The social impacts of urban development in Hong Kong local residents' perspectives

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The social impacts of urban development in Hong Kong: local residents' perspectives

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Being a dissertation submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of the MSc International Planning at University College London: I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work and that ideas, data and images, as well as direct quotations, drawn from elsewhere are identified and referenced.

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ABSTACT

The trajectory of urban development in Hong Kong has produced a culture where property development has become a powerful force in society that has shaped its key institutions and built up the ethos of property accumulation as the measure of ultimate success. Driven by three key institutions: the government, property developers, and the MTR, Hong Kong's urban railway company, urban development has massively transformed the territory's neighbourhoods and communities. This dissertation contributes to the under-researched juncture between urban transformation and community relations in the context of a development-dominant culture by considering the case study of Sai Ying Pun, a Hong Kong neighbourhood that has undergone such urban change. Through a mixed method approach the perspectives of residents and businesses from two key communities, as well as experts, are studied. The findings reveal that the impacts of urban change are not experienced evenly by each community, and even if displacement does not occur, the benefits do not fall symmetrically. The research also demonstrates the continued faith placed in the power of the institutionalised property development apparatus to enhance the urban landscape and to improve the lives of residents, as well as the enduring belief amongst Hong Kong people of its potential as a vehicle for upwards social mobility.

1. INTRODUCTION

Hong Kong's status as one of the world's leading financial centres was attained through the growth-promotion policies of the colonial British administration that placed an emphasis on property development (Haila, 2000). A symbiotic relationship developed between the government and property developers: real estate provided a large source of government revenue, and in turn, the government promoted development-friendly policies (Lee & Tang, 2017). This pro-development agenda has been perpetuated and strengthened since the handover of Hong Kong back to China.

The unique history of Hong Kong is also manifested in the diverse communities present in the territory. These include the long-established South Asian community that first arrived via colonial links, the Southeast Asian population predominantly employed as domestic workers today, other Chinese groups who fled to Hong Kong during the Maoist upheavals in mainland China as well as more recent arrivals since the return to Chinese rule, the community of Western residents working for the global corporations that power the territory's trade economy, in addition to the native Cantonese population.

Little literature exists on how the dynamics between these cultural groups interact with the realities of a society driven by progress, property development and the accumulation of material wealth. It is at the confluence of these unique features of contemporary Hong Kong that this dissertation is situated. Looking at the case study of Sai Ying Pun, a neighbourhood that has experienced rapid development following the opening of a new metro station, the attitudes of residents, businesses, and experts toward the changes that have taken place are investigated. Two specific communities, native Cantonese residents and foreign expatriates will be explored. This paper addresses key themes around the overarching research question:

What are the social impacts of urban development from the perspective of local residents and key stakeholders?

Within this central premise are themes around residents' views on development outcomes, dynamics between different communities mediated by development, and key drivers of urban development. These are explored under the following research objectives:

1   To explore what residents want from their neighbourhood and their response to urban development.
2   To understand the impact of urban development on different communities.
3   To understand how the key drivers of urban development are perceived.

The next chapter explores the existing literature around the above themes, both in Hong Kong and internationally, to identifies gaps in understanding and to provide a grounding for further investigation. The following chapter introduces the case study neighbourhood, Sai Ying Pun, and details the methodological framework employed and justifications for the chosen approach. This is followed by an analysis and discussion of the results, before the final conclusion section, which revisits the original research objectives.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. NEIGHBOURHOOD AND THE COMMUNITY

The study of how the mechanisms of the urban environment act on the community and people's relationship with their neighbourhood has taken place largely in the West, with limited research conducted in the denser, vertical urban form that characterise Asian cities. Compared with the West the continuing importance of familial relations may play a role in shaping their interactions between the private and public spheres (Forrest et al., 2002). Based on the idea that Hong Kong Chinese social organisation places the pursuit of familial interests over the needs of the wider community—described as *utilitarianistic familism* by Lau (1981)—it is noted that lower levels of social participation, as well as a suspicion of outsiders, prevails in this environment (Lau, 1982).

The high-density urban landscape is another factor that may significantly impact community interactions. It has been suggested that a crowded environment induces people to maximise their limited amounts of privacy by decreasing their neighbouring behaviour in order to remain anonymous (Chan, 1997, cited in Mak et al., 2009), though Mac et al. note that the link between population density and neighbourhood ties in Hong Kong are not clear, and leaves the question open for future study. The compact nature of Hong Kong, supported by good transport links that facilitate travel around the territory, also serves to compress time and space. Forrest et al. (2002) point to this feature, as well the workings of public housing policy, as factors that may increase feelings of attachment to a neighbourhood. This strikes as counterintuitive, as good accessibility suggests that spatial constraints to the formation and maintenance of social bonds should become less significant, and thereby reducing the need to stay in the same neighbourhood. Indeed, Mac et al. (2009) suggest that a sense of community may be determined less by spatial or demographic, or socioeconomic factors, and more by psychological ones, which are individual to the resident.

In a microlevel study of individuals' relationships with their neighbourhood, Forrest et al. (2002) observed varying degrees of neighbouring behaviour and made the observation that "the neighbourhood was important as a symbol and people clearly like living among their own sort, but personal contacts were limited" (p231). This assessment is brought into sharp relief when respondents in that study described their feelings towards other Chinese communities. These differences run along linguistic and perceptual lines—the inability to understand the non-Cantonese dialects spoken, differing political sympathies, and an association with more unsavoury elements in society.

A noteworthy sentiment to emerge from this study were the physical characteristics that distinguished neighbourhoods in the construction of residents' sense of neighbourhood were not historical landmarks, in contrast to the Western experience. Instead, more utilitarian features were mentioned involving local amenities such as parks, metro stations, and shopping centres, revealing that urban features do not appear in people's sense of nostalgia. Another prominent theme that was repeatedly mentioned as important to a neighbourhood concerned feelings of safety and quality of the environment, in particular air quality and traffic. Although this study is exploratory, consisting of 15 qualitative interviews, it provides a suitable context and basis for further exploration.

2.2. URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS

Maloutas (2012) observed that ideas about gentrification grew out of the urban development histories of the West, notably the Anglo-Saxon traditions of Britain and the US, and as such, come attached with a set of assumptions informed by these histories. However, he notes that the term becomes problematic when applied to settings outside of its cultural origin, where a notion that is already intellectually ambiguous loses conceptual rigour under *contextual stretching*. The extent to which this occurs when applied to Hong Kong has been examined by Ley and Teo (2014), who found that processes that appeared to be well described by gentrification operated under mechanisms different to those that underpinned traditional understandings, and interestingly, were not described in such terms by the media reporting on developments at the time. When the authors asked housing specialists for an explanation, it was revealed that displacement was not necessarily viewed as a negative outcome in the development culture of Hong Kong. In this context, displacement is taken for granted as a natural part of the development process and an inevitability that has become accepted by society. The specialists elaborated that as part of the cultural values of Hong Kong, everyone has an interest in property, and furthermore, it is seen as a vehicle for upwards social mobility. Viewed from this perspective, displacement caused by property development takes on a more positive aspect: the compensation that displaced residents can expect to receive offers a path for them to improve their life—confounding traditional assumptions.

An appreciation of the importance of the property market is essential to the understanding of this sentiment. Hong Kong experienced an economic boom in the 1980s, driven by reforms in China that turned Hong Kong into a gateway between the mainland and the global economy (Cheung et al., 2018). This attracted large investments in Hong Kong's property sector, supported by free market policies that fuelled a sustained economic expansion until the late 1990s, leading to a rapid rise in homeownership and a middle-class actively engaged in property investment (Ip, 2018), while also enriching the property tycoons who controlled the largest developers (Ley & Teo, 2014). The priorities of society were thus reorganised around a reverence for property development:

> Because real estate development and (re)development tends to be considered as solid evidence of the society's progress, it deserves to be supported, at any cost. In contrast, any attempt to disrupt it is out of favor, or even condemned by the society. In upholding the principle of highest and best use in the deployment of land resources under ownership, (re)development projects should thus be rewarded up to the highest market potential. In such a society, while property owners are the elite, tenants, subject to displacement, in any redevelopment have no major role to play. Their right to housing is forfeited in favor of owners' property rights. More importantly, such practices and precepts are considered "rational" by the society, which is bound to uphold them. (Tang, 2008: 359)

Two themes contained in this quote, the commodification of property as profit-generating instruments and the marginalisation of tenants in the development process, serve to highlight the societal costs of the pro-development ideology that are worth exploring further. The incentive to maximise the value of property has resulted in the diminution of other priorities, including the preservation of urban heritage. Over the years, many notable historical sites have been lost, or have been under threats of demolition, in the unalloyed pursuit of development. In the well-publicised cases of Queen's Pier and Wing Lee Street, resident engagement and public consultation have been described as ineffective, and negotiations are characterised by an imbalance of power

between the dominant government and property owners advocating development, and relatively weaker residents, interest groups, and the public arguing for preservation (Yung & Chan, 2011). Even worse, Tang, et al. (2011) describes the practice of the government using the process of public engagement as a legitimising tool to perpetuate the *land (re)development regime*.

The expression of the development-as-social-mobility mentality may be found in the reactions of the Wing Lee Street residents who favoured development in order to receive relocation funds. They were disappointed when the preservation campaign succeeded (after a Hong Kong film that featured the street won a prestigious international film award) and as a result were offered small subsidies for renovations (Ley & Teo, 2014). Conflict between residents and developers, then, is often not about resistance to eviction, but over the level of compensation they are able to negotiate to upgrade their living conditions.

2.3. INSTITUTIONALS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

2.3.1. BURSTING THE PROPERTY HEGEMONY BUBBLE

Real estate dominates the economy of Hong Kong to the extent that it has been described as a *property state* (Haila, 2000). The root of this regime stems from the ownership of all freehold land in the territory by the government, a legacy from its colonial history, which grants it huge power over land development (Lai, 1998). It has managed land allocation through market mechanisms, forming close partnerships with private property developers, which have allowed the state to manage housing policy effectively, while also generating large public revenues (La Grange & Pretorius, 2005), and enriching property developers (Ley & Teo, 2014). Property development is one of the most important sectors in Hong Kong, making up the business activities of four of its 10 largest companies by market value, and the source of wealth for all but three of the 10 richest people in the territory (Forbes, 2020a, 2020b). Moreover, it is estimated that up to 45-50% of revenues in Hong Kong, including profits and salaries tax, and building industry stamp duties, are development related (Brown & Loh, 2002, Cullen & Krever, 2006 cited in Koh et al., 2017).

But the celebrated status of property developers in Hong Kong has more recently been questioned. The pre-eminence of real estate in the collective consciousness is rooted in its promise to improve the lives of the people through property ownership (Ip, 2018). This paradigm was shaken during the Asian Financial Crisis of the late 1990s, during which households plunged into negative equity, yet property developers conspicuously continued to make huge profits (Ley & Teo, 2014). Their conduct has been further examined as criticism became more widespread through media scrutiny. Practices, such as price manipulation, and the destruction of historically significant buildings (Wong & Ng, 2018, Yung & Chan, 2011), caused public discontent and popular mobilisations, reactions that would have been unheard of in the past. The image of developers and its leading figures, such as property tycoon, Li Ka-shing, who had once been idolised as role models of success and hard work, has been much diminished (Ley & Teo, 2014).

2.3.2. A PUBLIC RAILWAY IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST?

The Mass Transit Railway (MTR) operates Hong Kong's urban railway system. In a densely populated territory, where the majority of the population relies on public transport—47% of public transport journeys are made on

the MTR (MTRC, 2019)—the company plays a major role in urban development. This is delivered through the MTR's Rail-plus-Property (R+P) model, described extensively by Tang et al. (2004), whereby the capital costs of rail infrastructure are funded by the development of land surrounding a proposed station. The development value of the land is captured by the MTR and its partner property developers. The resulting large-scale, integrated shopping complexes, residential estates, and office towers dramatically transforms a neighbourhood. The MTR hails this model for delivering world-class public transit, creating vibrant neighbourhoods, conserving open space, and providing economic opportunities (Leong, 2016). This land development cross-subsidisation has made the company very profitable—a rarity amongst transit operators in the world—and means that it does not rely on financial subsidies from the state (Tang, 2009).

