Characterizing Sai Ying Pun's Markets as Forms of Public Space

An Interactive Qualifying Project Report
Submitted to the faculty of
WORCESTER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree in Bachelor of Science

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Submitted on March 2nd, 2012

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This report represents the work of four WPI undergraduate students submitted to the faculty as evidence of completion of a degree requirement. WPI routinely publishes these reports on its website without editorial or peer review
Abstract
Urban development is changing how markets function as public spaces and causing culture and tradition to disappear in Sai Ying Pun on Hong Kong Island. This report characterized Sai Ying Pun’s markets as public spaces throughout urban development. Analysis was accomplished through archival research, observations, and interviews regarding the markets. We identified how urban development has affected both shop owners and customers. Suggestions were proposed for how to maintain markets throughout urban development while increasing their appeal as public spaces.
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Acknowledgements

The authors of this report wish to thank their liaison, Dr. Hendrik Tieben, for his support throughout this project.

The authors also wish to thank their project advisors, Professor Chrysanthe Demetry and Professor Richard Vaz for their encouragement, patience, and professional advice throughout the duration of this project.

The authors also acknowledge those who have contributed their time, knowledge, and experiences. This report could not have been completed without the help and support from:

- Creighton Peet, WPI Professor—Interdisciplinary and Global Studies Division
- Janice Leung, Assistant Researcher
- Julian Kwong, Chairman for the Community for Road Safety
- Oskar Leung, Project Officer for the Center for Heritage in Sai Ying Pun
- Members of the Sai Ying Pun community
Executive Summary
Public spaces are valued by people living in cities throughout the world as centers for community activities and social encounters. However, the growing population of most cities increases urban development, which often times reduces the amount of public space available. In particular, Hong Kong’s growing population and plans for redevelopment directs attention to the need for more public space (Mak, 2008). Yet, when proposing plans for the development of Hong Kong, government officials and private organizations rarely consider the impact that development plans may have on public spaces (Zunn, 2008). These impacts affect not only Hong Kong as a whole, but also individual districts such as Sai Ying Pun.

The impacts of urban development on public space in Sai Ying Pun are of particular interest due to this district’s historical and cultural significance. The uncertainty surrounding urban development’s effects on public space within Sai Ying Pun has prompted concern for the district’s cultural identity. The markets in Sai Ying Pun are the particular public spaces of interest in this study.

There have been many significant renovations in the context of urban development in Sai Ying Pun. Such projects continue to progress in this area. However, the impacts of these projects on the traditional markets in Sai Ying Pun have not been studied. In this study, we investigated how certain construction projects have affected these markets’ ability to function as public spaces.

Project Goal and Objectives
The goal of this project was to characterize Sai Ying Pun’s markets and to propose suggestions on how to improve these markets as public spaces. In order to achieve this goal we examined how the markets are currently being utilized as forms of public space and identified how these spaces are being impacted by market transformations. During this process we studied three different types of markets in Sai Ying Pun: street level markets, indoor market complexes, and supermarkets. We observed each type of market to identify how customers utilized these spaces. We also interviewed or surveyed a total of 53 customers and 16 shop owners to obtain their perspectives on how urban development is affecting the markets and how these markets can be improved as public spaces.

Sai Ying Pun as it Exists Today
Sai Ying Pun is one of the oldest urban districts in Hong Kong where Chinese traditional shops and old customs exist. Figure 1 shows the area of Sai Ying Pun we studied, which is about 0.1 km². This study focused on three different types of markets: street level markets, indoor market complexes, and supermarkets. We looked at street level markets on Centre Street, two indoor market complexes (Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market), and two supermarkets (Wellcome and Marketplace). All of these markets were studied due to their close proximity to Centre Street, which is the center of market activity in Sai Ying Pun.
Figure 1- The area of Sai Ying Pun studied, including street level markets, indoor market complexes, and supermarkets

Street markets and hawker stalls once thrived in Sai Ying Pun. However during the 1970s governmental policies and urban development transformations began to affect these markets (FEHD, 2007). Street hawkers, once common along Centre Street in Sai Ying Pun, accounted for much of the district’s lively street spaces and rich cultural heritage. Street hawkers only had to pay an annual license fee to set up small stalls along Centre Street, offering a wide variety of food products. The removal of these hawkers and street markets has greatly impacted the use of markets and public space in Sai Ying Pun.

Figure 2 illustrates the transformation of Centre Street due to government policies and the consequential reduction of street markets in Sai Ying Pun. These images show Centre Street in both the 1950s (left) and 2012 (right), depicting how the level of activity on Centre Street was much greater with hawker stalls than it is now that these hawker stalls are gone.
Findings
In interviews, shop owners and customers expressed their hopes and concerns for how urban development may affect the markets in Sai Ying Pun. We interviewed people of many demographics including: elderly Chinese individuals, young Chinese individuals, domestic workers, and westerners. Our research revealed certain characteristics of Sai Ying Pun’s markets as public spaces:

Markets in Sai Ying Pun have long been important public spaces, but in recent years have begun to be displaced and relocated due to the effects of urban development. Several shop owners described their transitions between working in hawker stalls, street level markets, and indoor market complexes. Many of these transitions were forced by the city’s sudden and strict regulation of hawker stalls and Urban Renewal Authority projects such as the Island Crest development.

Street level markets serve as spaces for elderly Chinese people to socialize and shop, but these markets are challenged by the convenience offered by supermarkets and indoor market complexes. Numerous customers stated that they enjoy using street level markets for socializing with others. Observations of these markets showed a great deal of socialization, but only among elderly Chinese individuals. Numerous young Chinese customers said that supermarkets are much cleaner and, because of their wide variety of products, are easier to use. Many westerners and Filipino customers stated that they avoid using street level markets because such shop owners rarely speak English.
The Centre Street and Sai Ying Pun indoor market complexes are valued for preserving traditional shops within a market building. However, these crowded areas and their inaccessibility detract from the space’s potential to facilitate social interactions. Customers of various ages and ethnicities stated that they enjoy using indoor market complexes because they are convenient to use and have fresh products in a traditional food market atmosphere. Although some customers praised indoor markets for their convenience, most evaluated the indoor markets as lacking in providing spaces to sit down, relax, and socialize. Furthermore, many customers find it difficult to access levels of the market that do not have entrances directly from the street. Also, numerous shop owners in higher levels of the Sai Ying Pun Market believe the inaccessibility of their shops from the street negatively affects their business.

Supermarkets are popular with a wide range of customers in Sai Ying Pun, but these markets do little to serve as public spaces. Many types of people were observed using supermarkets in Sai Ying Pun including older Chinese individuals, younger Chinese individuals, domestic workers, and westerners. Many customers said that they use supermarkets because of their convenience and the wide variety of products offered. Various customers also stated that they use supermarkets when they are in a rush because it easy to get in and out of the supermarket. Observations of supermarkets rarely showed any social interaction between customers and staff; supermarkets are used for their convenience, not their ability to operate as public spaces.

The construction of an MTR station and an escalator along Centre Street will make navigating Sai Ying Pun easier and may benefit the local markets. Many shoppers and shop owners stated that the construction of a Mass Transit Railway (MTR) station will likely bring more people into Sai Ying Pun. This MTR station will have exits near Centre Street, the center of market activity in Sai Ying Pun. Both customers and shop owners stated that they expect the pedestrian traffic among these areas to greatly increase, thus increasing market business. Many customers also stated that the elderly, in particular, have difficulty navigating the steep slope of Centre Street, and that the construction of an escalator will greatly benefit the area’s accessibility. Customers and shop owners believe that people will be able to travel through the district with greater ease upon the escalator's completion. This will allow people to more easily shop at the markets. Customers and shop owners agree that the markets will become better public spaces once the accessibility throughout the Sai Ying Pun district is improved.

At the same time, an increased level of activity within Sai Ying Pun may not translate into improved and more vibrant market spaces. Many shop owners believe the different demographics in the district have a greater impact on market spaces than changes in the markets’ accessibility, location, or layout. Several shop owners stated that the MTR station and renewal projects such as Island Crest attract individuals that do not use traditional markets. These shop owners believe that such individuals are apt to use supermarkets and that the increased level of
activity within Sai Ying Pun would not benefit their business. If there is no benefit to their business, these markets cannot improve as public spaces.

**Recommendations**

We used feedback from our interviews and questionnaires as well as the information we obtained from background research and observations to formulate suggestions on how markets can be utilized as better public spaces while maintaining their historical and cultural significance throughout urban development.

**Bring Back Hawker Stall Markets on Centre Street:** Although hawker stalls are no longer allowed on Centre Street we suggest allowing them to set up shop along Centre Street from Second Street to Third Street since it is closed to automobile traffic. These hawker stalls may bring back the lively environment once associated with hawker stall markets if they were allowed to set up shop along this portion of Centre Street. We believe this would make it easier for shop owners to sell their products because they would be located directly on the street and in the center of activity in Sai Ying Pun. Also, if hawker stalls were allowed back in the area it may entice more people to shop at the markets, thus increasing the business of all markets in Sai Ying Pun and its value as public space. This may help maintain the culture and tradition of Sai Ying Pun’s markets throughout urban development by bringing back the lively market environment once associated with hawker stalls.

**Convert the top floor of Sai Ying Pun Market into an activity and socialization area:** Numerous customers shopping in Sai Ying Pun observed that indoor market complexes in other districts throughout Hong Kong have seating or a library space on the top floor. Many customers stated that an addition like this to the Sai Ying Pun Market would make them want to visit the market more frequently and, consequently, entice them to buy products within the market. Adding chairs or benches and activities, such as games or a restaurant, to the top level of the Sai Ying Pun Market could make for a more appealing and vibrant public space.

**Reorganize the layout of the shops in Centre Street Market:** Numerous customers and shop owners observed that the layout of shops in the Centre Street Market is impractical. Centre Street Market has dead end lanes; to improve pedestrian flow the shops could be rearranged in a more practical way. We suggest rearranging the stalls in Centre Street Market such that pedestrian traffic moves fluently around every stall in a continuous fashion. This type of organization in the Centre Street Market would draw more customers into the market and create a more vibrant and better public space.

More details on specific recommendations for each type of market studied are outlined in Chapter 5 of this report. Although implementation of any of these suggestions will require additional discussion and modifications within the Sai Ying Pun community, we hope they serve as useful ideas for keeping the traditional markets alive throughout urban development while increasing their appeal as public spaces.
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1. Introduction

In cities, public spaces are more than just an open plot of land; they are a vital part of everyday life for residents. However, as cities increase in population and the need to accommodate growth becomes a reality, public spaces are often sacrificed to urban development. Urban design researchers and public space advocates Gehl, et al. (2006), affiliates of the organization Project for Public Spaces, believe “[p]ublic spaces are a means of enlivening and enriching the experience of urban life” (p. 1). Without these public spaces, the urban experience is diminished and the cultural identity of a city may disappear. Urban design researchers urge urban planners to carefully preserve public space as urban development takes place. In doing so they believe that city residents will have the opportunity to experience all urban life has to offer.

As in other parts of the world, public spaces in Hong Kong have transformed significantly in recent decades. Zunn (2008), a researcher of public market spaces in Hong Kong, believes urban development is threatening the cultural identity of the city’s markets. This threat extends into Hong Kong’s traditional districts, such as Sai Ying Pun on Hong Kong Island. Sai Ying Pun’s vibrant cultural identity is expressed through its traditional markets. These markets bring the local community together, provide a space for people to socialize, and help to preserve the cultural heritage of the district. However, some public market spaces in Sai Ying Pun are being displaced or transformed to make room for urban development.

Traditional markets are a key aspect of cultural heritage; however, they now face competition from modern retail centers (Tenggara, 2010). Modern retail centers, such as supermarkets and shopping malls, offer services and a variety of products that traditional markets typically do not provide. Those who study markets believe that these modern shopping complexes are threatening the existence of the older, and often more culturally rich, traditional markets. Organizations around the world perform market preservation projects to retain a region’s cultural and historical heritage (Bernama, 2011). Those who have studied historical market preservation, such as Bernama (2011), Maloney (2009), and Tenggara (2010) state that historical market preservation projects employ the use of several methods such as renovating appearances of markets and updating hygienic systems in markets. The ultimate aim of such a project is to preserve traditional markets as a piece of cultural heritage (Tenggara, 2010).

Urban development projects have impacted traditional markets in Hong Kong. Specifically, in Sai Ying Pun the urban development projects include the construction of an escalator on Centre Street, the extension of the Mass Transit Railway (MTR), and the erection of the Island Crest residential complex. During the construction of these projects the government has tried to preserve traditional markets in this district. However, the local residents and financial stakeholders in Sai Ying Pun may not always share the same goals and opinions about how urban development affects the markets. Urban designer Mak (2008) studies markets in Sai Ying Pun and urges urban developers to consider what residents need from traditional markets in order to
create the most effective and successful market environment. Yet, individuals in Sai Ying Pun do not believe urban planners consider what they want when building urban development projects. Urban development is affecting markets in Sai Ying Pun, however, these impacts are largely unknown.

Thus, the goal of this project was to characterize Sai Ying Pun’s markets and to propose suggestions on how to improve these markets as public spaces. To achieve this goal we pursued the following four objectives:

1. Identify how and why Sai Ying Pun’s markets have transformed;
2. Document how market spaces are used in Sai Ying Pun as public space;
3. Deduce shop owners’ and customers’ views regarding Sai Ying Pun’s markets;
4. Recommend ways to enhance Sai Ying Pun’s markets as public spaces.

To achieve these four objectives our group researched current urban development projects in Sai Ying Pun, surveyed and interviewed shop owners and customers, and observed how the markets in Sai Ying Pun function as public space. Upon the completion of the project, our group provided suggestions on how to improve the markets in Sai Ying Pun as public spaces.
2. Background and Literature Review

The following chapter is a collation of our preliminary research. We first define public space and explain the need for such spaces within in urban areas. We then discuss how urban development can affect public spaces. Next, we describe how markets act as forms of public space. Then we discuss how traditional markets can be preserved as forms of public space throughout urban development. We conclude by discussing the importance of preserving traditional markets in Sai Ying Pun without impeding urban development.

2.1 The Need for Public Space in Urban Areas

Public spaces such as town commons, market places, and parks serve as the central gathering places of city and towns people alike (Shaftoe, 2008). Public spaces can act as venues for shopping to venues for dining; from street entertainment to outdoor dining; from parades to marching protests; places for walking or sitting outside. These activities often form traditions and become incorporated into the district’s culture. Furthermore, Shaftoe (2008) found that public spaces are best utilized when a cohesive relationship between the spaces and the individuals that use the area is established. Thus, public spaces have numerous purposes that are defined by the people that use the area.

In this section we describe the characteristics that make up a successful public space. We begin by discussing the characteristics of good public space in general. Next, we describe characteristics of successful public spaces in Asia. We conclude by detailing how public spaces currently exist in Hong Kong.

2.1.1 Criteria for Successful Public Spaces

Great public spaces are where celebrations are held, social and economic exchanges take place, individuals socialize, and cultures blend (Project for Public Spaces, 2011). There are many criteria that define a good public space. Krueckeberg and Silvers (1974) believe that being accessible to the street, being compact and engaging, and having ample seating space are important characteristics that make up a good public space.

