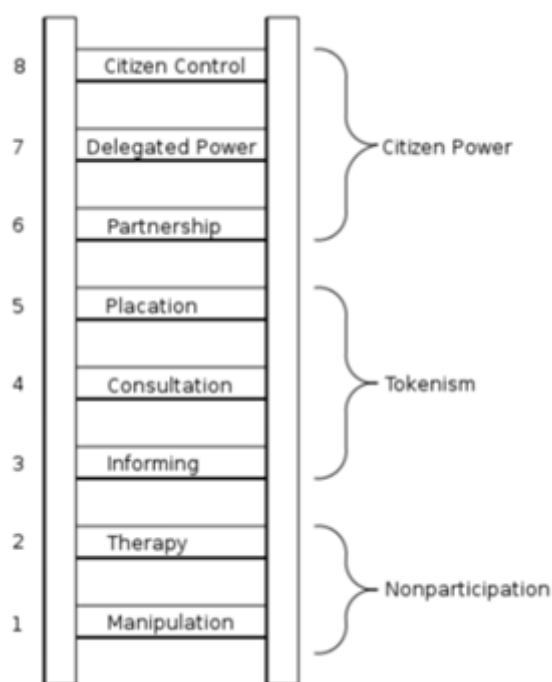
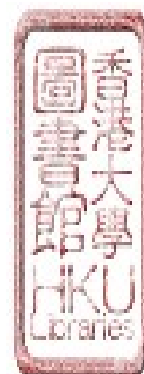


Figure 5: Eight Rungs on the Ladder of Citizen Participation

Source: Arnstein (1969)

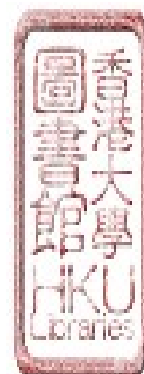
Different levels of citizen participation determine what kinds of governance actions are taken. As governance moves up the ladder of citizen participation, the nature of inputs tapped from citizens changes and so does the nature of governance actions. Insofar as collaborative governance is concerned, tokenism and citizen power are more relevant. Under tokenism, citizens' views are solicited or their



buy-in sought to be secured. Under citizen power, citizens' participatory inputs in the form of their expertise, capacity and network are tapped. (Arnstein, 1969)

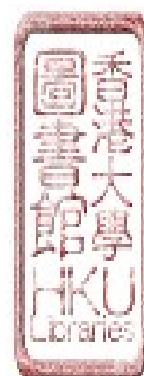
Under non-participation, "Manipulation" is characterised by citizen representatives being placed on rubberstamp advisory committees for the purpose of educating them or persuading for their support. Government officials dominate the meeting agenda and advise the citizens' representatives on what they should support. In the second level "Therapy", citizens are engaged in extensive activities in the name of involving citizens in planning, but these activities are actually 'therapies' to adjust citizens' values and attitudes or to divert citizen's attention from other more important matters. Both "Manipulation" and "Therapy" are considered as "non-participation" of citizens because the real objective is not engaging citizens in planning but to educate and 'cure' them. (Arnstein, 1969)

Under the rung "Informing" of tokenism, citizens are informed of their rights, responsibilities and options, but such flow of information is one-way, passive and is usually provided at a rather late stage of planning. Participants have little room to influence the decision. Under "Consultation", citizens' views are expressed through consultation methods like surveys, consultative meetings and public hearing. However, this level of participation remains "window-dressing ritual" that



there is no guarantee that citizens' concerns are taken into account into policy planning. Under "Placation", hand-picked representatives are placed into public agencies or public bodies to give advice and exercise certain extent of influence to planning. However, it remains the Government's authority to make judgment on the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice. Although some progress has been made on the extent on citizen participation that citizens' views could be raised and heard, the three levels of "Informing", "Consultation" and "Placation" are considered "tokenism" that Governments still retain the full control on decision making and there is no assurance that Governments would consider the citizens' views during the planning process. (Arnstein, 1969)

In the sixth level of "Partnership", citizens are given power to share decision-making responsibilities through forming partnership such as joint policy boards or planning committees. Yet, the effectiveness of mode of partnership depends much on whether citizens' groups are well organized with resource support, and be led by accountable leaders. The seventh level "Delegated Power" reaches a status that dominant decision-making right over a particular issue or programme is delegated to citizens. While it is anticipated that different citizens would have different views on a particular issue or programme, Government

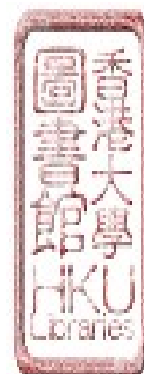


officials are expected to be engaged and take up the role of facilitating the bargaining process, but not pressing from the other end. The highest level of citizen participation is “Citizen Control” that citizens fully control a programme or an organisation in both planning and managerial aspects such as funding. Citizens also take an active role in negotiating with external partners when needed. Citizens’ power increases from the level “Partnership” to “Delegated Power” and further to “Citizen Control” that citizens obtain decision-making power to really influence policies. (Arnstein, 1969)

Collaborative Action for Community Building

Community building and collaborative governance

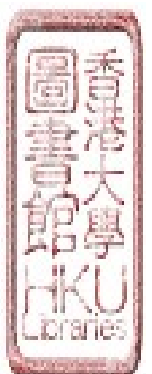
Emerson et al. ’s (2011) framework mentioned collaborative actions as the outcome of the collaborative processes by giving a list of examples such as securing endorsements, enacting policy measures, deploying staff, building and cleaning up, carrying out new management practices. However, the drivers and dynamics suggested in the framework are too generic and do not specifically target actions for community building which is the focus of our analytical framework. In fact, the community characteristics would greatly influence collaborative actions in the



context of district governance. Therefore, Emerson et al.'s integrative framework is supplemented by Mattessich and Monsey (1997)'s identification of factors influencing the success of community building. This gives community building an action focus in the context of collaborative action of the analytical framework.

Definition of community and community building

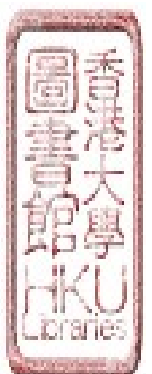
There are many definitions of community as revealed in a review of literature conducted by Mattessich and Monsey (Phillips and Pittman, 2009). The definition of MacQueen (2001) et al. is adopted that community is “a group of people with diverse characteristics who are linked by social ties, share common perspectives, and engage in joint action in geographical locations or settings.” (MacQueen et al., 2001, p.1932) There are five core elements of communities: (i) Locus, that is a sense of place with specific area and boundaries; (ii) Sharing, that is community members having shared perspectives, common values and common interests; (iii) Joint action, that is community members getting together, acting together, working together to form cohesion and identity; (iv) Social ties, that is interpersonal relationships forming the foundation for community; and (v) Diversity, that is social complexity within communities forming differences in interpersonal



interaction such as diversity in race, socioeconomic status, profession, and presence of groups performing different tasks like activists. (MacQueen et al., 2001)

The discussion on community building was led by noting the decline of social connectivity in post-war America: Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) accounted the economic shifts in America and the disappearance of industrial jobs for the segregation of community by either highly professionalized jobs or low-pay service jobs; Putnam (2000) observed a decline in political involvement such as decrease in voter turnout and membership in civil society groups such as labour unions and associations etc. Besides, an increase in the number of people bowling alone implied that social interaction and civic engagement were decreasing.

Community building is defined as “activities pursued by a community in order to increase the social capacity of the members” and as citing the work of Gardner (1993), the process “involved the practice of building connections among residents, and establishing positive patterns of individual and community behavior based on mutual responsibility and ownership.” (Mattessich, 2009, p.52) The social capital is described as the ability of a community member to organise and mobilize resources to fulfil common goals. (Phillips and Pittman, 2009) As cited the work of Joseph and Ogletree (1996), it suggested that the community could be built through

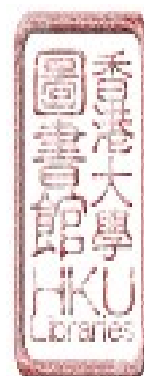


community organising which involves a process of identifying resources, gathering information, training local leaders and strengthening network for bringing community members together to improve neighborhood. (Mattessich, 2009)

Factors influencing success of community building

Mattessich and Monsey (1997) in “Community Building: What Makes It Work” synthesised researches on community building and identified twenty-eight factors influencing the success of community building. They are grouped under three categories. Firstly it is the characteristics of community referring to the attributes of a community in social, psychological and geographic aspects. The second factor is the characteristics of a community-building process referring to the components in the process of building community. The third factor is the characteristics of leaders of community building who organise and lead the effort to build the community. The list of the twenty-eight factors is as follows:

Characteristics of the Community	Characteristics of the community-building process	Characteristics of community-building organisers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Community awareness of an issue# ○ Motivation from within the community ○ Small geographic area# ○ Flexibility and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Widespread participation# ○ Good system of communication ○ Minimal competition in pursuit of goals ○ Development of self-understanding ○ Benefits to many residents# ○ Concurrent focus on product and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ An understanding of the community# ○ Sincerity of commitment ○ A relationship of trust ○ A high level of organising experience ○ Flexibility and adaptability



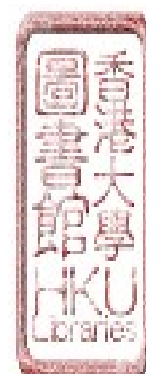
Characteristics of the Community	Characteristics of the community-building process	Characteristics of community-building organisers
adaptability ○ Preexisting social cohesion ○ Ability to discuss, reach consensus and cooperate ○ Existing identifiable leadership ○ Prior success with community building#	process# ○ Linkage to organisations outside the community ○ Progression from simple to complex activities# ○ Systematic gathering of information and analysis of community issues ○ Training to gain community building skills# ○ Early involvement and support from existing indigenous organisations ○ Use of technical assistance ○ Continual emergence of leaders, as needed ○ Community Control over decision making# ○ Right mix of resources	

not covered in Emerson et al.'s (2011) Integrative Framework

Table 1: Twenty-eight Factors that Influence the Success of Community Building

Source: Group according to classification of Mattessich and Monsey (1997)

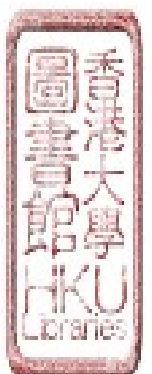
By comparison, a significant number of the factors have been covered or mentioned in the “System Context”, “Drivers” and “Collaborative Dynamics” in the Emerson et al.'s (2011) Integrative Framework. However, there are a number of factors, as indicated in the Table 1, which are not covered in the Emerson et al.'s (2011) Integrative Framework. It is noted that they are, to a large extent, specifically related to community or community-building process, instead of general system context and general process applying to all collaborative actions



such as good networking or good system of communication. Through being supplemented by these community-related factors, the analytical framework would be more comprehensive to inform the collaborative actions in community building.

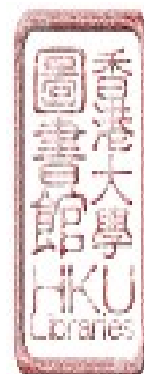
Evaluation of Effectiveness of Collaborative Action

Although Emerson et al. (2011) set forth the drivers to facilitate the realisation of collaborative action, his model is weak in evaluating the effectiveness of collaborative action. Emerson et al.'s model is descriptive by nature and therefore weak in explanatory and predictive aspects. Gunton and Day (2003) proposed four criteria to evaluate the effectiveness of collaboration action, which include the success in reaching agreement, efficiency, stakeholders' satisfaction, and the achievement of social capital and knowledge. The four criteria are generic in nature and could apply to majority of the cases. Although Gunton and Day (2003) did not specify the relationship among criteria, we may assume that the four criteria together form an incremental process to evaluate the collaborative action, from the primary goal of reaching the expected agreement through collaboration, to selecting the most efficient policy option among other policy alternatives, then to ensure stakeholders' satisfaction, and finally to the stage of



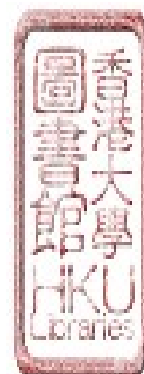
accumulation/achievement of social capital and to enrich the knowledge of citizens' in the society.

In addition, Emerson et al.'s (2011) model relies much on the impact to provide feedback to facilitate better output in the future. However, in reality, some known factors could be taken into account in planning ahead the collaborative action. Ansell (2012) has proposed some known factors which may hinder the success of collaborative action, which include the trust between stakeholders and the type of leadership. In gist, stakeholders may be skeptical to collaboration especially when they had undergone some conflicts in previous time. Moreover, stakeholders with less resources or power and hence in weaker position may have doubts that the intention of collaboration is to reduce their influence or to absorb them into big system, rather than enriching the collaborative capacities while maintaining a fair cooperative relationship among parties. In this connection, weaker stakeholders may not commit to the collaboration wholeheartedly, as the collaboration is full of uncertainty and the mutual trust among stakeholders has not been established. To overcome the obstacles, as cited by Ansell (2012), Page (2010) argued that "integrative" leadership could contribute to the success of the collaboration action. As a guiding principle, the leadership should be able to



establish a fair “rules of game, every stakeholder, no matter how powerful and how much resources they possessed, should respect the rules during the collaboration process. As for the role of leadership, he/she has to ensure the fair play of stakeholders and if necessary, to do in favor of the weaker stakeholders when imbalance (especially excessive favor to stronger stakeholders) is likely to happen.

A review of the ideas of Emerson et al. (2011), Ansell (2012), Gunton and Day (2003) and Page (2010) as cited by Ansell (2012), shows that their ideas are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but in fact supplement each other in a sense to enrich the illustration of the formulation and process of collaborative action. For instance, Emerson et al. (2011) identified drivers which motivate the occurrence of collaborative action whereas Ansell (2012) further supplemented Emerson et al.’s ideas with some known factors (i.e. mutual trust) which may need to be taking into account. Since leadership is as crucial to the success of collaborative action, Page (2010) as cited by Ansell (2012) has proposed the “integrative” leadership, which aims at balancing the interests and benefits among stakeholders. As for the final evaluation, though Emerson et al. (2011) has proposed the impact could facilitate a better output in the future, no specific criteria was raised as reference. To supplement, Gunton and Day (2003) suggested the four criteria, which is more clear

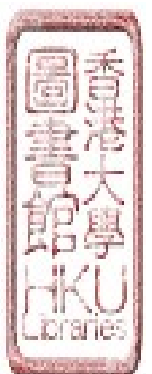


and systematic to be adopted as a yardstick to evaluate the success of collaborative action.

Conclusion

This chapter establishes the analytical framework, which guides, structures and informs the subsequent empirical research in Chapters 3 and 4. Centred on the notion of community building, the analytical framework draws on the concept of collaborative governance proposed by Emerson et al. (2011), supplemented by the typology of citizen participation proposed by Arnstein (1969) to study the dynamics and structure of collaborative action and evaluate the governance capacity thereof. It synthesizes with the empirical research to address the research questions posed at Chapter 1.

This chapter provides a review of different theories related to governance and collaborative governance. Among these models and theories, Emerson et al.'s (2011) integrative framework is adopted and serves as the basis of the analytical framework of this study because of its broader scope of definitions and more comprehensive structure. However, since Emerson et al.'s (2011) framework does not mention much about the citizen participation, community building and

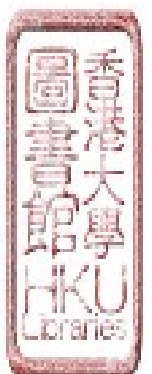


evaluation, other models and studies (i.e. Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Participations, Mattessich and Monsey's (1997) Community Building and Gunton and Day's (2003) Four Criteria) have been integrated to augment the analytical framework of this study, which is largely built on Emerson et al.'s (2011) framework. The linkages and integration of Emerson et al.'s (2011) framework are depicted below:

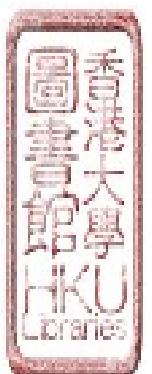


Figure 6: Elements in the Enhanced Integrative Framework of Collaborative Governance

The focus of this project is to study the structure and dynamics of district level community building of Hong Kong and evaluate the effectiveness of collaborative actions. The analytical framework is comprehensive and all-encompassing. Its



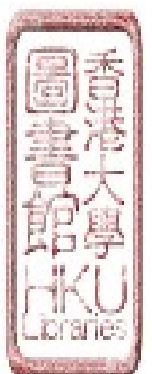
emphasis on the non-linear nature of the collaborative process and self-reinforcing nature of different elements within the collaborative dynamics more fittingly reflect the collaborative process in reality. In the following chapters, the theories and models discussed in the analytical framework would serve as an analytical lens to inform, guide and structure the empirical research from both vertical and horizontal perspectives as mentioned in Chapter 1.



Chapter 3: Evolution of Collaborative Governance at District Level

Introduction

This Chapter presents the empirical analysis to examine from the vertical perspective the launch of the DAS in 1982 and various cornerstone developments of the DCs (formerly called DBs from 1982 to 1999) since then. Such milestones illustrated the gradual development of the DCs from the initial stage of being an advisory body to the present stage of participative collaborative governance and community building efforts as a result of the changes in the political landscape. This analysis from the historical perspective is informed by Emerson et al.'s (2011) and Arnstein's (1969) studies relating to collaborative governance focusing on the governance models and the stage of citizen participation reached in the collaborative governance respectively. An evaluation on the collaborative governance capacity by applying Gunton and Day's (2003) criteria is then made to assess the degree of success of the collaborative action achieved by the government through the DC platform. In brief, this chapter is an empirical analysis from the vertical perspective on the collaborative governance models and the community building works by linking the people, systems and actions with regard to the DAS



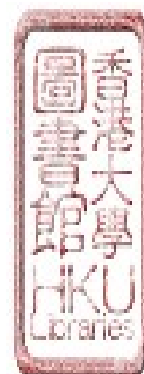
by applying the analytical framework outlined in Chapter 2.