However, the granting of development rights at *greenfield prices* (land valuation based on no development taking place) by the government to the MTR is considered a form of government subsidy, and leaves it open to criticism for shielding the MTR from having to bid for leaseholds in the open market (Tang & Lo, 2010). It has also been questioned whether the MTR, as a state-owned company—the government has a 77% stake—should bear more responsibility for relieving the chronic housing shortage in Hong Kong (there are no regulations obliging the MTR to reserve plots for public housing). These calls for social responsibility conflicts with the profit-seeking mission of the MTR, and further antagonises detractors given the favourable terms that the company purchases development land (Musil, 2019). Other complaints include fare price increases, which are met with charges of dereliction of public obligation by a profit-making, public company (Yeung, 2008).

Despite criticisms, the R+P model is held up as best practice for financially viable, urban infrastructure development (Suzuki et al., 2013). However, even in Hong Kong, it cannot be universally applied. R+P model development relies on the availability of greenfield land. This is not possible on already developed land, such as Sai Ying Pun. In these cases, a metro station may be built without the surrounding land development.

2.4. DISCOURSES ON IDENTITY IN HONG KONG

The formation of distinct sets of communities in Hong Kong is attributable to many historical corollaries. Perhaps the most significant of these is the colonial heritage of the territory, which has created and moulded the identities of two groups studied in this paper, the native Chinese population and the community of expatriates. Since the transfer of Hong Kong sovereignty to China, the dynamics around the concepts of race and nationality have shifted as new social, cultural, and political landscapes are shaped around the renegotiation of power and privilege, driven by the receding legacy of empire to be replaced by native Chinee dispensations (Wang et al., 2014). However, these conceptions still inform much of the subjectivities around identity for foreign residents in Hong Kong. The role of whiteness and Britishness as a signifier of privilege among expatriates living in postcolonial Hong Kong was studied by Leonard (2008, 2010). She revealed the varied discourses that exist among expiates as they negotiate a changing landscape of power and status relations. Inconsistencies in their positions are shown as some aim to reject the established narrative of privilege in one instance, yet stake a position that hinges on the same notion in another:

> *The interplay of discourses in Tina's talk reveals a constant, contradictory shifting as she negotiates the*
> *positions available to her. She shows impatience with the stuffiness and inflexibility of the British, and*

simultaneously finds difficulty in not positioning herself as white and British in her intolerance of 'other'
people and ways of working. (Leonard, 2008: 55)

This observation reveals the fluidity of positions accessible to expatriates as they navigate identity discourse, but ultimately situates them in terms of their "otherness" compared to the populations of their host country (Leonard, 2010). These positions of privilege tend to result in white expatriates occupying the higher social strata of their adopted home (Chai & Rogers, 2004).

The identity of the Hong Kong Chinese emerged out of the separation of Hong Kong from China under colonialism. Chinese cultural heritage influenced by British administration created an identity that was not simply an amalgamation of these traditions, but something distinct and entirely separate from both (Bond & King, 1985). Since the resumption of sovereignty by China, the underpinnings of Hong Kong identity have been re-examined as citizens grapple with the competing forces of a renewed push for closer cultural and political links with the mainland, and the resulting conflict with its own values that this has created (Enri, 2001). Reaction to this more assertive stance from leaders to engender greater national pride has been seen in the entrenchment of liberal-democratic values, such as the rule of law and civil liberties, forming a local political identity in opposition to the values of the Chinese mainland (Leung & Ngai, 2011).

Cantonese is another key tenet of the territory's local identity, being unique from the language of its former coloniser, and the national language (Lai, 2011), and also serves to differentiate Hong Kong people from other Chinese immigrant groups in the territory, as previously discussed. Efforts during the colonial period to establish the hegemony of English over Chinese, and the resulting resistance to these policies, shaped a local identity centred around Cantonese as the language of "Hongkongness" (Tsui, 2013), and English as a language of business, law, and education, as well as a signifier of its international outlook. The identity formed around language and hybrid values continues to shape the way Hong Kong people define themselves (Fung, 2001; Tsui, 2013).

2.5. SUMMARY

It is clear that the various communities that live in Hong Kong, of which only two are investigated in this paper, occupy different cultural spaces and have their own priorities. Where this is manifested in the sphere of urban development has received much media attention (Cheung, 2018; Tsui, 2013), but limited academic inquiry. Yet the transformations taking place in neighbourhoods such Sai Ying Pun have impacted these communities asymmetrically. There is no consensus on whether these changes can be described as gentrification in the context of a society where urban development, as the prevailing impetus for social progress, is presumed to be accepted even by those being displaced, resulting in an institutional framework geared towards enabling it, despite questions about the wider costs to society. This paper explores the perspectives of the communities experiencing the results of institution-driven urban development change.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. SAI YING PUN CASE STUDY

Sai Ying Pun was chosen as the case study for this paper because it is a neighbourhood that has undergone significant development with the opening of the MTR station in 2015 (Lo, 2018). It has a mixed population of established local Hong Kong Chinese and more recent arrivals of foreign residents. Because the MTR station was not built under the R+P model (the station was instead built without the MTR developing the surrounding land), the neighbourhood has not undergone a wholesale urban transformation characteristic of R+P developments. This has allowed urban change to proceed more organically without large-scale removals of existing residents.

Map 1 shows the area widely considered to be Sai Ying Pun. The neighbourhood is situated on the western end of Hong Kong Island at a strategic transit location, which includes direct MTR access to Central, Admiralty, and Causeway Bay, the main business and shopping districts; proximity to the Western Harbour Crossing arterial route, providing access to western Hong Kong, including Hong Kong Airport; and proximity to Hong Kong Macau Ferry Terminal, linking the territory with Macau and mainland China. The core of the neighbourhood, where much of the development has taken place, is considered for the purposes of the paper to be the area bounded by Des Voeux Road West and Bonham Road on the north-south axis, and Eastern Street and Water Street/Western Street on the east-west axis.
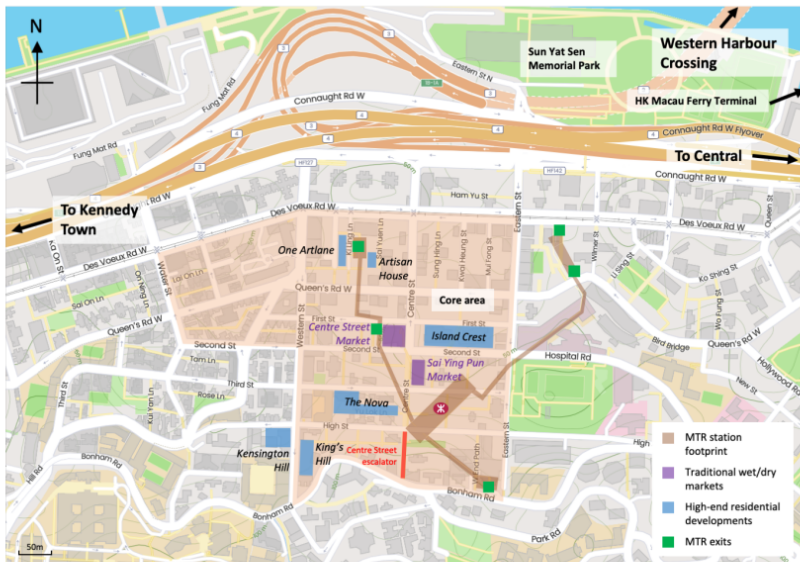
Map 1: Sai Ying Pun neighbourhood map (source: OpenStreetMap contributors, adapted by author)

The topography of the neighbourhood is flat terrain from the northern shore until Queen's Road West at which point there is a continuous steep incline that defines the main characteristic of the neighbourhood. The

core area is traversed by a grid of narrow roads running up, and parallel with, the hill (**Picture 2** shows an example), with some portions pedestrianised (marked in yellow on **Map 1**), including the section of Centre Street between Second Street and Bonham Road. A noteworthy intervention is the Centre Street escalator, built in 2013, between High Street and Bonham Road, which transverses a particularly steep section of the hill. The highest concentration of recent commercial development has occurred on the section of High Street between Western Street and Centre Street. Several recently built high-end residential estate are shown (the oldest was built in 2009), to give context to the scale of development; as well as the two neighbourhood markets that primarily serve the working-class population. High volumes of people and traffic are common during most parts of the day in Sai Ying Pun.

Picture 2: Busy junction at the foot of the hill at Queen's Road West (source: Patrick Liu, 2020)

3.2. FIELDWORK

3.2.1. QUANTITATIVE RESIDENTS SURVEY

To gain insights on the views of residents of Sai Ying Pun, a structured questionnaire was conducted. An online survey was chosen to obviate the need to conduct personal interviews, which was important for the minimalisation of risk owing to Covid-19 concerns. An online survey provided the further advantage compared with personal interviews of allowing the fieldwork period to extend beyond the author's visit to Hong Kong, and thereby maximising the potential number of completions. Finally, the quantitative nature of the residents survey lends itself to the medium of a non-interviewer administered survey where elaboration of responses and exploration of themes of a qualitative nature are not the primary object (McGivern, 2009). It was important to offer both Chinese and English versions of the questionnaire to allow respondents to answer the survey in the language they are most comfortable using in order to ensure the fidelity of their feedback.

Interviewees were sourced by snowball sampling, starting from the author's own connections in Hong Kong, and from social media, in particular a Sai Ying Pun residents' group on Facebook. It was recognised that these sampling methods may produce to bias in the respondent profile towards those who were younger, particularly engaged in community life (engaged enough to join a Facebook group), and English speaking (the Facebook group, as well as the author's contacts, mainly use English). Therefore, mail drops were also carried

out in order to capture a wider demographic of respondents. Invitation letters with a survey link, in both English and Chinese, were deposited in letterboxes of residential towers in Sai Ying Pun.

The fieldwork period was between 15 July and 5 August 2020. **Table 3** shows the final sample sizes and main subgroup criteria. The two themes explored for subgroup analysis were, length of residency and native/non-native status. The opening of the MTR station in March 2015 was selected as the cut-off for residency length because the arrival of the MTR was the catalyst for the rapid development of the neighbourhood. Though it is acknowledged that development occurred before this point, it accelerated with the start of rail operations. Moreover, it was decided that selecting a point that had resonance with respondents and that could easily be recalled was sensible for data gathering practicalities. Primary spoken language and Hong Kong permanent residency (HKPR) status were utilised as a proxy to differentiate the cultural subgroups discussed in the literature review. Those who speak Cantonese as a primary language form one subgroup that represents "native residents" who had spent most of their lives in Hong Kong (all of these respondents also held HKPR). Non-Chinese speakers (as a primary language) make up another subgroup of people that represent skilled foreign workers, commonly called "expats". Though far from a perfect term, for the purposes of simple nomenclature, this subgroup is referred as "Western residents" or "Westerners" in this paper.[1] These terms are potentially problematic as a broad categorisation that are susceptible to interpretation (Lalonde et al., 2013), but they are generally understood and accepted in Hong Kong.

	Selection criteria	Completion count
All respondents	Currently living and/or working in Sai Ying Pun	91
Long-term residents	...have lived/worked before MTR opening	41
Recent residents	...have lived/worked after MTR opening	50
Native residents	...primarily speaks Cantonese AND has HKPR	17
Western residents	...primarily speaks a non-Chinese language	71

Table 3: Quantitative survey: respondent summary and subgroups

The survey asked respondents about their perceptions of various aspects of the urban form of Sai Ying Pun, including walkability, access to open spaces, and safety, as well as their overall feeling towards the neighbourhood. The questions are posed in the form a 5-point scale comparing Sai Ying Pun as it is today with how it was before the MTR opened (for long term-residents), or with where they had previously lived or considered living (for recent residents). Simple analysis was conducted and is shown on all displayed charts: net favourability (ratings of 4 and 5), net unfavourability (ratings of 1 and 2), and mean score (3.0 indicating neutral overall favourability). A limited number of open-ended questions were also asked of respondents, inviting them to elaborate on some of their responses to certain questions, as well as a general question allowing for any

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1 A caveat must be inserted to state that the communities that these groupings represent are not mutually exclusive. A native Cantonese speaker can be assimilated into the Western community and may easily code-switch (culturally and linguistically) between them, and vice versa. The use of primary spoken language as a discriminator between these communities is clumsy but is the least-worst option for the purposes of this paper. It is also noted that HKPR does not indicate that a resident was born in Hong Kong. It is likely that most Westerners with HKPR have been naturalised after living in the territory for seven consecutive years.

additional comments on topics not covered in the survey. These questions were manually coded with a code frame built up inductively. The questionnaire is shown in **Appendix 1**.