Accessibility to Street: A study done by urbanist William Whyte (1988) shows that people are reluctant to visit a space that cannot be seen from, or is far from, the street. For example, public spaces such as store fronts that are below or above ground level, such as in Faneuil Hall Market Place in Boston, Massachusetts, are not as frequently visited as those on street level. However, Bourbon Street in New Orleans, Louisiana, is an example of a successful public space that is very accessible to the street since stores, restaurants, and bars are all located at street level. (Project for Public Spaces, 2011).
Compact and Engaging: According to William Whyte, director of *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, in order to have a successful public space it must be interesting to the people that spend time in the area and should not be sprawling (Whyte, 1988). A more compact space is more appealing to most people because they feel a connection with other people in the space, despite whether they know them or not (1988). A public space should give people a reason to visit and to return to the area. If a space has constant activity, more people will have the opportunity to use the space. If the public space is empty, then people are not using the space to its full potential. (*Project for Public Spaces*, 2011)

Seating Space: Krueckeberg and Silvers believe seating is paramount to a successful public space (1974). Furthermore, Whyte thinks seating areas offer the people visiting the public space a place to relax and converse with friends (1988). Seating comes in many different forms and doesn’t always have to be a chair or a bench. Rather, seating can be steps, ledges, swings, grassy areas, and even the edges of planter boxes. For example, Durbar Square in Nepal offers many ledges and stairs for people to sit on and relax with friends (*Project for Public Space*, 2011). Whether sitting on the steps and ledges alone or with friends, the seating space provides people with an area to watch the activity in the square or catch up with friends.

2.1.2 Characteristics of Public Space in Asia

There are some characteristics of public space that are important and unique to the Asian culture. *Transforming Public Space in Asia* is a study that researched the overlap of private and public spaces in Asia. This study investigated the transformation of public spaces. The study found that public space in Asia must be accessible to all urbanites and have a free circulation of persons and goods. The study goes on to explain that a public space in Asia is one that forms part of the public realm, but that it may be owned or maintained by private developers. *Transforming Public Space in Asia* stated that in Asia public spaces are generally open to all people, but overall access to these spaces is controlled by the property owners (2011). However, Kayden stated that ideal public spaces place no restriction upon the public and offer unlimited access (Kayden, 2000).

As mentioned earlier, William Whyte believes it is important that public spaces be both compact and engaging. This belief is consistent within Asian culture (*Transforming Public Space in Asia*, 2011). Project for Public Space is an organization studying public spaces throughout the world. This study finds that the the Pattaya street market in Thailand is a successful public space due to its friendly atmosphere and because its shops are located directly next to one another (*Project for Public Space*, 2011). Since the venues in the Pattaya street market are so close together, customers can shop in many different types of venues without traveling too far between shops. Kent, the president of Project for Public space, also believes that the Pattaya street market is an engaging place to shop because retailers sell items that represent the culture of Thailand, such as homemade clothing and sculptures.
2.1.3 Public Spaces in Hong Kong

Prior to 1842 public space in Hong Kong consisted of open village grounds, temples, traditional street markets, and schools (Miao, 2001). During this time, meetings of large groups of people in public spaces were prohibited out of fear that these people would conspire against the government. Once Britain took control over Hong Kong from the Qing government in 1845 they avoided making public space policies (Carroll, 2007). These public spaces were not something the British government considered in meetings or forums. Therefore, no improvements or restrictions were ever placed on public spaces. Consequently, the majority of urban planning in Hong Kong’s early years completely disregarded the need for public space (Miao, 2001). As the population of Hong Kong increased many public spaces were replaced to make way for housing complexes. Miao discusses in his book *Public Places in Asia Pacific Cities: Current Issues and Strategies* the design and use of public spaces in Asia. He states that Hong Kong is a city that can “no longer take pride in good public space” (Miao, 2001). In Hong Kong today people’s use of public spaces consist mostly of parks and markets.

In Hong Kong, parks function as urban spaces providing social and recreational space (Miao, 2001). Parks play an important role because they allow the people to socialize with one other whether for recreational or political purposes. For example, Victoria Park is famous for urban forums and public assemblies. In further research done by Miao, he found areas called pocket parks throughout the city of Hong Kong, which function as living rooms for certain areas that everyone in the community can enjoy.

Markets are also another type of public space very common to Hong Kong. Markets differ from parks in that they allow people to shop as well as socialize. There are a variety of markets in Hong Kong including street markets, indoor market complexes, and supermarkets. However, since urban development has increased throughout the years many street markets have disappeared or moved indoors (Miao, 2001). This is primarily due to many government regulations aiming to remove hawkers from the streets. Yet, some street markets have survived, such as the street market found on Graham Street in Central. This street is closed off from vehicles, only allowing pedestrian traffic through. The street features many hawker stalls selling vegetables, poultry, meet, fish, clothes, and accessories. These types of street markets were once an important part of the Chinese culture (Miao, 2001).

2.2 The Influence of Urban Development on Public Space

Urban development is an interactive process that produces land use plans to guide and ensures structured development of communities and cities (Krueckeberg and Silvers, 1974). The process includes planning the way the land will be used, detailing zoning laws, environmental plans, and transportation plans. Sometimes it takes up to several decades for these plans to come to fruition in densely urbanized cities. Urban development seeks balance of providing new and improved workspaces and residences while still maintaining the character of the district. However, the
character of the district is often lost as modernization takes over. In this section, we discuss urban development globally and in Hong Kong. It then explains the effects of public transportation development on public space in Hong Kong. We conclude by overviewing the trends of urban development in Sai Ying Pun.

### 2.2.1 Global Examples of Urban Development that Enhances Public Space

Urban development is not something new; in fact it has been established as a process to rework public spaces in many places throughout history (Barnett, 1982). For example, El Raval in Barcelona, Spain, is considered to be one of the most successful urban planning projects because its extensive transformation was accepted by the people of Barcelona (Shaftoe, 2008). El Raval used to be a neighborhood of the city associated with drug dealers, prostitutes, and petty crime. However, in the 1980s the government decided to intervene to control the neighborhood and in the process redevelop the area to be a friendlier place to live. The redevelopment of El Raval created public spaces, such as squares and parks, as well as a university and residential homes. Shaftoe (2008) believes that the close working relationship of government leaders and community organizations, the plans and outcomes did not deviate from one another. Shaftoe (2008) also concludes that in order to have a successful urban development project the project must stay on task and there must be good communication between all parties involved.

Another example of collaboration between government and residents leading to preservation of public space can be found in Los Angeles. As the population of Los Angeles grew in the early 1900s, the need for public space also grew (Los Angeles’ Downtown Distinction, 2007). Both the Los Angeles government and its residents saw the need for public space and agreed something needed to be done to increase the amount of public space available to the residents of Los Angeles. In order to do this, sidewalks were built to improve pedestrian traffic, streets were paved to make automobile traffic simpler, public markets were established and playgrounds were built in parks. At the same time, more buildings were needed to house the growing population. Thus, as public spaces were being improved, urban development was also occurring. All of this activity in Los Angeles was done with minimal disagreements between the government and residents of Los Angeles (Los Angeles’ Downtown Distinction, 2007). Ehrenfeucht, Professor of Urban Planning at the University of New Orleans, and Loukaitou-Sideris, Professor of Urban Planning at the University of California Los Angeles, considered this development a success because the use of public space in Los Angeles was agreed upon by both the government and residents before the project began (2007). By defining what a public space is and how public spaces in Los Angeles are used, the government provided the public with information on how this space could be improved.

### 2.2.2 Urban Development in Hong Kong

The Hong Kong government has described its current approach to urban development as being geared towards redevelopment, rehabilitation, and preservation and revitalization (Urban
The Urban Renewal Authority (URA) divides urban development projects into the following categories (Urban Renewal Authority, 2011d):

**Redevelopment:** These types of projects provide opportunities for replacing dilapidated buildings with modern ones that meet present living standards to improve the residents' living environment and the cityscape.

**Rehabilitation:** These types of projects help slow down the pace of urban decay. Owners can effectively undertake building maintenance projects through various assistance schemes, and the community network is retained.

**Preservation and Revitalization:** These types of projects preserve heritage buildings and retain the historical characteristics of different districts if such preservation forms part of its urban renewal projects, and revitalize old districts with new initiatives.

Within Hong Kong there are currently 46 redevelopment projects, 4 rehabilitation projects, and 17 preservation and revitalization projects in progress (Urban Renewal Authority, 2011d). According to the Urban Renewal Authority (2011d), the projects are intended to improve the living conditions of residents and increase the amount of public space they can enjoy. For example, the Central Market revitalization project located in Central is meant to revitalize the former Central Market for public use. The URA named the theme of this project as “Central Oasis” because it is intended to become a green space within the Central area (Urban Renewal Authority, 2011c). Another example is the San Shan Road/Pau Chung Street project in Ma Tau Kok (Urban Renewal Authority, 2011f). This project intends to improve the living conditions and walking environment for the local residents and public. Thus, urban development in Hong Kong is intended to provide a better environment, more accessible public spaces and better living conditions.

### 2.2.3 Effect of Transportation Development on Public Spaces in Hong Kong

Public transportation is one of the most important characteristics of an urban community because it makes a neighborhood more accessible to the public (Gershon, 2005). However, building public transportation networks creates tension between urban planners and community activists because of differences in opinions about how the projects should be carried out. During the urban development process public spaces might be transformed, diminished, or even destroyed by the introduction of a new public transportation system to this area.

In 2004, the Mass Transit Railway (MTR) the Hong Kong Island line going westward was planned to extend into Sai Ying Pun. This would introduce benefits such as decreasing pollution from automobiles, attracting more tourists to visit the Sai Ying Pun area, and easier commuting for local residents. In Hong Kong, the MTR handles on average 4 million passengers every weekday, which is more than half of the total population in Hong Kong (CIA, 2011). The
population relies heavily on the railway transportation system (Blake, 2004). Although the new MTR line will bring benefits to Sai Ying Pun, it may cause potential problems for some local residents. Ada Chong, an agent at the real estate agency Centaline’s Bonham Road branch, said the prices of housing have risen from HK$6,000 per square foot to HK$7,000 or more due to the new MTR line, making it harder for local residents to afford rent (Lee, 2011).

2.2.4 Trends of Urban Development in Sai Ying Pun

Sai Ying Pun is located on the North West side of Hong Kong Island. It is one of the oldest areas of Hong Kong. Sai Ying Pun is part of the region in which the British created their original settlement and where British style architecture is abundant. An example of this type of architecture can be found at the University of Hong Kong, which was established in 1887 during British rule. The university has a Chinese style entrance, but the rest of the university contains Victorian style architecture. In the 1850s and 1860s, German missionaries established themselves in Sai Ying Pun. Today churches can be found in the region that reflects German style architecture (Wordie, 2002, p.268). Today, many buildings in Sai Ying Pun have already been transformed and renovations are still occurring today.

In 1990, four blocks in Sai Ying Pun were chosen to be redeveloped and modernized by the Land Development Corporation (LDC), which was the predecessor of the Urban Renewal Authority (URA). The LDC’s proposal would have demolished many shops and houses along Centre Street and the dry seafood markets on Des Voeux Road West, despite its initial aims to preserve street life and traditional businesses. However, the LDC’s proposal never came to fruition. Yet, fifteen years later the URA teamed up with private developers to redevelop this area. A study done by a group of architects at the Chinese University of Hong Kong characterized this project as an attempt to transform neighborhoods of Sai Ying Pun to more “elite spaces” (Tieben et al., 2008).

One such renovation that has already transformed Sai Ying Pun is the first renewal project, Island Crest. Island Crest was completed in 2009 and Figure 3 shows the location of Island Crest on First Street and Second Street (URA, 2011e). Island Crest is a new luxury commercial and residential area within Sai Ying Pun. Due to the construction of Island Crest thirty buildings and 777 residents were displaced. The prices for these new apartments are higher than those of the apartments they have replaced. The old apartment buildings were bought by the URA for $3,137 (Urban Renewable Authority, 2003) while the Island Crest was sold for $12,000 (Urban Renewable Authority, 2010). This has already caused some of the lower-income residents to move outside Sai Ying Pun because they could no longer afford rent (Lau, 2007). In 2003, the South China Morning Post reported complaints from local residents since some people would have to move from one old building into another (Chow, 2003).
Another project in Sai Ying Pun, Yu Lok Lane, will be constructed soon, with a targeted completion date of 2014 (Urban Renewal Authority, 2011a). This project will bring new residential buildings to this area and will affect six older buildings that were built in the 1930s. Unlike the Island Crest project, the URA hopes to preserve and integrate the relics and historical identities of the six older buildings into the new development. Examples of this include incorporating the original French doors, windows, and balconies into the new buildings of Yu Lok Lane. In this way, the project intends to preserve the original characteristics of Yu Lok Lane and the historical pre-war buildings that exist there while improving living conditions of the community (Urban Renewal Authority, 2011b).

Figure 3-Location of Island Crest in Sai Ying Pun
2.3 Markets as Public Space

Markets are an important aspect in the daily lives of many people (Lee, 2003). They are a pleasing place for people to fulfill their needs of buying fresh food and socializing with friends. Markets come in many different sizes and places, from small neighborhood markets to large market complexes in urban districts. The Project for Public Spaces team states that there are three goals that markets as public spaces accomplish. They must have gathering places for the people from a community to meet, economically stable, and have a broad impact on a community life (Project for Public Spaces, 2011). In this section, we discuss preservation of traditional markets and the types of markets in Hong Kong and in Sai Ying Pun.

2.3.1 Approaches to Preservation of Traditional Markets

Traditional markets are valued by many Asian cultures. However, these markets now face competition from modern malls and large supermarkets (Tenggara, 2010). Tenggara, who studied public markets in Indonesia, believes that the revitalization of traditional markets is necessary as a means to ensure that they can stand a chance against their modern counterparts. These modern counterparts are stores such as supermarkets and market buildings where all goods are combined into one convenient building. Ida Bagus Rai Dharmawijaya Mantra, the mayor of Denpasar, located in Indonesia, and an advocate for local market revitalization believes that customers now consider the service and atmosphere of markets as their most valuable traits. Mantra also stressed that due to these values, traditional markets must be transformed into places that offer top quality values and a rich atmosphere without losing their unique traditional charm. Mantra’s administration has since launched massive renovation projects on three of Denpasar’s traditional markets.

However, different regions and cultures apply different methods to modernizing their traditional markets while preserving the market’s cultural significance and traditional feel. The Retail Shop Transformation Program in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, for example, plans to give low interest loans for renovation to small traditional retail shops (Bernama, 2011). Domestic Trade Cooperatives and Consumer Affairs Minister, Datuk Seri Ismail Sabri Yaakob, stated that “[market modernization] is not only about physical change but also change in management and thinking to be more systematic and orderly mannered to compete with hypermarkets…” (Bernama 2011). Comparatively, the city of Buffalo, NY, completed a similar market renovation project in which they renovated the historic East Side Market. This renovation project included a new façade, flooring, and rest rooms. The focus of the project was to update the building’s infrastructure and public areas while maintaining aesthetic properties important to cultural tradition.

The historic, open-air French Market renovation project in New Orleans focused solely on upgrading sanitation and health related facilities (Maloney, 2009). Vendors in this market
provide mainly food preparation services; however, the market had not been meeting cleanliness guidelines. To address this issue, the renovation project simply added facilities to clean utensils and wash hands. A shop owner in the market stated that the entire market had more business as a result of the renovations.