Launch of the District Administration Scheme

As introduced briefly in Chapter 1, the Colonial Government had a restricted degree of engaging the citizens in handling district level affairs. Even though the LegCo had the unofficial members, they were not returned by direct election at that time. Hence there were limited participation by the general public in local administration and politics. (Fong, 1984)

Owing to the increasing complexity of Hong Kong society, coupled with aspirations for greater and wider participation in district administration (Fong, 1984), the Colonial Government took a bold move and in June 1980 issued a Green Paper entitled “A Pattern of District Administration in Hong Kong”. (Fong, 1984) According to the White Paper on District Administration was published in 1981 (Fong, 1984), the objectives of the DBs (predecessor of DCs) were:-

- (a) to advise on matters affecting the well-being of people living in the district and those working there;
- (b) to advise on the provision and use of public facilities and services within the district;

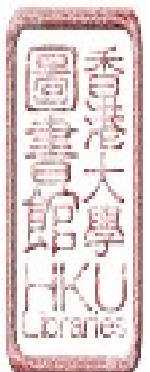


- (c) to advise on the adequacy and priorities of Government programmes for the district;
- (d) to advise on the use of public funds allocated to the district for local public works and community activities;
- (e) to undertake, where funds are made available for the purpose, minor environmental improvements within the district; and
- (f) to undertake, where funds are made available for the purpose. The promotion of recreational and cultural activities within the district.

(Fong, 1984)

Background and Capacity of First Term District Board

The first DB election was held in 1982 with 18 DBs and District Management Committees (DMCs) set up in 18 administrative districts in Hong Kong. In looking into the governance capacity of the DB members, it is worthwhile to note that for the first term of DB, only 132 out of 490 DB members were elected members, which accounted for around 27% of DB members. (Fong, 1984) In terms of geographical and professional background, 69 % of the elected members are in the New Territories DBs, while they were with business and industry background;

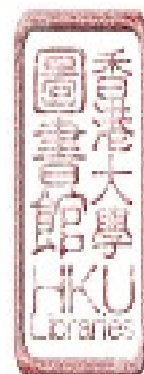


around 25 % were professionals such as educators, doctors, accountants and lawyers. For the elected members in urban DBs, 47 % were from the business and industrial sectors and 36% were classified as professionals. (Fong, 1984)

The results were understandable as DB members with such background were regarded as local elites who had the required intelligence and thus the mental capacity to comprehend the official discussion/information papers prepared by the Government departments and circulated by the DB Secretariat. And that for collaborative governance, a certain degree of literacy of the members and their time commitment (especially during in the day time) to attend the DB meetings were considered as essential.

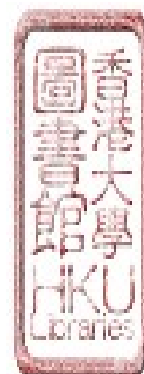
Roles of District Councils in Pre-handover Period

It was also speculated that the DAS in Hong Kong was set up amid the political backdrop of the British Government's strategy to strengthen its bargaining chips in the negotiation on the sovereignty for Hong Kong with the Chinese Government in creating the image that Hong Kong should be perceived as a separate polity. One of the major objectives of the DAS was to "promote public participation in district affairs". (Constitutional Affairs Bureau, 2006) However, in order not to antagonise



the Chinese Government, the scope and extent of the administrative and political power of the DBs had to be restricted and limited to those as advisory in nature. The DBs set up in 18 districts under the DAS was meant to “play an important advisory role in reflecting public opinion and monitoring the delivery of public services at district level and promoting government initiatives”. (Constitutional Affairs Bureau, 2006, p.1)

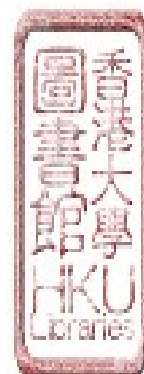
Since the implementation of the DAS in 1982, the Colonial Government had conducted various reviews but they were largely related to the composition of the DBs. There was, during the Colonial Administration, no major enhancement to the roles and functions of the DBs. In 1987, a report on the review of the developments in the representative Government commissioned by the then Survey Office was published. The report covered, inter alia, the role of the DBs and the survey results showed that there were divided views as reflected from the submissions on whether to change the role of the DBs or to empower the DBs to “make decisions and to direct the actions of Government departments on certain matters of concern specifically to their district” (Survey Office, 1987) Hence, before the hand-over of sovereignty, the roles and functions of the DBs in the context of collaborative governance remained largely intact.



Enhanced Roles and Functions of District Councils since 1997

After the handover, there have been significant developments to enhance the roles of the DCs. In 1998, the Government commissioned a consultancy report to look at the new framework for municipal services upon the abolition of the two Municipal Councils (namely the Urban Council and Regional Council) in December 1999. In a paper submitted to the LegCo on 22 October 1999, the Government proposed various ways to strengthen the roles of the DCs, which include the following:

- (a) to invite the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of DC and its committees as the members of the DMC;
- (b) to consult the DCs on matters on environment, hygiene, facilities, cultural and recreational activities;
- (c) to submit progress reports to the DCs regularly for matters relating to those as listed in point (b), and allow the DCs to participate in monitoring the environmental hygiene standards in the district;
- (d) to provide additional funding to the DCs to improve local environment and to promote local cultural and recreational activities within the district;
- (e) to jointly hold food safety educational activities with the DCs; and
- (f) to encourage DCs in formulating community projects and to promote

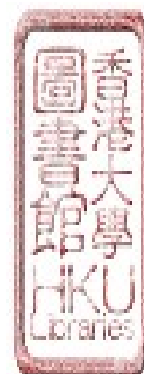


their sustainable developments.

(Task Force on Reorganisation of Municipal Services, 1999, October 22)

In 2005, the Government initiated a major review of the functions and composition of the DCs, jointly conducted by the Home Affairs Bureau and the Constitutional Affairs Bureau. The main objective of the review was to align with the Government's strategy to allow DCs to participate in the management of district facilities. (Constitutional Affairs Bureau, 2006) The consultation paper entitled "Review on the Role, Functions and Composition of District Councils" set the tone for enhanced collaborative governance at district level community building. (Home Affairs Bureau, 2006) This was also to a certain extent related to the dissolution of the two Municipal Councils, as the DCs are more involved in monitoring the environmental hygiene services/facilities and the promotion of cultural, recreational and sports activities. (Yu, 2001)

In the latest published fact sheet on the DAS, the Government re-stated the roles of the DCs in this public brief. When compared with the first set of roles announced in 1981, it is obvious to note that the DCs are to advise the Government on:-



- (a) matters affecting the well-being of the people in the district;
- (b) the provision and use of public facilities and services within the district;
- (c) the adequacy and priorities of government programmes for the district; and
the use of public funds allocated to the district for local public works and
community activities;

Where funds are made available for the purpose, to undertake:-

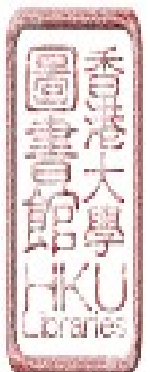
- (a) minor works within the district to improve local facilities, living
environment and hygienic conditions;
- (b) the promotion of recreational and cultural activities within the district; and
- (c) community activities within the district.

(Information Services Department, 2016)

The emphasis on community building (i.e. community activities organized by the DCs, inter alia) is evidenced by the fact that the Government is attempting to push for expanding the scope of collaborative governance at district level.

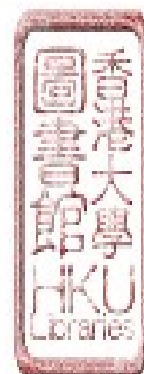
Delegation of More Responsibilities to District Councils since 2013

In the 2013 Policy Address, the CE announced that the district administration has much room for further development and put forward the concept of addressing



district issues at the local level and capitalising on local opportunities. (Policy Address, 2013) Moreover, it was stated that “district administration, initiated by the Government, should be complemented by active district participation, while it should not be the sole responsibility of the Government. The way forward is to delegate certain tasks and responsibilities to the DCs so that they can assist in delivering district services and promoting district development.” (Policy Address, 2013, para. 190) The government “will actively study how to take forward the present mode of district administration to enhance the functions of DCs, enable DC Members to play a more active role in district affairs, and facilitate the co-ordination of Government departments in service delivery at district level by the District Officers” (Policy Address, 2013, para. 191)

Thus, given the various major milestones of the development of the DAS, it is shown that the collaborative governance model as pursued by the Government through the mechanism of the DCs has evolved gradually from advisory, then to consultation and eventually to participative collaborative governance.



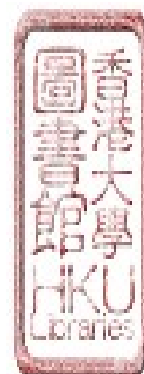
Dynamics and Structure of Collaborative Governance at District Level

System Context

Emerson et al. (2011) outlined the “general system context” which either facilitates or constrains the development of collaborative governance. The system context comprises various aspects including resource conditions, policy legal framework, prior failure to address issue, political dynamics/power relations, network connectedness, levels of conflict or trust, socio economic/cultural health and diversity etc. (Emerson et al., 2011). The relevant contextual aspects are reviewed in the context of the DCs.

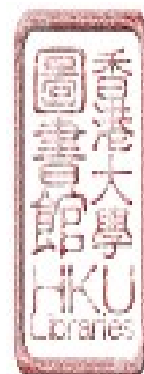
Legal backing of district councils

The DAS together with the DBs were established with the distinctive feature that it has the legal backing under the then DB Ordinance and now the DC Ordinance (Chapter 547 of the Hong Kong Ordinance) to ensure it operated within a designated system and scope, with the appropriate un-official members of diverse background to sit on the respective DCs to cooperate and contribute views to facilitate the Government departments/officials in providing relevant public



services and managing public facilities under the ambit of the DCs at district level. The DB Ordinance was first enacted on 17 July, 1981. (Ho, 1983) The current DC Ordinance with updates over the years stipulates the authority of the CE in Council to decide on various DC related matters, including the DC constituencies, the functions of the DCs, the composition of the DCs and the number of elected members, the eligibility of the candidates to stand for election, the system of voting, election petitions, the procedure of DCs, the disqualification of candidates or elected members, financial assistance for candidates, legal proceedings, etc. (District Councils Ordinance)

The legal backing for the DCs is also provided under the Basic Law of the HKSAR. (Constitutional Affairs Bureau, 2006) The DCs are interpreted as district organisations under the Basic Law. Article 97 of the Basic Law stipulates that “District organisations which are not organs of political power may be established in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, to be consulted by the Government of the Region on district administration and other affairs, or to be responsible for providing services in such fields as culture, recreation and environmental sanitation”. Article 98 of the Basic Law stipulates that “The powers and functions of the district organisations and the method for their formation shall

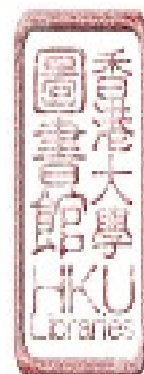


be prescribed by law”. (Basic Law, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region)

The Basic Law and the DC Ordinance establish the legality of DCs and govern the operations of the DCs; in particular they spelt out clearly the collaborative status of the DCs in the administration of the relevant district affairs.

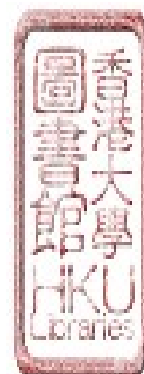
Economic and political factors

The socio-economic development in the 1970s was conducive as a general system contextual factor to a more collaborative governance model. The local economy had taken off from late 1960’s after the riots in 1966 and 1967. The rapid growth of population and the economy had made the governance of Hong Kong more complex. This is reflected from the growth of its per capita Gross Domestic Product from US\$967 in 1970 to US\$3,848 in 1978, (World Macroeconomic Research, 2014) and that was the major reason for the Government to commission the McKinsey study. It was stated that “Measured in terms either of its population or of its economy, Hong Kong has one of the highest growth rates in the world, a situation that imposes great pressure on Government to expand the scale and scope of the services it provides. That said, the Government was required to respond to the public demand to increase the volume of existing services. Moreover, the



Government also needs to satisfy the rising expectations of the population by improving the quality of these services and by introducing new ones. Because the services are becoming increasingly complex themselves, the Government may require increasingly sophisticated methods to providing them.” (Legislative Council Secretariat, 2002) Thus, the substantial growth of the economy and the educational levels are the social economic background that prompted the Hong Kong people to demand greater involvement in public policies. (Fong, 1984) Against this background, the DCs were set up in early 1980s and remained in place till the transfer of the sovereignty of Hong Kong from Britain to China in 1997.

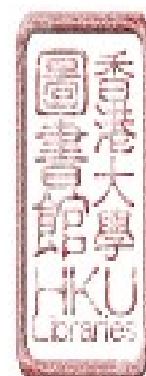
Immediately after the handover, Hong Kong was worst hit by the Asian Financial Crisis with its epicenter of outbreak in Thailand in 1997. The economic downturn coupled with the Avian Flu outbreak in 1998 and the other series of administrative failures had led scholars to put forward the argument that governance legitimacy of the HKSAR Government was weakened. It is believed this post-hand-over political development might be one of the precipitating factors paving the way for the HKSAR Government to move towards a more collaborative governance model. For instance, there is increasing exploration of public–private partnership initiatives by Government departments advocated by the Efficiency



Unit. It is stated that “Private Sector Involvement (PSI) is a strategy for improving public services by involving the private sector in delivering new services and infrastructure projects. It is the Government’s established policy that departments should make good use of resources from the private sector wherever possible” and “Different types of PSI, mainly outsourcing and Public Private Partnerships, should be considered either when providing new services or when improving existing services.” (Efficiency Unit, 2015) And at the district administration level, the Government was more inclined to devolve certain governance functions to the DCs when the window of opportunity opened.

Resource allocation

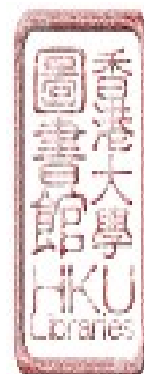
With regard to the resources conditions, the DCs are the integral part of the DAS. The Home Affairs Department (HAD) is the lead department responsible for the DAS. (Information Services Department, 2016) The HAD establishes a DC Secretariat in each district. The secretariat is staffed and funded by the Government to provide administrative and secretarial support to the DC. For instance, Sha Tin DC has set up seven committees namely District Facilities Management Committee, Culture, Sports and Community Development Committee, Traffic and



Transport Committee, Health and Environment Committee, Education and Welfare Committee, and Finance and General Affairs Committee. To delegate the performance of its functions, a DC or its committees “may appoint working groups to assist in carrying out specific duties under their purview”. (Sha Tin District Council, 2015a) Financial resources are also provided to DCs to roll out district level activities. For instance, Sha Tin DC, has funding allocation from the HAD, to organise activities which aim at promoting culture, art, recreation and sports as well as community involvement, enhancing community spirit and fostering a sense of belonging.” (Sha Tin District Council, 2015b)

On the broader side, HAD has included the recurrent budget requirement for DC funds under its vote of departmental expenditure Subhead 000 Operational Expenses. (Home Affairs Department, 2006), and DCs are provided with funding to carry out community involvement and minor environmental improvement projects. The budget for 2006-07 was \$173.5 million (Home Affairs Department, 2006) and the budget is raised to \$389.5 million for 2015-16. (Controlling Officer’s Report, Home Affairs Department, 2015)

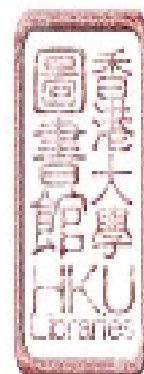
In order to enhance the district administration, the Government has in 2013 introduced the SPS by allocating a one-off grant of \$100 million to each DC. With



the additional financial resources, each DC is able to launch one or two large-scale and sustainable projects to cater for the specific district needs. For instances, Sha Tin DC plans to roll out two SPS projects, namely Decking of Tai Wai Nullah in Sha Tin and Revitalisation of Shing Mun River Promenade. (Sha Tin District Council, 2015c)

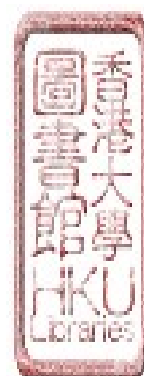
There is a remuneration package provided to DC members, which includes monthly honorarium, medical allowance, end-of-term gratuity and provision of operating expenses reimbursement allowance to assist DC members to operate their ward offices and to cover DC business related expenses. (Home Affairs Department, 2006) Each DC member is also eligible for a new financial provision of \$10,000 for the DC term (2016-2019) to allow DC members to undertake overseas duty visits related to DC work. (Home Affairs Department, 2016c)

With regard to the political dynamic and power politics, the DBs/DCs are established with the aim to “achieve a more effective coordination of Government activities in the provision of services and facilities at district level, ensure that the Government is responsive to district needs and problems and promote local participation in district affairs” (Information Services Department, 2016). The Basic Law has already defined the DCs as district organisations serving as a



territory-wide consultation mechanism with no political power. Moreover, it has all along been alleged that the real political motive for setting up the DB Scheme by the Colonial Government was an attempt to localize and de-politicalize problems and to channel the handling of district problems within the established Government channels. (Yu, 2001) This has been successful that with the growth of party politics at district level over the past decades, the pro-establishment and pan-democratic political parties are gaining more influence at district levels, which facilitated the organized collaborative governance. For instance, the 18 DCs of the current term for 2015-2019, eight Chairmen are with political affiliation with the Democratic Alliance for Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong and two chairmen are affiliated to the New People's Party/Civil Force. (Home Affairs Department, 2016d)

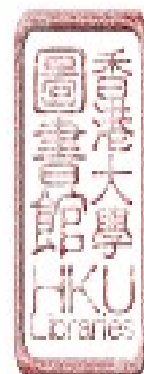
The ten chairmen who are affiliated with the pro-establishment camp are in general supportive of Government initiated projects, while the other eight chairmen do not indicate any political affiliation or claim independent status. With the recent development that five LegCo members are returned from the DC (Second) Functional Constituency (i.e. the so called “super-DC seats”), which have more or less the same voting base as the geographical constituency despite its nature as a functional constituency seat, the political dynamics at the DCs is more interactive



and conducive to the attachment of importance to the power play at the DC platform.