3.2.2. IN-DEPTH EXPERT INTERVIEWS

In-depth interviews were conducted with two experts: the local council representative of Sai Ying Pun, District Councillor Napo Wong, and an estate agent, Houer Cheung, who has extensive experience of the property market in the Sai Ying Pun area. They are current and former residents of Sai Ying Pun, respectively. These interviews were semi-structured and conducted in person. This allowed for an interactive exploration of key topics, while providing the flexibility to expand and elaborate on specific points of interest that arise during the discussion, including unexpected themes that may occasionally emerge. Each interview lasted for around 90 minutes. Talking points concerned each expert's area of expertise, as well as their own personal experiences as current/former residents of Sai Ying Pun. The interviews were conducted at the constituency office of Napo Wong and at a coffee shop in Hong Kong with Houer Cheung. For clarity of understanding, these interviewees will hereafter be referred to as District Councillor and Estate Agent.

3.2.3. QUALITATIVE SHOPKEEPERS SURVEY

The perspectives of local business owners were explored through semi-structured qualitative interviews of Chinese-owned businesses. Shops were selected in the core area of Sai Ying Pun and were conducted on-premises in Cantonese. The assignment of these businesses as representative of the native community was established by evaluating the store (predominantly Chinese signage, a clear local "look" to the shop) and asking shopkeepers whether their main customer base were local Chinese and whether they conducted business mainly in Cantonese. A semi-structured format was used to obtain richer, qualitative data from shopkeepers. Individual interviews were not as in-depth as the expert interviews, typically lasting 20 minutes in order to be able to conduct several of these interviews, and also in consideration of shopkeepers' time. Profiles of the shopkeepers are given in **Table 4**.

	Profile	Business, years of operation
Shopkeeper A	Female, ~40, worker, non-resident	Laundrette, ~1 year
Shopkeeper B	Male, ~45, owner, non-resident	Florist, ~1 year
Shopkeeper C	Male, ~50, owner, resident	Frozen meat shop, 1 week (but has been operating another shop in Sai Ying Pun for >20 years)
Shopkeeper D	Male, ~45, worker, resident	Hardware store, >20 years
Shopkeeper E	Female, ~75, owner, resident	Restaurant, 26 years
Shopkeeper F	Female, ~80, owner, resident	Vegetable stall in the Sai Ying Pun wet market, ~60 years

Table 4: *Qualitative survey: shopkeeper profiles*

3.3. LIMITATIONS

The quantitative survey was not randomly sampled, and while it is not intended to be representative, it is acknowledged that the number of native residents is under-represented. For this reason, detailed subgroup analysis was not done conducted, as originally intended, and insights should instead be treated as exploratory. The intention was to mitigate this shortcoming by targeting native residents with on-street, personal interviews. However, fieldwork took place during the global Covid-19 pandemic, during which time Hong Kong was placed under prevention controls. It was decided to forego this stage as a result. Planned interviews with Western shopkeepers were similarly cancelled. As a result, gaining a fuller picture from the perspectives of business owners was not possible.

It is also recognised that the views of shopkeepers in this survey do not reflect the experience of all local, Chinese-owned businesses in Sai Ying Pun by nature of the existence of their businesses as going concerns. Businesses that have closed down as a result of development would provide invaluable insight, but it was not possible to find this kind of respondent. Finally, it should also be noted that the views of the experts are their own and do not necessarily reflect the consensus of their respective professions.

3.4. ETHICS

Throughout the research process all ethical considerations were adhered to. The experts interviewed gave their informed consent to be named in this paper, and for their interviews to be recorded for use only for research purposes. For other interviews, apart from broad demographic information, no personal information was gathered from respondents that could allow them to be identified. A copy of the Information Sheet and Informed Consent Form is given in **Appendix 2**, and the Risk Assessment Form is in **Appendix 3**.

4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

4.1. THE SHAPE OF DEVELOPMENT IN SAI YING PUN

4.1.1. WHAT DO PEOPLE THINK ABOUT HOW SAI YING PUN HAS DEVELOPED?

Much of the character of Sai Ying Pun is shaped by the urban landscape defined by its physical features. Experiences of the neighbourhood are informed by the historic, narrow roads set on the hilly landscape. Many residents (41%) had favourable views on walkability (**Chart 5**). The most cited reasons for this include comments about the street layout (narrow roads, pedestrianisation of some streets, well connected streets). But for the minority of residents (21%) who had an unfavourable attitude, the same narrow roads reduced walkability because they are more susceptible to crowding, as did the steep terrain of Sai Ying Pun, which was commonly mentioned. This density problem is mitigated somewhat by Sai Ying Pun MTR station, which offers an alternative way to navigate the area. Many residents mention cutting through the station as a means to avoid walking on the streets above. The public subways within the MTR station are air conditioned, offering a respite to the usually humid Hong Kong climate, and eliminates the need to walk up steep inclines (the station is deep underground with lift-accessible exits at various points on the hill, making it possible to traverse the area without negotiating the hills). Some residents also cite the Centre Street public escalator as enhancing walkability and relieving the problem of the steep gradient.

Attitudes about open spaces is mixed. Residents are ambivalent about the provision of open spaces in Sai Ying Pun, with similar numbers expressing positive and negative views (**Chart 6**). Given the high population density of Hong Kong in general, there is no great expectation of generous amounts of public spaces. It is possible that residents appreciate the limited public space that exists in the core area—Shopkeeper D mentioned that he approved of the local parks being upgraded over the past few years—but are put off by the inaccessibility of larger parks. Sun Yat Sen Memorial Park, the largest park local park, which contains a public swimming pool and sports centre, is not easily reached and involves a circuitous walk across a footbridge over a multilane carriageway (Connaught Road West).

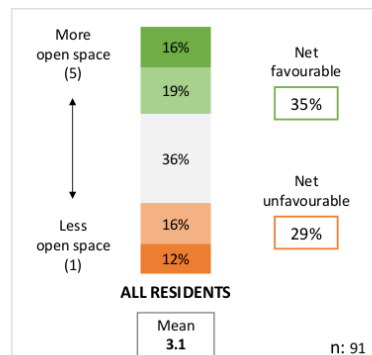*Chart 5: Perceptions of walkability*

Chart 6: Perceptions of open space

Safety is cited as an important aspect of neighbourhoods by Forrest et al. (2002), but residents of Sai Ying Pun appear to have few concerns, and it is not mentioned as a distinguishing characteristic of the neighbourhood. Only 4% of residents feel negatively about safety, while most (65%) are neutral and feel that the neighbourhood safety is unchanged, or the same as where they previously lived (**Chart 7**). Those who moved into Sai Ying Pun after the MTR opened are more likely to cite in improvement in safety (48% compared with 10% for long-term residents), while long-term residents predominantly mention safety levels are unchanged (85%), which suggests that despite the rapid development of the neighbourhood, feelings of safety are not a concern for residents, and that Sai Ying Pun is generally seen as a safer neighbourhood than those that newer residents have moved from. Feelings of safety for those who did mention they felt safer mostly derived from community factors—living in a neighbourhood with people who are friendly, helpful, or like-minded, the absence of undesirable people, and the amount of people (**Chart 8**).
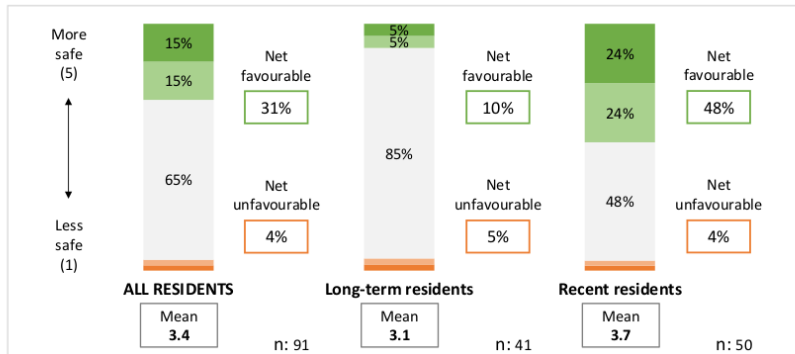
Figure 7: Perceptions of safety
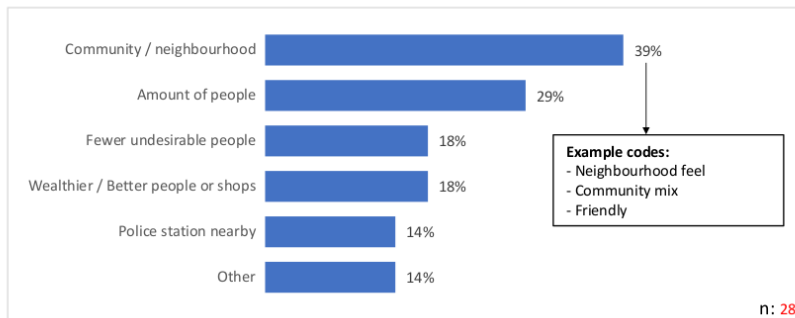
Figure 8: Reasons given for feeling more safe

Overall, residents feel very favourably towards Sai Ying Pun (70% feel positive compared with 10% who had a negative view) as shown in **Chart 9**. This sentiment is echoed by the District Councillor and the Estate Agent when they were asked about their feelings in general terms about the neighbourhood. The most mentioned positive features that define Sai Ying Pun are its convenience in terms of travelling to other parts of Hong Kong,

the range of shops and restaurants that suit residents, and the vibrancy of the neighbourhood (**Chart 10**). Attitudes towards convenience are stronger amongst long-term residents, who are much more likely to mention that ease of travel to other parts of Hong Kong has improved, compared with recent residents, saying that Sai Ying Pun was more convenient compared with other parts of Hong Kong (90% and 72% respectively) (**Chart 11**). This may be expected because long-term residents are likely to clearly remember the transport situation before the MTR opened in Sai Ying Pun, and newer residents, prompted to move to the area by the presence of an MTR station, may tend to consider convenience of travel a prerequisite condition and therefore less likely to explicitly mention it. The vibrancy of the neighbourhood and residents' feelings of having spaces and people that suit their lifestyle will be discussed further in the following sections.
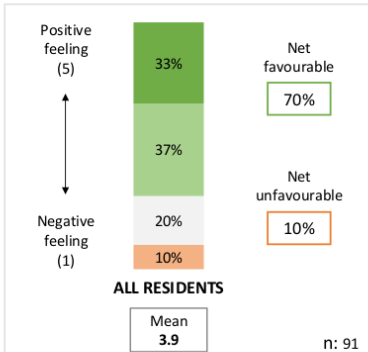
Chart 9: Overall feelings towards Sai Ying Pun
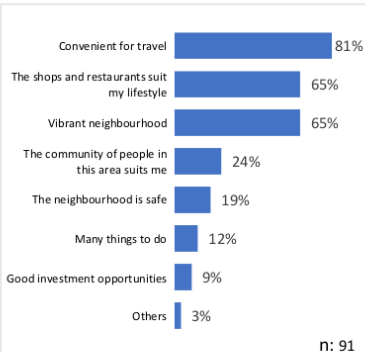
Chart 10: Top positive attributes of Sai Ying Pun
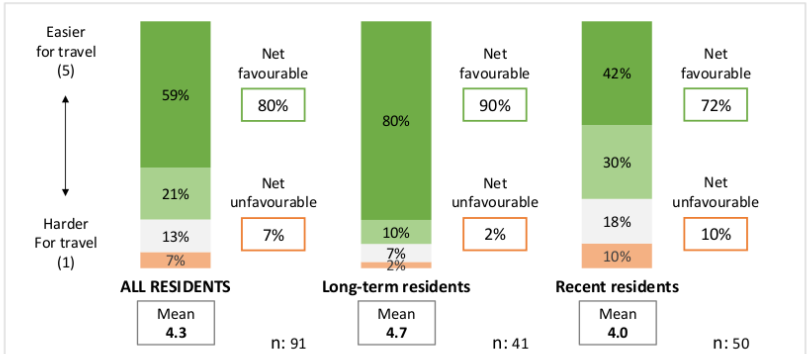
Chart 11: Perceptions of ease of travel to other parts of Hong Kong

The most mentioned negative attributes of Sai Ying Pun are concerns over affordability (both housing costs and daily expenses), the amount of people, and the pollution levels (**Chart 12**). This trend mirrors the wider concerns of Hong Kong residents as a whole, suggesting that Sai Ying Pun residents are not unique in this respect among the wider community of the territory. Certainly, the crowding concerns already discussed contribute to the pollution problem (in addition to the presence of air conditioning units in almost every household). Both the