Rather than force the modernization of traditional markets, other organizations, such as the Cirebon City Council in Cirebon City, Indonesia, have sought to stop the development and expansion of modern retailers (Tenggara, 2009). The Cirebon City Council demanded that the city administration stop issuing permits for modern retailers to develop. They believed that modern retailers’ presence puts the viability of traditional markets at stake. The chairman of the council’s public welfare commission stated that “…rampant development of supermarkets and mini-markets had forced many traditional markets into bankruptcy” (Tenggara, 2009). Likewise, the Batam, Indonesia city administration is also considering putting a halt to the construction of new malls and shopping centers. Ahmad Dahlan, the mayor of Batam notes that “[m]alls and modern shopping centers are not supposed to kill traditional markets.” Thus, many cities throughout the world are implementing policies to help preserve traditional markets.

### 2.3.2 Markets in Hong Kong and Sai Ying Pun

Hong Kong’s markets attract individuals because of their vibrant atmosphere. These markets come in many different forms, such as market squares, street markets, market complexes, and supermarkets (Lee, 2003). Below, we discuss the difference between market squares, street markets, indoor market complexes, and supermarkets.

**Market squares** in Hong Kong are considered to be regularly held in a fixed venue within residential districts and provide commodities for residents (Lee, 2003). Market squares in Asian culture are not considered the same as market squares in western cultures. In Asian cultures, market squares are areas occupied solely by vendors, usually with mobile stalls or carts. These markets generally only appear for a short period of time each day but offer extended commercial and recreational purposes for holidays and festivals. For example, in Hong Kong during Chinese New Year the Lunar New Year Market, comprised of hundreds of stalls, only appears for one day before the New Year festivities begin.

**Street markets** in Hong Kong are organized similarly to how market squares are organized. Street markets are flanked with stalls and shops along busy streets (Lee, 2003). In Hong Kong, like most of the world, hygiene and traffic congestion are common problems generally associated with street markets. However, despite these issues, the vast amount of commercial activity creates a vibrant street life along these market areas. An example of a street market would be Graham Street market located in Central on Hong Kong Island.

**Indoor Market Complexes** are markets inside buildings. These “market complexes are box-like structures sheltering stalls selling commodities for residents” (Lee, 2003). In addition to housing
a market, these complexes usually include a cooked food center and community gathering space. In Hong Kong, a market complex is intended to serve as an urban center for the community. Market complexes began replacing street markets in Hong Kong in the 1960’s and “since the complex is very enclosed and not welcoming, the relationship with the urban setting is very weak” (Lee, 2003). Thus, market complexes have reduced the close owner-customer relationship present in traditional street markets. Ho observed, “[o]ne of the major problems associated with these multi-story markets is that they suffer very low rates of occupancy in the upper floors which are not so easily approached by the customer” (Ho, 1991). Thus, Ho the more levels an indoor market complex has, the more likely it will not have customers on the upper level floors.

Supermarkets in Hong Kong are commonly found in residential districts and are included in commercial centers such as shopping malls and plazas (Lee, 2003). Recently, Hong Kong’s supermarkets have begun providing fresh foods which were previously only found in traditional wet markets. Wet markets are shops run by the local people that sell their own fresh products. These wet markets are important to Hong Kong, a city that heavily values fresh food (Leonard, 2000, Nov 13). Other more enticing qualities of supermarkets are that they are clean and well-lit. Lee (2003) believes that the evolution of marketplaces and the construction of supermarkets in Hong Kong diminish the role of markets in a community. In fact, Lee (2003) believes that “unlike conventional markets, [supermarkets] are places solely to satisfy the functional needs of purchasing goods. [Supermarkets do not] act as public space for the community.” Lee (2003) stated that with the evolution of supermarkets, the traditional markets where people can socialize with other members of their community are being lost. This is due to the wide variety of products sold in supermarkets that makes it more convenient for customers to shop.

Street level markets, indoor market complexes and supermarkets can all be found in Sai Ying Pun around Centre Street. Centre Street was given its name because of its location in the center of Sai Ying Pun. It is also the place where most market activity occurs. In the past, Centre Street was once described to be the heart of Sai Ying Pun due to the high level of Chinese activity and its open street markets (Lau, 2009). In the 1970s, it was recorded that there were up to 366 stalls. However, the government began creating regulations banning hawkers and eventually relocated them indoor to either the Sai Ying Pun Market or Centre Street Market. The lively and vibrant environment with shops lining the street became dull with no activity (Lau, 2009).

Overall, as urban development increases in Sai Ying Pun, the market places, which in part keep the character and traditions of Sai Ying Pun alive, are venerable. Sai Ying Pun used to have street markets located on Centre Street, the central location of activity in the district. However, throughout urban development and new government policies markets are transforming. It is important to find ways of maintaining and preserving traditional markets in Sai Ying Pun without impeding urban development occurring in the district.
3. Methodology

The goal of this project was to characterize Sai Ying Pun’s markets and to propose suggestions on how to improve these markets as public spaces. In order to achieve this goal, we developed the following four objectives:

1. Identify how and why Sai Ying Pun’s markets have transformed;
2. Document how market spaces are used in Sai Ying Pun as public space;
3. Deduce shop owners’ and customers’ views regarding Sai Ying Pun’s markets;
4. Recommend ways to enhance Sai Ying Pun’s markets as public spaces.

The geographical scope of this study, shown in Figure 4, is an area of approximately 0.1 km². The Sai Ying Pun district is bounded by High Street in the North, Eastern Street in the East, Des Voeux Road in the South, and Western Street in the West. However, the main focus of our study was street level markets on or near Centre Street, Sai Ying Pun Market, Centre Street Market, Wellcome supermarkets, and Marketplace supermarket.

Figure 4- Our area of study was focused around Centre Street, bounded in black, in the Sai Ying Pun district, bounded by red (Google Maps, 2012)
The three different types of markets we looked at in Sai Ying Pun were street level markets, indoor market complexes, and supermarkets. This project focused specifically on those street level markets that sold only meat products, only produce products, or a variety of meat and produce products. These types of street level markets were chosen because they sold similar products as the indoor market complexes and supermarkets in Sai Ying Pun.

### 3.1 Identifying How and Why Sai Ying Pun’s Markets have Transformed

Our first objective was to identify how Sai Ying Pun’s markets changed over time to understand the impacts of the changes on the markets. In accomplishing this objective we asked:

- **What infrastructure and other physical changes have transformed Sai Ying Pun’s markets in recent decades?**
- **What events and decisions led to those transformations?**
- **What impacts have these transformations had on the markets?**

To answer these questions, our group used archival research and informal interviews. Through these methods we searched for information on the following transformations since they may have already influenced or may influence markets in Sai Ying Pun:

- **Construction of the Island Crest high rise development**: This project, completed in 2009, displaced street level markets in Sai Ying Pun. We sought to document which businesses had been displaced due to its construction.

- **Construction of an escalator in Centre Street**: Scheduled to be completed late in 2012, this escalator is adjacent to many street-level markets. We wanted to know how the construction of the escalator might impact the way people access the different types of markets along Centre Street.

- **Extension of the MTR into Sai Ying Pun**: This decision to extend the West Island Line into Sai Ying Pun was made in 2004 and construction is expected to be completed in 2014. We sought information about what types of markets the MTR may have displaced due to its construction in Sai Ying Pun.

- **Centre Street and hawker stalls**: Centre Street used to be a vibrant place and had many hawker stalls. We sought information on why these hawker stalls are no longer able to set up shop along Centre Street.

- **Impacts of supermarkets**: The construction and expansion of supermarkets in Sai Ying Pun gave the people a new method of shopping for their goods. We sought to understand how supermarkets affected how people use markets in Sai Ying Pun.
In our archival research we utilized online news archives, newspapers, minutes from Hong Kong city council meetings, and several books and publications. We contacted the Center for Heritage in Sai Ying Pun in order to obtain publications that were most relevant to urban development's impacts on markets in Sai Ying Pun. In our research we identified the following information for each transformation studied:

**Key dates and time frames.** This included the dates on which construction began and ended, when subsequent building renovations took place, when new governmental policies were created, and the timeframe in which these policies impacted market spaces in Sai Ying Pun.

**Central location of transformations.** This included the locations of construction sites and areas which were affected most by governmental policies.

**Impacts on buildings and infrastructure in Sai Ying Pun.** We sought to identify which buildings or infrastructure systems were impacted by urban development. This involved identifying what function the original buildings or systems provided and how this function changed after construction.

**Impacts on people in Sai Ying Pun.** We wanted to identify how individuals in the district had been affected by urban development.

**Planning process for construction projects.** Our group looked at how construction projects in Sai Ying Pun were planned and identified the driving factors behind them. This included the reasons for which these projects developed, who initially planned the projects, and the initial reception and feedback from the public or other third party groups.

We then analyzed this information and the effects of urban development in Sai Ying Pun in order to determine how market spaces were specifically impacted by these transformations.

We interviewed customers and shop owners about the affects of urban development to gain a perspective from individuals that use the area. A limitation to conducting interviews with people in Sai Ying Pun is that their perspectives are only based on their experiences with urban development. Many of the customers we interviewed in Sai Ying Pun only spoke Cantonese. To get people to answer our questions we had translated the following paragraph into traditional Chinese characters:

_Hi, we are American students doing a research project on Sai Ying Pun's markets. Would you be willing to take less than five minutes of your time to answer our questionnaires? Your answers will remain completely anonymous and would greatly benefit our research. Thank you!_
If the people were willing to answer our questions we then gave them our questionnaires that are also translated into Chinese characters. We also spoke to English speaking customers as well, but we talked to them and explained the above mentioned paragraph. If they were willing to speak to us we gave them the English version of our questionnaires. Additionally, we interviewed shop owners, most of whom spoke Cantonese. In interviewing shop owners we had help from our colleague Janice since she speaks Cantonese. We had already prepared a list of questions to ask these shop owners and Janice acted as our translator in these situations. Both the customer and shop owner questionnaires can be seen in Appendix C.

### 3.2 Document how Market Spaces are Used in Sai Ying Pun as Public Space

The focus for the second objective was to document how people use markets as public space in Sai Ying Pun. The markets we studied were street level markets, indoor market complexes (Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market), and supermarkets (Wellcome and Marketplace) in Sai Ying Pun. We implemented the following research questions to achieve this objective:

- **What products are sold in the various types of markets?**
- **What is the level of activity in the various types of markets?**
- **What types of people shop at each type of market?**
- **Are there activities other than shopping that occur in markets?**

We sought to identify what types of products were sold in each market. To accomplish this we observed and noted the products sold in each market. Refer to Appendix B for a full list of products sold in each market.

The group observed Sai Ying Pun’s markets in order to identify how shoppers utilized these spaces. We also sought to identify what types of people comprised the shopping demographic of each type of market. We observed each market over a one week time period from 9:00am to 5:00pm Monday through Friday and used photographs to document our observations. Each team member focused on a different type of market- one team member observed the two indoor market complexes, one team member observed the two supermarkets, and two team members observed street level market. Each team member frequented these spaces over the course of the day. From these observations we determined how customers utilized market spaces. In our visual analysis of each market we noted the following three things:

- **The level of activity in the market:** We noted the time periods where there was increased pedestrian traffic and use of market spaces.
- **The activities performed in each space:** We observed how individuals physically used the market spaces. A full list of activities performed can be found in Appendix B.
The demographics of people using the space: We observed the ages and ethnicities of people using the market spaces. We categorized ages that were easy to recognize - young, middle-age, and elderly. We identified the ethnicities of people as Chinese, Filipino, or western.

By comparing our observations of each space we identified how individuals used markets in Sai Ying Pun and what types of individuals used each type of market. This information allowed us to determine the role each type of market plays in Sai Ying Pun.

3.3 Deduce Shop Owners and Customers Views Regarding Sai Ying Pun’s Markets

Our focus for the third objective was to learn how shop owners and customers felt about Sai Ying Pun’s markets as public spaces. We approached this objective using the following research questions:

What do shop owners and customers think about the state of the markets in Sai Ying Pun?

What are shop owners and customers’ opinions on how Sai Ying Pun markets have transformed due to the construction projects in the area?

What are shop owners and customers’ hopes and concerns about future changes in Sai Ying Pun?

We conducted sixteen informal interviews with shop owners to gain their opinions on how markets in Sai Ying Pun have transformed due to the previously mentioned transformations. Six interviews were from street level markets, five were from Sai Ying Pun Market, two were from Centre Street Market, and three were from supermarkets. The interview protocol can be found in Appendix C. Through these informal interviews we wanted to know shop owners views on how the past, present and future changes have or will impact the markets in Sai Ying Pun. We chose to conduct informal interviews with open ended questions because we did not know, nor could we guess what transformations directly affected these people. Also, through the use of interviews we wanted to learn the reasons behind why some changes were not wanted for the future, whether they were through urban development or another aspect we did not consider.

We conducted informal interviews with a convenient sample of shop owners from each of the three types of markets we studied. We sought shop owners that were willing to talk to us and approximately 20% of the shop owners we approached agreed to be interviewed. We understood that the shop owners in Sai Ying Pun may not have spoken English so we asked our Cantonese colleague, Ms. Janice Leung, to perform these informal interviews in these cases. To decide whether we should conduct the interviews in English or Cantonese we asked the shop owner which language they preferred and conducted the interview in their preferred language. When
conducting these informal interviews we followed the format of the shop owner questionnaires in Appendix C. We allowed the interviewee to expand on the questions we asked. Some interviewees preferred to just tell their story of how their shop has changed over the years due to urban development. When this occurred we wrote notes on the shop owner questionnaire we felt were relevant or important to our project.

From the interviews we sought to gain shop owners insights on how they feel each type of market has changed throughout urban development. We asked things such as: does the location of their shop affect their rent? We also wanted to know how these shop owners felt about markets as public spaces. We compared quotes from shop owners to notice if there were any similar beliefs among all the shop owners interviewed. We used many of shop owners quotes to reinforce our observations. We also we chose to present narrative analyses of three shop owners that were affected by urban development in Sai Ying Pun. These three narratives were the most representative of all the other shop owners interviewed.

Questionnaires were used to learn what customers thought about the state of the markets in Sai Ying Pun. The questionnaires asked about such characteristics as cleanliness, accessibility, and safety. A full list of variables can be found in Appendix C. The questionnaires ask about characteristics of Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market together because both are indoor market complexes and are connected by a footbridge. These markets also sell similar types of products. Thus, we have considered them as one market in the questionnaire to simplify the analysis of data. The limitation of analyzing the two market complexes together is that each provides different services as public spaces, thus people may think differently towards each market.

Since Sai Ying Pun is one of the oldest districts in Hong Kong, we anticipated that most of the local residents only spoke Cantonese. Therefore, we approached people to answer our surveys with a paragraph written in Cantonese about who we were and what our project was about, and asked if they could take a few moments to answer our questionnaires. We only approached people who were walking in the street or coming out of markets because we found those were the people that were most likely to answer our questionnaires. This method was limited because it gathered a convenience sample of customers. Since many of the individuals that shop in Sai Ying Pun speak Cantonese we asked people to answer our questionnaires by using the same translated paragraph as mentioned in 3.1. We also had some of our questionnaires written in English. By having both Cantonese and English versions of our questionnaires we were able to gain a wide range of subjects. We collected 53 completed questionnaires using this method.