Network connectedness

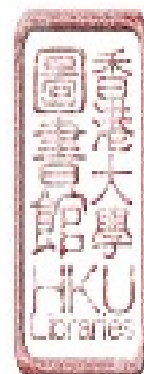
In regard to the network connectedness, the Government has duly recognized the enhanced role of the DCs. “The Government will allow each DC to assume responsibility for the management of some district facilities, such as libraries, community halls, leisure grounds, sports venues and swimming pools. The executive departments will consult and follow the decisions of the DC in managing such facilities, within the limits of their existing statutory powers and resources available.” (Policy Address, 2005-06, para. 20). “To foster harmony in the community, this requires the concerted efforts of the Government and all sectors of the community. The public generally expects less confrontation and dispute and more harmony among us. Many community organisations are striving to foster a harmonious society on the basis of joint responsibility, the Government will strive to form partnerships with different organisations and sectors to engender a sense of friendship and mutual support.” (Policy Address, 2005-06, para. 27) Thus, it is the Government’s strategy that the DCs could contribute in connecting the growing



district-based volunteerism in the form of district-based organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and business enterprises to cooperate with the DCs in community involvement projects. (Home Affairs Department, 2006) This kind of DCs projects is a solid evidence of the collaborative governance by pooling community resources through the DCs to network with these sectors. Cross-sector projects made possible through the network of DCs included poverty alleviation programmes, community bazaars, computer festivals, healthy city programmes, etc. (Home Affairs Department, 2006)

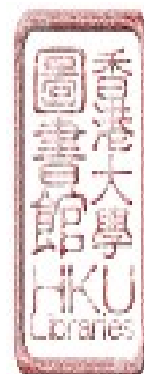
Levels of conflict, trust and the experience of prior failure

In regard to the aspects of the levels of conflict, trust and the experience of prior failure, the DAS had its origin from the City District Officer (CDO) Scheme which was rolled out in 1968 and the Mutual Aid Committee Scheme which was implemented in 1973. (Chan, 1982) But the CDO Scheme only focused on unilateral conveyance of the Colonial Government information and decisions to the community to “dissipate resistance” to the Colonial rule. (Chan, 1982) This design worked against the growing trend of collaborative governance worldwide. The levels of conflicts and ineffectiveness of these schemes in the eyes of Hong Kong



citizens were reflected in the frequent occurrence of “petitions, demonstrations, sit-ins and sleep-ins in the 1970’s”. (Chan, 1982) The McKinsey Report published in 1972 recommended for revised roles of advisory committees, which stated that “The number of advisory bodies is large and is growing. Clearly these bodies perform a valuable and essential function, but frequently the benefits they produce hardly seem to merit the demands they make on the time of top-level staff and busy private citizens. It was believed that more benefits could be obtained, first by rationalising the roles of these committees and reducing their numbers; second by adapting the existing machinery and the proposed new machinery to give committees a more positive and more clearly defined role in policy formulation”. (Legislative Council Secretariat, 2002)

The pilot Tsuen Wan New Town Management Committee, set up in 1973, was intended to provide new governance model at district level as the Committee was intended, inter alia, to provide coordination for Government activities in the district and “with particular attention to local opinion regarding the adequacy of existing and planned facilities”. (Chan, 1982) The success of the Tsuen Wan New Town Management Committee demonstrated the Colonial Government learned from past failure and that the move to replicate the New Town Management consultative



model precipitated the subsequent launching of the DAS including establishment of the DBs in order to increase the governance efficiency, for administrative absorption of politics to reduce conflicts (Chan, 1982) and establish the trust among the district residents that district level administration would take into account public opinions during the decision making process.

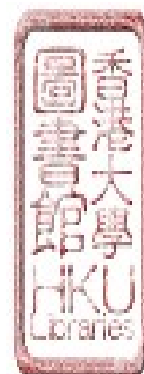
Drivers of Collaborative Governance

As defined by Emerson et al. (2011), there are four drivers i.e. leadership, consequential incentives, interdependence and uncertainty, which facilitate collaborative governance and encourage cooperation among stakeholders.

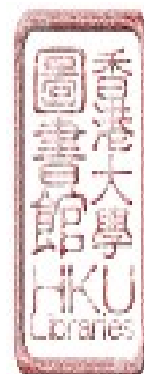
Leadership

The three CEs of HKSAR, Mr TUNG Chee-wah (1997-2003), Mr Donald TSANG (2003-2012) and Mr CY LEUNG (2012-present) since the handover took a significant role in enhancing the role of DC with more elements of collaborative governance.

In TUNG's administration, he stated clearly in his first Policy Address that the Government should "take a fresh look at the regional organisations, the Municipal Councils and the DBs" so to review whether the district representative Government



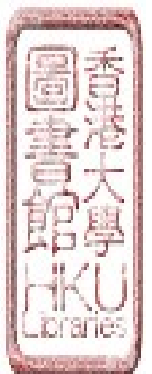
structure was efficient and responsive in delivering services to community. (Policy Address, 1997, para. 147) In his second Policy Address, TUNG further suggested the organisational framework required a change to increase public accountability and public participation in community affairs. In particular, with the ever changing and dynamic role of LegCo and DC, it was questionable to maintain the two Municipal Councils. (Policy Address, 1998) In October 1999, a policy paper in respect of the reorganisation of municipal services was submitted to the LegCo. Following the dissolution of the two Municipal Councils, the Government proposed to enhance the role and function of DC, that apart from advisory function, DC also took prominent role to monitor the works performed by Government departments. The most important measure was to establish a high-level platform, the DMC, consisting of District Officer (the head of District Office and the most senior directorate officer at district level), district head of core Government departments in district level (i.e. Social Welfare Department, Leisure and Cultural Services Department, Hong Kong Police Force, Transport Department, etc.), DC Chairman and Vice-chairman, and Committee Chairmen under DC. Moreover, Government departments were required to proactively consult DC on matters related to major municipal services including hygiene, cultural and recreational



activities, etc.

For TSANG, in his first Policy Address, he recognized the importance of DC to network the local community so to promote local community economy and collect public opinion. TSANG saw the need to strengthen the “cooperation with District Councils and support their work” and promised to review DC’s function and composition at a suitable time. (Policy Address, 2004) After a review of the role and function conducted by HAB, TSANG announced the expansion of the role of DC. (2005-06 Policy Address, 2005) Concrete measures included allowing DC to shoulder the responsibility to manage major district facilities such as community halls, libraries, sports venues, and Government departments would consult and follow DC’ s decisions in managing the facilities. (2005-06 Policy Address, 2005) Moreover, DC was given more authority to decide on and process district minor works projects to meet community need. (Home Affairs Bureau, 2006)

CY in his first Policy Address in 2013 raised the concept of “addressing district issues at the local level and capitalizing on local opportunities”. He considered active district participation was crucial for district administration and the way forward was to delegate more work and responsibilities to DC in terms of providing district services and promoting district development. (Policy Address,

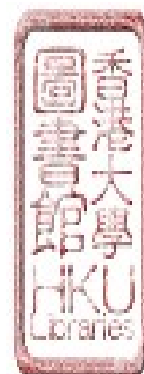


2013) He also announced that the Government would earmark \$100 million as a one-off grant for each DC to carry out signature projects. (Policy Address, 2013)

Consequential incentives

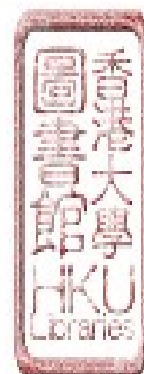
Consequential incentives cover both internal drivers such as problems, interests or opportunities; or external drivers such as situational crisis or opportunities. With the increasing complexity of socio-economic situation in Hong Kong and rapid advancement of technology worldwide, the traditional mode of public service provision, which rely on top-down initiatives by the Government, is no longer sufficient to respond to the demand of the public.

As a positive incentive, collaboration with other stakeholders, such as public-private partnership, could facilitate access to a wider and broader service network and expertise, and allow room for exploration of bottom-up initiatives. This not only contributes to a more innovative or effective mode of public services provision with collective wisdom, since the Government are co-producing public goods with other stakeholders in the collaborative network, but also outputs which are more likely to be acceptable by the public. For instance, the public are demanding more effective delivery of public service such as electronic means of



service delivery. However, many public services provided by the Government are still processed manually. For example, the booking of community halls under the ownership of HAD has long been processed manually. With the increasing demand on community facilities, the number of applications has increased significantly. In 2011, HAD has been funded by the Office of the Government Chief Information Officer (OGCIO) to develop an electronic application processing system with Sha Tin district as a pilot. (Sha Tin District Council, 2013)

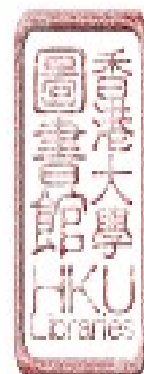
HAD then took the role to engage an information technology service contractor and kept the District Facilities Management Committee (DFMC) informed of the relevant matter. Besides, the OGCIO not only funded the Project but also deployed technical staff to HAD for project development and provided technical advice on the work of the contractor. This case not only illustrates the principal-agent relationship between OGCIO and the contractor, with OGCIO as principal steering the policy and the contractor as an agent being more knowledgeable, (Milward and Provan, 2000), but also showed a collaborative relationship among HAD as coordinator, DC, other departments and service contractor for delivering the electronic public services to meet the demand of the public.



On the contrary, as a negative incentive, if the Government does not collaborate, it may affect the degree of public acceptance towards the policies or services, which would lead to failure to achieve the intended policy objective and reduce the governance capacity in the long run. For example, there was a massive 1 July 2003 protest opposing the Government's proposed national security legislation (i.e. Article 23 of the Basic Law) since the Government refused to withdraw the proposal despite strong opposition. This political crisis weakened the authority of the Government and led to more challenges from the civil society, pressurising the Government to put forth more public engagement exercise. (Cheung, 2011)

Interdependence

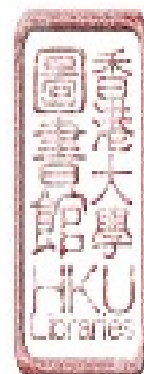
Interdependence becomes increasingly important considering the increasing public expectations for goods and services, as indicated by the trend of increasing cooperation between DC and NGOs in terms of conducting activities and coordinating services. A common interdependence relationship in DC is that DC has funding while local NGOs have networking and knowledge to organize activities but face the problem of shortage of fund. DC provides funding to NGOs to organize community activities for promoting culture, recreation, art and sports



and supporting activities aiming for community involvement, enhancement of community spirit and fostering a sense of belonging. (Sha Tin District Council, 2015) The annual funding for DCs to conduct these activities has been increased. (Home Affairs Department, 2016e)

For example, Eastern DC approved a total of around \$28.9 million for 1 600 activities under community involvement projects in the term 2012-2015, which indicates an increase as compared with a total of around \$26 million for 1 559 activities in the term 2008-2011 according to the annual reports of Eastern DC (Eastern District Council, 2011; Eastern District Council, 2015).

Another case of interdependence could be found in the new SPS launched by KTDC relating to the provision of community health service. (Home Affairs Department, 2016g) The service provision in KTDC, compared to the works project in other DCs, requires higher level of collaboration. In this signature project, KTDC collaborated with two NGOs namely Yan Chai Hospital and Kwai Tsing Safe Community and Health City Association (KTSCHCA) who are experienced in providing health care service. KTDC was responsible for coordination of funding, logistics and publicity support, while Yan Chai Hospital and KTSCHCA provided health care services. (Kwai Tsing Signature Project

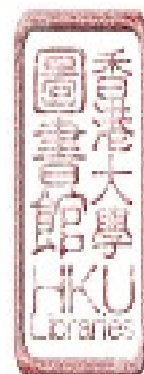


Scheme, 2016a) The signature project is considered successful and its success is contributed by goal alignment and capacity complementary. (Bryson, Barbara and Melissa, 2015)

Uncertainty

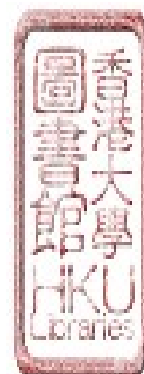
The Government may have reservation over making commitment on new services which require recurrent resources or putting forward new policies without going through detailed planning and thorough consultation process. However, such processes often require a lot of time and effort. However, with the increasing complexity of Hong Kong society, the Government would need to explore new policies or services which have no precedent case and act promptly to respond to the public demand which is quick in pace. With this reason, the Government may seek assistance from the wider public sector, including NGOs, statutory body (i.e. DC) to serve as service provider to pilot these new policies or services, so to share the risk of failure.

Collaboration with DC to pilot policies could be traced early in 2007 that even the scheme for DC to participate in the management of district facilities was made on a trial basis at the beginning. Four DCs namely Wan Chai, Wong Tai Sin, Tuen



Mun and Sai Kung were selected to participate in the pilot programme. (Home Affairs Department, 2016f) For example, Sai Kung DC used the financial resource provided to support a trial extension of opening hours of public libraries in Sai Kung district from 4 June 2007 to 29 October 2007. (Information Services Department, 2007)

Since 2008, the DC has been formally delegated more authority to manage district facilities. Some operational arrangements including the adjustment of opening hours, booking and penalty system of facilities have to be discussed and endorsed by the DC. For instance, while the HAD has proposed to standardize the booking arrangement (mainly to adopt lots drawing in place of first-come-first served) and to introduce a unified penalty system to be applied to the community halls situated at 18 districts, the DOs in 18 districts, as the owner of community halls, had to submit a unified proposal to seek endorsement of their respective DC. Even though the proposal is initiated by the Government, the approving authority is vested with the DC. In this sense, the risk of policy failure borne by the Government could be minimized or shifted to DC. (Office of the Ombudsman, 2016)



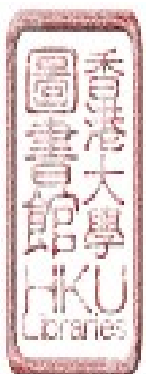
Collaborative Dynamics and District Administration

As suggested by Emerson et al. (2011), principled engagement subsequently initiates other two dynamic elements, namely shared motivation and capacity for joint action. These three elements would continuously interact with each other to enhance the quality of the collaborative dynamics.

Principled engagement

Principled engagement is characterised by processes to identify common grounds and forge consensus among relevant stakeholders of different backgrounds with a view to addressing matters of mutual concern.

DCs regularly meet to discuss papers submitted by the Government or resolutions proposed by members. Government's representatives attend meetings to explain the Government's positions and proposals and respond to members' questions. Directors of bureaux and heads of departments also attend meetings of DC from time to time to discuss with members territory-wide issues. Through open discussion conducted in accordance with established rules and procedures, DCs allow for open and orderly discussion for revealing different interests, articulating common purpose, identifying common grounds and enabling deliberation to arrive

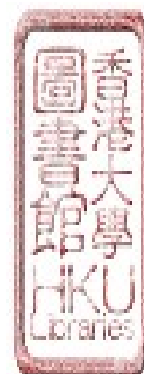


at informed decisions. These processes correspond to the four processes of principled engagement, namely discovery, definition, deliberation and determination.

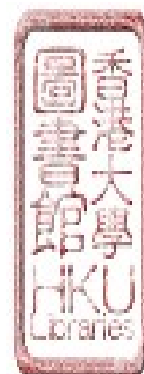
Broadly speaking, there is also a balanced representation of the interests of different stakeholders at DCs. Members represent the interests of and, channel into the Council views of, those stakeholders who are part of the former's political parties, interest groups and neighbourhood networks. With effect from the term commencing in 2016, there are no longer appointed members in DCs. Except those New Territories districts which still retain a small number of ex-officio seats for the Chairmen of Rural Committees, all members of DC are returned by direct election. This has further enhanced the level of representation at DC.