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District Councillor and Estate Agent also highlighted pollution and hygiene concerns when asked about the biggest problems the neighbourhood faces. The concern over air quality is in line with the observations of Forrest et al. (2002). Hong Kong has among the most expensive housing costs in the world (Reid et al., 2019). It currently faces a shortage of housing stock (Huang et al., 2015) and given the dominance of property in the Hong Kong psyche, anxiety over housing affordability is not unexpected. **Chart 13** shows the comparison in attitudes of housing affordability between long-term and newer residents. Almost all long-term residents (95%) stated that housing affordability had decreased, reflecting the rapid development of Sai Ying Pun over the past few years. More recent residents are more diverse in their views (a mean score of 2.6 showing a slight skew towards deteriorating affordability) suggesting that is not generally seen as being prohibitively expensive to live in terms of housing costs compared with similar neighbourhoods. This assessment is affirmed by the feedback from local businesses. Shopkeepers C and D describe tenfold increases in their rent levels, while Shopkeeper B, who operates several stores on Hong Kong Island, said that the primary reason for his opening a Sai Ying Pun store was the reasonable rent levels. If this were to change in the future, he would reconsider his options. Similar affordability concerns were also observed when residents were asked about daily expenses (**Chart 14**), confirming a trend of general price increase in Sai Ying Pun since the opening of the MTR station.
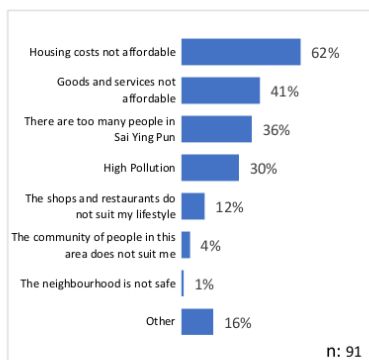

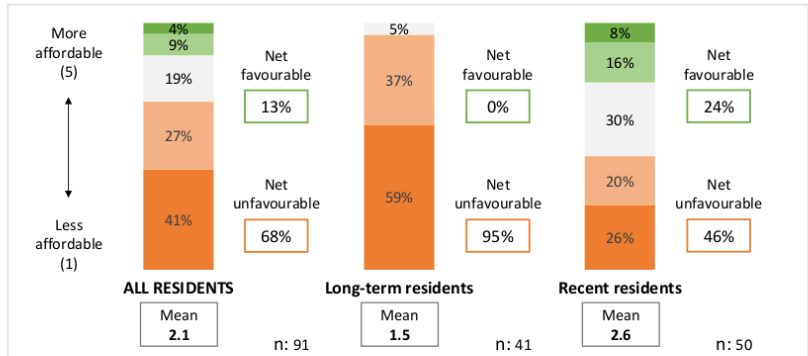**Chart 12:** *Top negative attributes of Sai Ying Pun*

Chart 13: *Perceptions of housing affordability*
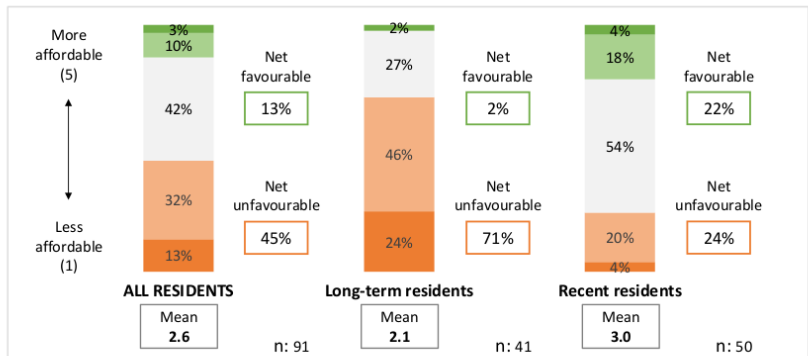
Chart 14: *Perceptions of daily affordability*

4.1.2. HAS THE DEVELOPMENT OF SAI YING PUN BEEN PERCEIVED AS A SUCCESS?

When asked on his evaluation over the last couple of years of rapid development in Sai Ying Pun, the District Councillor expressed a positive assessment. He explained that there were some initial concerns about gentrification that might result from the MTR station opening, but as it transpired, the result was not as severe as feared. A similar outlook was expressed concerning the rising housing costs that have accompanied the development of the neighbourhood: it is to be expected and is tolerable. He believes that the much of the community that existed before the development, catalysed by the MTR opening, is intact and speaks phlegmatically about the inevitability of rent increases caused by affluent new residents who work in nearby Central and Admiralty (the business districts) moving to Sai Ying Pun.

A further explanation was also offered: lower levels of inequality in Sai Ying Pun compared with other areas that have experienced rapid development was mentioned as a possible reason why the neighbourhood is perceived to have been spared the worst effects of gentrification. Sai Ying Pun is regarded by several shopkeepers as middle class (Shopkeeper C specifically mentioned shoppers from nearby Mid-Levels, an affluent residential area, as evidence of this). The absence of public housing estates, being an indicator of poorer social status, in Sai

Ying Pun was mentioned by the Estate Agent, in reference to the middle-class nature of the area. It is possible that the relatively low numbers of poorer residents mean that the largely middle-class population have been able to better cope with the rising property prices as they are at less risk of being displaced. The smaller differences in social class may mean the conflict between residents has been better avoided.

The positive assessment of development is also informed by the form of urban change that Sai Ying Pun has experienced. The District Councillor explained that the development of the neighbourhood has progressed in an incremental way, so that while much change has occurred over time, it has happened without any sudden changes in the urban landscape. This is in contrast to other MTR station projects, which are usually part of large-scale R+P developments that include residential estates, office space, and shopping centres. This was not the case in Sai Ying Pun since the R+P model was not applied.

The District Councillor explained that building a shopping centre would not have benefited Sai Ying Pun because it would threaten the vibrancy of the neighbourhood. Sai Ying Pun is defined by its small shops and restaurants that sell a variety of goods, which would have been diluted by a large retail development. He added that shopping malls in Central and Causeway Bay are easily accessible. This view of Sai Ying Pun having preserved its character is echoed by many residents, as captured by a long-term resident: "I love that despite the changes, it still retains much of its old charm." The neighbourhood is also seen as self-sufficient, with only 10% of residents (**Chart 15**) feeling that they need to travel outside the area to access services or leisure (shopping, eating out, parks, libraries, etc.) A majority of residents (66%) have a favourable view on the variety of shops and restaurants (**Chart 16**). This opinion is stronger amongst long-term residents (80%), which may suggest that recent development has beneficially contributed to the vibrancy and urban character of Sai Ying Pun.
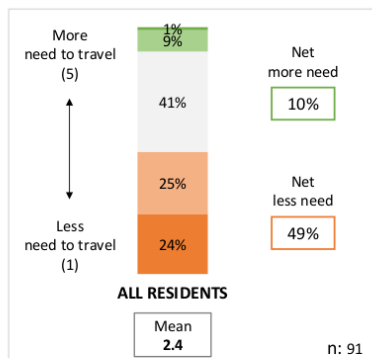
Chart 15: Perceptions of the need to travel to other parts of Hong Kong
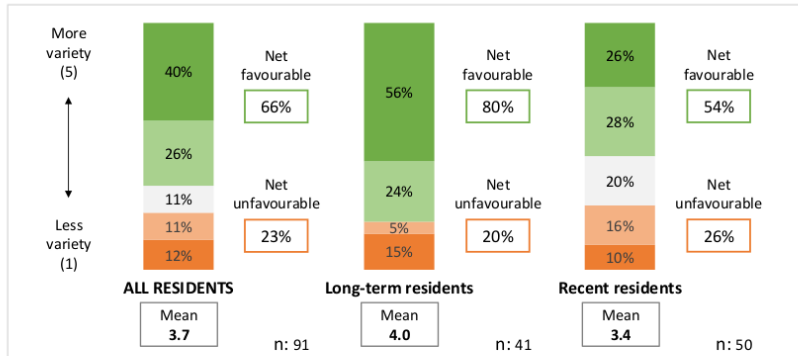
Chart 16: Perceptions of the variety of shops

The feeling that Sai Ying Pun has become a neighbourhood that attracts visitors was voiced by some residents surveyed: "There are now more 'trademark' venues in SYP in which people living outside SYP would come to visit." Concurrent with this aspect of development is the accompanying fear by others that Sai Ying Pun is in danger of becoming a victim of its own success, as expressed by one long-term resident: "Smaller Mom & Pop shops are forced out and replaced with westernised shops and restaurants. House rents have also gone up, forcing people to move. SYP is now becoming like Soho unfortunately."

However, the District Councillor is optimistic about the future of Sai Ying Pun based on his experience of the course of its present development. He defines success as continuing the gradual and incremental changes that have brought increased prosperity to the neighbourhood he represents. Sixty-five percent of residents with Hong Kong permanent residency (therefore less likely to be temporary workers) foresee themselves staying in Sai Ying Pun in five years' time (**Chart 17**). The main reasons given for staying in the neighbourhood is that the area is vibrant, has a community life, and is peaceful (**Chart 18**). The high mentions of vibrancy suggest that fears about a dilution of the neighbourhood character is, for now, a minority concern, as summed up by a resident: " To me, Sai Ying Pun is at a perfect balance right now, with a vibrant mix of (traditional) local businesses and residents, and more Western businesses. I hope this mix will be maintained."
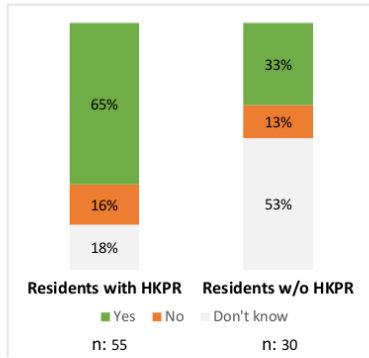
Chart 17: *Likelihood to stay in Sai Ying Pun*
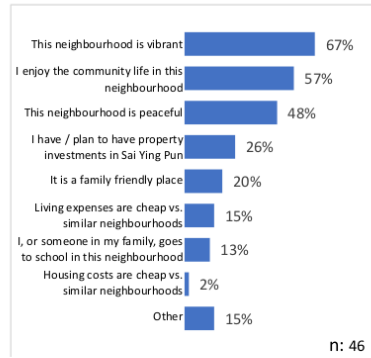
Chart 18: *Reasons for staying in Sai Ying Pun*

4.2. COMMUNITY LIFE

4.2.1. SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Sai Ying Pun residents generally feel favourable towards the community in their neighbourhood. When asked, 54% of residents stated that the sense of community had grown stronger or was better than where they used to live (**Chart 19**). Those who had more recently moved to the neighbourhood had stronger feelings towards the community (62% felt it was better than their previous neighbourhood), suggesting that residents may be moving to Sai Ying Pun for the community life. For long-term residents, this was certainly a significant reason for their planning to continue to live there, with 57% of mentions (**Chart 18**). Unsurprisingly, the most cited reasons amongst those with favourable views were related to people (**Chart 20**). The deep community links that long-term residents have are evidenced by several of the shopkeepers interviewed. Of the shopkeepers who also lived in the neighbourhood, most had lived there for most of their lives. They also attest that significant numbers of their customers are local residents who have also lived in the area for a long time, with whom they are very familiar. The District Councillor, who has lived in the neighbourhood for 20 years, revealed that the tendency of residents is to stay in Sai Ying Pun. Mobility often happens internally, with his childhood friends' experiences cited as an example. He explained that as people became more affluent, they often chose to move within Sai Ying Pun or otherwise return after living elsewhere. For example, second generation family members living on Des Voeux Road West may later move up the hill to the more affluent High Street, as their means allow. In this way, they maintain their community link as they achieve social mobility.
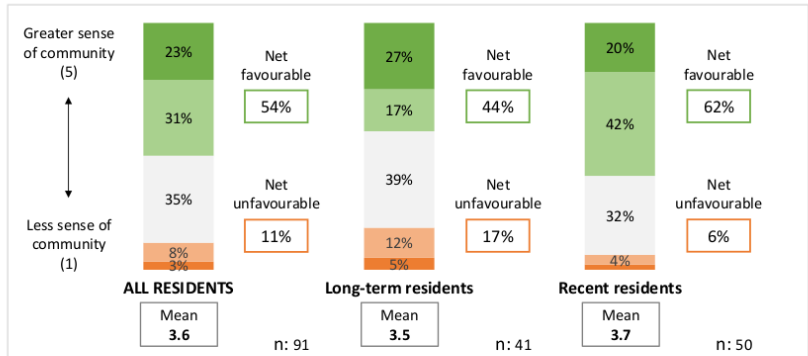
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Chart 19: *Perceptions of sense of community*
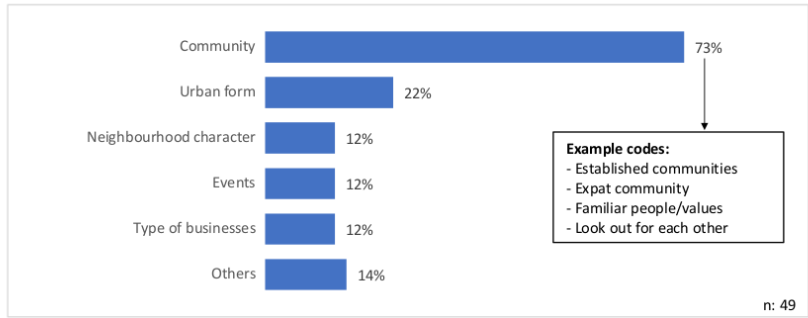
Chart 20: *Reasons for favourable sense of community*

4.2.2. THE EMERGENCE OF TWO COMMUNITIES

Sai Ying Pun before the rapid development brought about by the MTR station opening was mostly populated with local Cantonese Chinese. The Estate Agent describes how 20 years ago, when the neighbourhood was a backwater, it would have been very surprising to encounter an English speaker in Sai Ying Pun. Today, this group of residents make up a very significant part of the community. She notes the generational gap that exists among the local Cantonese residents: younger people, who can speak English at varying levels of proficiency, are able to adapt to this new environment, while older residents, representing a more traditional side of Hong Kong, may have difficulty negotiating the changed spaces that have now become unfamiliar to them, and with a community that is culturally almost alien.