The customer questionnaires ask for respondents’ ages because we wanted to understand whether there were dissimilarities in how frequently different generations shopped in the various types of markets and their differences in their evaluation of many aspects of each type of markets. Additionally, data collected from the Likert scales asking about aspects of markets as public
spaces were averaged together to see what customers value most in markets. Comparisons using the average score of each characteristic were made between each type market to see if there were certain characteristics and aspects of public space that could be improved upon. The questionnaire can be found in Appendix C.

3.4 Recommend Ways to Enhance Sai Ying Pun’s Markets as Public Spaces

Our fourth objective was to recommend ways to enhance the market characteristics in Sai Ying Pun as public spaces based on the feedback and data we collected in the other three objectives. The purpose of this objective was to answer the following questions:

What characteristics of markets do people in Sai Ying Pun value as aspects of public spaces?

Are there modifications that can be made in the markets that might increase their attractiveness and level of activity as public spaces in Sai Ying Pun?

Although people value certain aspects of a market, they may choose to use that market based on other criteria, such as convenience. This information allowed the group to propose suggestions on how the markets may be improved as public spaces.

We built upon the information gathered in the other three objectives to find certain aspects of all the markets that the shop owners and customers value as public space. In our questionnaires we asked both shop owners and customers to rate characteristics of markets as public spaces. We then compared the average ratings of shop owners and customers for each public space characteristic. By averaging these ratings we wanted to identify areas of agreements between the two parties to come up with the best overall recommendations. This was supplemented with any additional conversations we had with shop owners and customer while they filled out the questionnaires.

Once we understood how shop owners and customers felt about the public space characteristics we were then able to identify which areas of the markets they wanted to improve. We also referenced our background information on what makes a good public space in sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2. Based on what customer and shop owners value and our additional knowledge of what makes a good public space we were able to come up with recommendations on how the markets in Sai Ying Pun can be improved to become better public spaces.
4. A Portrait of Sai Ying Pun’s Markets

In this chapter we will describe how markets are being utilized as public spaces in Sai Ying Pun. Additionally, we will discuss how Sai Ying Pun’s markets have transformed as public spaces due to the effects of urban development. To display this data we use timelines, photographs, diagrams, and graphs. We also describe interviews with shop owners to convey their stories of how urban development in Sai Ying Pun has affected their business. We define market characteristics that customers rated as features of public space with diagrams created from our data collection. In doing so, we identified the market characteristics that are most important to the customers who use Sai Ying Pun’s markets.

4.1 How Urban Development has Transformed the Markets

Urban development began affecting markets in Sai Ying Pun in the 1930s and continues to the present day. In this section, we draw on archival documents and interviews with shop owners and customers in Sai Ying Pun to explore the effects of the following seven transformations due to urban development:

1. The Centre Street market environment and the history of hawkers in Sai Ying Pun;
2. The Island Crest project on First Street and Second Street;
3. The construction of a Mass Transit Railway (MTR) station in Sai Ying Pun;
4. The construction of an escalator on Centre Street;
5. Street level markets and indoor market complexes;
6. The impacts of supermarkets;
7. The construction of a Best Western Hotel

All of these transformations either directly or indirectly affect how market spaces are being used as public spaces in Sai Ying Pun. Of the shop owners and customers interviewed, 42% believed that the new construction projects in the area will have a positive effect on the district. Also, 15% of people interviewed thought they would have negative effects and the 43% of people did not know how they felt about the changes in the area. Refer to Appendix D for a full collection of customer and shop owner responses.

4.1.1 Centre Street Hawkers and Street Markets

Street markets and hawker stalls once thrived in Sai Ying Pun. However, during the 1970s governmental policies and urban development transformations began to affect these markets (FEHD, 2007). Street hawkers, once common along Centre Street in Sai Ying Pun, accounted for much of the district’s lively street spaces and rich cultural heritage. Street hawkers only had to pay an annual license fee to set up small stalls along Centre Street, offering a wide variety of food products. The removal of these hawkers and street markets has greatly impacted the use of markets and public space in Sai Ying Pun.
The images in Figure 5 and Figure 6 illustrate the transformation of Centre Street due to government policies and the consequential reduction of street markets in Sai Ying Pun. Figure 5 shows the modernization of Centre Street throughout the years, with the hawker stalls in the left picture being replaced by the Centre Street Market in the right picture. Figure 6 displays Centre Street in both the 1950s (left) and 2012 (right). This picture illustrates that the level of activity on Centre Street was much greater with hawker stalls than it is now that these hawker stalls are gone.
Figure 6- On left: hawker stalls along Centre Street circa 1950s (Lau, 2009); on right: today there are no hawker stalls along Centre Street
Figure 7 displays a timeline of the major events that have impacted markets along Centre Street in Sai Ying Pun. Hawker stalls were first established on Centre Street in 1864 (Lau, 2009, p. 6). However, today hawker stalls no longer exist along Centre Street due to governmental policies (FEHD, 2007).
Today the government defines hawkers as individuals who place products on the street (FEHD, 2012). Centre Street has been listed as a hawker “black-spot” where street hawkers can be fined or arrested without warning for selling their products (FEHD, 2011). As depicted in Figure 8, hawker control task force units patrol Centre Street and fine shops for placing products on the street. These shops allow their shops to overflow into the street, much like the street markets of Sai Ying Pun’s past. We observed that the fruit and vegetable shop located in the corner of Second Street and Centre Street often place products on the street, perhaps to make them more noticeable to their customers. In our observations of shops along Centre Street, we saw police forcing shop owners to remove their products from the street.

Figure 8- Hawker control task force fining a produce shop for placing products on Centre Street
4.1.2 Island Crest Project

The Island Crest property, completed by the Urban Renewal Authority (URA) and Kerry Properties in 2009, is located between First Street and Second Street. This luxury residential property has impacted the traditional atmosphere of Sai Ying Pun. The location in which the Island Crest complex was constructed is presented in Figure 9. Figure 10 displays a list of the major events that occurred during the construction on the timeline.

Figure 9- Original buildings on Island Crest site
Figure 10- Timeline of Island Crest’s development
The buildings that the construction of Island Crest has replaced were built in the 1960s. The construction of the Island Crest property replaced 30 buildings and relocated 777 people to various areas (Urban Renewal Authority, 2011c). The map in Figure 11 shows the distribution of these properties before the construction project. The original shop locations are unknown because documentation for these records is not open to the public.

Figure 11- Displacement of original buildings due to Island Crest (Prop, 2009)
The Island Crest complex and its luxury residential facilities have changed the demographic of the local population. The upscale housing development brought new people into the neighborhood while displacing long-time residents. Figure 12 illustrates the physical transformation that has occurred on First Street and Second Street due to the construction of Island Crest.

Figure 12- Top: Second Street before Island Crest was constructed (Old-hk, 2009); Bottom: Second Street after Island Crest was constructed
Island Crest’s luxury apartments and its upscale, modern design stand out among other buildings in Sai Ying Pun. Figure 13 contrasts the exterior design of Island Crest with the buildings directly across the street from the property.

Figure 13- Island Crest on left in juxtaposition to buildings directly across the street
4.1.3 Mass Transit Railway Station

The construction of a Mass Transit Railway (MTR) station in Sai Ying Pun began in 2009 and is scheduled for completion in 2014 (MTR, 2008). The construction of this station may impact how people use Sai Ying Pun’s markets. In our interviews, local customers and shop owners expressed their concerns regarding how the MTR station may affect the region’s character. The MTR is expected to increase the flow of individuals into the area, raise property prices, and alter the shopping culture of the district (MTR, 2012).

The new MTR station in Sai Ying Pun will have exits located near the district’s major markets. This may increase the number of individuals traveling through market spaces in the area. The Sai Ying Pun MTR station will have a total of four exits, although two are outside of this study’s scope (MTR, 2008). As seen in Figure 14, there will be two exits surrounding the Centre Street Market that are only a short distance from the Sai Ying Pun Market and many street level markets along Centre Street. Various shop owners stated that the close proximity of these exits may boost the amount of pedestrian traffic past their shops and, consequently, increase their business.

Figure 14- Proposed Mass Transit Railway station and exit locations (MTR, 2008)
Figure 15 illustrates the underground passageways that will connect every MTR exit within Sai Ying Pun. These tunnels may lead people underground by providing pedestrians with an alternative path for walking through Sai Ying Pun. These tunnels will allow individuals to travel from Queens Road West to Bonham Road without stepping foot outside. This route will allow people to avoid the steep slope of Centre Street, where many of the markets are located. Those who choose to travel through Sai Ying Pun in this fashion would bypass the district’s major market spaces.
The aesthetic design of the new MTR station, much like that of Island Crest, will contrast with the current appearance of Sai Ying Pun. This photo is subject to copyright owned by MTR Corporation Limited (“MTRCL”). It is provided to the users solely for non-commercial internal use. No reproduction, distribution, dissemination or making available of this photo to any other parties by whatever means is permitted without the prior written consent of MTRCL

Figure 16 presents an artist’s rendition of the finished MTR station. This image portrays the modern aesthetic of the Sai Ying Pun MTR exit.

Figure 16- MTR artist rendition of Bonham Street (MTR, 2012)
4.1.4 Escalator Construction on Centre Street

The construction of an escalator along Centre Street began in 2009 and was originally scheduled for completion in 2011 (Fung, 2007). The construction was originally planned to be completed by April 2012 (Legco, 2009). However, it is delayed and now scheduled for completion in mid-2012 according to the on-site sign of the escalator construction. This escalator is expected to block the visibility and limit the accessibility of shops along Centre Street from Third Street to Bonham Road. However, it may also increase the accessibility of several other market spaces throughout Sai Ying Pun. Figure 17 illustrates the location of the Centre Street escalator.

This escalator may improve accessibility to shops located at each of its ends, especially for the elderly whom we observed to have a difficult time walking up and down the steep slopes of Centre Street. Both shop owners and customers expressed how treacherous it can be to travel along Centre Street due to the steep slope, especially for the elderly population. A middle aged man who delivers newspapers in the area showed us the injuries and scars he has sustained from falling on Centre Street delivering mail. Several individuals in the area stated that they are disappointed with the decision to make the escalator a one way system going up Centre Street since it is equally difficult to travel down the slope of Centre Street as it is to travel up. This decision was made due to the underground infrastructure of Centre Street that cannot be moved to make room for a two way escalator (Legco, 2009). The image shown in

Figure 17 displays an artist’s rendition of how the completed escalator is expected to appear.
4.1.5 Street Level Markets and Indoor Market Complexes

There are many street level markets in Sai Ying Pun, including markets that sell meat, vegetables, fruit, dry seafood, and flowers. In this study we focused on street level markets that sold meat, vegetables, and fruit. We also studied two indoor market complexes – Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market. Sai Ying Pun Market has five levels that each sells a different product. As can be seen in Figure 18 vegetables are sold on level one, fish is sold on levels two and three, meat is sold on level four, and poultry is sold on level five. Level five is currently vacant. Centre Street Market has two floors for shopping – the ground floor has clothes, towels and other household items and level one has food items, from tofu to vegetables and fruit, as can be seen in Figure 19.

Figure 18- Side view of Sai Ying Pun Market showing the types of products sold on each floor
4.1.6 Introduction of Supermarkets

We studied two supermarkets in Sai Ying Pun, Wellcome and Marketplace. Both of these supermarkets are located near Centre Street, the center of market activity in Sai Ying Pun. The newest supermarket, Marketplace, is located within the Island Crest property, opened in November of 2011 (Marketplace, 2012). Several customers and shop owners observed that Wellcome caters towards middle-class Chinese residents in Sai Ying Pun since it sells a wide variety of Chinese products at reasonable prices. These customers stated that Marketplace caters towards upper-middle class individuals.

Marketplace was designed by Japanese retail designer Nitta Shozo (Marketplace, 2012). Shozo’s design intended to blend key aspects of Western supermarkets with Asian culture. Our visual observations of Marketplace show that many Western individuals choose to use this supermarket, presumably due to the variety of international products that it offers. However, the location of Marketplace in relation to the Island Crest property may also affect the demographic of the store’s customers.
4.1.7 Best Western Hotel Construction

A new Best Western hotel is expected to open in late 2012 and will be located on the corner of West Queensway Road and Eastern Street, as seen shown in Figure 20. The three-star hotel will be approximately fifty stories high and is expected to bring more tourists into the area. This will potentially change the demographics of market customers (Hung, 2012). The influx of foreign tourists may increase the level of activity within Sai Ying Pun’s markets. This will potentially change what types of products are sold in markets and detract from their traditional and cultural appeal.

Figure 20- Location of Best Western Hotel
4.2 Stories From Shop Owners

Many shop owners are concerned with how the impacts of urban development have affected and will continue to affect their shops in Sai Ying Pun. We interviewed sixteen shop owners and all shared similar concerns. Many shop owners recounted the stories of how their businesses have changed throughout the years due to urban development. Of the seven indoor shop owners interviewed, four were originally located closer to Centre Street. Of the six street level shop owners interviewed, three were originally located elsewhere. These shop owners said they were forced to move due to either government regulation or various construction projects. Many shop owners that are currently in the indoor market complexes expressed that when they were located on the street level they were allowed to sell a wider variety of products. They are now only allowed to sell one type of product because of the many restrictions placed on indoor market licenses.

Among the sixteen shop owners interviewed, the price of rent is most expensive for street level shops. Many of these shop owners expressed concern towards the possibility that their rent will increase due to local construction projects. Shop owners are also concerned with the type of people such projects may bring to the area. Numerous shop owners reported that they have noticed that, although Island Crest has brought many westerners to the area, very few are shopping in indoor market complexes and street level markets.

The following sections depict the stories of how four shops in Sai Ying Pun have been impacted by urban development. Pseudonyms have been given to shop owners to protect their identities. We also chose to present narrative analyses of three shop owners that were affected by urban development in Sai Ying Pun. These three narratives were the most representative of all the other shop owners interviewed.

4.2.1 Ms. Lin’s Tofu Shop

Ms. Lin is the owner of a tofu shop in Centre Street Market whose shop has been affected by both the government and urban development. Ms. Lin’s business was originally a hawker stall located on Centre Street. The government revoked her license to rent space and relocated Ms. Lin to a street level market located on First Street in 1970. The shop remained on First Street until the opening of the Centre Street Market, where she is still located today. Figure 21 portrays the movement of her business from a hawker stall, to a street level market, and into the Centre Street Market. The top and middle photographs in Figure 21 do not represent Ms. Lin’s actual shop, but rather representations of the type of market she was located in. The bottom photograph in Figure 21 is Ms. Lin’s current tofu shop in Centre Street market.
Figure 21-Ms. Lin's progression from a hawker stall to a street level market to Centre Street Market
Ms. Lin has had many of the same customers since she first started her business before 1970. Chinese senior citizens are her most frequent customers, often coming every day to buy tofu. Ms. Lin rarely gets customers of the younger Chinese generation or westerners that live in the area. She believes this is because the younger Chinese generation and westerners are more concerned with convenience when shopping and would rather shop at the supermarket where they can buy everything they need all in one place.