Shared motivation

Regarding share motivation, it composes four elements: mutual trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy and shared commitment. While mutual trust acts as the foundation hence producing mutual understanding, then internal legitimacy and finally shared commitment. Since the formation of DB in early 1980s, DB's structure was designed to form a platform to let the Government officials to work



together with other parties, through the various types of committees organized by the DB. It is believed that such arrangement would be able to increase the interaction among these parties hence building up their mutual trust. Mutual understanding refers to having respects among stakeholders even they are holding different points of view. Along the development of the DC, it is noted that the composition of the DC members became more diversified and it could help to foster the environment to build up mutual understanding. Regarding the relationship between the Government and DC, as addressed by former Permanent Secretary for Home Affairs, Ms. Shelly LEE Lai-kuen that the relationship between Home Affairs Department and DC is “real companion” and they are mutually “trust, respect and appreciate” each other. (Singtao Daily, 2001, November 6) In another interview, a former Chairman of Central and Western DC, Mr. WU Chor-nam expressed that one of the important factors to maintain an effective of DC is to have “less argument and be focus on the practical work” and he viewed that DC could achieve this objective. (Hong Kong Commercial Daily, 2001, November 24) It is common to note that members in the same DC have different views on the same local issue (e.g. bus route arrangement) which may directly affect the daily life of the residents related to their represented constituencies. An example in Sha Tin district showed

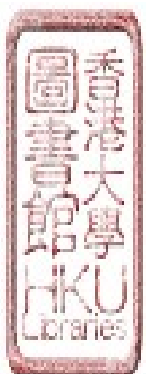


that, the DC members would be able to solve the argument in a sensible way by surveying the affected residents, in order to understand their needs and to come up with a practical solution. (Ming Pao Daily News, 2007, July 7) The above examples could help to evidence the existence of mutual understanding, internal legitimacy and shared commitment in the DC.

Capacity for joint action

Principled engagement and shared motivation would further initiate capacity for joint action. Joint action is a new type of capacity that did not exist before and it would empower the movement within the collaborative dynamic hence generate further actions. From Emerson et al.'s (2011) model, it mentioned four elements and they combined together to form this new type of capacity. They are procedural and institutional arrangements, leadership, knowledge and resources. All four elements could be identified in the evolution of DC's development.

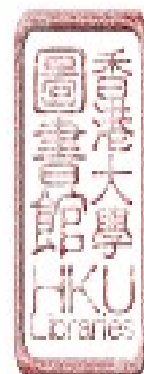
For procedural and institutional arrangements, as mentioned in the part related to general system context above, the formation of DB/DC had already included formal institutional design elements such as policy legal framework, network connectedness, etc. It provided a framework for DC to act as a platform to



provide formal network interaction. Such network connects stakeholder at both intra-organisational level (i.e. DC members represented different constituencies within the same district) and inter-organisational level (i.e. Government departments, local neighborhood, concerned group, other DCs, etc.).

For leadership, apart from the elements that mentioned in the drivers above, the DC's mechanism also provides an opportunity to train and nurture leader on the district level. DC's chairman would usually act as convenor or facilitator in this platform. Other council members would also be given a chance to be elected as a chairman in different committees hence developing their expertise in the areas concerned. Given the nature of the matters handled by DC is related to the daily livelihood of the local communities involving different stakeholders, the DC's chairman would usually be trained with the capacity to mediate and balance the power among them. This type of leadership capacity is important to facilitate the collaborative actions.

For knowledge, this element refers to the capacity of digesting information from different sources and converts them into valuable knowledge. As an advisory body, DC is established with a function to collect different views from the society and provide feedback to the Government. It is commonly noted that different DCs



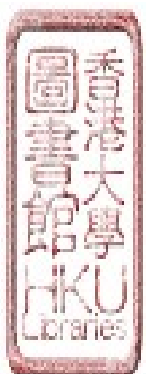
would conduct surveys to collect feedback from local community in order to understanding their needs and issues encountered. The data collected could be further analysed and to form new knowledge to guide the relevant Government departments to formulate their new policy. (Ming Pao Daily News, 2002, March 16; Ming Pao Daily News, 2002, May 25)

For resources, this element could refer to funding, time, expertise, power, etc. From the analysis above related to the evolution of DC, it is noted that DC is provided with more funding and powers (e.g. managing local facilities, such as libraries and swimming pool) and this helps to sustain the capacity of joint action.

It is noted that principled engagement is an important starter in this dynamics as it generates shared motivation hence capacity of joint action. The following section will further explore how the principled engagement is affected by the citizen participation at the community level.

Citizen Participation in Collaborative Governance at District Level

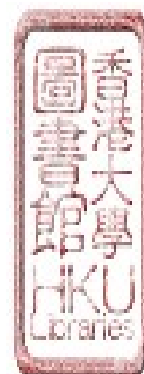
Analysing principled engagement with reference to Arnstein's typology of citizen participation gives another dimension to understanding the evolution of



collaborative dynamics of district-level community building.

Tokenism: informing, consultation and placation (from 1982 to 2000)

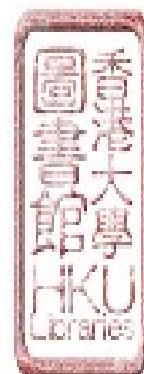
The DAS traced its root to the CDO Scheme launched in the 1960s. As stated in the Green Paper on District Administration and subsequently reaffirmed by the White Paper on District Administration, the objectives of district administration included, inter alia, better coordination of delivery of public services at the district level to better respond to the needs of the local communities and promotion of citizen participation in district affairs. The former objective was manifested in the setting up of DMC in each district while the latter one was achieved through the establishment of DBs in 1982. The Colonial Government acknowledged a need to tap the views of the local community through representatives of the respective districts. Against this background, most of the functions of DBs as defined by the terms of reference during the initial years were advisory by nature. DBs advised the Government on matters affecting the well-being of the local community; public facilities and services in districts; the use of Government funding for district minor works and community involvement activities, etc. Where DBs performed some policymaking functions in terms of undertaking small-scale environmental



improvement works and organising recreational and cultural activities, such powers were limited in scope in that such DB-funded activities were still subject to the Government policy. While it is arguable such extent of citizen participation is manipulation (where DBs are regarded as a rubberstamp to endorse and legitimise Government's policies) or therapy (where DBs were set up to adjust or tune the values of the representatives to the Government's views) during the formative years of DBs, the subsequent increase in the proportion of elected members and strengthened roles of DBs in the management of district affairs have definitely shifted the levels of citizen participation in district administration to those rungs associated with tokenism, i.e. informing, consultation and placation.

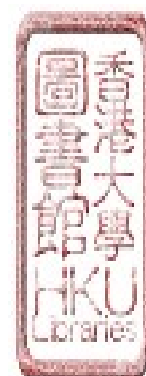
Evolution to partnership (from 2000 to present)

Following the abolition of the two Municipal Councils, the HKSAR Government conducted a review on roles and functions of the DCs between 2000 and 2001. The outcome of the review and consultation exercises concluded that, among others, the Government should consult DCs on the usage and management of district-based leisure and cultural facilities and take on board the advice of DCs subject to the territory-wide policy and budgetary considerations. Such consultation function has



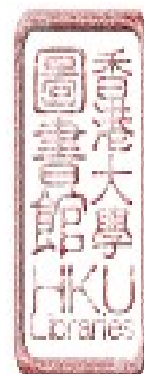
been further enhanced following the 2006 review whereby DCs were invited to consider and endorse proposals from the HAD and the Leisure and Cultural Services Department on the management of district-based facilities and it was stipulated that the decisions of DCs should be followed as far as possible. The evolution of the roles of DCs over the past three decades represents a greater say of DC over the management of district-based facilities, which is a clear indication of the level of citizen participation shifting beyond informing (where one-way communication and transmission of information from the Government to DCs is the norm) and consultation (where the opinions of DCs are proactively solicited the Government) to placation (where DCs are given a certain extent of decision-making powers and are no longer merely advisory by nature).

Since 2006, the DAS has entered a new phase characterised by a strengthened role of DCs in management of district facilities, as mentioned above, more powers and resources for DCs to initiate and implement minor works in the districts and capital works improvement to district facilities. Such kind of sharing of resources and responsibilities corresponds to partnership of the category of citizen power under Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation. The introduction of the SPS, which will be further elaborated in Chapter 4, is a case in point. In 2014, the introduction



of the Pilot Scheme on Enhancement of District Administration through DMCs in Sham Shui Po district and Yuen Long district has for the first time given DMCs decision-making powers to tackle the management and environmental hygiene problems of some public areas. The two DCs participating in this Pilot Scheme advised on the work priorities of the districts concerned. While this Pilot Scheme has yet to be rolled out to all districts, it points to increasing partnership being one of the most key directions for district-level community building in future.

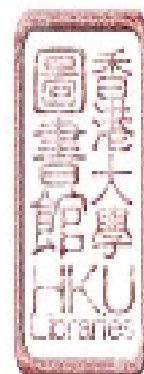
While DCs now enjoy a greater say in the management of district affairs when compared to the formative years, it could hardly be considered that DCs have a dominant role in the decision-making processes. Notwithstanding the transfer of more decision-making responsibilities to DCs in relation to local community building, the district administration of Hong Kong has not yet reached the stages of delegated power and citizen control. Constrained by the nature of DCs as district organisations which are not organs of political powers as stipulated in the Basic Law, it is not conceivable that DCs in its present form and with the existing level of functions can fulfill the conditions of the two uppermost rungs of Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation. Without an independent secretariat (i.e. the current 18 DC secretariats are set up under the framework of HAD, with the staff and operating



costs provided by the Government) and executive arm, full fiscal autonomy, and planning and decision-making functions, it would not be possible for DCs to claim full citizen control in district affairs. In fact, the DC Review conducted in 2001 specifically ruled out such possibility. Whether DC has reached the stage of delegated power is also a great doubt. District Offices and relevant Government departments providing services at the district level are not subordinate to the control of DCs and not obliged to follow the advice and recommendations of DCs. District Officers and his/her staff are civil servants posted to various District Offices by the Government to provide secretariat services to DCs. These Government bodies and officers are ultimately responsible and accountable to their respective policy bureaux of the HKSAR Government at the central level.

Evaluation of Collaborative Governance at District Level

As introduced in Chapter 2, Gunton and Day (2003) suggested four criteria namely the success in reaching agreement, efficiency, stakeholders' satisfaction, and the achievement of social capital and knowledge, which is consider as more clear and systematic yardstick to evaluate the success of collaborative action.

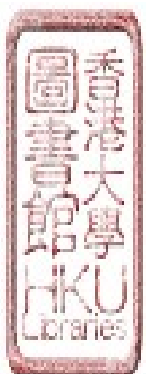


Success in reaching agreement

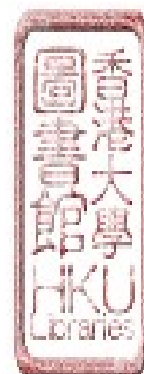
Regarding the success in reaching agreement, the core objective for collaborative action is to reach the agreement among stakeholders who participate as members in the collaborative network. From the above analysis, it was noted that the collaborative network between the Government, DCs, NGOs as well as players in private market (if applicable) could largely be formed. As mentioned, the increasing demand from public and the rapid advancement of technology required quicker and more innovative solutions against social issues, which create rooms and incentives for each stakeholder to work together for the provision of public goods. Particularly, the interdependence relationship between stakeholders as mentioned before could facilitate the agreement to be reached for collaborative action.

Efficiency

Regarding efficiency, the collaborative action with the DC as the core platform for delivery could ensure the efficiency in service delivery in district level. Example of the community involvement programme in district level is a typical case to use for illustration. On one hand, the Government has provided funding to DCs in



delivering events in promoting community building/inclusion, on the other hand, the DCs with its advantage of local network and expertise, could liaise with relevant NGOs as event organisers, so as to maximize the intended policy outcome. For instances, it has been the practice for the Labour and Welfare Bureau to provide funding through the Rehabilitation Advisory Committee under its purview to DCs for organizing Public Education Activities on Rehabilitation, with the purpose of the funding largely related to the promotion of the values of relevant United Nation's Convention on the rights of Persons with Disabilities. With the intensive community network, DCs could engage NGOs in the field of rehabilitation to organize such type of activities, which could be beneficial to maximizing the policy outcome at large. (Labour and Welfare Bureau, 2016) Every year, the International Day of Disabled Persons is organized with the wide support of DCs, NGOs, schools and Government departments. (The Hong Kong Joint Council for People with Disabilities, 2014) With the collaborative network formed, the activities organized could be meant as efficient in terms of its objective for promotion of community inclusion.

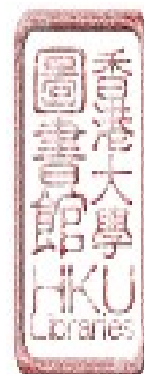


Stakeholders' satisfaction

Regarding stakeholders' satisfaction, there is no official evaluation conducted by the Government or other parties. However, it is noted from the increasing trend for DC funds allocated for organisation of community involvement projects and district minor works programme (which is based on the utilization rate in the previous financial years, the continuous growing trend of funding allocation may imply the high usage rate of funding by applicant organisations), which reflected the stakeholders are in general supportive to the collaborative action, that come to a conclusion that their satisfaction level should be fairly positive. However, given the fact that the pro-establishment camp has dominated the majority of DCs, there are also criticisms that the collaboration is a kind of lean on the NGOs or local organisations with close affiliation with the pro-establishment camp, which may result in the favour in funding approval or the number of events commissioned by the DCs. (Immediahk, 2015, September 14)

Social capital and knowledge

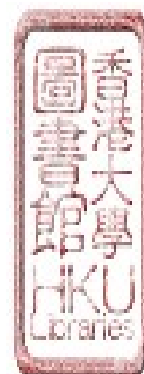
Regarding social capital and knowledge, stakeholders could learn from each other to enhance capacity in service delivery through the collaboration. For instances, the



Government may learn from the NGOs for their service target and strategy with their intensive service network to outreach their service clients at front line (i.e. the strategy for social worker of NGOs to outreach the teenagers/elderly), while the NGOs could learn from the Government the latest policy goals and directions. Since the stakeholders involved in the collaborative network are in fact the core players in community building at district level, the enhancement of their capacities is in fact also beneficial to the enhancement of capacity of the collaborative network in a long run.

To sum up, under the current district administration model, the Government provides resources to DCs for further allocation to NGOs for delivery of local community services such as organisation of community building activities. The Government counts on the expertise of NGOs in delivery of frontline services and projects at the district level and derives legitimacy for such community building efforts from DCs which consist of elected representatives of the public. Such division of labour enhances the efficiency of community building at the district level.

As for DCs, they provide a forum for aggregating the interests of DC members from different political backgrounds who represent different constituencies. Based



on the successful delivery of community involvement projects and district minor works projects over the years, DCs have achieved a certain level of success in reaching agreement.

Regarding the NGOs, they are provided the resources for delivering public services. This in turn allows NGOs to build up local networks and knowledge, thereby creating social capital and knowledge. As for members of the public who have been benefited from the community involvement activities, they are stakeholders who derive satisfaction from community building at the district level.

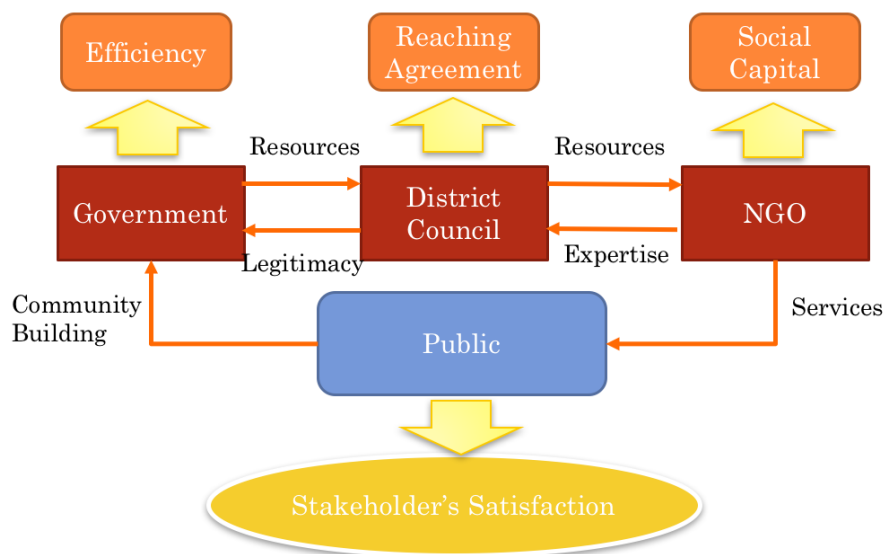
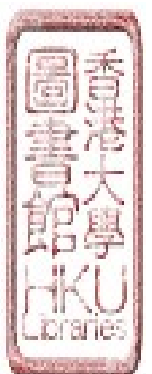


Figure 7: Evaluation of collaborative governance at district level

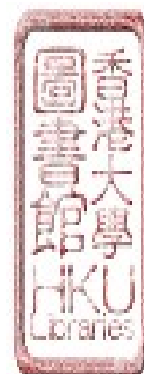


Conclusion

In tracking the gradual evolution and expansion of the roles of the functions of the DCs, it is shown that in the initial years of its development, the colonial government intended to confine the roles of DCs as an advisory body. Viewed from the perspective of citizen participation, DCs at that time could only be regarded as having reached the consultation rung of the citizen participation stage with reference to the typology by Arnstein (1969).

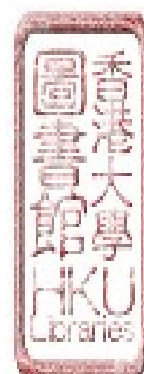
Following the handover, the political landscape and the watershed changes in the governance capacity of the HKSAR Government has been cast into doubt. The contextual and other core factors including the determination of the government and the policy direction from the CEs of the HKSAR coupled with the devotion of resources and support for enhancing community building roles and functions of the DCs, have contributed to the moving up on Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation from tokenism to partnership.

It is to be reckoned that with the top-down push force from the HKSAR Government coupled with the interplay of the collaborative dynamics, the grounds are fertile for the DCs to operate as a form of governance by network with demonstrated effectiveness in terms of the criteria such as reaching agreement in



collaborative goals and stakeholder satisfaction. Yet, before the Government fundamentally changes the roles and functions of DCs by delegating it with decision making powers and an executive arm fully under the control of DCs, it is not conceivable that DCs will be able to function as a full-fledged organisation giving full play to collaborative governance.