Owing to the limited sample size of speakers of Cantonese as a primary language in the quantitative survey (17 respondents), detailed analysis was not conducted on this subgroup. However, the findings are worthy of limited inquiry as clear disparities emerge between the two community groups that reveal a compelling narrative. In general, the native Cantonese population tended to express weaker positive sentiments compared with their Western counterparts on a range of attributes, including feelings towards development in Sai Ying Pun, a sense of community, and the variety of shops. They are also more likely to mention that the shops and

restaurants in the neighbourhood do not suit their lifestyle. These observations together build a picture of a community that is potentially less satisfied with their circumstances in Sai Ying Pun and whose needs are not fully fulfilled. When asked about their future plans in Sai Ying Pun however, this group is most likely to state that they will stay. This result probably reflects the reality of this community's deeper links to the neighbourhood, and contrasts with the plans of Westerners, who are more mobile, being made up largely of residents of foreign extraction.

The experiences of shopkeepers surveyed attests to this interpretation, with most having lived and worked in the neighbourhood for a very long time—Shopkeeper F has operated her vegetable stall for over 60 years; Shopkeeper E has ran her restaurant for 26 years; and Shopkeepers C and D have both worked in their shops for over 20 years. The exception is Shopkeeper B, who has few links to the neighbourhood. It is the strong connection that they have with their neighbours and their neighbourhood that motivate them to remain, as well as the inertia of not knowing how to do things any other way, despite the hardships that they have encountered. For example, Shopkeepers C and D are able to absorb the tenfold rent increases by increasing their prices, but also because of the increased business brought in by new residents (though some noted the increased competition from new shops opening to capture the higher footfall). Most of them say that their customer profile has remained the same despite the influx of Westerners in the neighbourhood—Cantonese clients who live locally. Only Shopkeepers B and E report serving other types of customers regularly: B, a florist, says he occasionally gets Western customers; and E, a restaurateur, proudly describes receiving customers from other parts of Hong Kong because her restaurant is featured in the Michelin Guide, but these customers are usually other Cantonese Hong Kong people, and not Westerners.

These local businesses cater almost exclusively to a local Cantonese customer base without attempting to accommodate Western clients. For example, it was observed in the hardware store and the vegetable stall that signage was displayed in Chinese only; the other shops had rudimentary English signage at best. However, it is unfair to conclude that this stance only applies to this community; is also paralleled in opposite circumstances and it is not uncommon to encounter English only signage and non-Chinese speaking staff when patronising one of the newer businesses on High Street. **Picture 21** shows the contrast in store fronts for businesses catering for the Cantonese and Western customers. Even amongst the Western population, an emerging sentiment may be perceived of residents desiring to create a distinct identity separate from other communities, as expressed by one resident: "Feels like there is a sense of pride among expats living in SYP that's they've broken out or avoided the obvious/overdone mid-levels zone."

Thus, a picture emerges of two communities existing alongside each other in the same neighbourhood, but with limited interaction. There is no hint of any sort of conflict between these communities, however. This suggestion was flatly rejected by both the District Councillor and the Estate Agent when indicated. There were also no comments that alluded to antipathy towards other residents. Given Hong Kong's history as a colony and its current status as an international business hub, mixed communities has become part of its identity.

Picture 21: *Contrasting storefronts of Chinese-owned and Western-owned businesses (source: author, 2020)*

4.2.3. ATTITUDES TO DEVELOPMENT

The perceptions of development and change in the Hong Kong mindset discussed in the literature review is borne out in the feedback of interviewees, where is sense of sanguinity prevails about the significant changes that have affected their lives. A lack of sentimentality is detected in the outlook of the Estate Agent despite her having grown up in Sai Ying Pun, but which is perhaps not surprising given her profession. She says it is a "shame" that the old urban landscape including some historic buildings is being replaced by new residential estates but concludes that "that is life". In a similar vein, the District Councillor readily accepts the dramatic changes to the social makeup of the neighbourhood because the displacement of the existing population has been fairly limited and, of the steep rent increases because they are perceived to be commensurate with the neighbourhood's upgraded status, which has benefited society as a whole.

Discussing the theme of property development as a route to achieve upwards mobility, the Estate Agent explained that Sai Ying Pun is a good entry point into the property market because it still has a healthy stock of old buildings with potential to be redeveloped. She observes that remaining pockets of traditional old buildings on High Street, the focal point of regeneration, are already being snapped up. Expanding further, she explained that investment decisions are made with the expectation factored in of continuous development of the surrounding buildings. For example, a property which may presently offer good views will not be assumed to maintain that view and that eventually it will be blocked as new buildings will inevitably be built in front of it. This pricing-in of the impermanence of the urban surrounding is a fitting encapsulation of the rationalistic and unsentimental mentality of Hong Kong property buyers.

The Estate Agent also revealed the powerlessness of those residents resisting redevelopment. Though many residents are eager to receive a good offer to be bought out of their home, those who do not wish to vacate have few options for recourse. She explained that while there are public consultation sessions and avenues to protest removals, most people do not believe that they will be successful in their petitions. She alludes to these actions as little more than public relation exercises designed to project an impression of public engagement that in actuality conceal a fait accompli. She added that the regulatory framework is overly accommodating to allow

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urban change, such as a planning approvals process that usually favours developers, and the difficulty in obtaining protected status for historically significant buildings. These narratives of the Estate Agent concur with well-known accounts of resistance explored in the literature review and reinforces the emphasis on progress in the Hong Kong collective mentality, even in the face of opposition. She succinctly summarises this materialism: "If you have money, you will make it."

It can be observed that this development-minded culture contrasts with the sentiments of residents who appreciate the mixed character of Sai Ying Pun, which includes the community as well as the urban landscape, as exclaimed by one: "Love SYP. Mixture of old and new culture. Treasure the old buildings too." The future trajectory of development in Sai Ying Pun will determine whether this tension between these opposing values can be resolved.

4.3. PERCEPTIONS OF KEY INSTITUTIONS IN DEVELOPMENT

Both the District Councillor and the Estate Agent acknowledge the difficultly of providing services in a densely populated neighbourhood limited in space. They praise the visible facilities such as the Centre Street escalator, which eases the journey up a steep hill (**Picture 22**), and public parks and sitting-out areas in the core of the neighbourhood. The District Councillor also points to the large Sun Yat Sen Memorial Park and promenade near the waterfront, as well as proposed public projects in nearby Kennedy Town, as key facilities that benefit the community life of residents. But conflicts of interest concerns were raised by the Estate Agent over large residential development projects. The social responsibility of providing services to the community are not being optimised she claims. She mentions the construction of Island Crest, a recently built high-end private housing estate, as one of the last plots of large-scale land that could have been used to build a shopping centre. In her view, the pro-development bias of the government meant that more profitable housing was built, at the expense of facilities that would have benefited the wider community. While this opinion of the utility of a shopping centre is disputed by other interviewees, the idea that the public interest is being compromised by the government, under influence of the property developers has resonance, and hints at the diminished esteem that developers are held and the impact of their closeness to government on policymaking.

It does not follow however that property developers are perceived as malevolent. Both the Estate Agent and the District Councillor independently mentioned the beneficial role they played in regenerating the neighbourhood. They point to the network of alleyways south of Queen's Road West that used to be run-down but have since been beautified with the demolition and reconstruction of adjacent buildings. Murals have been painted on the walls, the streetscape has been cleaned up, bans against fly-tipping have been enacted, and public parks have been built (**Picture 23**). These upgraded spaces are the outcome of developers' direct action, as well as the pressure they put on the government to facilitate and execute urban improvement.

Picture 23: Mural in beautified alleyway (source: Patrick Liu, 2020)

In a similar way, the MTR is generally perceived favourably. In its capacity as a transport company the District Councillor praises its role in providing appropriate transport solutions. In the case of Sai Ying Pun station, he has stated his approval of the neighbourhood's development outcome through incremental changes, but it is worth noting that the construction of Sai Ying Pun station was not part of a wider large-scale property development. The District Councillor, at another point in the interview, mentioned West Kowloon as an example of an area that has suffered negative impacts of urban renewal. While the MTR R+P model was not discussed during the interview, it is interesting to highlight his unprompted comparisons between the development experiences of Sai Ying Pun, whose MTR station was not built under the R+P model and which has undergone more organic urban change, with more dramatic upheavals that characterise other MTR developments, with West Kowloon being an example of a major R+P project. He cites the large-scale deracination of residents and small businesses in that area as the main negative impact of urban renewal. The conflict of interest over the MTR's public housing provision responsibility explored in the literature review was surprisingly not mentioned by any interviewee. The relative paucity of public housing in Sai Ying Pun may provide an explanation for this observation, relegating an otherwise pressing public concern to a marginal issue for residents and stakeholders in Sai Ying Pun.

A final observation is made concerning the conflict between the needs of a specific community and the wider needs of Hong Kong as a whole. This is evidenced by the resistance of the District Councillor to the planned construction of major infrastructure near Sai Ying Pun to support a proposed large-scale housebuilding project. This would involve the construction of tunnels and bridges near Sai Ying Pun to provide transport links. The objections concern the impact on Sai Ying Pun from this infrastructure construction as well as the high cost of the megaproject in general to Hong Kong as a whole. Further discussion would be constructive on whether a concord can be achieved between addressing the wider problems facing Hong Kong, such as the housing shortage, and the desires and needs at the neighbourhood level.

5. CONCLUSION

This dissertation investigated the social impacts of urban development from the perspectives of residents and key stakeholders in Sai Ying Pun, a neighbourhood that has undergone a dramatic urban transformation. The relative scarcity of academic inquiry at this juncture between institution-led urban change and community dynamics in a development-dominant society such as Hong Kong justified this study. Three overall themes comprised this research. The first theme explored Sai Ying Pun residents' perspectives on their neighbourhood, and the how its development has played out. Their concerns about the neighbourhood are broadly in line with those of Hong Kong in general, with affordability, crowdedness, and pollution levels the most mentioned attributes. Convenience for travel is another defining attribute and is perhaps its most significant characteristic given that the opening of a new metro station was the catalyst for Sai Ying Pun's development, and the impetus for the influx of new residents. The vibrancy of the neighbourhood and the mix of small shops and restaurants are frequently mentioned as other features. Residents are satisfied overall with Sai Ying Pun for providing most of their needs and many do not see a need to travel to other parts of Hong Kong. In fact, it has become a neighbourhood that attracts visitors from other parts of the territory. However, there is a danger that arrivals of large numbers of residents and visitors will cause the dilution of the character of the neighbourhood and some residents feel that it is at risk of losing its uniqueness through overdevelopment.