Ms. Lin believes that although Island Crest brought more people to live in Sai Ying Pun, it did not bring more shoppers to the area. Ms. Lin’s believes many westerners living in Island Crest do not shop in the local markets because there is a high end supermarket located in the bottom of Island Crest. The extension of the MTR is expected to bring more people into Sai Ying Pun (MTR, 2008). However, Ms. Lin is unsure if this will increase her business. She believes that the new MTR station will bring younger people, whom she does not often see buying products in indoor market complexes.

Ms. Lin believes it is difficult for the elderly to navigate the Centre Street Market because the escalators only go in the upwards direction. She also believes that if Centre Street Market offered more seating space it would be more appealing to the older generation to shop there. This would provide a space where they could sit down and rest if needed. Ms. Lin dislikes the fact that the government regulates what products she can sell because it limits her profitability. Ms. Lin only has a license to sell tofu and according to the law she cannot sell any other products. However, when she was located at street level she could also sell vegetables and fruit.

Overall, Ms. Lin preferred her business being located on street level. She fears for the future of markets such as Centre Street Market because the changes in urban development will bring people into Sai Ying Pun that do not shop in the local markets.

### 4.2.2 Ms. Tang’s Fish Shop

Ms. Tang inherited a fish shop in Sai Ying Pun Market from her mother. The shop, which originated in 1933, has survived all of the transformations and renovations the building has experienced. In 1992, when the Sai Ying Pun Market began undergoing renovations, Ms. Tang was forced to move the business into Centre Street Market. In 1999, Ms. Tang moved back into Sai Ying Pun Market after the completion of the renovations. Ms. Tang did not like having her business in Centre Street Market because it was more expensive and less spacious than Sai Ying Pun Market. Figure 22 is a visual representation of how Ms. Tang’s fish shop moved throughout the years due to the renovations of Sai Ying Pun market.
Figure 22: Movement of Ms. Tang’s fish shop
Ms. Tang’s monthly rent is currently $3,000, a rate that has not changed since she moved back to Sai Ying Pun Market. She likes being in the Sai Ying Pun Market better than being in Centre Street Market because it is cheaper. However, Ms. Tang does not believe the layout of the Sai Ying Pun Market is logical, because the location of her market makes it inaccessible from the street. People must use escalators to get to her shop. If one did not know how the building is laid out, it would be difficult to locate her shop. Also, Ms. Tang believes that her shop suffers since there are many shops selling the same products on each floor, and customers want to check the entire market before purchasing any products.

Ms. Tang suggested that for the market to prosper the government cannot just improve the environment of the building, but must engage the community as well. Ms. Tang believes that since the demographics of people in Sai Ying Pun are changing shops like hers will not be around much longer. She recognizes more westerners and young people in the area, but does not see them shopping in indoor market complexes. Similarly, Ms. Tang also believes that the new MTR station will bring in people who will not shop in the Sai Ying Pun market.

However, Ms. Tang is looking forward to the construction of the escalator in Centre Street because she says it will help improve the way people travel throughout the neighborhood. She believes the escalator will especially improve the way elderly people travel up and down the steep slope of Centre Street. Ms. Tang believes that if the elderly population can navigate Sai Ying Pun more easily it may be easier for them to shop at places like Sai Ying Pun Market, which in turn could increase Ms. Tang’s business.

4.2.3 Ms. Ge’s Vegetable Shop

Ms. Ge’s vegetable shop has been in business for a total of fifty years. Originally, Ms. Ge’s shop was a hawker stall ran by her mother. Currently, Ms. Ge rents her shop in the Sai Ying Pun Market for $3,000 per month, which is more expensive than the license fees that her mother paid as a street hawker. She fears that customers that are in a rush do not use her shop because they find it more convenient to shop at street level markets.

Ms. Ge expressed her concern for the future of her business in Sai Ying Pun market and does not believe that the MTR will help to increase her business. Like Ms. Lin and Ms. Tang, she does not believe the MTR will bring her more business. However, Ms. Ge does believe the escalator will have a positive impact on the local market economy since the escalator will make it easier for people to get around the neighborhood and shop. Yet, Ms. Ge believes the escalator would have been more beneficial if there was a two way track planned. This would make it easier for people to travel up and down Centre Street.

In general, Ms. Ge fears for the future of her shop, despite that the MTR is expected to bring more people in the area. However, she is optimistic that when the escalator is complete she will have more customers since it will make it easier for people to travel throughout the district.
4.2.4 Mr. Lu’s Mini Supermarket

Mr. Lu owns a mini supermarket on Second Street in Sai Ying Pun. His shop has only been in Sai Ying Pun for five years. His supermarket originated in Kowloon City eleven years ago. Mr. Lu says he enjoys being located in Sai Ying Pun more than in Kowloon City because customers in Sai Ying Pun are friendlier. Figure 23 shows the movement of Mr. Lu’s supermarket from Kowloon City to Sai Ying Pun.

Figure 23- movement of Mr. Lu’s supermarket from Kowloon City to Sai Ying Pun
Although Mr. Lu thinks the development of Sai Ying Pun is occurring too quickly, he believes that the development will have positive effects on the district. Particularly, Mr. Lu likes that the escalator on Centre Street will improve the way people shop in the area. He thinks that the escalator will help people navigate the steep slope of Centre Street and make them want to shop more in the markets. He also likes the fact that most of Centre Street can no longer be accessed by cars since it makes the street safer. Yet, Mr. Lu thinks the side streets, like Second Street where his shop is located, are very dangerous for pedestrians because of the small sidewalks and how fast the cars travel.

Mr. Lu has customers from all demographics that shop at his business. Mr. Lu has a close relationship with many of his customers. He sees many of his customers every day and often stocks products based on their requests. Mr. Lu is looking forward to the new MTR station opening in Sai Ying Pun. He says that although the MTR will probably raise the rent of his mini supermarket, which is already over $14,000HK a month, it may also bring more people to shop at his mini supermarket.

### 4.3 How the Community Uses and Views the Markets

Many people use the markets in Sai Ying Pun every day. Some like to buy fresh food, some like to socialize with friends, and some just like to spend time in the markets. No matter how individuals use market spaces each have an opinion regarding how markets act as public spaces. Shop owners also have their own perspectives on how the markets are used by their customers and how each of these markets function as public spaces. The following sections represent the views of 53 customers and 16 shop owners who often use the markets in Sai Ying Pun.

#### 4.3.1 Community Uses and Views of Street Level Markets

Street level markets are primarily used by older Chinese residents. Street level markets are not as often utilized by domestic workers who account for a large portion of the shoppers in Sai Ying Pun. Numerous domestic workers told us that they tend to stay away from street level markets because it is hard to communicate with owners due to the language barrier. Elderly Chinese residents tend to use the street level markets for buying small amounts of fresh food on a daily basis and tend to socialize with shop owners, most of which they know very well. A shop owner stated, “*The younger generation does not care about using traditional markets; they would rather use supermarkets.*” Figure 24 and Figure 25, depicts the common users of street level shops.
Figure 24- Elderly Chinese shoppers using street level markets

Figure 25- Elderly Chinese individuals interacting with a street level market
Street level markets are used for purchasing small quantities of fresh food and for socializing with others. Figure 26 depicts individuals interacting with shop owners and other customers at a street level market. This type of interaction was cited by numerous customers we interviewed throughout Sai Ying Pun to be more welcoming than other types of markets.

Figure 26- Individuals interacting with markets in groups and socializing
During our observations of street level markets we noted them to be busy for only a short period each day; from 10:00am to 12:30pm. The level of activity dwindled after 1:00pm until 5:00pm and shoppers were not as frequent at street level markets. Various street level market owners confirmed that the level of activity tends to be most busy each day in the late morning hours because that is when people like to buy their food for the day.

Many people that shop in Sai Ying Pun tend not to shop at street level markets. One customer stated, “Street level shop owners are rude to non-Cantonese speakers.” We were able to find a common trend within domestic workers with the same issue because they do not speak Cantonese. Due to the language barrier, it is easier for them to shop elsewhere. Also, many westerners and domestic workers said they do not like shopping at street level markets because they find them to be dirty and unkempt. Figure 27 shows a typical street level meat market floor with scraps of meat and blood splatter covering the ground.

Figure 27- Street level meat market floor
In our questionnaires, that can be seen in Appendix C, we asked customers to rate public space characteristics of street level markets. The results in Figure 28 show customers ratings on street level markets. The characteristics of public spaces that we asked customers to rate were whether or not they thought the markets were clean, whether the markets used the shop space effectively, whether they felt safe at the markets, whether or not they thought there was a good shop owner-customer relationship, whether they thought there was ample seating or socialization areas, and whether or not they thought the shop was accessible from the street. These characteristics of public space were taken from our background information on what makes a good public space.

Each pie chart shown in Figure 28 shows 53 customer’s responses to public space characteristics of street level markets. The black lines on the pie chart group responses where the customers agree or strongly agree, where the customers are uncertain, and where the customers disagree or strongly disagree with the public space characteristic. Figure 28 shows that most customers believe that street level markets are very accessible to the street. It also shows that customers are unsure whether street level markets are clean, use their space effectively, if they feel safe at these markets, and if there is a good owner customer relationship. Overall, customers did not rate street level markets negatively as forms of public spaces.
Figure 28- Customer ratings on public space characteristics of street level markets
4.3.2 Community Uses and Views of Indoor Market Complexes

Numerous customers stated that the Sai Ying Pun Market located along Centre Street is used to purchase fresh vegetables, fish, and/or meat and does not appear to be used for social activities. Primary users of this market were elderly Chinese and domestic workers. The Centre Street Market, also located along Centre Street, sells assorted products but is primarily used for its elevator and pedestrian bridge to Sai Ying Pun Market. Centre Street Market is seldom used for socializing. There is a restaurant with tables and chairs in the market. However, one must order from the restaurant in order to sit there and socialize.

Primary users of these markets were middle-aged and elderly Chinese residents as well as domestic workers. Many of these types of people expressed their preference for using indoor market complexes. Another customer stated, “I prefer to talk to female shop owners in indoor markets that are nicer to non-Cantonese speaking individuals.”

Many westerners said that they do not like shopping in indoor market complexes because they feel the overall environments of these markets are unclean. One westerner who moved to Sai Ying Pun from Long Island said “I prefer shopping in supermarkets rather than indoor market complexes because I know the floors are cleaner.” Figure 29 shows a blood splattered floor in Sai Ying Pun Market.

![Figure 29- Blood splattered floors in Sai Ying Pun Market](image-url)
We observed the Sai Ying Pun Market to be busy between 10:00am and 12:30pm and to have low level of activity after 1:00pm until 5:00pm, similar to street level markets. The lowest level of Sai Ying Pun Market, the vegetable level, has a high level of activity. However, the higher floors have low levels of activity. In our interviews, shop owners stated the lack of accessibility to the upper floors deters customers from visiting these spaces. Also, we noticed a low level of activity throughout the day in the Centre Street Market. This market only has two floors. Both floors of this market have a low level of activity throughout the day.

We asked customers to rate public space characteristics of indoor market complexes. We asked them to rate Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street market collectively because they are connected by a footbridge and sell similar types of markets. These public space characteristics were the same as the ones we asked customers to rate for street level markets. We asked customers to rate the aspects of indoor market complexes as shown in Figure 30.

Each pie chart shown in Figure 30 represents the responses on 53 customer’s responses to public space characteristics of indoor market complexes. The black lines on the pie chart group response where the customers agree or strongly agree, where the customers are uncertain, and where the customers disagree or strongly disagree with the public space characteristic. Most customers agreed that they felt safe in indoor market complexes and that they were accessible from the street. Also most customers agreed that there was a not ample seating or socialization area in indoor market complexes. Altogether, customers did not rate indoor market complexes negatively as forms of public spaces.
Figure 30 - Customer ratings on public space characteristics of indoor market complexes
4.3.3 Community Uses and Views of Supermarkets

Supermarkets in Sai Ying Pun are used by all demographics in the district, including the older generation, the younger generation, domestic workers, and western expats. According to one shop owner, “People that use supermarkets are mostly elderly people, housewives, domestic workers, westerners, and Chinese residents.” These people indicated they use supermarkets because of their convenience and the wide variety of products offered. Numerous supermarket users said that they use supermarkets since they can purchase a variety of products in one place.

Unlike street level markets and indoor markets, we rarely observed people socializing in supermarkets. Many shoppers stated that they do not like to socialize in supermarkets and like to get their products and leave. During numerous visits to supermarkets, we rarely saw customers socializing with each other or with staff. Although supermarkets are not great areas to socialize, supermarkets in Sai Ying Pun have a constant flow of people and their level of activity does not appear to vary much at different times throughout the day.

Chinese residents, domestic workers, and westerners expressed similar views towards their use of supermarkets:

“If I am in a rush and need a lot of food products quickly, I will go to the supermarket since everything is all in one building.” – elderly Chinese customer.

“I prefer shopping in supermarkets because of their convenience and I feel as though they are much cleaner than street level markets or indoor market complexes.” – young Chinese customer

“Supermarkets are easier places to shop because the staff speak English and I can get everything I want in one place.” – Domestic workers

“I prefer to buy my food at supermarkets out of convenience and for the variety of products they sell.” – Western customer

We asked customers to rate public space characteristics of supermarkets. These public space characteristics were the same as the ones we asked customers to rate for street level markets and indoor market complexes. We asked customers to rate the aspects of supermarkets as shown in Figure 31, which represents the responses of 53 customer’s. The black lines on the pie chart group response where the customers agree or strongly agree, where the customers are uncertain, and where the customers disagree or strongly disagree with the public space characteristic. Numerous customers agree that supermarkets are clean, use space effectively, are safe, and accessible from the street. Additionally, many customers agree that supermarkets do not have ample seating or socialization areas. On the whole, customers agreed that supermarkets were
good public spaces based on their ratings of its public space characteristics. However, when talking with customers many of them said they do not consider supermarkets as public spaces since do not like spending time there; rather they get what they need and leave.

Figure 31- Customer ratings on public space characteristics of supermarkets
4.3.4 Overall Customer Views on Markets in Sai Ying Pun

By comparing and contrasting the different types of markets as public spaces we were able to identify similarities and differences between how customers perceived and used the markets. As can be seen from the graph in Figure 32, customers reported that they use indoor market complexes more often than either street level markets or supermarkets. Numerous customers stated that the indoor market complexes have the freshest food in a traditional market setting. Also, since both the Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market offer more than one type of product many customers said they find it easy to shop there.

Figure 32 - Reported average customers visits to markets in one week
Most customers agreed that it was very easy for them to find their products inside the markets. However, on average it was easier for them to find what they need in the indoor market complexes, as can been seen in Figure 33.

Figure 33- Average customer ratings on finding product in markets
In comparing the overall aspects of markets as public spaces as shown in Figure 34, supermarkets had a better rating than the other markets. On average customers agreed that supermarkets were cleaner and used space more effectively than other types of markets.

![Graph showing average customer ratings on aspects of markets as public spaces.]

Figure 34- Average customer ratings on aspects of markets as public spaces
Street level markets, indoor market complexes, and supermarkets in Sai Ying Pun are viewed in distinct ways by their customers. Figure 35 represents all of the customers’ responses reported to open-ended questions about what makes a good market space in Sai Ying Pun. Multiple views of the same aspect are not reported. Since only 53 customers were surveyed about what makes a good market space, the data collected may not be representative of shoppers in Sai Ying Pun. Figure 35 also illustrates the four main categories shoppers valued in good market spaces in Sai Ying Pun: sanitation/safety, products offered, shopping environment, and location. Refer to Appendix E for original answers.
Most customers interviewed agreed that the quality of the products and their prices were important aspect to good market places. The shopping environment was also important to many customers because they wanted to be treated well by staff in the market space. Lastly, the location was important to many shoppers because if the market was inaccessible they said they would not shop there.