Chapter 4 analyses and evaluates collaborative actions in two DCs undertaken in the context of a new community building initiative, the SPS, which could potentially enhance the collaborative governance capacity of DCs.



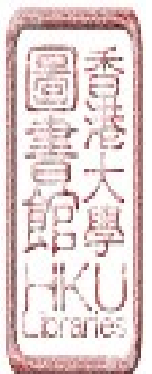
Chapter 4: Case Studies of Collaborative Actions: Experiences of Kwai Tsing and Southern Districts in Implementing the Signature Project Scheme

Introduction

This chapter is an empirical research on the experiences of KTDC and the Southern District Council (SDC) in carrying out the SPS. The case studies analyse collaborative governance and community building at district level from the horizontal perspective. The KTDC is the first DC which has successfully launched the SPS while the SDC has encountered difficulties in planning for the SPS and is still struggling to forge a consensus among its members on the theme of its own signature project. The analytical framework outlined in Chapter 2 is applied to study the collaborative actions and evaluate the community building efforts undertaken by both DCs in the context of implementing the SPS.

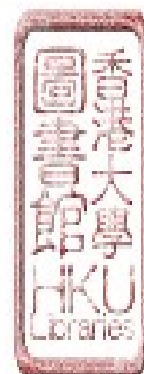
Background of Signature Project Scheme

The SPS was promulgated in the 2013 Policy Address as a major enhancement measure to the DAS so that “local communities could manage local affairs with the overall interests of the community in mind” (Policy Address, 2013). Under the SPS, a one-off allocation of \$100 million is earmarked for each DC for initiating and



implementing one or two signature projects. The launch of the SPS is a response to the aspirations of the DCs to implement large scale projects for catering the specific needs of individual district. The signature projects must fulfill the criteria of addressing local needs, or highlighting the district's characteristics and having a visible and lasting impact. The cash limit for the signature projects is between \$30 million to \$100 million (Home Affairs Department, 2013). The District Offices concerned would render necessary support to their respective DCs in the planning and implementation of the SPS. (Southern District Council, 2016a)

The SPS is a de facto collaborative governance and community building initiative introduced by the Government. In launching the SPS, DCs are required to consult and engage the stakeholders in the locality. DCs are encouraged to partner with relevant non-profit-making organisations, business sector, statutory bodies or Government department as appropriate to enhance creativity and flexibility. DCs are held accountable for implementing, monitoring progress and evaluating the effectiveness of the signature projects in accordance with the operational guidelines laid down by the Government. Depending on the amount of funding required, the formal approval from the LegCo or its Finance Committee or the Administration under delegated authority is required for implementing individual signature



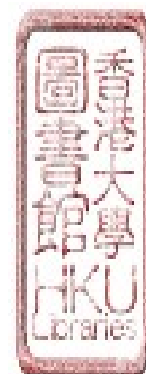
projects. (Home Affairs Department, 2013) Since the Government attaches importance to the SPS, a Steering Committee chaired by the Director of Home Affairs with representatives from relevant departments/bureaux is established to oversee the SPS. (Home Affairs Department, 2013)

Comparison between Kwai Tsing and Southern Districts in Implementing Signature Project Scheme

Characteristics of community

According to Mattessich and Monsey (1997), the outcome of community building efforts is affected by a number of factors reviewed in Chapter 2. These factors are applied to study the signature projects initiated and implemented by the KTDC and SDC. The community factors include the geography, community awareness, motivation, flexibility, social cohesion, capacity to reach consensus, leadership etc. The community characteristics of the Southern district and the Kwai Tsing district are summarized and compared in the table below.

District	Southern	Kwai Tsing
Area	Around 4,000 hectares	Around 1,983 hectares
Population	Around 280,000	Around 516,200

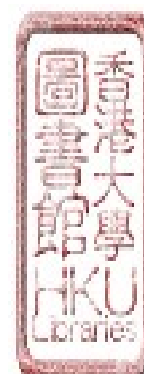


District	Southern	Kwai Tsing
Median Age (Median age in Hong Kong : 42 years old)	44 years old	43 years old
The median monthly household income (Median household income of Hong Kong: \$25,000)	\$28,000	\$20,600
Socio-Economic Status	Industrial/commercial and residential district 50 % of households live in public rental housing units.	Industrial/commercial and residential district 24 public housing estates, 15 Home Ownership Scheme estates, 3 Sandwich Class Housing Scheme estates and a number of private housing estates. A large proportion of the residents in the district are elderly and grass-roots
Percentage of Owner-Occupied Household	50.3%	31.9%

Table 2: Community Demographics of Southern District and Kwai Tsing District

Sources: Population and Household Statistics analysed by District Council District 2015; Southern District Council (2016); Kwai Tsing District Council (2015); Kwai Tsing Signature Projects Steering Committee (2016b)

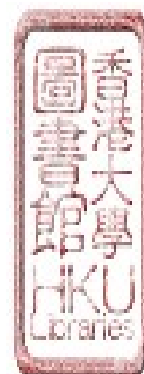
Community awareness, motivation and cohesiveness relating to collaborative partnership and community building in facilitating the implementation of the



signature projects are present in Kwai Tsing district and Southern district. However, it is noted that the relative strength and scope of these factors varied in the two districts and such disparity have to a certain extent made an impact on the success or lack of progress in the rolling out of signature projects.

Kwai Tsing District

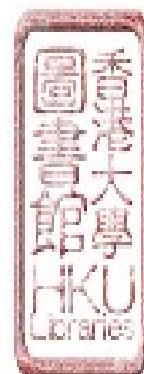
KTDC had made efforts since early 2000s to focus the community awareness and engage in community building efforts with a central theme. It is the first district in Hong Kong to launch the World Health Organisation (WHO)'s projects "The Safe Community and Healthy City" project. The WHO Safe Community Network is based on the bottom-to-top philosophy. Those projects that would operate with success prospects, readily available scientific knowledge and potential benefits would be modeled upon as best practices. With this community building objective in mind, the Kwai Tsing Safe Community was rolled out formally in 2000 as a joint programme by the KTDC and the Occupational Safety and Health Council partnering with more than 10 public and private organisations of Kwai Tsing district. (Kwai Tsing Safe Community and Healthy Society, 2013)



The objectives of the Safe Community projects are “to promote a safety culture, to coordinate resources in Kwai Tsing district to implement systematic changes, share experiences and contribute to International Safe Community Network under World Health Organisation”. (Kwai Tsing Safe Community and Healthy Society, 2013)

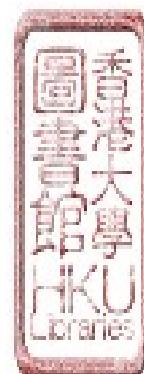
The success of these safe and healthy projects has prompted other districts and organisations to learn from the experience of Kwai Tsing district including sharing with the KTSCHCA. Hence the Kwai Tsing district has already laid a foundation in creating the awareness and motivating residents to certain district-based projects that are offering visible and direct benefits to different strata of the district. It has also laid the foundation for the leadership and capacity of KTDC as well as the local non-governmental organisations to undertake collaborative project for community building.

It is against the aforementioned background of community characteristics that when the Kwai Tsing district contemplated the signature project, it has decided to roll out healthcare projects for the elderly/those in need/all residents such as dental care, optometric and ocular examination, seasonal flu vaccination, prescription of glasses, outreach to those chronic disease patients, health education, health centre



etc. It also rides on the Hospital Authority's Cataract Surgeries Programme to provide partial financial subsidies for eligible Kwai Tsing residents who join the Programme. This to a certain extent reflects the economic status of the residents in the district, as the median monthly household income is much below the overall median household income level of Hong Kong and most of the residents live in subsidized public housing units. Thus the choice of a theme for signature projects which ties in with the livelihood needs of local residents helps increase the chance of gaining community support and facilitating collaborative actions.

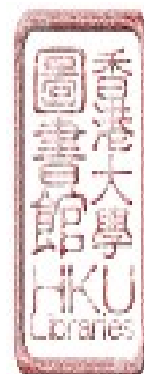
The collaborative partnership of the signature project in Kwai Tsing is also further enhanced by the collaboration with the Yan Chai Hospital (a publicly funded hospital situated in Tsuen Wan area) and the Kwai Tsing Safe Community and Health City Association which have the expertise and the much required professional/community networks and capacity built up over the years. Since the District Office led by the District Officer and relevant Government departments render support to signature project as appropriate, these also added to the leadership and capacity of the KTDC in the SPS. For instance, the KTDC has set up the KTDC's Signature Projects Steering Committee, the Community Healthcare Service Working Group and the Community Health Equipment and Publicity



Programme Working Group. These Working Groups facilitated the design and implementation of the community healthcare services, and the provision of community fitness equipment/ information kiosks, publicity. Two experts on community healthcare and dental care are engaged as advisers to offer professional advice. (Kwai Tsing Signature Projects Steering Committee, 2016a)

Southern District

Quite distinct from the Kwai Tsing district, the Southern district has a historic heritage of being a fishing port. In support of community building, the Southern district has set up four Area Committees, seven residents' associations, seven fishery industry organisations, 16 women's associations, six trade bodies, over 300 owners' corporations and more than 70 Mutual Aid Committees. The presence of a shared collaborative platform for district level affairs is reflected by the formation of Government/DC funded Southern district Arts and Culture Association and the Southern district Recreation and Sports Association which promote cultural, arts, recreation and sports development in the district. These existence and operations of these residents' coordination and consultation structure mechanism is expected to be conducive to the process of cultivating community awareness, motivation and

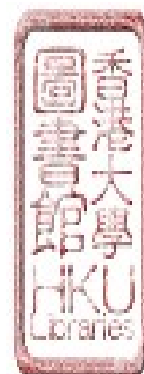


social cohesion and deliberating district affairs. (Southern District Council, 2016, September 18)

Similar to the KTDC, the SDC has formed a “Focus Group on Southern District Signature Projects” to lead the formulation of the signature project with the administrative support from the DO. This designated focus group provides collaborative leadership to take forward the SPS. Southern district enjoys the historic heritage of being a fishing harbour and this provides a focal point for the SDC to consider signature projects that “showcase the fishermen culture and history in the district” (Southern District Council, 2016a)

It is believed that the SDC attempts to use the distinctive community feature of the past legacy of the fishing port as a focal point to create awareness among the residents, so as to rally their support for the proposal. Moreover, the Government had previously studied the development of a fisherman’s wharf and sea food restaurants at a site near the Aberdeen Wholesale Fish Market. These ideas were dropped because of commercial, financial and technical considerations.

Against this community background, it is natural for the SDC to revive the idea to put forward signature project proposals that would fit in the historical image of a fishing port. Moreover, as the general economic status of the residents in the



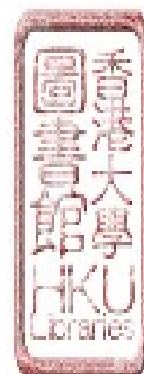
district is above average (median monthly household income above the territory's average), the pressure of delivering livelihood related signature project is low. Hence the SDC, having regard to the community characteristics of the district, proposed the "Fishermen Cultural Centre" with seafood dining facility signature project. In view of the commercial nature of the proposal, it was decided that the implementation capacity had to be sourced from the private sector as the partner organisation. (Southern District Council, 2016a)

Characteristics of the Community-Building Processes

Mattessich and Monsey (1997) identified a number of factors in community-building processes which are critical for successful community building. By drawing on these critical factors, key community-building processes are identified and mapped with the processes of Kwai Tsing district and Southern district in planning and implementing their respective SPS projects.

Kwai Tsing District

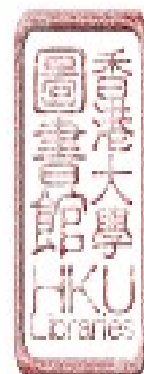
The community-building processes for the planning of the SPS project in Kwai Tsing district are characterised by a number of attributes which contribute to the



success of the district in successfully launching the SPS project ahead of other districts.

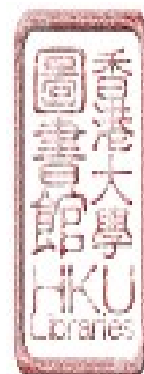
First of all, widespread participation and good communication was observed as the district deliberated the SPS project. Apart from setting up working groups under the Signature Projects Steering Committee to solicit views from members of KTDC on different aspects of the project, the KTDC also organised an open forum and conducted consultation sessions to tap the views of local residents as well as different stakeholders and community organisations respectively. For example, district organisations such as Rotary Club and Lions Club have been briefed, views and suggestions from the public were invited through the website of KTDC, and the LegCo Panel on Home Affairs was also consulted. These extensive consultation exercises with widespread participation all concluded that the proposed Project had received favorable feedback. (Home Affairs Bureau and Home Affairs Department, 2014a) Such widespread participation involving not only DC members but also stakeholders and members of the local community resulted in effective communication within and outside the DC and in the community on the project.

Secondly, there is little competition in pursuit of goals. At the initial stage of the deliberation (i.e. the second meeting of the Signature Projects Steering



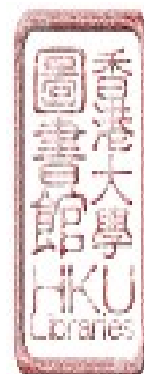
Committee), DC members had already reached general consensus on the broad directions of the SPS project, i.e. undertaking enhanced healthcare services rather than works projects in specific locations within Kwai Tsing district. (Kwai Tsing District Council, 2014) The ruling out of works projects in favour of providing enhanced healthcare services to benefit the local community at large enabled the subsequent discussion to focus on the substance and implementation of the enhanced healthcare services, and reduce time and effort required to assess the feasibility of other options.

Thirdly, there is clear understanding of needs and resource constraints. As a district with a significant portion of elderly population, the DC saw a need to enhance healthcare services for the benefit of the elderly living in Kwai Tsing district. (Kwai Tsing District Council, 2013) Having considered the resource constraint of the \$100 million funding available for each district's SPS project, KTDC ruled out the use of the funding for construction of a public transport interchange, hillside escalator links and elevator systems, an elevator for the footbridge linking Tsing Yi Railway Station and Cheung On Estate, etc. Other proposals such as food waste treatment and free wall painting services for the elderly were dropped as a matter of priority in that another source of funding is



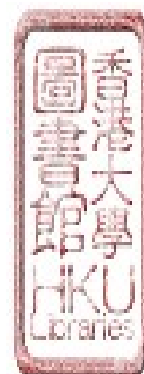
available for the former while the latter would duplicate with the existing services provided by other organisations. (Kwai Tsing District Council, 2014) Such realistic assessment of its own needs as well as constraints led to prioritisation of needs and the ultimate decision of the KTDC in seeking constrained maximisation of the benefits to be brought by the SPS project. Such approach also quickly weeds out non-viable options and to focus on one single option, i.e. enhanced healthcare services, thus avoiding prolonged discussion and expediting the subsequent processes of determining the contents of individual programmes under the SPS project and securing funding support from LegCo. The Chief Secretary for Administration, Mrs. Carrie LAM, during her visit to Kwai Tsing district on 30 September 2015, also commended the SPS of the Kwai Tsing district “for its community health enhancement-oriented approach, which caters for the community’s needs and addresses district issues at the local level”. (Information Services Department, 2015)

Fourthly, efforts have been made to gather information and analyse community issues. The Kwai Tsing District Office (KTDO) sought the preliminary views of the members of the KTDC before the first meeting of the Signature Projects Steering Committee held in January 2013, and came up with the



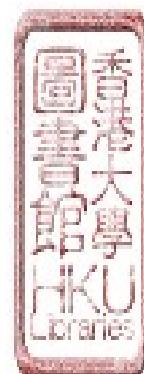
mainstream view of providing enhanced provision of basic primary healthcare services as the preliminary proposal of the SPS project. Such proposal addresses the overall ageing population in Hong Kong and the facts particularly pertinent to Kwai Tsing district that the district has a higher-than-average share of elderly population and that the local community consists mostly of people from low-income families. (Kwai Tsing District Council, 2013) For other proposals raised by the Community, KTDO has responded one by one by examining feasibility (such as insufficient funding), providing references of other Government initiatives and suggesting merge of proposals. Such analysis enabled more focused discussion and informed decision-making with a view to better responding to the needs of the community. (Kwai Tsing District Council, 2014)

Fifthly, the SPS brings real and substantial benefits for residents and highly visible tangible accomplishments. The enhanced healthcare services benefit the local residents in that the elderly can enjoy dental care services and ophthalmic care services subsidised by the SPS funding. As for the community healthcare and support services, the five health care centres and a mobile health station which provide health assessment, general health advice, medical services and vaccination are highly visible tangible accomplishments and bring visible benefits for the local



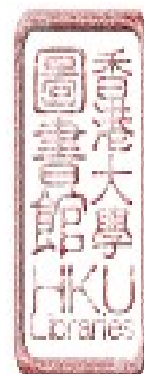
residents. Such events and benefits can be quantified by key performance indicators such as the doses of seasonal influenza vaccine given, visits of dental services, number of ophthalmic checks, etc. (Home Affairs Bureau and Home Affairs Department, 2014b)

Sixthly, indigenous and community organisations are involved. Local community organisations are engaged as KTDC's partners in delivering the SPS projects. Yan Chai Hospital and Kwai Tsing Safe Community and Healthy City Association, which are NGOs, have been chosen as delivery agents of the various community healthcare services. (Home Affairs Bureau and Home Affairs Department, 2014b) This helps KTDC harness the capacity, expertise and local networks of both NGOs in implementing the SPS project. Both NGOs have formulated plans to ensure the sustainability of the SPS project upon the expiry of the project by seeking donations or operating the services on a cost-recovery basis. This shows that engagement of both NGOs can build up linkages of the SPS project to organisations outside the community through the connections and networks of the NGOs. This enables the SPS project to potentially gain access to the financial input, technical support and sources of knowledge not available in Kwai Tsing district. One related characteristic of the community-building process is the



building of relationship with other organisations through tangible events and accomplishments, which brings financial support to SPS. For example, two donations amounting to \$200,000 and \$1,000,000 were received respectively in the “30th Anniversary of KTDC – Inclusive and Healthy Community Fun Day” on 26 September 2015, and the “Feasts for the Elderly cum Kick-off Ceremony of the Mobile Dental Clinics of the Kwai Tsing Signature Project Scheme” on 1 March 2016, and acknowledged in the website of Kwai Tsing SPS. (Kwai Tsing Signature Projects Steering Committee, 2016c)

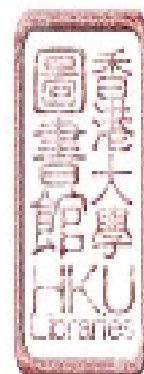
Last but not least, there is a right mix of resources. \$100 million being the total sum made available by the Government is neither too much nor too little for launching healthcare services proposed by KTDC for the SPS project. According to the paper for the discussion in the LegCo Panel on Home Affairs on 10 January 2014, the total estimated project cost for Kwai Tsing SPS was \$100 million with only \$4.5 million earmarked as general reserve. This shows that \$100 million is an optimal sum which fits the needs of the SPS project. (Home Affairs Bureau and Home Affairs Department, 2014b).