The inevitability of urban development in the mindset of Hong Kong Chinese people is reflected in the ready acceptance of the dramatic changes that have happened in Sai Ying Pun by local Cantonese shopkeepers and the experts interviewed. In this conception, displacement is viewed as a vehicle for upwards social mobility, and in this pursuit, there is a distinct lack of nostalgia about the loss of urban heritage. This outlook is in contrast to models of development in the West, which views displacement as a largely undesirable outcome. This is a rather practical and pragmatic attitude in keeping with the materialism that Cantonese people are known for (Lau, 1982). A reason for this accommodating attitude of native Hong Kong residents is perhaps due to the organic way that the development took place, and that the negative impacts were not as bad as initially anticipated.

The second theme investigated the way that urban development affected the studied two communities: native Chinese residents, and Western residents. A strong sense of community prevailed in both groups surveyed, but the most salient feature was that these strong community feelings are mostly felt within their own communities, with limited interaction between them. This lack of integration was not perceived to be problematic however, and there was no sense of any community tensions, which is likely a result of Hong Kong's history of exposure to foreign influences and Western culture.

The insular instincts of native residents may be a manifestation of the *utilitarianistic familism* of Hong Kong Chinese that promote familial bonds over those of the wider society as well as a suspicion of outsiders (Lau, 1982). For Westerners, as may be the case for any group that does the gentrifying, the charms of Sai Ying Pun are valued by the newcomers in their appreciation of the old shopfronts, established communities, and the sense of authenticity that these are associated with. But this association acts like a *social wallpaper* (Butler, 2003)— appreciation at a distance but without any interest in interaction or integration.

Another noteworthy observation is the asymmetry of sentiment in feelings towards the neighbourhood between the communities, with native residents feeling generally less positive towards Sai Ying Pun and its urban transformation. Gentrification without physical displacement has been shown to adversely affect those who manage stay in place, who end up feeling a sense of a loss of place as their neighbourhood changes around them (Shaw and Hagemans, 2015). Though more research is needed to determine whether this finding is reflective of a real deterioration of attitudes among native residents, it may be indicative of a neighbourhood that is less able to fulfil the needs of one of its communities.

The final theme explored how the key drivers of development: the government, property developers and the MTR, are perceived. The general response among the experts interviewed were positive towards these institutions. They are sympathetic to the difficulties of developing an older neighbourhood that lacks space for expansion and recognise the positive contributions of developers in improving the urban landscape of the surrounding area of their developments. Sai Ying Pun is notable for having little public housing, of which Hong Kong is facing a shortage, and it may be worthwhile to further investigate whether opinions may be less accommodating if it were suggested that more public housing should be built in the neighbourhood. The failure of the MTR to take on any obligation for public housing provision has been a source of criticism, yet absent from any feedback from any respondent in this study. In contrast to the dearth of public housing is the glut of high-end private estates (**Map 1** shows some notable ones). This imbalance may be symptomatic of a preference in the institutions of Hong Kong to prioritise lucrative developments. Whether intended or not, this is the outcome of a government-developer arrangement that exists in Hong Kong that favours *state-led gentrification* (La Grange & Pretorius, 2016; Qian & Yin, 2018) at the expense of lower-income residents.

The drive for development over other priorities has had other undesirable consequences, such as the relative powerlessness of those who challenge the orthodoxy of the property hegemony by choosing not to vacate their property. Procedures meant to ensure due process in mediating disputes and settling differences are seen as tokenistic, designed to bestow legitimacy to decisions already made. Overall, the workings of the property market in Hong Kong create outcomes that seem to be well described by processes of gentrification. Although it works under different assumptions, one based on the narrative that development and displacement will bring beneficial outcomes for all, under closer scrutiny, a familiar pattern of winners and losers emerges.

The themes covered in this dissertation give an overview of the broad strokes of the shape of urban development in Hong Kong as seen from the perspectives of two major communities. It has highlighted the asymmetric outcomes experienced by different groups and discussed the impacts of urban development in a society defined by a reverence for property, as well as the implications of challenging this hegemony. Further research is needed to expand on the initial explorations of this paper, notably to dive deeper into the native Hong Kong community, of which only a superficial inquiry was undertaken due to sample size limitations, expanding research into other important communities, such as the Southeast Asian population employed mostly as domestic workers who make up the largest minority population in Hong Kong (HKSAR Government, 2016), and investigating the community impacts from R+P model developments, which trigger much bigger urban transformations than those which took place in Sai Ying Pun. The social outcomes studied in this dissertation are not relics of past policies or historical curiosities but have an enduring impact on those affected by it, so further

study of this under-researched area is beneficial to understanding the forces that continue to shape the lives of communities today.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUANTITATIVE RESPONDENTS QUESTIONNAIRE

Sai Ying Pun Urban Development Survey
西營盤城區發展意見調查

1. **Do you currently live and/or work in Sai Ying Pun? 您是否居住或就職於西營盤？**
   (Select one answer)
   > I live in Sai Ying Pun 本人居住在西營盤
   > I work in Sai Ying Pun 本人就職於西營盤
   > I both live and work in Sai Ying Pun 本人在西營盤居住及就職

2. **Did you live/work in Sai Ying Pun before the MTR was opened in March 2015?**
   在 2015 年 3 月港鐵西營盤站啟用以前，您是否在在本社區居住或就職？
   (Select one answer)
   > Yes 是
   > No 否

   The opening of the MTR in Sai Ying Pun in March 2015 has resulted in increased development in the neighbourhood (e.g., new housing developments, new businesses opening). The following questions concern the changes that have occurred in Sai Ying Pun since the opening of the MTR station.
   自港鐵西營盤站在 2015 年 3 月啟用後，本社區經歷了急速的發展，例如樓宇建設及新商戶的到來。以下部份的問題，將圍繞您對一些城區變化的看法。

   Ask if respondent lived or worked in Sai Ying Pun before March 2015
   Compared with before the MTR was opened, what is your view on the following changes that have occurred in Sai Ying Pun…?
   請就西營盤現在，與港鐵西營盤站啟用以前相比，發達您對以下各事項的看法：

   Ask if respondents has lived in Sai Ying Pun after March 2015.
3. **Which part of Hong Kong did you previously live in? If you previously lived outside of Hong Kong, please enter one other Hong Kong neighbourhood that you considered living in.**
   在西營盤以前，您居住在香港哪個地方？如前居住地在海外，請填寫您認為曾經居住過，在香港的一個地方。

   Compared with where you previously lived in Hong Kong, or where you considered living in Hong Kong, how do you rate Sai Ying Pun on the following aspects…?
   與您之前住的地方（或您認為曾經居住過）對比，您對西營盤在以下各事項的評價如何？

   Ask if respondent has only worked in Sai Ying Pun after March 2015

For the following questions, please think about another area of Hong Kong that you think has a similar character to Sai Ying Pun (e.g. in terms of the kinds of shops and restaurants, the people who live or visit there, or how the area looks and feels).
當回答以下問題時，請想出一個您認為和西營盤類近的地方（就商店、食肆、活動人群、街景和感覺而言）。
Compared with this place, how do you rate Sai Ying Pun on the following aspects...?
與這個地方相比，您對西營盤的評價是如何？

4. **Ease of travelling to other parts of Hong Kong**
   出行到香港各區的便利程度
   (Select one answer)

更便利		沒有改變		更困難
1	2	3	4	5
Easier		Unchanged		Harder

5. **The amount of open spaces in Sai Ying Pun (including parks, sitting areas, informal open spaces, and green spaces)**
   西營盤公共開放空間的數量 （包括公園、休息區、非正式開放空間及綠化區域）
   (Select one answer)

更少開放空間		沒有改變		更多開放空間
1	2	3	4	5
Fewer open spaces		Unchanged		More open spaces

6. **Ease of walking around Sai Ying Pun**
   在西營盤步行走動的適合程度
   (Select one answer)

更不適合步行		沒有改變		更適合步行
1	2	3	4	5
Less walkable		Unchanged		More walkable

   If respondent selects 1, 2, 4 or 5, go to question 6. Otherwise skip to question 8.
7. **You mentioned that Sai Ying Pun is less walkable than before. Why do you think so?**
   您回答了覺得西營盤跟以前相比，更不適合於步行，您為何這樣認為呢？
   You mentioned that Sai Ying Pun is more walkable than before. Why do you think so?
   您回答了覺得西營盤跟以前相比，更適合於步行，您為何這樣認為呢？

8. **The variety of shops and restaurants in Sai Ying Pun**
   西營盤商店及食肆的種類

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種類更少		沒有改變		種類更多
1	2	3	4	5
Less variety		Unchanged		More variety

9. **Safety of Sai Ying Pun**
   西營盤的安全程度
   (Select one answer)

更不安全		沒有改變		更安全
1	2	3	4	5
Less safe		Unchanged		More safe

If respondent selects 1, 2, 4 or 5, go to question 9. Otherwise skip to question 11.

10. **Why do you feel more/less safe than before?**
    為什麼您認為西營盤，跟以前相比，更安全/ 更不安全？

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11. **The affordability of living in Sai Ying Pun (in terms of housing expenses, such as rent or mortgage)**
    在西營盤居住的可負擔性 （就住屋費用，如租金或按揭貸款而言）
    (Select one answer)

更難負擔		沒有改變		更容易負擔
1	2	3	4	5
Less affordable		Unchanged		More affordable

12. **The affordability of living in Sai Ying Pun (in terms of the prices of goods and services, such as grocery shopping or eating out)**
    在西營盤居住的可負擔性 （就貨品及服務，如購買日用品或出外就餐而言）
    (Select one answer)

更難負擔		沒有改變		更容易負擔
1	2	3	4	5
Less affordable		Unchanged		More affordable

13. **The need to travel to other parts of Hong Kong to access services (e.g., shopping, restaurants, parks, leisure activities, public services such as libraries and post offices)**
    出行到香港其他區域得到服務的需求（例如：購物、就餐、使用休閒設施及公共服務如圖書館及郵政局）
    (Select one answer)

出行需求降低	沒有改變	出行需求增加

1	2	3	4	5
Less need to travel		Unchanged		More need to travel

14. Sense of community in Sai Ying Pun
西營盤的社區感或社區意識

(Select one answer)

		社區感變弱			沒有改變			社區感增強
1		2		3		4		5
Weaker sense of community				Unchanged				Stronger sense of community

If respondent selects 1, 2, 4 or 5, go to question 14. Otherwise skip to question 16.

15. You mentioned that the sense of community in Sai Ying Pun is weaker than before. Why do you think so?
您回答了覺得西營盤跟以前相比，社區感或社區意識減弱了，您為何這樣認為呢？
You mentioned that the sense of community in Sai Ying Pun is stronger than before. Why do you think so?
您回答了覺得西營盤跟以前相比，社區感或社區意識增強了，您為何這樣認為呢？

*Ask if respondent has lived and/or worked in ins SYP since **BEFORE** March 2015. Otherwise skip to question 19.*

16. In your opinion, what are the top three positive changes that have occurred in Sai Ying Pun since the MTR opened in March 2015.
您認為自 **2015** 年 **3** 月港鐵西營盤站啟用後為社區帶來了哪些正面的影響？

(Select up to three answers)

More convenient to travel around Hong Kong 出行到香港其他區域更便利
The neighbourhood has become more vibrant 社區變得更有活力
More things to do than before 跟以前相比區內活動選擇更多元
Better property investment opportunities 更優質的房產投資機會
The shops and restaurants suit my lifestyle 商店及食肆更能迎合我的生活風格
The neighbourhood is safer than before 社區環境比以前感覺更安全
The community of people in this area suits me 社區的人群更適合我
Other, please specify 其他，請註明：_____
There have been no positive changes since the MTR station opened *(single response)*
港鐵西營盤站的啟用並沒有為社區帶來任何正面的影響

17. In your opinion, what are the top three negative changes that have occurred in Sai Ying Pun since the MTR opened in March 2015.
您認為自 **2015** 年 **3** 月港鐵西營盤站啟用後為社區帶來了哪些負面的影響？

40

It has become a less affordable place to live than before in terms of the price of goods and services 就貨品及服務而言，生活負擔相對沉重

It has become a less affordable place to live than before in terms of housing costs 就住屋費用而言，生活負擔相對沉重

Pollution has increased 污染增加

There are too many people in Sai Ying Pun 人口更稠密

The shops and restaurants do not suit my lifestyle 商店及食肆不能迎合我的生活風格

The neighbourhood is less safe than before 社區環境比以前感覺不安全

The community of people in this area does not suit me 社區的人群更不適合我

Other, please specify 其他，請註明：＿＿＿＿

There have been no negative changes since the MTR station opened *(single response)*
港鐵西營盤站的啟用並沒有為社區帶來任何負面的影響