Many customers expressed concerns that some of the good market qualities displayed in Figure 35 are being greatly affected by the construction of the Centre Street escalator and the extension of the MTR into Sai Ying Pun. At the current stage of redevelopment projects in Sai Ying Pun, some middle-aged and elderly individuals agree that the construction of the MTR affects the pedestrian flow due to pathways blocked by equipment. Several elderly people described how they find the slope of Centre Street difficult to navigate without pathways being blocked, and the project is making it harder for them to get around the area. However, none of the younger people we interviewed expressed concerns over this matter, perhaps because they can easily navigate around the materials.

Another divergence of views between the age ranges was about the noise level and pollution caused by the construction of the escalator. None of the younger generation expressed aggravation by the noise level or the amount of dirt in Sai Ying Pun caused by the escalator. On the other hand, the noise and pollution the escalator causes sometimes deters the older generation from shopping in the area. A gentleman in his late 60’s said, “I have avoided shopping in Sai Ying Pun because the noise from the construction of the escalator bothers me.” A majority of the people interviewed agreed that once the project is completed, the escalator will make it easier for everyone to shop at the markets in Sai Ying Pun.

There are even more varying views concerning the extension of the MTR into Sai Ying Pun. Many people of the older generation stated that they are more concerned with how it may increase property values and rental prices of their residences. Many of the elderly citizens we interviewed stated that they have lived in Sai Ying Pun for over thirty years and has seen the prices of their rent rise because of urban development and fears it will happen again. Numerous elderly people also said they feared that since the MTR is projected to bring a lot more people in the area, product prices in the markets will go up as a result. On the other hand, most of the younger individuals had a positive response to the open ended question about how construction project may positively or negatively affect the markets. These individuals especially expressed excitement for the MTR’s completion because of its convenience. A majority of the younger individuals we interviewed did not seem concerned with how the MTR may affect the markets in Sai Ying Pun. A young student who resides in Sai Ying Pun but goes to school in the New Territories said, “My commute to school will be much less of a hassle once the MTR is complete.”
The differing opinions between the older generation and the younger generation may stem from how each generation values community. The older generation has lived, shopped, and made memories in Sai Ying Pun for many years and often times may be resistant to experience change. As one elderly shopper in Sai Ying Pun said, “It’s a shame the MTR is coming to the area. I enjoy the quiet, slow paced life in Sai Ying Pun. When the MTR arrives, the area will become much busier with no sense of community anymore.” However, many people from the younger generation that we interviewed expressed that they were open to change in the community, even if it may negatively affect the markets in Sai Ying Pun. This sense of community that still thrives within the older generation carries over to how they use market spaces in Sai Ying Pun. The older generation tends to shop more at local street level businesses and in indoor market complexes. However, the younger generation seems not to have this same sense of community prefers to shop in supermarkets.
5. Conclusions and Recommendations

This study describes how Sai Ying Pun’s markets have been an important part of the district’s public space for decades and argues that these markets continue to transform in response to urban development. In this chapter, we draw conclusions regarding how urban development is affecting the culture and traditions of markets in Sai Ying Pun. These markets represent one of the largest collections of public space that Sai Ying Pun has to offer. Accordingly, we present suggestions on how these markets can be improved in order to increase their appeal as effective public spaces.

5.1 Summary of Findings

Markets in Sai Ying Pun have long been important public spaces, but in recent years have begun to be displaced and relocated due to the effects of urban development. Several shop owners described their transitions between working in hawker stalls, street level markets, and indoor market complexes. Many of these transitions were forced by the city’s sudden and strict regulation of hawker stalls and Urban Renewal Authority projects such as the Island Crest development.

Street level markets serve as spaces for elderly Chinese people to socialize and shop, but these markets are challenged by the convenience offered by supermarkets and indoor market complexes. Numerous customers stated that street level markets are excellent great areas for socializing with others. Observations of these markets showed a great deal of socialization, but only among elderly Chinese individuals. Numerous young Chinese customers said that supermarkets are much cleaner and, because of their wide variety of products, are easier to use. Many westerners and Filipino customers stated that they avoid using street level markets because such shop owners rarely speak English.

The Centre Street and Sai Ying Pun indoor market complexes are valued for preserving traditional shops within a market building. However, these crowded areas and their inaccessibility detract from the space’s potential to facilitate social interactions. Customers of various ages and ethnicities stated that indoor market complexes are convenient to use because they have fresh products in a traditional food market atmosphere. Although some customers praised indoor markets for their convenience, most evaluated the indoor markets as lacking in providing spaces to sit down, relax, and socialize. Furthermore, many customers find it difficult to access levels of the market that do not have entrances directly from the street. Also, numerous shop owners in higher levels of the Sai Ying Pun Market believe the inaccessibility of their shops from the street negatively affects their business.

Supermarkets are popular with a wide range of customers in Sai Ying Pun, but these markets do little to serve as public spaces. Many types of people were observed using supermarkets in Sai Ying Pun including older Chinese individuals, younger Chinese individuals,
domestic workers, and westerners. Many customers said that they use supermarkets because of their convenience and the wide variety of products offered. Various customers also stated that they use supermarkets when they are in a rush because it easy to get in and out of the supermarket. Observations of supermarkets rarely showed any social interaction between customers and staff; supermarkets are used for their convenience, not their ability to operate as public spaces.

The construction of an MTR station and an escalator along Centre Street will make navigating Sai Ying Pun easier and may benefit the local markets. Many shoppers and shop owners stated that the construction of a Mass Transit Railway (MTR) station will likely bring more people into Sai Ying Pun. This MTR station will have exits near Centre Street, the center of market activity in Sai Ying Pun. Both customers and shop owners stated that they expect the pedestrian traffic among these areas to greatly increase, thus increasing market business. Many customers also stated that the elderly, in particular, have difficulty navigating the steep slope of Centre Street, and that the construction of an escalator will greatly benefit the area’s accessibility. Customers and shop owners believe that people will be able to travel through the district with greater ease upon the escalator's completion. This will allow people to more easily shop at the markets. Customers and shop owner agree that the markets will become better public spaces once the accessibility throughout the Sai Ying Pun district is improved.

At the same time, an increased level of activity within Sai Ying Pun may not translate into improved and more vibrant market spaces. Many shop owners believe the different demographics in the district have a greater impact on market spaces than changes in the markets’ accessibility, location, or layout. Several shop owners stated that the MTR station and renewal projects such as Island Crest attract individuals that do not use traditional markets. These shop owners believe that such individuals are apt to use supermarkets and that the increased level of activity within Sai Ying Pun would not benefit their business. If there is no benefit to their business, these markets cannot improve as public spaces.

5.2 Recommendations for Enhancing Sai Ying Pun’s Markets as Public Spaces

Our recommendations are aimed to enhance markets as public spaces in Sai Ying Pun. By suggesting ways the markets can attract more customers we sought to improve the social contact between shop owners and the wide variety of ethnicities in Sai Ying Pun. At the same time we have introduced ideas that create lively yet navigable markets, increasing their value as good public spaces. Lastly, by suggesting ways to improve the markets’ gathering spaces we sought to strengthen the market spaces as community centers. We first present the recommendations that we expect to have the greatest impact on improving the markets as public spaces.
5.2.1 Bringing Back Centre Street as the Center of Activity

Centre Street is the main area for market activity in Sai Ying Pun. However, many people stated that it is hard for them to navigate the street due to its steep slope. This deters them from shopping in all types of markets along the street. Numerous customers and shop owners agreed that once the escalator along Centre Street is complete, the street will be easier to navigate. However, the escalator is not being built on the portion of Centre Street from Second Street to Third Street, a section that is closed to vehicular traffic. In this section we suggest ways in which this area can be utilized as better public spaces. We have presented our suggestions in a sequence we find most important for change in the Sai Ying Pun district.

Bring back hawker stall markets on Centre Street
Although hawker stalls are no longer allowed on Centre Street we suggest allowing them to set up shop along Centre Street from Second Street to Third Street since it is closed to automobile traffic. These hawker stalls may bring back the lively environment once associated with hawker stall markets if they were allowed to set up only on this portion of Centre Street. We believe this would make it easier for shop owners to sell their products because they would be located right on the street and in the center of activity in Sai Ying Pun. Also, if hawker stalls were allowed back in the area it may entice more people to shop at the markets, thus increasing the business of all markets in Sai Ying Pun and its value as public space. This may help maintain the culture and tradition of Sai Ying Pun’s markets throughout urban development by bringing back the lively market environment once associated with hawker stalls.

Make Centre Street into a ladder street
A ladder street is a street that encompasses stairs with many flat levels, similar to terraces, and hand rails to make the street easier to navigate. Ladder streets are common in Hong Kong and many people feel them to be a “signature element” in Hong Kong (Hon-wan Chan, 2000). A ladder streets main role is to make it easier to navigate the street and provide flat spaces for other activities to take place on the street. They are used solely for pedestrian traffic. Figure 36 is a representation of how a ladder street would look on Centre Street in Sai Ying Pun.
We recommend renovating this area into a ladder street. In doing so, the surrounding markets will become better public spaces since they will have more accessibility. Figure 36 shows how people can walk down the middle of the ladder street while still having access to the markets on the side of the street since there are gaps in the handrails. Numerous shop owners and customers agreed that if the slope of Centre Street was less steep it would be easier to navigate all markets in Sai Ying Pun. Adding a ladder street to this section of Centre Street would decrease the slope people have to climb when shopping in this area. Many individuals in Sai Ying Pun also said that if seating spaces were added to Centre Street it would make them want to shop more at all the markets. Therefore, along the flat terrace like level of the street benches could be added where people can rest and socialize while using the surrounding markets. In addition to adding seating to this part of Centre Street, the benches would be located in the middle of where most of the activity in Sai Ying Pun takes place.

5.2.2 Making Street Level Markets More Inviting

Currently, many street level markets in Sai Ying Pun are primarily used by the elderly Chinese population. Shop owners expressed concerns regarding a shift in the demographic in Sai Ying Pun toward groups who don’t tend to frequent traditional markets. In order to entice the younger generation, westerners, and domestic workers that also shop in Sai Ying Pun’s street level
markets we suggest making them more inviting to all types of people. Our recommendations are presented in a progression we see most suitable for change in street level markets.

**Communicate more effectively with all types of customers**
As the demographics are changing in Sai Ying Pun due to such projects as Island Crest. These demographics are expected to change even more when the MTR is completed. Many English speakers shop in Sai Ying Pun as well. However, numerous English speaking customers in Sai Ying Pun said they do not shop in street level markets due to the language barrier between themselves and the shop owner. Therefore, we recommend shop owners add English signs or pictures to make it easier for shoppers to buy products. English language signs could attract a more diverse clientele. We understand that some shop owners may not want to add English signs. However, shop owners stated that they rarely observe English speakers frequenting their shops. Therefore, we think that making the shops more English friendly will bring more customers to their shops. At the same time an increased level of activity in these markets would make these areas more vibrant and more attractive as public spaces.

**Make street level markets better public spaces by enforcing cleanliness guidelines set out by the Food and Environmental Hygiene Department**
Various customers expressed that they avoid shopping at street level markets because they are dirty and disorganized. Thus, we suggest enforcing the cleanliness guidelines set out by the Food and Environmental Hygiene Department (FEHD) to make the street level markets cleaner and more inviting places to shop. By doing so we believe the markets will attract more customers, making them a type of public space people will want to use. Also, many shop owners put products on the street because their shop is too small to hold all their goods. This makes it difficult for pedestrians to use the sidewalks. Thus, we recommend street level shop owners consider other organizational systems, such as vertical shelving units, similar to supermarket shelving. Expanding vertically rather than horizontally will provide more space and more area for customers to walk along the sidewalk. At the same time shop owners will have better organized shops. If the space is clean and better organized we think it will be a better public space and, consequently, more appealing to customers.

**Add more seating near street level markets**
More seating space near street level markets would provide people places to rest while climbing the steep slope of Centre Street. This will also increase the amount of social activity near these markets. As illustrated in Figure 37 there are many spaces near street level markets that are out of the way of the main pedestrian traffic areas, but still within the center of activity.
5.2.3 Increasing Activity in Indoor Market Complexes

Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market attract the attention of many of the same customers, including the elderly Chinese population and many domestic workers. However, there are areas of these markets that can be improved to make them more welcoming public spaces and attract more customers. Below we present individual recommendations to improve Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market, as well as collective suggestions to improve both markets.

Improve the accessibility to Sai Ying Pun Market
There are many entrances into the Sai Ying Pun Market. However, there are not entrances to every level of the market. We conclude that it would be beneficial to add entrances to each level of the market so that people can access the floors they want without a hassle. Shop owners and customers stated that the inaccessibility of Sai Ying Pun Market deterred people from using these spaces. Improved accessibility to all levels of the market will increase the activity level of all the floors in Sai Ying Pun Market.
**Convert the top floor of Sai Ying Pun Market into an activity and socialization area**

Numerous customers shopping in Sai Ying Pun observed that indoor market complexes in other districts throughout Hong Kong have seating or a library space on the top floor of indoor market complexes. Many customers stated that an addition like this to Sai Ying Pun Market would make them want to go there and consequently make them want to buy products in the market as well. Currently, the top floor of Sai Ying Pun market is not being utilized and could be converted into an activity and socialization area. Customers said that other markets in Hong Kong have socialization areas on top floors of indoor market complexes and they would like to have this area in the Sai Ying Pun Market. Adding chairs, benches, tables, and activities to this space, such as games or restaurants, the top level would be a destination people would want to since it would be a community gathering place.

**Reorganize the Layout of the Shops in Centre Street Market**

Numerous customers and shop owners described the layout of shops in Centre Street Market as impractical. To improve pedestrian flow the shops could be rearranged in a way that eliminates dead-end lanes. We suggest rearranging the stalls in Centre Street Market such that pedestrian traffic moves fluently around every stall in a continuous fashion. This type of organization in the Centre Street Market would draw more customers into the market and create a more vibrant and better public space.

**Improve Accessibility to Centre Street Market**

Currently, to get into the Centre Street Market one has to climb stairs. Many customers and shop owners expressed that it is hard to access Centre Street Market. Therefore we suggest making ramps for easier access to the market spaces. Once inside the market, to access floors one has to take an escalator to go up, but the elevator to go back down. We suggest making a two-way escalator system with tracks going up and down to make access to each floor simpler. We believe from what customers and shop owners have stated that this will attract more people to shop in this market and increase business for all of the stores within the Centre Street Market.

**Enforce Cleanliness Guidelines in both Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market**

There are guidelines in place laid out by the Food and Environmental Hygiene Department (FEHD) for the safety and sanitation of indoor market complexes. Some of these policies include: having no blood splatters, having dry floors, having whole fish on display, and having an organized stall (FEHD, 2012). However, we observed blood splatters on the meat level and fish level floors of the Sai Ying Pun Market. We also observed shops having pieces of fish on display rather than whole fish. Additionally, some customers stated that they do not like shopping in these indoor market complexes since are not clean. Customers also stated that they feel somewhat unsafe in these markets due to the wet floors. Therefore, we suggest increasing the presence of officers to patrol and enforce the FEHD guidelines. With more of their presence
in the indoor market complexes we believe these markets will be cleaner and safer. Cleaner and safer markets are likely to be better public spaces since they may attract more people to shop there.