Southern District

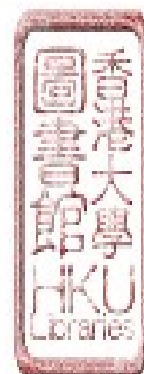
The community-building processes taken by Southern district in determining the use of the SPS funding stand in quite a contrast with those of Kwai Tsing district discussed above. According to a paper prepared by the SDC Secretariat in March 2016, the Focus Group on Southern District Signature Projects finally decided to shelve its proposal of seafood restaurant for SPS and re-launch the public consultation process to gather community views on how to use the SPS funding. (Southern District Council, 2016d)

Firstly, there has been limited scope of public participation. On promotion of public participation, SDC organised workshops and public consultation sessions to gauge the views of the local community on the use of the SPS funding. However, the public consultation sessions are criticised as being too limited in scope and involving just some 80 persons from DC members, members of the Area Committees of SDC, owners' associations, local community organisations, etc. Besides, SDC did not conduct public consultation on the six options proposed prior to the voting in the seventh meeting of the District Facilities Management Committee in January 2013. While the proposal of the seafood restaurant was chosen and public consultation was conducted on the design of the restaurant



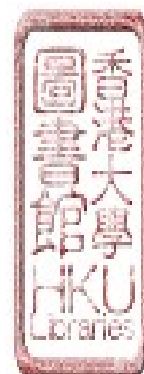
proposed by Architectural Services Department in September 2014, in the Aberdeen constituency where the seafood restaurant would situate, among the 145 sets of surveys returned, more than half of respondents (i.e. 74 respondents) expressed objections to the construction of the seafood restaurant with only 70 supported it. (Southern District Council, 2016b) Besides, while SDO made planning application to the Town Planning Board (TPB) for rezoning the site in November 2015, TPB received 1,318 representations from the public with majority opposing the rezoning. (Apple Daily, 2016, January 11) These reveal a lack of community involvement at an earlier stage resulting an unexpected opposition from the community after the option was chosen. There are views that the public consultation exercise failed to reveal the preferences of the local community and did not facilitate assessment of the needs of local community and aspirations of the local residents on the use of the SPS funding. (Chan, 2016)

Secondly, there are competing priorities. It is noted that there are lots of competing priorities at SDC and members of SDC fail to achieve a real consensus of the most preferred use. At the first meeting of the Focus Group on Southern district Signature Projects, six options, namely a seafood restaurant; a seaside promenade; a bus interchange; a youth hostel; a footbridge and district



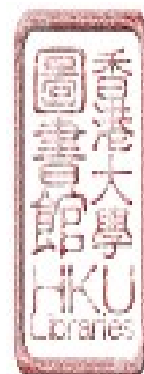
beautification projects; and installation of art sculptures were proposed. (Southern District Council, 2016c) In the seventh District Facilities Management Committee of SDC on 31 January 2013, despite diverse members' views such as the selection was too rush and the public should be consulted, two rounds of voting were conducted that development of a seafood restaurant emerged as a more, if not the most, preferred choice (Southern District Council, 2013a) Such competing priorities, coupled with a lack of real buy-in among those who hold dissenting views, indicate a lack of consensus within the DC, not to mention outside the DC and within the community.

Thirdly, there is a lack of clear understanding of needs and constraints. Various options have been proposed for the SPS project, including those costly options of undertaking works projects indicate that there may exist unrealistic expectations on the part of some members of the SDC on the use of the SPS funding. The fact that the development of a seafood restaurant may pose competition to other food stall operators within the same district also point to a lack of demonstrated needs for the seafood restaurant. In fact, even after the theme of the SPS project (i.e. development of a seafood restaurant) was chosen, there have been arguments over the mode of operation, partner organisations and financial arrangement from 2013



to early 2016. With reference to the discussion at the third meeting of the Focus Group on Southern district Signature Projects on 23 May 2014, the decision of opting for non-governmental partner in delivering the SPS project was not based on an analysis of the merits of engaging an NGO vis-à-vis those of engaging a Government department as a delivery agent. Rather, it was based on the conclusion that Government departments as delivery agents would be constrained by certain rules and regulations (such as constraint to designate the type of restaurant as seafood restaurant) and hence made the NGO option the only alternative available. This reflects a lack of buy-in and full understanding of different aspects and implications of even the chosen option. (Southern District Council, 2014b)

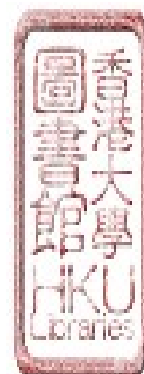
Fourthly, there is a lack of systematic analysis of the needs of the local community. SDC has not systematically gathered information and analysed the needs of the local community before putting different options to vote. According to the minutes of the seventh District Facilities Management Committee of SDC on 31 January 2013 in which the voting was arranged, while the proponents of each option did put forward justifications for their preferred use, there was no conscious efforts and discussion to weigh the pros and cons of different options with reference to objective criteria such as the financial viability, operational needs, availability of



other sources of funding, duplication with existing projects, etc., and rank different priorities. (Southern District Council, 2013a) There was no written record showing why SDC members preferred seafood restaurant to other options. The lack of a systemic way to understand the needs of the local community might imply that different proposals might be driven by personal preference; wish to benefit their own constituencies, or political considerations. This in turn weakens the consensus among DC members.

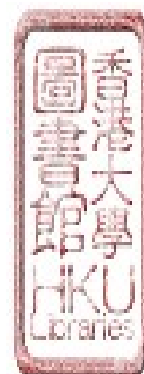
Fifthly, there is a lack of demonstrable benefits for the local community. The SDC fails to generate support for the chosen option through demonstrating benefits for local residents. Although the project is expected to benefit the society from tourism and cultural preservation perspectives, it does not result in tangible benefits for individual members of the local community. Moreover, some local interest groups have expressed concern over the impact of the project on reduction of public open space for recreational use, environmental hygiene problems arising from the handling and disposal of food waste, etc. (Chan, 2016)

Sixthly, there is a lack of engagement of local and community organisations. The SDC does not involve local and community organisations as its delivery agent of the SPS project. Through a tendering process, it chooses the NGO set up by Tao



Heung Group (i.e. Tao Heung Food Culture and Education Foundation Limited) to run the seafood restaurant and the adjacent exhibition area. Tao Heung Group is not perceived as indigenous organisation in the local community and does not enjoy access to local connections, networks and resources. Moreover, the fact that the NGO is set up by a private company engaged in catering services leads to accusation of conflicts of interest. The nominal rental charged by the Government for the NGO's use of the Government-constructed premises and the management fee of \$800,000 to be charged by Tao Heung Group did nothing to garner support for the project. (Chan, 2016)

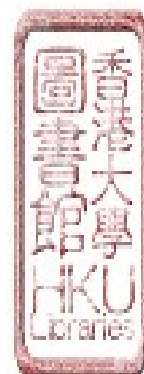
Last but not least, there are doubts over the long-term financial viability of the project. The availability of resources under the SPS funding for the project to cover the project expenses in the long run is doubtful. The project involves not only construction of a building resulting in concerns over the ongoing maintenance, but also the recurrent costs as well as the operation responsibilities after the expiry of the SPS project. According to the discussion paper for the SDC Meeting on 14 March 2013, when seafood restaurant was chosen as first priority of SPS, SDC did not have sufficient information to estimate the cost of the proposal, hence probably the funding requirement for the proposal was underestimated (Southern District



Council, 2013b) Such concern over the financial implication and long-term sustainability of the project weakens support for the chosen option.

Characteristics of Community-Building Organisers

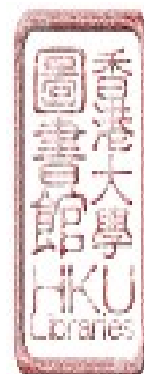
Mattessich and Monsey (1997) also suggested other characteristics which a successful community-building organiser should possess. This part will study how these characteristics, namely understanding of community, sincerity of commitment, relationship of trust, organising experience, and flexibility and adaptability affect the capacity of community-building of KTDC and SDC. Although both DCs have similar structures, by comparing the publicly available information (e.g. information on DC members, committees' agendas, meeting minutes, discussion papers, etc.), a few differences of them are identified, such as their works related to community affairs, members' length of services in the council and previous organising experience. These differences may contribute to different levels of community-building capacity of them. The following parts will further explore the relation between these differences and the above-mentioned characteristics.



Structure and the works performed of community organisers

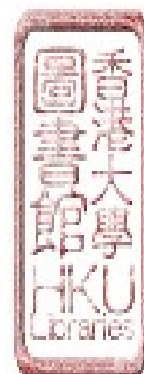
Both KTDC and SDC establish committees which handle community affairs. According to their terms of reference, both committees have similar scope of work which covers provision of advice to and co-operation with relevant Government departments and local organisations in relation to the community affairs such as medical services, education, social welfares, environmental hygiene, etc. Regarding the characteristic of understanding of community, a good community building organiser is expected to have a thorough understanding of the social structure, demographics, culture and problems of the community. By studying the works performed by these committees, it might help to give some clues about how well the organiser has performed in this area.

For KTDC, during the 2012-2015 term, there were three standing working groups namely Safe and Healthy Community Working Group, Human Services Working Group (formerly known as Livelihood Matters Working Group) and District Administration Development Working Group under the KTDC's Committee Affairs Committee. By studying the relevant working papers (such as agendas, minutes and discussion papers) in this committee and working groups, it is generally noted that community issues related to livelihood of the residents were



discussed. Such issues include but not limited to renovation of public toilet, inadequate meal delivery and provision provided to the elderly, upgrading barrier free access and facilities of public places, measures to combat illegal shop front extension of food premises, follow-up of the progress of pipe rehabilitation, closing down of cooked food hawker bazaar, etc. These issues were more related to livelihood matters of the community and it could help to demonstrate the council's understanding of the issues for the community.

In SDC, there is a similar committee called Community Affairs and Tourism Development Committee. This committee also looks after matters relevant to tourism development of the Southern district. By making reference to the works performed by this committee during the same term (i.e. 2012 – 2015) mentioned above, it appeared that its work tended to focus on recreational related matters (e.g. promotional campaigns, beach festival, etc.), utilization of vacant school premises, etc. There was relatively less discussion related to the livelihood matters of the community. SDC had also been criticised for the impracticality of its district minor work. (Hong Kong Economic Times, 2013, February 1)

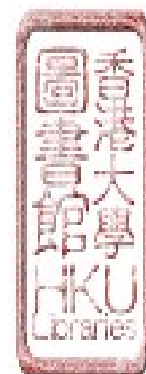


Members' length of services

Length of service of DC members may help to provide indication on members' commitment to the community and the level of trust building with local residents.

This is particularly for those members who are re-elected instead of appointed by Government before 2015. The “vote of trust” of the community residents would be a good indicator. By analysing the length of service of the KTDC member of the term 2012-2015, the following is noted:

KTDC Members	No. of terms previously served
Mr CHAN Siu-man, Simon	5
Mr CHOW Wai-hung, Rayman	0
Mr CHOW Yick-hay	6
Miss CHU Lai-ling	0
Mr FONG Ping	1
Mr HO Siu-ping	0
Mr HUI Kei-cheung	3
Mr LAM Lap-chi	0
Mr LAM Siu-fai	3
Mr LAW King-shing	1
Mr LEE Chi-keung, Alan	4
Mr LEUNG Chi-shing	3
Mr LEUNG Kam-wai	0
Mr LEUNG Kwok-wah	1
Mr LEUNG Tsz-wing , Dennis	1
Mr LEUNG Wai-man	3
Mr LEUNG Yiu-chung	7
Mr NG Kim-sing	4
Ms. MAK Mei-kuen, Alice	4
Mr POON Chi-shing	1
Mr TANG Shui-wah	1



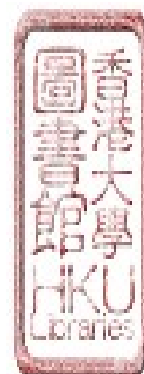
KTDC Members	No. of terms previously served
Dr TANG Shuk-ming, Winnie	1
Miss TSANG Tze-kwan, Marina	0
Mr TSUI Hiu-kit	1
Mr TSUI Sang-hung, Sammy	4
Mr WAN Siu-kin, Andrew	2
Mr WONG Bing-kuen	4
Mr WONG Yiu-chung	7
Mr WONG Yun-tat	1
Ms CHEUNG Wai-ching, Clarice	0
Ms LAM Chui-ling, Nancy	1
Ms LAU Mei-lo	0
Ms LO Wai-lan	4
Ms POON Siu-ping, Nancy	3
Ms TAM Wai-chun	4

Table 3: KTDC member of the term 2012-2015 and number of terms previously served

Source: Hong Kong Electorate Facts 1982-1994, 1995, 1996-2000, 2001-2004, 2005-2012

The above analysis showed that around 77% of the council members had already served in the council for more than one term and around 48% of council members had served for more than two terms. Twenty of them were further re-elected in the current term (i.e. 2016 - 2019). Two of them (i.e. Mr. Wong Yiu-chung and Mr. Leung Yiu-chung) had served the council since its establishment. For SDC, it was noted that:

SDC Members	No. of terms previously served
Mr AU Lap-sing	2
Mr AU Nok-hin	0



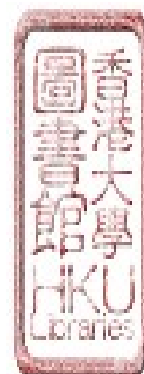
SDC Members	No. of terms previously served
Mr CHAI Man-hon	2
Mr CHAN Fu-ming	1
Ms CHAN Judy Kapui	0
Mrs CHAN LEE Pui-ying	3
Ms CHEUNG Sik-yung	1
Mr CHU Ching-hong	3
Mr CHU Lap-wai	0
Mr FUNG Se-goun, Fergus	1
Mr FUNG Wai Kwong	0
Mr LAM Kai-fai	3
Ms LAM Yuk-chun	1
Dr LIU Hong-fai, JP	0
Mr LO Kin-hei	0
Dr MAK TSE How-ling, Ada	1
Mr TSUI Yuen-wa	1
Mr WONG Ling-sun, Vincent	1
Dr YANG Mo	0
Mr YEUNG Wai-foon	0
Mr ZIMMERMAN Paul	1

Table 4: SDC member of the term 2012-2015 and number of terms previously served

Source: Hong Kong Electorate Facts 1982-1994, 1995, 1996-2000, 2001-2004, 2005-2012

The above analysis showed that around 62% of the council members had severed the council more than one term and only 24% of council members had more than two terms of experiences.

Comparison of the lengths of services in district council above shows that the composition of KTDC is more stable than that of SDC. It shows that KTDC tends

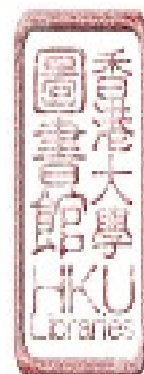


to have longer relationship with the community hence greater level of trust with local residents. The higher percentage of re-elected council members of KTDC demonstrates the community's recognition of the works performed by KTDC in general. It also helps illustrate relevant council members' commitment to the community.

Previous organizing experience

The level of successful community building could be enhanced by having similar previous organizing experience with the community. For KTDC, the Safety and Health Community Workgroup under the Community Affair Committee of KTDC is responsible for promoting and disseminating messages related to safety and health to the community through organising different kind of activities. Such kind of institutional knowledge and experience would definitely help KTDC to organise its SPS which is related to enhancing community healthcare services.

On the other hand, the proposed SPS of SDC is to develop seafood dining facilities near the Aberdeen Wholesale Fish Market in order to promote fishery culture and to encourage the concept of visit and dine in the district. However, there is no clue showing that SDC possesses any relevant experience of running



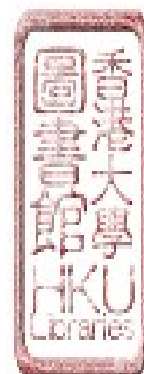
dining facilities and it is likely to be a hindrance for it to become a successful community builder from this perspective.