18. *Use this wording if respondent has lived in Sai Ying Pun before March 2015*
Overall, how much of a positive or negative impact has the development of Sai Ying Pun over the last few years had on your life?
總括而言，西營盤過去數年的發展對於您的生活帶來怎樣的影響？
(Select one answer)

非常負面的 影響		沒有改變		非常正面的影 響
1	2	3	4	5
Very negative impact		Unchanged		Very positive impact

Use this wording if respondent has only worked in Sai Ying Pun before March 2015
Overall, how would you rate the changes that have taken place in Sai Ying Pun over the last few years?
總括而言，您會如何評價西營盤在過去數年裡的改變？
(Select one answer)

非常負面		沒有改變		非常正面
1	2	3	4	5
Very negatively		Unchanged		Very Positively

*Ask if respondent has lived and/or worked in ins SYP since **AFTER** March 2015. Otherwise skip to question 23.*

19. In your opinion, what are Sai Ying Pun's top three <u>strengths</u>?
您認為西營盤最特顯的三個優勢是：
(Select up to three answers)

Convenient for travel to and from 交通便利

The neighbourhood is vibrant 社區有活力

There are many things to do 區內活動選擇多元

Good investment opportunities 優質的投資機會

The shops and restaurants suit my lifestyle 商店及食肆能迎合我的生活風格

The neighbourhood is safe 社區環境很安全

The community of people in this area suits me 社區的人群適合我

Other, please specify 其他，請註明：_____
None 並沒有任何優勢 *(single response)*

20. In your opinion, what are Sai Ying Pun's top three <u>weaknesses</u>?
您認為西營盤最特顯的三個弱點是：

(Select up to three answers)

It is not an affordable place to live in terms of the price of goods and services
生活水平（就貨品及服務而言）過高
It is not an affordable place to live in terms of housing costs
生活水平（就住屋費用而言）過高
Pollution is too high 污染水平過高
There are too many people in Sai Ying Pun 人口過於稠密
The shops and restaurants do not suit my lifestyle 商店及食肆未能迎合我的生活風格
The neighbourhood is not safe 社區環境感覺不安全
The community of people in this area does not suit me 社區的人群不適合我
Other, please specify 其他，請註明：_____
None 並沒有任何弱點 *(single response)*

Ask question 33 only for respondents who have lived in Sai Ying Pun after March 2015.

21. **Overall, how would you rate Sai Ying Pun in comparison with where you previously lived (or considered living) in Hong Kong?**
總括而言，與您在香港的前居住地（或您曾經居住過在香港的一個地方）相比，您會評價西營盤為：

(Select one answer)

1	2	3	4	5
Very negatively		Same		Very Positively

Ask question 34 only for respondents who only work in Sai Ying Pun after March 2015.

22. Overall, how would you rate Sai Ying Pun in comparison with the place in Hong Kong with a similar character that you had in mind?
與那個您認為和西營盤風格類近的地方相比，您對西營盤的評價是：

(Select one answer)

非常負面		兩者評價一樣		非常正面
1	2	3	4	5
Very negatively		Same		Very Positively

Respondents who live in Sai Ying Pun
表示在西營盤居住的收訪者

If respondent only works in Sai Ying Pun, skip to question 26.
23. Do you foresee yourself living in Sai Ying Pun five years from now?
您預料自己在五年後仍然會居住在西營盤嗎？
Yes 會

No 不會

Don't know 不確定

24. What are the main reasons why you do not think you will continue to live in Sai Ying Pun in five years' time?

以下哪一些是您認為自己五年後不會居住在西營盤的主要原因？

Housing costs will be become too expensive

住屋費用將會太高昂

Living expenses (food, utility bills, groceries) will become too expensive

生活費用（食物、水電雜費、日用品）將會太高昂

The community I am familiar with has changed

西營盤的社區感與自己所熟悉的有所變化

Concerns over safety

不確定此社區仍然安全

I want to live in a quieter neighbourhood

我希望居住在一個更寧靜的社區

I want to live in a livelier neighbourhood

我希望居住在一個更熱鬧的社區

Not enough open space

西營盤的公共開放空間不足

I don't foresee myself living in Hong Kong at all in five years' time

我預料自己在五年後不會在香港生活

Other reason, please specify

其他原因，請註明：_____

25. What are the main reasons why you think you will continue to live in Sai Ying Pun in five years' time?

以下哪一些是您認為自己五年後會繼續居住在西營盤的主要原因？

Housing costs are cheap compared with similar neighbourhoods

住屋費用與類似的社區相比會較便宜

Living expenses (food, utility bills, groceries) are cheap compared with similar neighbourhoods

生活費用（食物、水電雜費、日用品）與類似的社區相比會較便宜

I have / plan to have property investments in Sai Ying Pun

我已計劃或將計劃在西營盤投資物業

I, or someone in my family, goes to school in this neighbourhood

本人或家人在西營盤（或近鄰）接受教育

This neighbourhood is vibrant

西營盤很有活力

This neighbourhood is peaceful

西營盤很安寧

I enjoy the community life in this neighbourhood

我享受西營盤的社鄰生活

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It is a family friendly place
西營盤是個有利于家庭生活的地方
Other reason, please specify
其他原因，請註明：＿＿＿＿＿

Other comments
其他意見

26. Do you have any other comments (positive or negative), general observations, or opinions about the urban changes that Sai Ying Pun has undergone that have not been covered in this survey?
對於西營盤經歷城區發展的各種變化和狀況，您有其他感想（讚揚或批評）、觀察或意見嗎？我們歡迎您表達以上問卷並沒有涵蓋的部份。

Demographics
人口統計數據

27. What is your sex?
您的性別：
    Male 男性
    Female 女性
    Other 其他

28. What is your age?
您所屬於的年齡組別：
    18-24   18-24 歲
    25-34   25-34 歲
    35-44   35-44 歲
    45-54   45-54 歲
    55-65   55-65 歲
    Over 65 65 歲以上

29. What is the highest educational attainment?
您獲得最高的學歷：
    Secondary level or below 中學或以下學歷
    Bachelor's degree or equivalent 大學學位或等同
    Master's degree or equivalent 碩士學位或等同
    Doctoral degree or equivalent 博士學位或等同

30. Including yourself, how many people live in your household?
您住所內的同住人數（包括您本人在內）：
1 一位
2 兩位
3 三位
4 四位
5 or more 五位或以上

31. How many children below the age of 18 does this include?
居所內同住十八歲或以下人士人數：
0 沒有
1 一名
2 兩名
3 三名
4 四名
5 or more 五名或以上

32. Are you a Hong Kong Permanent Resident (PR)?
您是香港永久居民嗎？
Yes 是
No 否

33. What is your primary spoken language?
您的母語（口語）是：
Cantonese 廣東話
Mandarin 普通話
Other Chinese 其他方言
English 英語
Other 其他語言

- End of survey -

APPENDIX 2: INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM

Information Sheet
研究項目背景信息表

Project title 項目主題
Social impacts of urban railway development: Hong Kong local residents and workers'
perspectives
城市鐵路發展的社會影響：香港本地居民及就職人士的觀點

Researcher 研究人員
Jason Chung
鍾展昇

Introduction 引言
You are being invited to take part in a dissertation research project being undertaken by a
master's student from the Bartlett School of Planning, University College London (UCL).
閣下被邀請參與本次由倫敦大學學院巴特利特規劃學院的一名碩士研究生開展的論文研
究項目。

Before you decide whether or not to participate it is important for you to understand why the
research is being conducted and what participation will involve.
在您決定是否參與這個項目之時，您有權知道這個研究的因由，以及您的參與涵蓋什麼
內容。

Please read the following information carefully, feel free to discuss it with others if you wish, or
ask the researcher for clarification or further information.
敬請仔細閱讀以下信息。您可以跟別人討論這些內容，並歡迎您聯絡是次項目的研究人
員拿到更多的資料。

Please take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.
敬請周詳考慮您是否願意參加是次研究項目。

Why is this research being conducted? 進行本研究項目的原因
This project aims to better understand the impact that new urban railway development has on
local neighbourhoods in Hong Kong from the perspective of those who live and work there.
本研究項目旨在從區內居民及就職人士的角度，更好地了解新的城市鐵路發展對香港當
地社區及鄰里的一些影響。

Sai Ying Pun has been chosen as a case study for this purpose because it is an example of a
neighbourhood that has undergone drastic changes as a result of a new MTR station being
opened.
西營盤是一個自港鐵西營盤站啟用後經歷相當變化的社區，故此被選為是次項目的案例
研究。

From interviews with residents, workers, local experts, and planners, this research seeks to establish whether the aims of planners concerning social outcomes have been met from the point of view of those most affected by the railway development.

通過調查區內居民、上班人士、當地專家和規劃師的意見，本研究旨在從那些受鐵路發展影響最大的人的角度去了解並確定，城區規劃師在策劃時議定有關社會成果的目標，如今是在何些程度實踐，以及是否達標。

Why am I being invited to take part? 為什麼我會被邀請參與這個項目？

You are being invited to take part because you are a relevant stakeholder in this research, specifically, a resident or worker in Sai Ying Pun.

是次意見調查邀請在西營盤居住或就職人士如您參加，因為您們是本研究題目的利益相關者。

Participants have been recruited through local on-street interviews, letter drops, and social networks and connections.

我們通過街訪、信箱、社交及個人網絡邀請相關人士參與。

Do I have to participate? 我必須參與嗎？

Participation is entirely voluntary. If you decide to take part, you may make a copy of this information sheet to keep or contact the researcher for a copy.

參與是完全自願性的。如決定參與，您可以影印這份研究項目背景信息表以保存，或聯絡研究人員索取副本。

You will also be asked to give your consent. You can withdraw at any time during the survey with no consequences and without having to give a reason.

我們亦將要徵求您的知情同意。受訪人士可以在過程中的任何時間退出項目，不會產生任何後果，也不必給出原因。

What will happen if I choose to take part? 參與的具體內容是什麼？

If you choose to participate in this research, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire after reading this information sheet and giving your informed consent.

如決定參與本項目，請完成閱讀本研究項目背景信息表及確認您的知情同意書。完成後，您將會填寫一份問卷。

The questionnaire will be about 10-15 minutes long. You will have the opportunity to review and change your answers at any point during the survey.

回答問卷需時大約 10 至 15 分鐘，過程中您可以隨時複閱及更改答案。

What are the advantages of taking part? 參與問卷調查的好處是什麼？

There are no immediate benefits for participating in this project and no financial incentive or reward is offered, however it is hoped that your participation in this project will contribute to the debate on the social impacts of urban development.

參與本項目沒有立即的好處或財政上的獎勵，但您的參與會對我們了解城市發展所帶來的社會民生影響這個議題有幫助。

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part? 參與問卷調查的壞處是什麼？

We anticipate no significant disadvantages associated with taking part in this project. If you experience any unexpected adverse consequences as a result of taking part in the project you are encouraged to contact the researcher as soon as possible using the contact details on this

information sheet.

我們預測參與此項目不會帶來重大不利影響。如果您因參加該項目而遇到任何意外的不
利後果，請使用此信息表上的聯繫方式盡快與研究人員聯繫。

In the event you feel your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction (by the project
researcher or supervisor), you can contact the Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee –
ethics@ucl.ac.uk.

如果您覺得投訴沒有得到項目研究人員或主管滿意的處理，您可以聯繫倫敦大學學院研
究道德委員會主席（ethics@ucl.ac.uk）。

If I choose to take part, what will happen to the data?
如果我選擇參與，所提供的數據將會如何處理？

All the information collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly
confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any ensuing reports or publications.

在研究過程中收集到有關您的所有信息將嚴格保密，在隨後的任何報告或出版物中都無
法識別您的身份。

The data will be only used for the purposes of this research and relevant outputs and will not
be shared with any third party. The data may be utilised in the written dissertation produced at
the end of this project, and this dissertation may then be made publicly available via the
University Library's Open Access Portal, however no identifiable or commercial sensitive
information will be accessible in this way.

收集到的數據將僅用於本研究和相關的分析輸出，並不會向任何第三方透露信息。該數
據有可能被用在項目結束後所撰寫的論文中，而該論文可以在大學圖書館的開放式知識
儲存庫中查閱。仍然，可識別的或商業敏感的信息將無法被任何本研究外人士獲得。

What will happen to the results of the research project?
研究項目的結果將如何被使用？

It is anticipated that the data collected in this project will be included in the dissertation
produced at the end of this project, submitted as part of a master's degree at University College
London (UCL). If you would like to receive an electronic copy of any outputs stemming from this
project, please ask the contact below who will be happy to provide this.