**Revitalize Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market**
The indoor market complexes in Sai Ying Pun are run down. According to Whyte (1988) a successful public space must be vibrant and engaging. However, individuals who use these markets stated that they are not engaging spaces and they do not want to spend time in them under their current conditions. A fruit shop owner in Centre Street Market expressed her concern about the dull atmosphere of the market building and how it may be deterring customers from her business. Thus, adding fresh paint and new lighting to the markets could add new life to the spaces and attract more customers to shop and interact in the indoor markets.

Although implementation of any of these suggestions will require additional discussion and modifications within the Sai Ying Pun community, we hope they serve as useful ideas for keeping the traditional markets alive throughout urban development. Improving these markets as public spaces will revive the vibrant market environment of Sai Ying Pun and help preserve its traditional and cultural heritage.
References


Chow, C. (2003, April 19). Compensation Row in Slum Clearance; Residents Claim They Will Be Forced to Move Into Older Flats in the $ 1.2 Billion Project to Redevelop Western District. South China Morning Post, p. 3.


Appendix A: History of Hong Kong

The history of an area plays a large role in understanding its urban development. Understanding the history of Hong Kong and China, will assist in understanding how Hong Kong has been developed. As early as the 1500s, China became a link to the rest of the world as a result of international trading. Along with this trading came an influx of people and the need to build residences for these individuals to live in. A major port for trading was Canton, located in mainland China. Merchants would come to Canton from European countries to buy Chinese goods and trade their own goods. Eventually, the Chinese government allowed Portugal, Britain and the Netherlands to build permanent settlements on Chinese soil. The settling of European countries on Chinese soil integrated western culture into this region of China. (Carroll, 2007; Ingham 2007)

On January 25th, 1841, the British naval forces landed in Hong Kong and took possession of the island. Their motive for acquiring Hong Kong was not for the expansion of the British Empire and claiming land, rather, it was to protect British commercial interests in China. Hong Kong, which is separated from mainland China by Victoria Harbour, consisted of three main geographical sections: Hong Kong Island, Kowloon Peninsula, and the New Territories. The British believed Hong Kong would become a new center of world trade, but it did not occur. Still, Hong Kong remained a headquarters for British trade in Asia. When the British arrived to Hong Kong the island the population was about seven thousand. By 1842, Hong Kong was booming and the population rose to almost twenty thousand civilians. The British colonization brought jobs for builders, contractors, merchants, and laborers to Hong Kong. Thus, many residences and business headquarters in Hong Kong reflect the British style of architecture. In fact, in Hong Kong today there is more Victorian architecture than Chinese architecture. Although British architecture greatly shaped the culture of Hong Kong, it still remained a Chinese city and its residents were able to maintain their customs and beliefs. (Carroll, 2007)

After the Convention of Pecking in 1860, the Qing government gave the British Hong Kong Island and Kowloon Island. However, when convention met again in 1898 the Qing government signed an agreement called the 99 year Lease which gave the British the New Territories and Lantau Island for 99 years. This led to the beginning of a strong British colony. The British now ruled over Hong Kong Island Kowloon Island, Lantau Island, New Territories, and 230 other islands around Hong Kong. The population was now about 300,000 thousand civilians. “The Qing government had been reluctant to lease the region and hoped that conceding the area so quickly and without fanfare would prevent the other powers from using the British acquisition of the region as a pretext for demanding more concessions. (Carroll, 2007)”

On December 8th, 1941, during World War II, the Japanese defeated the British in Hong Kong and took over the territory. Although the Japanese occupied Hong Kong for only three years and eight months their culture impacted the development of Hong Kong greatly. The Japanese
rapidly introduced their culture, customs, and morals. First, the Japanese replaced all British statues with Japanese ones. They replaced the British calendar, called Gregorian, with the Japanese calendar. However, the Japanese occupation brought many atrocities to Hong Kong. The Japanese arrested all non-Chinese inhabitants, who then became prisoners of the Japanese and were sent to prisoner camps. Eventually, most of the prisoners were either executed or died because of malnourishment. The Japanese rule in Hong Kong ended at the end of World War II on August 30\textsuperscript{th}, 1945. (Carroll, 2007; Ingham 2007).

After the Japanese authorities felt, The British colonized Hong Kong once more. The idea of the British coming back to Hong Kong faced opposition from both China and the United States. Yet, the British maintained their rule and reintroduced Hong Kong to British architecture and customs. However, the British government knew that for them to be able to be trusted again by Hong Kong residents it would need to take into consideration the current Chinese government in China. The cooperation between British and Chinese governments through the 1950s, 60s, and 80s, led to Hong Kong to rapidly grow and develop. (Carroll, 2007)

The British occupation of Hong Kong ended on midnight June 30\textsuperscript{th}, 1997. Hong Kong became part of China once more. China promised that, under its "one country, two systems" formula, China's socialist economic system would not be imposed on Hong Kong and that Hong Kong would enjoy a high degree of autonomy (CIA 2011). Today, Hong Kong has a population close to seven million people. It is known as one of the most densely populated places in the world, having hundreds of high rise building in a small area to house residents and provide workspace for businesses. However, as high rise buildings are being built, urban developers are sacrificing public spaces.
Appendix B: Market Overview

Appendix B informs readers on what types of products are sold in each type of market. Additionally, it presents the activities that people perform in each type of market. The information presented in this appendix was gathered through our observations.

Street level markets

- Eggs
- Fruit
- Juice
- Meat
- Milk
- Poultry
- Rice
- Snack Products
- Vegetables
- Water

Sai Ying Pun Market

Level 1:
- Vegetables

Level 2:
- Fish

Level 3:
- Fish

Level 4:
- Meat

Level 5:
- Poultry (No products being sold at time of study due to avian flu)

Centre Street Market

Level 1:
- Clothing/Miscellaneous

Level 2:
- Assorted food including, but not limited to, fruit, vegetables, eggs, tofu, fish, etc.
Supermarkets

- Candy
- Cheese
- Eggs
- Frozen foods
- Fruit
- Juice
- Meat
- Milk
- Noodles
- Poultry
- Rice
- Snack Products
- Toiletries
- Various drinks
- Vegetables
- Water

Activities in markets other than shopping

Street level markets
- Child’s Play
- Reading
- Socializing

Sai Ying Pun Market
- Socializing

Centre Street Market
- People gazing
- Reading
- Socializing

Supermarkets
- Socializing
Appendix C: Questionnaires

This appendix includes both the shop owner and customer questionnaire used in our study. We have generated both of these questionnaires in English and traditional Chinese characters.

Sai Ying Pun Markets

Sai Ying Pun Market

Centre Street Market

Street Level Markets

Supermarkets
**SHOP OWNER QUESTIONNAIRE**

Name of Business ________________________________________________

Street Address of Business ________________________________________

1. Was your shop located elsewhere in the past? ☐ Yes ☐ No
   
   a. If yes, where was it located ______________________________

2. How much do you pay for rent per month? (HK$)
   
   ☐ $0-$2000 ☐ $2001-$4000 ☐ $4001-$6000 ☐ $6001-$8000
   
   ☐ $8001-$10000 ☐ $10001-$12000 ☐ $12001-$14000 ☐ $14001+

3. Approximately how many sales does your shop process per day?
   
   ☐ 0 -10 ☐ 11-20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40
   
   ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 61-70 ☐ 70+

4. In your opinion, what makes a good market?
   
   ____________________________________________________________
   
   ____________________________________________________________
   
   ____________________________________________________________

5. In your opinion, have construction projects in Sai Ying Pun changed the markets in any way? Why or why not?
   
   ____________________________________________________________
   
   ____________________________________________________________
   
   ____________________________________________________________

6. How might the changes in Sai Ying Pun positively or negatively affect the market?
   
   ____________________________________________________________
   
   ____________________________________________________________
   
   ____________________________________________________________
# ASPECTS OF SAI YING PUN’S MARKETS

**Rate the following characteristics of Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market**

1 = Strongly Disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Uncertain; 4 = Agree; 5 = Strongly Agree

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**Rate the following characteristics of Supermarkets in Sai Ying Pun**

1 = Strongly Disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Uncertain; 4 = Agree; 5 = Strongly Agree

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**Rate the following characteristics of Street Level Markets in Sai Ying Pun**

1 = Strongly Disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Uncertain; 4 = Agree; 5 = Strongly Agree

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*Thank you for completing the questionnaire*
CUSTOMER QUESTIONNAIRE

CUSTOMER INFORMATION

1. Are you a resident of Sai Ying Pun?  ☐ Yes  ☐ No

2. Age:  ☐ 10-20  ☐ 21-30  ☐ 31-40  ☐ 41-50
   ☐ 51-60  ☐ 60+  ☐ Prefer not to answer

3. How many times do you go to Sai Ying Pun Market and Center Street Market in a week?
   ☐ 0  ☐ 1  ☐ 2  ☐ 3
   ☐ 4  ☐ 5  ☐ 6  ☐ 7+

4. On a scale from 1 to 5, how easy or difficult is it to find what you want to purchase at Sai Ying Pun Market and Centre Street Market?
   Easy 1 2 3 4 5 Difficult

5. How often do you go to a supermarket in Sai Ying Pun in a week?
   ☐ 0  ☐ 1  ☐ 2  ☐ 3
   ☐ 4  ☐ 5  ☐ 6  ☐ 7+

6. On a scale from 1 to 5, how easy or difficult is it to find what you want to purchase at a supermarket?
   Easy 1 2 3 4 5 Difficult

7. How often do you go to a street level market in Sai Ying Pun in a week?
   ☐ 0  ☐ 1  ☐ 2  ☐ 3
   ☐ 4  ☐ 5  ☐ 6  ☐ 7+

8. On a scale from 1 to 5, how easy or difficult is it to find what you want to purchase at a street level market?
   Easy 1 2 3 4 5 Difficult

9. In your opinion, what makes a good market?

10. In your opinion, have construction projects in Sai Ying Pun affected how markets have transformed? Why or why not?

11. How might the changes in Sai Ying Pun positively or negatively affect the market?
### Aspects of Sai Ying Pun’s Markets

**Rate the following characteristics of Sai Ying Pun market and Centre Street Market**

1=Strongly Disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Uncertain; 4=Agree; 5=Strongly Agree

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### Rate the following characteristics of Supermarkets in Sai Ying Pun

1=Strongly Disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Uncertain; 4=Agree; 5=Strongly Agree

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### Rate the following characteristics of Street Level Markets in Sai Ying Pun

1=Strongly Disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Uncertain; 4=Agree; 5=Strongly Agree

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*Thank you for completing the questionnaire.*
SHOP OWNER QUESTIONNAIRE

市場調查

商店名稱________________________________________________

商店地址_______________________________________________

1. 此商舖曾經是在另一地點? ☐是  ☐不是
   a. 如果是，地點在哪？ ________________________________

2. 每月租金（港元）
   ☐$0-$2000  ☐$2001-$4000  ☐$4001-$6000  ☐$6001-$8000
   ☐$8001-$10000 ☐$10001-$12000 ☐$12001-$14000 ☐$14001+

3. 每日交易次數（次）
   ☐0-10  ☐11-20  ☐21-30  ☐31-40
   ☐41-50  ☐51-60  ☐61-70  ☐70+

4. 您認為一個好的市場需要什麽因素？
   _______________________________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________________________

5. 您認為西營盤的市政建設對此處的市場有無影響？為何有/沒有影響？
   _______________________________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________________________

6. 西營盤的市政建設及改變對此處的市場會有怎樣的正面或者負面的影響？
   _______________________________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________________________
位於西營盤的市場的情況

評估西營盤街市及正街街市
1=非常不贊同; 2=不贊同; 3=不確定; 4=贊同; 5=非常贊同

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評估西營盤的超級市場
1=非常不贊同; 2=不贊同; 3=不確定; 4=贊同; 5=非常贊同

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評估西營盤的街邊市場
1=非常不贊同; 2=不贊同; 3=不確定; 4=贊同; 5=非常贊同

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多謝完成本調查！
CUSTOMER QUESTIONNAIRE  顧客調查
顧客信息

1. 是不是西營盤居民？
   ☐ 是
   ☐ 不是

2. 年齡：
   □ 10-20
   □ 21-30
   □ 31-40
   ☐ 41-50
   □ 51-60
   □ 60+
   □ 不希望回答

3. 您一周去幾次 西營盤街市和正街街市？
   □ 0
   □ 1
   □ 2
   □ 3
   □ 4
   □ 5
   □ 6
   □ 7+

4. 從一到五排序（1表示最容易），您認為在 西營盤街市 和 正街街市 容易找到想要買的東西嗎？
   容易 1 2 3 4 5 困難

5. 您一周去幾次位於西營盤的 超級市場？
   □ 0
   □ 1
   □ 2
   □ 3
   □ 4
   □ 5
   □ 6
   □ 7+

6. 從一到五排序（1表示最容易），您認為在位於西營盤的 超級市場 容易找到想要買的東西嗎？
   容易 1 2 3 4 5 困難

7. 您一周去幾次位於西營盤的 街邊市場？
   □ 0
   □ 1
   □ 2
   □ 3
   □ 4
   □ 5
   □ 6
   □ 7+

8. 從一到五排序（1表示最容易），您認為在位於西營盤的 街邊市場 容易找到想要買的東西嗎？
   容易 1 2 3 4 5 困難

9. 您認為一個好的市場需要什麼因素？

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

10. 您認為西營盤的市政建設對此處的市場有無影響？為何有/沒有影響？

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

11. 西營盤的市政建設及改變對此處的市場會有怎樣的正面或者負面的影響？

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
### 評估西營盤街市及正街街市
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### 評估西營盤的超級市場
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### 評估西營盤的街邊市場
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### 多謝完成本調查！
Appendix D: Customers and Shop Owner’s Responses to Questionnaires

This appendix includes the answers from our questionnaires given by shop owners and customers. We did not use all the information we gathered from our questionnaires. The data we used from our questionnaires for shop owners were the answers to their open-ended responses and their ratings on public space characteristics. The data we used from our questionnaires for customers were how often they visited each type of market, their ratings on public space characteristics, and their responses to open-ended questions.

Shop Owner Interviews

Indoor Market Complexes

SYPM (Fish)
1. No. In SYPM since 1933.
2. $3000. It remains the same since 1999. It’s more expensive in CSM.
3. Varies.
4. NA
5. The Island Crest impacted the business because those people go shopping in supermarkets more.

Others:
- During the 6 years of rebuilding of SYPM, the businesses were in CSM.
- Shop F11 in SYPM had 6 owners. They had bad businesses.
- She wanted the escalator to be built as soon as possible.
- **To make the markets in SYP prosperous, the government can’t just improve the environment of the markets; the community itself is the key. The young people and Island Crest residents go to the supermarket more.**
- Ratings:
  - Space: SYPM has more space than CSM
  - Safety: there are some pick pockets. Not enough policemen. There used to be more policemen, now only one in charge of both markets.
  - Seating: no seat in market. People sit outside on 3rd Street.
  - Accessibility: not useful. People want to check out the whole market before they purchase.