Evaluation of Collaborative Governance in Kwai Tsing and Southern Districts

As introduced in Chapter 2, Gunton and Day (2003) suggested the four criteria namely the success in reaching agreement, efficiency, stakeholders' satisfaction, and the achievement of social capital and knowledge, which are considered to be clear and systematic yardsticks to evaluate the success of collaborative action.

Success in reaching agreement

In terms of the success in reaching agreement, the core objective of collaborative action is to reach a consensus among stakeholders to participate as members in the collaborative network. In the case of SPS in KTDC, it was noted that the Government, DC as well as NGOs (i.e. Yan Chai Hospital and Kwai Tsing Safe Community and Healthy Society) achieved goal alignment in respect of the provision of community medical service in the district. Operational wise,

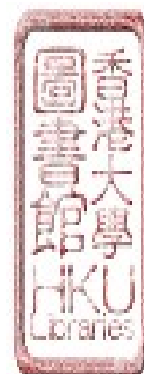


agreement has been reached by relevant stakeholders (i.e. DC and NGOs) to deliver services based on the relationship of capacity complement as discussed before.

In the case of SPS in SDC, though the proposal to develop a seafood restaurant has been identified for feasibility study, the proposed use of funding for operating a seafood restaurant by a NGO set up by a private corporation (i.e. Tao Heung Group) appeared not to be commonly accepted. This has rendered it difficult for the proposal to be further submitted to LegCo for funding approval. In particular, the proposal was formulated in the absence of widely recognised consensus within SDC, coupled by the skeptical attitude towards the Tao Heung Group to make use of public money to operate own business. All these relevant factors have resulted in failure to reach agreement among the stakeholders.

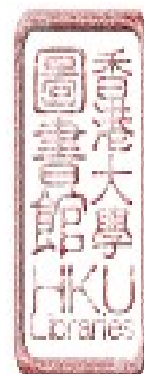
Efficiency

As regards efficiency, the time needed for project delivery of SPS has been identified as a key benchmark to assess the efficiency of collaborative governance. For the SPS of KTDC, right after the announcement of the implementation of SPS in January 2013, KTDC has formed a steering committee to discuss and deliberate on the possible proposal to be adopted. While the overall direction was ruled by the



steering committee, various working groups with different focus (i.e. project publicity and promotion, service details) has been established after the decision was made to adopt the community medical service as the theme of SPS. Finally, the project proposal was endorsed by the Finance Committee of LegCo on 11 July 2014, which is about one and a half year after the announcement of SPS in January 2013. (Legislative Council Finance Committee, 2014) Timing wise, though there is no official yardstick to determine whether the one and a half year could be regarded as efficient, given the SPS is a brand new initiative with great flexibility delegated to DCs to follow through from the preliminary stage of project delivery, coupled by the complexity of political atmosphere in Hong Kong, the time taken for the implementation of SPS project could be regarded as efficient to a certain extent.

As for SDC, its SPS project is still at the deliberative stage and has yet to be endorsed by the DC. SDC records the slowest progress among the 18 DCs. (Oriental Daily, 2016, April 11) Similar to KTDC, SDC has set up a focus group on the SPS project of SDC, though the focus group has endorsed the proposal to develop a seafood restaurant on 7 October 2013 (Southern District Council, 2014a), the focus group failed to reach a consensus on the acceptance of the Tao Heung Food Culture and Education Foundation Limited (i.e. a NGO set up by Tao Heung

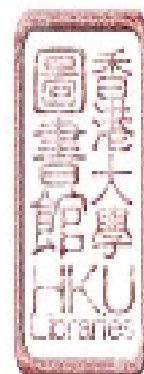


Group) as a partner to deliver the project. In accordance with the latest resolution of the focus group on 29 February 2016, the proposal to develop a seafood restaurant has been suspended, while the focus group will commence a new round of public consultation exercise to collect views from the local community on the SPS project. (Southern District Council, 2016d) To compare with KTDC as well as other DCs, the progress of the SPS project of SDC could be regarded as inefficient with no concrete progress being spotted at this stage.

Stakeholders' satisfaction

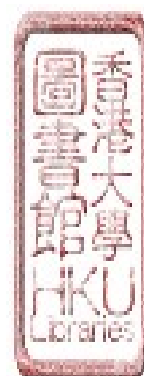
In the case of the SPS of KTDC, although no official survey has been conducted to evaluate stakeholders' satisfaction, it was noted that the service was well received by the citizens in the district as reflected by the high usage rate. For instance, the mobile dental clinic under the SPS project has received 5 000 eligible applications as at February 2016, while the Optometry Clinic at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University (a partner to provide services under SPS project) has 5 600 eligible applications pending for receiving services. (Kwai Tsing District Council, 2016a)

In addition to the high usage rate, it was noted that the KTDC has put in place a monitoring mechanism for the services provided under SPS project. For example,



KTDO has conducted random sampling to interview the service recipients on their satisfactory level, as per the meeting papers submitted to KTDC, the services recipients were satisfied with the services broadly. (Kwai Tsing District Council, 2016b) In respect of NGOs, the two founding partners namely Yan Chai Hospital and KTSCHCA has provided services until present. The two NGOs have submitted the work plan for 2016/17, which indicated their willingness to serve as service partners as well as members of the collaborative network. To this end, their satisfaction level remains at a positive level. (Kwai Tsing District Council, 2016c)

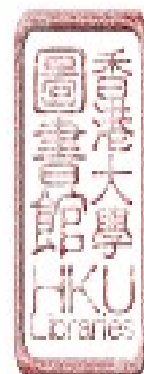
In relation to the SPS in SDC, it was obvious that the stakeholders were not satisfied at all. For instances, the DC members failed to reach consensus on the overall direction owing to the conflicting interests among themselves. In addition, the citizens felt that they were not consulted on the proposal, which imposed difficulty for the acceptance of the SPS project with the skeptical commercial related interests being transferred to the potential service partner (i.e. Tao Heung Group). (Chan, 2016)



Social capital and knowledge

The community medical services of KTDC represent a new mode of service delivery, which provides an alternative for residents to receive focused medical treatment (i.e. eye, dental, etc.) by means other than Government or private clinics. The project not only helps to fill the service gap as far as possible, but also enhances stakeholders' understanding of the actual demand of medical services as well as the existing services provided in the district, which enables the NGOs and the Government to have better planning and resources allocation to the medical services at district level. For instances, in the latest work plan submitted by KTSCHCA, it is revealed that the requirements for music therapy and outdoor exercise class are overestimated, while there are keen requirements of pain related illness treatment. Thus, KTSCHCA has redeployed the resources to respond to the service needs. (Kwai Tsing District Council, 2016c) Through the SPS project, the stakeholders could grasp the chance to review the actual need of medical services in the district, and this accumulates social capital and knowledge to further enhance the related services in the future.

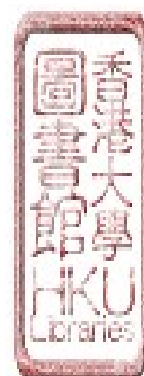
In SDC, although the SPS proposal has been put on hold, the stakeholders learn to recognise the importance of public engagement and the need to avoid



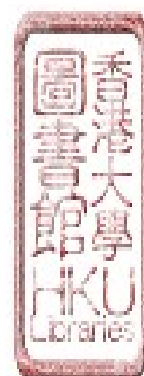
potential conflict of interest when engaging private sector in the project. Currently, the SDC has decided to commence a new round of public consultation exercise to understand the views of local residents. Though the whole process seems to be back to basic, it is important for further identification of local needs before proceeding to the policy design stage. In this sense, the previous failure could still build up social capital and knowledge to inspire the stakeholders on the importance of public engagement. (Southern District Council, 2016d)

Conclusion

Both the KTDC and the SDC are provided with the same infrastructural support and resources to implement the SPS as a major collaborative governance and community building initiative introduced by the HKSAR Government. However, different outcome and degree of success are observed. KTDC has so far been the only DC in Hong Kong which has launched the SPS while the SDC is still struggling with reaching a consensus on theme of the SPS project. As analysed above, different characteristics of community, community-building processes and community-building organisers between KTDC and SDC are identified and these factors contribute to the difference in outcomes.



The sharp contrast in the experiences of KTDC and SDC in implementing the SPS project against the background of the same resources and infrastructural support available to both districts offers insights into how collaborative governance capacity could be enhanced in the contexts of community building as well as citizen participation. This, together with the implications on the future development of the DAS, is further elaborated in Chapter 5.



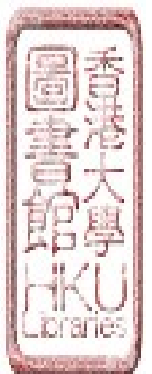
Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendation

Introduction

In this chapter, the study is concluded by summarising the main findings and analysis in Chapters 3 and 4, and then revisiting the three research questions raised in Chapter 1. Thereafter, some recommendations are made on how governance capacity for collaborative district-level community building can be further enhanced, and some related lines of future research are identified for this important area of governance in Hong Kong.

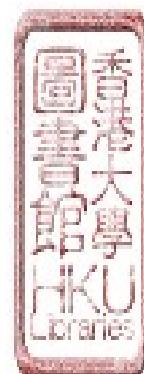
Summary of Main Findings and Analysis

Guided by the analytical framework in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 is an empirical analysis from the vertical perspective on how the development of DB/DC since 1982 reflects the development of collaborative governance at district level with reference to Emerson et al.'s (2011) integrative framework of collaborative governance. As informed by the documents and papers studied, such vertical analysis shows that despite the dominant role played by the Government in district-level community building as stipulated in the Basic Law and the executive-led nature of Hong Kong's governance system, district-level community building in Hong Kong is



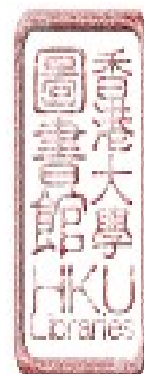
built on a close partnership between the Government and DCs. With reference to Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation, Chapter 3 also illustrates different extent of citizen engagement which corresponds to the two key stages of the evolution of the roles and functions of DB/DC, namely the early stage characterised by a primarily advisory role (from 1982 to 2000) and the ongoing development stage (from 2000 to the present) which is characterised by a strengthened consultative role since the abolition of the Municipal Councils in 2000 and subsequently a greater extent of partnership between Government and DC since 2006. The latter stage has seen the introduction of initiatives and programmes which give DC greater decision making responsibilities in terms of managing district facilities since 2008 and undertaking SPS since 2013.

In Chapter 4, case studies are provided to compare and contrast the experiences of Kwai Tsing District and Southern District in formulating and implementing SPS from a horizontal perspective so as to evaluate the structure and dynamics of collaborative action at district level in the context of community building. Factors determining successful community building are analysed with reference to three major aspects, namely characteristics of community, community-building processes and community-building organisers.



By successfully applying the analytical framework in Chapter 2 to structure, guide and inform the empirical research in Chapters 3 and 4, it validates the merits of supplementing the model developed by Emerson et al. (2011) by other applicable analytical building blocks. As illustrated in Chapter 3, the fact that collaborative governance capacity has been strengthened over time with the transfer of more resources and decision-making responsibilities from the Government to DCs serves to illustrate that the collaborative governance model as theorised by Emerson et al. (2011) should be considered together with Arnstein's (1969) typology, so as to address the dimension of citizen participation in district-level community building. The two models supplement each other and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of collaborative governance from the macro perspective.

The second part of the empirical research in Chapter 4, guided by the horizontal analysis perspective, compares the experiences of two DCs in planning for and implementing a new community building initiative. It shows that the Government, DCs and NGOs have formed an inter-connected network for district-level community building in Hong Kong. This provides a microscopic view of collaborative action to supplement the macro-level analysis of

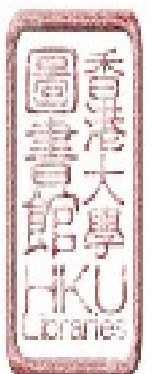


collaborative governance, thereby adding an evaluation dimension to the study by identifying the factors critical for the success or otherwise of community building.

Revisiting the Research Questions

District-level community building is the core of this project. The research interest focuses on how the Government's governance capacity has been enhanced by the DAS. Since the DAS has been implemented for over three decades, this research study is conducted with extensive literature review covering a long time horizon. In order to undergo a comprehensive study of the research questions, the empirical research of the project, which is guided by a two-thronged research approaches, i.e. the vertical and horizontal analysis, has added to the richness in data collection and helped address the three research questions put forward in Chapter 1.

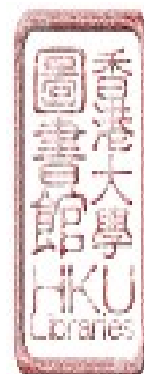
Research studies on the DAS and the operation of the DCs tend to focus on the perspective of considering such as part of the democratisation of Hong Kong or the electoral reform of the DC as enshrined by more elected members in DCs. In line with the global trend towards governance by network, this research study aims at examining the DAS from a different perspective in that the introduction of the DAS was in fact a bold step towards the pathway of network collaborative governance in



the context of community building. Subsequent developments of the DAS which are characterised by an increasing level of citizen participation through the evolution of the roles and functions of DCs further validate the significance of collaborative governance to the understanding of the DAS. It could also be perceived as another form of administrative absorption of politics of public-minded citizens and district-based leaders at community level which are related to the peculiar community characteristics of individual constituency. (King, 1975)

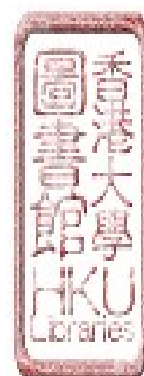
Governance by network as the mode for community building at district level

Chapter 3 addresses the first research question regarding the governance mode adopted by the Government since the implementation of the DAS in 1982. Obviously, the mode of governance by network has been driving community building initiatives in Hong Kong since the implementation of the DAS in 1982. The watershed event of the establishment of the then DBs in 1982 is an obvious indication of the then Colonial Government's intention to introduce collaborative governance as a way to strengthen the governance capacity of Hong Kong at district level. Such governance mode devised by the Colonial Government was retained and further developed by the HKSAR Government after the handover. Subsequent



developments such as gradual democratisation of the membership of DCs, strengthened roles and functions of DCs since 2000s, as well as gradual enhancement in the level of citizen participation have further substantiated the proposition that governance by network backed up by collaborative governance capacity has been adopted and developed by the Government since 1982 for the purpose of strengthening collaborative governance at the district level and undertaking community building initiatives.

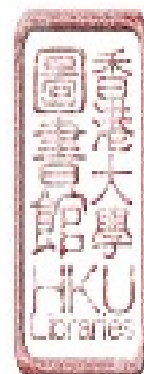
By studying the development of the DB/DC since 1982 guided by the Emerson et al.'s (2011) integrative framework for collaborative governance, it was found that, in terms of system context, the legal backing of DCs, socio-economic development in Hong Kong since 1970s, resource allocation and extensive network of DCs have provided favorable conditions for evolution of collaborative governance at district level. Leadership of the CEs, consequential incentives for collective actions, interdependence between the Government and the NGOs and the need to manage uncertainty were identified as drivers to facilitate and guide the formulation of collaborative governance at district level community building. Principled engagement in particular the increasing level of citizen participation analysed with Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation, shared motivation in DCs



and increasing capacity for joint action were interlinked with each other and generated momentum for collaborative actions to build the community. The development of the DB/DC, with enhanced role and functions and more resources to build the community, indeed reflects the development of collaborative government at the district level.

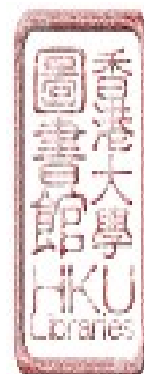
Enhancement of collaborative governance capacity

Chapter 3 not only demonstrates the mode of governance by network at district level and illustrates the development of collaborative governance through DB/DC since the implementation of the DAS in 1982, by the use of the analytical lens of Arnstein (1969)'s ladder of citizen participation, but also deepens the analysis on how the increasing level of citizen participation, from tokenism (informing/consultation/placation) to citizen power (partnership), progressively enhances the collaborative governance capacity in district administration and generates momentum for collaborative actions for community building. Developments in subsequent years such as gradual democratisation of the membership of DCs, gradual devolution of more resources and decision-making responsibilities to DCs since 2000s and gradual progression of the level of citizen



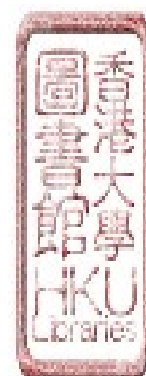
participation from tokenism to citizen power have substantiated the proposition that collaborative governance capacity has been enhanced as a result of the evolution of district governance and initiatives for community building over time. It is notable that such enhancing progressions are observed in the following three milestones during this evolution. First, the abolition of the two Municipal Councils in 1999 demonstrated the Government's intention of changing DB from advisory role to more consultation role. Secondly, it was followed by the DC reform in 2005-06 which the DCs were further empowered by strengthening its role in management of district facilities with more powers and resources for DCs to manage minor works in the districts and capital works improvement to district facilities. Thirdly, the SPS further demonstrates how the collaborative governance capacity was enhanced by granting DCs with full authority to decide on the different initiatives in relation to the community building. The above demonstrates that the Government's collaborative governance capacity on the district level was enhanced during the period.