我們預計本項目中收集的數據將會被應用在倫敦大學學院一碩士學位課程內的研究論文
中。如果您希望收到本研究的電子副本，請聯繫以下人士，我們樂意提供。

Contact Details 聯繫方式

If you would like more information or have any questions or concerns about the project or your
participation, please use the contact details below.

如果您想了解本項目更多的信息，或對參與本項目有任何疑問或顧慮，請聯絡我們。

Primary contact　主要聯絡人 :　　Jason Chung　鍾展昇
Role 職位 :　　　　　　　　　　　MSc student　碩士學生
Email 電郵地址:　　　　　　　　　jason.chung.19@ucl.ac.uk / g.jason.chung@gmail.com
Telephone 電話:　　　　　　　　　+852 6703 2819 / +44 7985 690135

Supervisor 項目主管:　　　　　　Dr Sonia Arbaci
Role 職位:　　　　　　　　　　　MSc dissertation supervisor　碩士論文導師
Email 電郵地址:　　　　　　　　　s.arbaci@ucl.ac.uk

Concerns and / or Complaints 疑慮和/或投訴

If you have concerns about any aspect of this research project please contact the student in the first instance, then escalate to the supervisor.

如果您對本研究項目的任何方面有疑問，請先與碩士學生聯繫，如有需要再升級與主管溝通。

Informed consent form
知情同意書

If you are happy to participate, please complete this consent form by acknowledge the following statements.

如果您願意參本項目，請通過確認以下聲明，完成此同意書。

I consent to these conditions:

本人同意以下條款：

1.	I have read and understood the information sheet. 我已閱讀並明白研究項目背景信息表。	☐
2.	I agree to participate in the research by completing the questionnaire as described in the information sheet. 我同意按照研究項目背景信息表中所說明，填寫問卷調查。	☐
3.	I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from University College London for monitoring and audit purposes. 我明白我的信息可能會被倫敦大學學院的負責人員閱覽，以進行監控和審核。	☐
4.	I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. 我自願同意參加這項研究。	☐
5.	I understand that I may withdraw at any time during the survey without giving a reason and with no consequences. 我明白我可以在項目期間隨時退出，無需給任何理由，也沒有任何後果。	☐
6.	I understand that the data will not be made available to any commercial organisations but is solely the responsibility of the researcher undertaking this study. 我明白這些數據將不會提供給任何商業組織，研究人員需要對此負責。	☐
7.	I understand that I will not benefit financially from this study or from any possible outcome it may result in in the future. 我明白我不會從這項研究或將來可能產生的任何結果中獲得經濟利益。	☐
8.	I understand that my data gathered in this study will be stored anonymously and securely. It will not be possible to identify me in any publications.	☐

	我明白我在這項研究中提供的數據將被匿名且安全地儲存，在任何出版物中都無法識別我的身份。	
9.	I confirm that I understand the inclusion criteria as detailed in the information sheet. 我確認我明白研究項目背景信息表中說明合資格參與人士的標準。	☐
10.	I understand the data from this project will be considered for repository in the UCL Open Access repository as described on the Information Sheet but that this will be anonymised data only. 我明白本項目的數據將按照信息表中所說明有可能會被儲存在倫敦大學學院開放式知識儲存庫，但這僅是匿名數據。	☐
11.	I am aware of who I should contact if I wish to lodge a complaint. 我了解如果有需要提出投訴，我可以聯繫誰人。	☐
12.	I understand that I can contact the researcher at any time using the email address provided, or the dissertation supervisor using the contact details provided in the information sheet. 我明白我可以隨時使用所提供的電郵地址與研究人員聯繫，或使用信息表中提供的聯繫方式與論文主管聯繫。	☐

APPENDIX 3: RISK ASSESSMENT FORM

RISK ASSESSMENT FORM
FIELD / LOCATION WORK

▲UCL

The Approved Code of Practice - Management of Fieldwork should be referred to when completing this form
http://www.ucl.ac.uk/estates/safetynet/guidance/fieldwork/acop.pdf

DEPARTMENT/SECTION BARTLETT SCHOOL OF PLANNING
LOCATION(S) HONG KONG
PERSONS COVERED BY THE RISK ASSESSMENT Jason Chung

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF FIELDWORK
1.   Questinnaires to be deposited in letterboxes
2.   Personal interviews (likely online)
3.   Obervations in public spaces

Consider, in turn, each hazard (white on black). If **NO** hazard exists select **NO** and move to next hazard section.
If a hazard does exist select **YES** and assess the risks that could arise from that hazard in the risk assessment box.
Where risks are identified that are not adequately controlled they must be brought to the attention of your Departmental Management who should put temporary control measures in place or stop the work. Detail such risks in the final section.

ENVIRONMENT	The environment always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this hazard
e.g. location, climate, terrain, neighbourhood, in outside organizations, pollution, animals.	Examples of risk: adverse weather, illness, hypothermia, assault, getting lost. Is the risk high / medium / low ? Fieldwork conducted in Hong Kong. This is not considered overseas for the author since he is a resident. LOW RISK: Observations will be conducted in public spaces – specifically in metro stations and surrounding public area. These are considered extremely safe. Little risk in depositing questionnaires in letterboxes since permission will be sought from the tower block building management, and letterboxes are in public areas that usually have a doorman at all times and CCTV monitoring.

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- [ ] work abroad incorporates Foreign Office advice
- [ ] participants have been trained and given all necessary information
- [ ] only accredited centres are used for rural field work
- [ ] participants will wear appropriate clothing and footwear for the specified environment
- [ ] trained leaders accompany the trip
- [ ] refuge is available
- [ ] work in outside organisations is subject to their having satisfactory H&S procedures in place
- [ ] OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

EMERGENCIES	Where emergencies may arise use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. fire, accidents	Examples of risk: loss of property, loss of life

LOW RISK: Fieldwork taking place on-line (or in safe public areas).

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- [ ] participants have registered with LOCATE at http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/
- [ ] fire fighting equipment is carried on the trip and participants know how to use it
- [ ] contact numbers for emergency services are known to all participants
- [x] participants have means of contacting emergency services
- [ ] participants have been trained and given all necessary information
- [ ] a plan for rescue has been formulated, all parties understand the procedure
- [ ] the plan for rescue /emergency has a reciprocal element
- [ ] OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

EQUIPMENT	Is equipment used?	No	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. clothing, outboard motors.	Examples of risk: inappropriate, failure, insufficient training to use or repair, injury. Is the risk high / medium / low ?		

NO RISK: Fieldwork taking place on-line (or in safe public areas) with no equipment.

CONTROL MEASURES Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- ☐ the departmental written Arrangement for equipment is followed
- ☐ participants have been provided with any necessary equipment appropriate for the work
- ☐ all equipment has been inspected, before issue, by a competent person
- ☐ all users have been advised of correct use
- ☐ special equipment is only issued to persons trained in its use by a competent person
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

LONE WORKING	Is lone working a possibility?	Yes	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. alone or in isolation lone interviews.	Examples of risk: difficult to summon help. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

LOW RISK: If fieldwork will be conducted in high traffic public areas, these are considered to be extremely safe.

CONTROL MEASURES Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- ☐ the departmental written Arrangement for lone/out of hours working for field work is followed
- ☐ lone or isolated working is not allowed
- ☐ location, route and expected time of return of lone workers is logged daily before work commences
- ☒ all workers have the means of raising an alarm in the event of an emergency, e.g. phone, flare, whistle
- ☐ all workers are fully familiar with emergency procedures
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

ILL HEALTH	The possibility of ill health always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this Hazard.
e.g. accident, illness, personal attack, special personal considerations or vulnerabilities.	Examples of risk: injury, asthma, allergies. Is the risk high / medium / low? LOW RISK: Level of risk the same as normal daily routine.

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk
☐	an appropriate number of trained first-aiders and first aid kits are present on the field trip
☐	all participants have had the necessary inoculations/ carry appropriate prophylactics
☐	participants have been advised of the physical demands of the trip and are deemed to be physically suited
☐	participants have been adequate advice on harmful plants, animals and substances they may encounter
☐	participants who require medication have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
☐	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

TRANSPORT	Will transport be required	NO		Move to next hazard
		YES		Use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. hired vehicles	Examples of risk: accidents arising from lack of maintenance, suitability or training Is the risk high / medium / low? LOW RISK: Public transport only. Extremely safe by ensuring social distancing an higienisation.			

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk
☒	only public transport will be used
☐	the vehicle will be hired from a reputable supplier
☐	transport must be properly maintained in compliance with relevant national regulations
☐	drivers comply with UCL Policy on Drivers http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hr/docs/college_drivers.php
☐	drivers have been trained and hold the appropriate licence
☐	there will be more than one driver to prevent driver/operator fatigue, and there will be adequate rest periods
☐	sufficient spare parts carried to meet foreseeable emergencies
☒	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

Covid-19 precautions ensured when travelling/working in public spaces

DEALING WITH THE PUBLIC	Will people be dealing with public	Yes	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. interviews, observing	Examples of risk: personal attack, causing offence, being misinterpreted. Is the risk high / medium / low? LOW RISK: Observations only. No interaction with public.		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk
☐	all participants are trained in interviewing techniques
☐	interviews are contracted out to a third party
☐	advice and support from local groups has been sought
☐	participants do not wear clothes that might cause offence or attract unwanted attention
☒	interviews are conducted at neutral locations or where neither party could be at risk
☐	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

WORKING ON OR NEAR WATER	Will people work on or near water?	No	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks

e.g. rivers, marshland, sea.

Examples of risk: drowning, malaria, hepatitis A, parasites. Is the risk high / medium / low?

NO RISK: Will not be working near water at all.

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- ☐ lone working on or near water will not be allowed
- ☐ coastguard information is understood; all work takes place outside those times when tides could prove a threat
- ☐ all participants are competent swimmers
- ☐ participants always wear adequate protective equipment, e.g. buoyancy aids, wellingtons
- ☐ boat is operated by a competent person
- ☐ all boats are equipped with an alternative means of propulsion e.g. oars
- ☐ participants have received any appropriate inoculations
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

MANUAL HANDLING (MH)	Do MH activities take place?	No	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks

e.g. lifting, carrying, moving large or heavy equipment, physical unsuitability for the task.

Examples of risk: strain, cuts, broken bones. Is the risk high / medium / low?

NO RISK: No manual handling activities.

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- ☐ the departmental written Arrangement for MH is followed
- ☐ the supervisor has attended a MH risk assessment course
- ☐ all tasks are within reasonable limits, persons physically unsuited to the MH task are prohibited from such activities
- ☐ all persons performing MH tasks are adequately trained
- ☐ equipment components will be assembled on site
- ☐ any MH task outside the competence of staff will be done by contractors
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

SUBSTANCES	Will participants work with substances	No	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. plants, chemical, biohazard, waste	Examples of risk: ill health - poisoning, infection, illness, burns, cuts. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

NO RISK. No substances used.

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

- ☐ the departmental written Arrangements for dealing with hazardous substances and waste are followed
- ☐ all participants are given information, training and protective equipment for hazardous substances they may encounter
- ☐ participants who have allergies have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
- ☐ waste is disposed of in a responsible manner
- ☐ suitable containers are provided for hazardous waste
- ☐ OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

OTHER HAZARDS	Have you identified any other hazards?	No	If 'No' move to next section If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
i.e. any other hazards must be noted and assessed here.	Hazard: No other hazards Risk: is the risk		

CONTROL MEASURES	Give details of control measures in place to control the identified risks

Have you identified any risks that are not adequately controlled?	NO ☒ YES ☐	Move to Declaration Use space below to identify the risk and what action was taken

Is this project subject to the UCL requirements on the ethics of Non-NHS Human Research?   No

If yes, please state your Project ID Number

For more information, please refer to: http://ethics.grad.ucl.ac.uk/

DECLARATION	The work will be reassessed whenever there is a significant change and at least annually. Those participating in the work have read the assessment.

Select the appropriate statement:

- ☒ I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that there is no significant residual risk
- ☐ I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that the risk will be controlled by the method(s) listed above

NAME OF SUPERVISOR Dr Sonia Arbaci (signed by email)

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR   DATE   01 June 2020

The social impacts of urban development in Hong Kong local residents' perspectives

FINAL GRADE

/100

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Instructor

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