SYPM (Vege)
1. Yes. CSM, here for 12 years.
2. $1890.
3. Several hundreds.
4. The rent might go up this September.
5. Not sure since the MTR is not built yet.

Others:
- Not happy with the structure with indoor markets. The shops can only sell one type of product (vege/meat/fish). CSM used to be able to sell multiple types of products.
- The escalator in the market breaks down a lot.
- The deep slope makes it hard for the old people to come to the markets.
- Ratings:
  - Accessibility: hard especially when it rains.

**SYPM (Vege)**
1. Yes. Various places. The shop was from her mother, has been 50 years now.
2. $3000. More expensive than the street level when she was running outdoor shop.
3. NA
4. NA
5. MTR: won’t help too much with business.
6. NA

Others:
- An old people died in SYPM due to slippery floor.
- Lack of escalator going down.
- Island Crest residents don’t come
- Ratings:
  - Space: large space is good but need customers to fill
  - Safety: not a lot customers, really quiet
  - Relationship: business is business
  - Seating: no seating.
  - Accessibility: deep slope

**SYPM (Vege)**
1. Yes. Used to be in open area. Moved in since Sep 1st, 1999. Mother’s business.
2. $3000
3. NA
4. NA
5. Looking forward to MTR. Easy for travelling. Not sure for the business side. Not happy the escalator is only up not down.
6. The constructions will affect the rent price.

Others:
- Want two indoor markets together.
- Ratings:
  - Cleanliness: cleaner than most Western district markets
  - Seating: there is no need
Accessibility: deep slope

SYPM (Meat)
2. $8000 - $10000. Meat shop is more expensive, but cheaper than street level.
3. NA
4. NA
5. MTR: no idea. Escalator: may help the customers from above High Street to come down the slope. Right now they have to wait for the mini bus.
6. NA

Others:
- Escalator goes up only.
- Not many customers, turn into wholesale.
- Used to be SYPM 2nd Floor, people could get in easier.
- The market building should have fewer floors. The new ones are 2 floors only. Too many floors make it hard for old people.
- Ratings:
  - Cleanliness: because that many customers
  - Space: too much space, no customers
  - Relationship: old friends come more. Younger generation come because of older generations’ friendship.
  - Seating: the shop provides its own seats.
  - Accessibility: hard to find this floor

CSM (Vege)
2. $7200 for two shops. When downstairs: $5000 per year (only pay for the license). The rent is lower than street level markets, but not making as much as street level. The income is stable. Usually no new customers, not really making much money here.
3. NA
4. NA
5. Look forward to the new MTR and escalators. She has been living in SYP for 60 years, has seen the population going down. Old buildings are taking down. The MTR construction took down the escalator on First Street.
6. NA

Others:
- The government restricted the types of product they can sell in one shop. Chinese medicine shop is not allowed. The business is getting worse.
- More and more foreigners living in SYP. They still come to markets to buy food.
• Compared to green stall, they make less money now. When in green stall, they could sell fewer types of products and could keep the shop alive; now they have to sell more kinds of product but only in one category to keep the business running.

• Ratings:
  o Relationship: know the customers well
  o Seating: prefer no seating in the market. Old people might get hurt by the trolley.

CSM (Tofu)
1. Yes. Centre Street street-level, government took away the license -> First Street street-level (Island Crest place) -> (since CSM was built, before Island Crest was planned) CSM. She doesn’t recognize anyone who was running shops at old Island Crest place still running a shop in the indoor markets.
2. $5000
3. NA
4. NA
5. None of the escalators go down the slope. MTR is still unknown, maybe more convenient.
6. NA

Others:
• Complain the street-level markets putting products outside on the sidewalk to attract customers.
• The sidewalks were even narrower.
• Stairs in CSM makes it difficult for old people to come.
• The government limits the products they can sell.
• The population is going down in SYP – one reason they are losing customers.
• Rating:
  o Cleanliness: not many customers
  o Space: many shops are empty
  o Safety: people steal products at night after shop closed
  o Seating: seating place is necessary, they put chairs outside for customers

Street Level

Food
1. No. Here for 30 years. Business from parents.
2. Own this shop. This shop was divided into half. The owner runs one soft drink shop in one part and she lent the other half for $10000 to another vegetable shop.
3. NA
4. NA
5. The development will not affect their business since she did not know if the MTR would bring more people to SYP or take more people outside SYP. The escalator will only go up and down but not horizontally.
6. Unknown yet

Others:
- During the past 5 years, the business has gone down probably due to the 7-11. She was considering changing the shop to a clothing store.
- The worst thing about SYP is that the sidewalks are too narrow and dangerous for the old people and children.

Food
1. Yes. Centre Street, no renting fee, just an annual license fee for few thousands. The shop was moved by the government in 2003. The shop has been running for 20 years from her husband’s father.
2. $23000
3. NA
4. NA
5. Likes MTR, it can bring more customers but the rent will go up.
6. NA

Others:
- There are too few street signs along Centre Street to tell if it is First Street or Second Street. It confuses people.
- Rating:
  - Safety: this area is safe because it’s all residential.
  - Accessibility: people can park here so it’s easy for people to come.

Flower
1. Yes. Was in Kowloon Tung. Here for 10 years. (prefer here, safer and everyone knows each other)
2. NA
3. NA
4. NA
5. The escalator will not help. People will not walk on sidewalks anymore.
6. It’s been less business activities since the outdoor markets were moved indoors.

Others:
- She doesn’t have enough space for the shop and not allowed to put products outside, otherwise she will get fined.
- She wants a library for the indoor markets.
- Ratings:
  - Accessibility: deep slope makes it hard.

Tofu
1. Yes. (1929) Stall -> First Street -> Second Street -> (1990) Third Street
2. Own this shop.
3. NA
4. NA
5. MTR will help SYP to be a more well-known place, since SYP is not well-known even for HK people. Not happy with the blasting right now. The escalator will eventually be a good project even though it is opposed by some people right now. (this happened for Central Escalator)
6. NA

Others:
- Not happy with the old building conditions. (the cracks on the wall)
- The supermarket is not competitive since customers can’t purchase small quantity of product (one egg) there. Also supermarkets are far away from this shop.
- SYPM needs a library. Also the top floor is empty because the escalator doesn’t go down.
- The door to CSM is too small.
- Ratings:
  - Safety: No crime, but pick pockets.
  - Relationship: really good relationship with customers.

Food
1. Yes. (20 years ago) outdoor Kennedy Town -> outdoor below Queen’s Road West -> here for 10 years. Business from his father.
2. Own this shop.
3. $15000 to $ 20000
4. NA
5. Likes the constructions and thinks it will not affect business. People feel unsafe due to deep slope and cars going fast. 2 to 3 people fall down every day due to the slope.
6. NA

Others:
- Ratings:
  - Seating: irrelevant.

Food
1. Yes. (60 – 70 years ago) outdoor Third Street -> (due to noise) Third Street -> (building demolished) Third Street
2. Own this shop.
3. NA
4. NA
5. MTR is not helping much. People won’t come from other district to buy things
6. NA

Others:
The rice business is going down. During 1950s, his father hired 5 employees, now it’s only him and his son.

Ratings:
- Relationship: really nice neighbors.
Seating: Sometimes old people just come here to chat. The shop provides seats to them.

### Supermarket

#### Mini Supermarket
1. Yes. (11 years ago) Kowloon City -> (5 years ago) here
2. $14000+
3. NA
4. NA
5. Escalator good for the locals. Look forward to MTR. **Development is too fast** so price goes up too fast at the same time. Many shop owners ran out of business.

Others:
- The outdoor shop price: 5 years ago, the property value was $3M; now it is $12M.
- Ratings:
  - Safety: (traffic) not too safe. Road too narrow pedestrians can get hurt by the car.
  - Relationship: people live here so good relationship with small shops.
  - Accessibility: slope makes it hard for old people.

#### Marketplace Supermarket
- This supermarket was opened in November 2011.
- There are different groups of people coming to the supermarket including local community people, English speakers and mandarin speakers.
- On Saturdays and Sundays, there will be more westerners shopping here.
- This supermarket serves the whole community not only the residents of Island Crest.
- The manager held positive attitude to the development of SYP.
- Ratings:
  - Accessibility: hard since it’s not known yet and is not on Centre Street.
ParknShop Supermarket

- Business for 10 years.
- Very positive about the development of SYP since it will be more convenient and bring more people to SYP.
- The supermarket serves more locally. Mostly elder people, housewives, Filipinos and mandarin speakers.
- Since the supermarket is close to the indoor markets, Filipinos come to visit after shopping in the indoor markets.
- Ratings:
  - Accessibility: hard since it’s not on Centre Street.

Customer Responses to first page of Customer Questionnaire (Viewed on next page)
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Customers’ Responses to Open-Ended Questions

In your opinion, what makes a good market?

- Sanitation/Safety
  - Clean Store
  - Dry Floors
  - Tidy Shelves
  - Wide Aisles
  - Large Store
  - Orderly Store

- Products Offered
  - Reasonable Prices
  - Variety of goods
  - Fresh Food
  - Cheap
  - Everything in one place
  - Quality of goods
  - No fluctuating of prices
  - Well stocked inventory
  - Locally grown foods
  - Value for the money

- Location
  - Good ventilation
  - Accessible to Street
  - Not too crowded
  - Combination of street, indoor, and supermarkets
  - Convenient

- Shopping Environment
  - Friendly Workers
  - No language barrier
  - Accommodating
  - Hours are flexible
  - Trustworthy owners

In your opinion, have construction projects in Sai Ying Pun affected how markets have transformed? Why or Why not?

- No
  - Positive
    - Easy enough to navigate around the construction projects
    - No right in the middle of Centre Street that is closed so it doesn’t affect anything
- MTR is a good thing
  - Negative
    - nothing
- Yes
  - Positive
    - Escalator will make it more convenient for people to buy food
    - More convenient
    - In line with more people’s expectations these days
    - Good after construction
    - The MTR and escalator will make life easier
    - Hope it will improve quality of life
    - Transformed SYP into a slightly more middle-class market
  - Negative
    - Feels as if the SYP markets are being neglected
    - There will be fewer shops
    - There will be more people
    - Makes streets dirty and if they weren’t people are more willing to buy things from street level markets
    - Dirt makes food bad
    - Dirty and noisy
    - Potentially affecting the prices of goods
    - Bad during construction
    - Construction not good
    - Put materials in road, which affects traffic and pedestrian flow
    - Will go to other places to avoid noise
    - Pollution
    - Affecting safety and cleanliness
- Unsure
  - Construction is being delayed
  - More supermarkets now
  - So far, not good enough
  - The major construction has been happening since before I moved to this area so I don’t have a clear point of comparison.

How might the changes in Sai Ying Pun positively or negatively affect the market?
- Negative
  - There will be fewer independent shops
  - Not be as quiet as it used to be
  - May affect prices of goods
  - Younger generation will go other places to buy goods
- Affect the rent
  - The more people it brings, the harder it will be to go to markets because they’ll become more crowded
  - Consumer Price Index will increase
  - The MTR will bring more people. I would expect more westerners in the area and more demand for western products.
  - Less competitive local shops driving them out of business
  - Bring westerners who don’t care about people in small markets

- Positive
  - Easier to get around
  - Will help neighborhood
  - SYP is improving
  - Once finished, property markets will soar and push the local markets to improve. The SYP market must improve to keep up.
  - Bring more people to SYP
  - Convenient
  - More in line with people’s expectations
  - Will improve and enrich people’s lives
  - Make it easier to carry groceries
  - Markets are cheaper
Customers’ Ratings for Different Markets as Public Spaces

Indoor Market Complexes

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Appendix E: Graphs Generated from Questionnaires Responses

This appendix includes the analysis of all the questionnaires obtained in our study. The appendix is divided into three sections. In one section we represent all the data of both the shop owners and customers’ responses to our questionnaires combine. The next section focuses just on the customer’s responses to the questionnaires. The last section focuses solely on the responses from the shop owners.

Both Shop Owner’s and Customer’s Questionnaire Analysis Combined

Figure 38- Response from both shop owner and customers on changes to the markets from urban development on being positive or negative
Figure 39- Response from both shop owner and customers on urban development affecting the markets in Sai Ying Pun

Customer’s Questionnaire Analysis

Figure 40- Customer’s response on amount of days per week they visit each type of market
Are the changes in Sai Ying Pun positively or negatively affecting the market?
- Customer Questionnaire

Figure 41- Customers’ response on changes to the markets from urban development on being positive or negative

Have the constructions affected the markets in Sai Ying Pun?
- Customer Questionnaire

Figure 42- Customers’ response on urban development affecting the markets in Sai Ying Pun
Shop Owner’s Questionnaire Analysis

Indoor Markets Previous Locations

Stay Indoor 43%
Previously Outdoor 57%

Figure 43- Indoor markets previous locations

Indoor vs. Street Level Markets Rent Prices

Rent Price

Figure 44- Indoor market complexes stalls versus street level markets rent prices
Figure 45- The amount of indoor shops that were inherited from family

Figure 46- Shop owners' ratings on the different aspects of markets as public space
Appendix F: Summative Teamwork Assessment

Our team believes that we have done an excellent job in monitoring our teamwork. Through this monitoring we have identified specific strategies that have helped our team operate together in an efficient and respectful manner. Throughout the course of the project we have monitored and critiqued the use of these strategies according to how each individual contributed to the project’s outcomes. We also critiqued the use of these strategies in accordance to how group members felt about our teamwork. As a result of our teamwork monitoring we made specific adjustments to our teamwork dynamics. For example, at the start of the research project our group faced teamwork challenges during the editing process of our writing. While critiquing the effectiveness of our writing, we often had issues with communicating our ideas with other group members. One individual would often talk over another and interrupt the flow of the thought processes. Team members were also slow to accept feedback from others in regards to their own written work. In addition, during the brainstorming process, group members would deny ideas before every suggestion had been put on the table. In order to address these challenges, our team identified strategies to help us work more effectively. These strategies included forming specific guidelines to follow during the editing and brainstorming processes. These guidelines stated that during the editing and brainstorming processes the group members would allow each individual to fully explain their thoughts before offering critiques, suggestions, or alternative ideas. In addition, these guidelines outlined a new process of editing written work in which group members independently critiqued each other’s work, and any conflicts would be discussed with the team as a whole. This resulted in group-led editing decisions that evaluated the effectiveness of our writing without the need for defending our own contributions.

Our group also believes that we have done an excellent job reflecting critically on our effectiveness. We also believe that we have done an excellent job communicating the challenges that the team faced and our solutions for these challenges with each other as well as with our advisors. For example, upon the team’s first visit to Sai Ying Pun we observed that street markets and hawkers, the primary subjects of our study, were no longer present within the district. After this visit we met as a team to discuss our observations, identified this as a challenge, and noted our options in addressing the impact this would have on our project goal. Immediately after our team meeting, we notified our advisors that our group faced a challenge, and that we would like to meet. During our meeting with the advisors we described our challenge, our concerns in regards to what impacts this challenge may have on our project, and discussed possible solutions. After this meeting we used the advisor’s feedback to identify solutions for our concerns and redeveloped our project goal to meet the unexpected change in Sai Ying Pun’s market environment. We then informed our advisors via email of our solution and described the changes made to our project goal in order to effectively respond to the challenge.