Besides, adopting the four criteria suggested by Gunton and Day (2003) to evaluate the collaborative governance capacity at the moment, it shows that a collaborative network between the Government, NGOs as well as players in private



market was successful in reaching agreement for formulating and implementing initiatives for community building. This collaborative network also facilitates organising activities efficiently for promoting community inclusion. Judging from the increasing collaborative initiatives between the Government, DCs and NGOs, the analysis concludes that stakeholders are in general supportive and social capital and knowledge is accumulated through collaborative actions. The above shows the collaborative government capacity is enhanced and reaches a relatively high level.

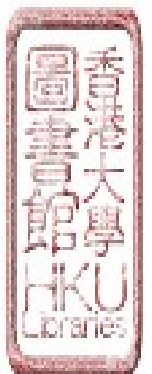
In Chapter 4, the success of the planning and implementation of SPS in Kwai Tsing district serves to illustrate the critical factors required of effective community building at district level. Under an inclusive and targeted approach of the community building processes, effective community-building organisers in Kwai Tsing district have managed to pool resources together to deliver services which address the needs of the local community. The success of Kwai Tsing district stands in a sharp contrast with Southern District which has so far failed to come up with a theme for the SPS. Failure of members of SDC to agree among themselves on the needs of their district, as well as a rather ineffective community-building process which is unable to properly plan for implementation of the SPS, account for the ultimate slippage in the planning and implementation of the SPS. The case



studies on the community-building experiences of Kwai Tsing district and Southern district reveal the extent to which collaborative governance at district level would function differently as a result of different community-building characteristics. Such an evaluation informs the recommendations below on how governance capacity for collaborative district level community building may be further enhanced.

Evaluation of community-building

The enhancement of the roles and functions of the DCs over the past three decades provides a bird's eye view of the evolution of collaborative governance for district-level community building in Hong Kong. The contrasting experiences of two DCs in implementing the SPS offer insights into the relevance and significance of district-specific considerations for the effectiveness of community-building, providing a microscopic view of the relevant issues in understanding the operation of collaborative governance on the ground. On top of that, the overall effectiveness of community building is evaluated with reference to the four criteria postulated by Gunton and Day (2003). These analytical and empirical components of the study



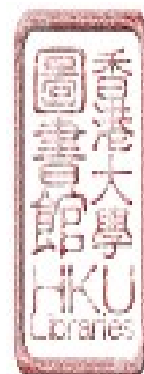
have provided for a comprehensive and structured approach to facilitate understanding of collaborative governance capacity.

Key Recommendations for Enhancing Collaborative Governance for Community Building at the District Level

Strengthening the capacity of district councils

This project also seeks to identify room for further strengthening the collaborative governance regime at the districts. The rungs of delegated power and citizen control on Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation point to possible directions in future. The empirical study on the failure of the SDC so far in launching the SPS provides insights into those areas which need further improvement. To reach such levels of citizen participation and realise the full potential of collaborative governance capacity, it calls for strengthening the capacity of DCs in handling greater responsibilities. Introducing political and constitutional reforms for district administration may also be helpful but such research areas are outside the scope of this project.

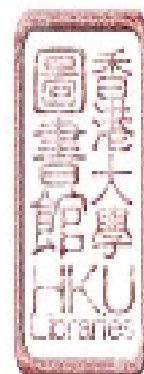
According to the analysis of the development and evolution of the roles and functions of the DCs over the past three decades, in order to enable the DCs to fully



utilise their capacity for community building at district level and contribute to the collaborative governance with the other community stakeholders, the Government could consider allocating more financial and manpower resources to beef up the operational capacity to discharge their mission for improving the well-being of the local residents through provision of public facilities and services. The SPS is a commendable initiative to empower the DCs through additional financial and inter-departmental support to deliver projects in district level. And these are one of the effective driver elements (Emerson et al., 2011) or the inputs relevant to the collaborative governance outcome.

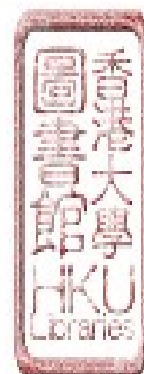
Expanding the roles and functions of district councils

Despite the advisory function for DCs at the district level, the Government could also appropriately devolve more authority to the DCs by expanding their scope of work through amendment of the DC Ordinance in regard to the DCs ambit of work. The DCs could be allowed to play a more active role in collaboration with the Government and other NGOs. For instance, the Government could allow DCs to directly suggest major projects for consideration of Government departments. DCs could also be given authority to ask for regular progress reports so to monitor the



implementation and effectiveness of the public services and facilities at district level. This would be a major policy step forward of the current practice of having the Government departments taking the major role to consult the DCs of their proposals. With this policy change in collaborative governance, the DCs could be empowered to take the public participation stage to the higher rung of “delegated power” citizen participation as suggested by Arnstein (1969) and full scale network governance as described by Knill and Tosun (2012). The responsibility of the DCs could be expanded beyond arts, cultural, environmental and district facilities management, etc. to other areas that are of major public concern to enhance the governance capacity and legitimacy of the Government as a whole to align with the global trend towards the pathway of collaborative governance through community building efforts.

As reflected from the findings of the analysis of the planning and implementation of the SPS projects by the KTDC and the SDC, the district residents are more receptive and supportive of livelihood related public services and facilities. Hence, the DCs should not overlook the significance of the community characteristics of the districts for effective and efficient collaborative

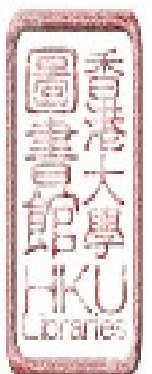


governance and community building works in order to achieve desirable outcome.

(Mattessich and Monsey, 1997)

Leaders as key driver for collaborative governance and community building

Leadership is an important element determining capacity for joint action in integrative framework of collaborative governance. (Emerson et al., 2011) Besides, the empirical study in Chapter 4 also proves by the comparison between KTDC and SDC that community-building organisers affect critically the success of community building. This is relevant to the capacity of the DC Chairmen and the elected DC members in the identification of local needs, solicitation of residents' opinions and input, offering advice to the Government and monitoring the work of the implementation of district service and facilities, the lining up and partnering with NGOs or private sector etc. The Government may consider providing leadership training to nurture the leadership of DC Chairmen and DC members through intensive workshops on leadership skills, the setting up of an Academy for District Administration, etc.

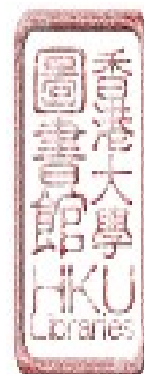


Suggested Lines of Related Future Research

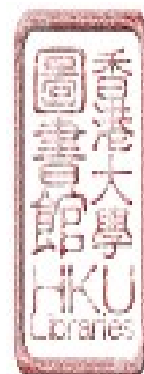
This project is a qualitative study to ascertain the collaborative governance models and community building mechanism in respect of the DCs. The empirical findings point to the conclusion that the governance model is the network governance as theorized by Knill and Tosun (2012). In order to study the community building process and the collaborative governance of the DCs, the SPS is selected as one of the core components of the empirical analysis. Future related study could cover the network governance of SPS across clusters of DCs with similar community characteristics so to find out whether there is any particular pattern of community building models associated with similar community make up.

In conducting the suggested future research in this direction, it has to be noted that, the SPS is introduced for the first time within a short-time span. Case examples need to be accumulated over time so that a large pool of the empirical data would be available to enhance the generalizability of the study and the relevance of the findings to the DAS and to make such future research studies more fruitful.

In addition, a major source of the reference materials used in the empirical analysis of this study is based on published Government documents posted to the



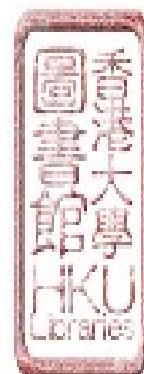
public domain such as the minutes and discussion/consultation papers uploaded to the websites of the DCs, the HAD, the LegCo, etc. But it is noted that not all discussion papers are available for public access to enable an analysis of the rationale for the outcome of certain official decisions as well as the details of the deliberation process which led to adoption of a policy option. This is most evident that not all discussion papers are uploaded to the websites of the KTDC as well as the SDC. For instances, in the analysis of the choice of potential collaborating partner for the Fishermen Cultural Centre project for Southern district's proposed Signature Project, no official discussion paper is available to find out the underlining reasons why the private restaurant operator (i.e. Tao Heung Group) is identified as the potential partner. The non-availability of complete set of official papers is a constraint encountered in this study. In this regard, future research in the same area could consider to incorporate the collection of primary data such as interviewing the DC members, Government officials or other stakeholders to find out the rationale or the detailed deliberations that led to certain decisions and courses of actions taken by the DCs in the collaborative governance and community building process.



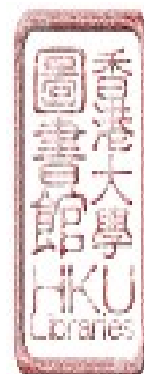
Concluding Remarks

Since the handover, the HKSAR Government has encountered several difficulties in implementing the executive-led system of governance (Hong Kong Standard, 2016, June 15) and building up legitimacy. To strengthen the governance legitimacy, the Government should put more emphasis on engaging general public towards the conception, planning, consultation and implementation of public policies and services. The DCs has a significant role to play in addressing the issue of the alleged ineffective governance efficacy. The DCs should be deployed as one of important platforms/channels to facilitate the Government's efforts to reach out to the wider spectrum of the stakeholders in the community as well as to other NGOs across sectors. By enhancing the capacity and expanding the roles and functions of the DCs as recommended in this research study, the Government may be able to more effectively tap on the community resources by networking and engaging the stakeholders in the collaborative governance process at district level for community building initiatives that would raise the overall support of Hong Kong people to the Government.

Riding on the experience of the DAS over the past three decades, the Government and DCs have become partners under the district administration



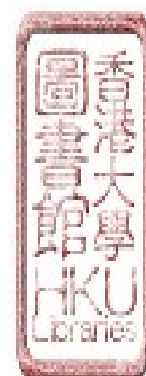
regime. Both play an indispensable role in enhancing collaborative governance capacity for district-level community building. With the abolition of all appointed seats on DCs from the current term of DC (which commenced on 1 January 2016) onwards, the DC has entered a new era. The SPS points to potential directions of the roles and functions of DC in future. How this will transpire will depend on the extent to which the SPS improves the well-being of the local community. While the politicisation of DCs as a result of the presence of more elected members with different political affiliations has led to concerns that DCs would become more bi-partisan between the pro-establishment camp and the pan-democracy camp and would therefore undermine the effectiveness of DCs in enhancing accountability and improving public services (Lo, 2001), the successful experience of KTDC in launching the SPS may suggest otherwise. This success case is a cause for optimism in that collaborative governance would have a positive impact on the governance capacity of district-level community building so long as the right mix of community building characteristics are in place. Those measures as recommended by this project are also worthy of further study with a view to further enhancing the collaborative governance capacity for community building at the district level.



Appendix I - Chronology of Key Events for Kwai Tsing District Signature Project (KTDSP) Scheme

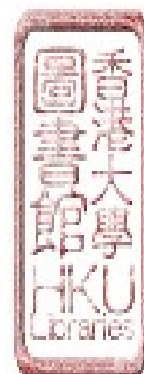
Date	Key Event
29 January 2013	The 1 st meeting of the Signature Project Steering Committee of KTDC in general agreed with the preliminary proposal on enhanced provision of primary healthcare services.
22 February 2013	The 2 nd meeting of the Signature Project Steering Committee of KTDC endorsed to set up a Working Group on Enhancement of Community Health Services (Working Group) to follow up with the proposal.
April – May 2013	Stakeholders and district organisations were briefed on the KTDSP and an open forum was held in April 2013. The five Area Committees in Kwai Tsing District were consulted.
10 January 2014	The Legislative Council Panel on Home Affairs supported the proposal.
19 March 2014	The Public Works Sub-committee of the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council recommended the proposal for the Finance Committee's approval.
11 July 2014	The Finance Committee of the Legislative Council approved the funding allocation for the proposal.
September 2014	The services were launched.

Source: Legislative Council and Kwai Tsing District Council

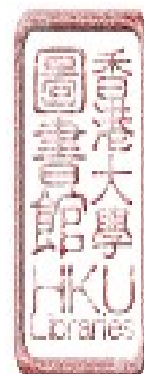


Appendix II - Chronology of Key Events for Southern District Signature Project (SDSP) Scheme

Date	Key Event
31 January 2013	The 7 th meeting of the SDC District Facilities Management Committee (DFMC) selected two projects, namely “Department of Seafood Restaurant near Aberdeen Wholesale Fish Market” (First priority project) and “Pearl Necklace: Connecting the Waterfront Destinations of the Southern District, and Constructing a Panoramic Footbridge over Waterfall Bay” (Second priority project).
28 May 2013	The 1 st meeting of the Focus Group on SDSP was held and approved the “Department of Seafood Restaurant near Aberdeen Wholesale Fish Market” as the first priority project and the second priority project was renamed as “Extension of the Waterfall Bay Park”.
23 December 2013	The 13 th meeting of SDC endorsed the resolution of pooling the resources to deal with the first priority project, and the second priority project would be further discussed in the District Facilities Management Committee.
23 May 2014	The 3 rd meeting of the Focus Group on SDSP endorsed that the operation and management of the SDSP would be undertaken by a non-profit making organisation (NPO).
16 July 2014	SDC held a district consultation with attendees including SDC members, the four Southern District Area Committees’ members, residents’ organisations and representatives from NPOs etc.
July to August 2014	SDO posted advertisement on Sing Tao Daily and the Standard, and the Southern District News to openly invite proposals from interested NPOs.

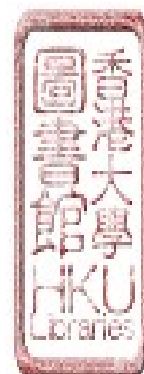


Date	Key Event
8 September 2014	Upon deadline of submission, SDO received two applications from “Tao Heung Food Culture and Education Foundation Limited” (The Foundation) and “HK Ample Love Society Limited”.
September 2014	The Architectural Services Department provided conceptual design at the 4 th meeting of the Focus Group on SDSP which was incorporated with the public view, and Focus Group on SDSP conducted consultation with residents on the conceptual design. Among the 145 sets of surveys returned, 74 residents objected the construction of seafood restaurant against 70 supported it,
November 2014 to April 2015	While “HK Ample Love Society Limited” failed to provide the requested documentary proof resulting in rejection to its application, SDO further discussed with the Foundation about the collaboration and operation details based on the views of Focus Group members.
June to September 2015	SDO further discussed with relevant government departments and the Foundation on the operation mode of the project and collaboration details.
27 November 2015	SDO submitted planning application to the Town Planning Board (TPB) via the Architectural Services Department. The TPB received 1318 representations during the public inspection period. Subsequently SDO and Focus Group of SDSP met with community stakeholders to address their concern.
29 February 2016	The 6 th meeting of the Focus Group on SDSP agreed to propose to SDC to shelve the implementation of the “Fishermen Cultural Centre” project. It proposed to organize a workshop for discussing the proposals and



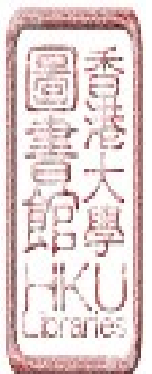
Date	Key Event
	public consultation plan.
17 March 2016	The 3 rd meeting of the SDC endorsed to shelve the implementation of the “Fishermen Cultural Centre” project.

Source: Southern District Council



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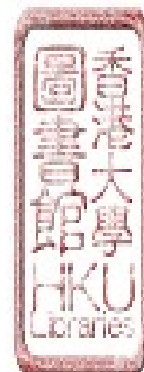
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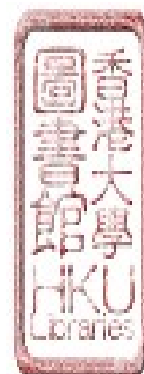
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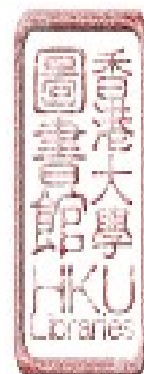
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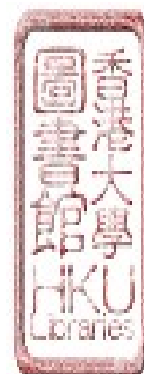
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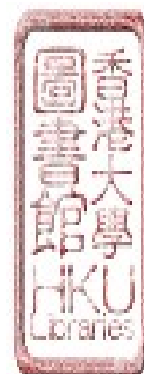
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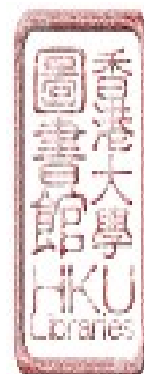
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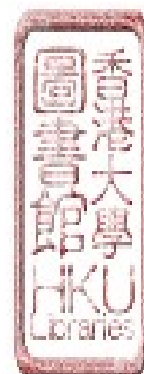
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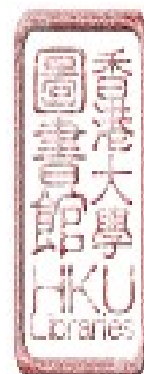
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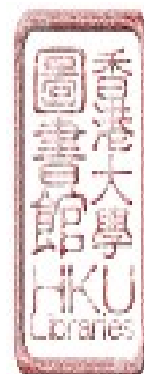
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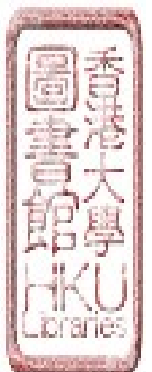
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