

Voices, Values, and the Urban Village:
An Imagined Roundtable for Cha Kwo Ling



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I. Introduction

[A] Background

Running along the harbourside, the Kwun Tong Bypass is an integral part of the commute which thousands of Hong Kongers take to get to school or work. For six years, I too enjoyed this route that brings a moment of reflection between two stressful tunnels. On one side, it is lined with flour mills and old industrial buildings, with the iconic terrain of the Lion Rock mountains as a backdrop. These mountains have spiritually accompanied the city through growth in the last century, while physically limiting the extents of built fabric. On the opposite side is a panoramic view of Victoria Harbour, vast yet blotched with plots of newly reclaimed land, construction sites, and modern residential towers - all of which feel difficult to relate to.

This oxymoronic situation with the old and new lasts for ten minutes, until the road sharply turns away from the harbour. It leaves you with a sense of resignation, as you notice the sheer speed of demolition and construction works from passing by everyday. Yet, before the turn, there is a notably untouched area in the distance, void of the intensive development surrounding it.

This void is Cha Kwo Ling Village (hereinafter “CKL Village”), a settlement of squatter houses and small stone structures at the southern side of Cha Kwo Ling - a granite-rich hill from which it derived its name. The first inhabitants arrived in the 18th Century,¹ beginning a quarrying industry that lasted for two centuries. It reached its heyday in the 1950s, when granite was highly demanded for construction in Hong Kong, thus fuelling a period of growth and expansion in the Village.²

By the 1980s, the area begun to deindustrialise, and the surroundings of CKL Village were rezoned into high-density residential districts. Ambitious redevelopment visions continued in the next few decades - in 2011, the Chief Executive proposed to create a second CBD via “land use reviews, enhanced urban design, and improvement to connectivity”.³

CKL Village had remained relatively unscathed by these neighbouring changes until the 2019 Policy Address, where the Chief Executive announced that it would be resumed and rezoned to meet housing shortages.⁴ In 2022, the Outline Zoning Plan S/K15/27 (Fig. 2) was approved, thus confirming the demolition of CKL Village for high-density residential development.⁵

¹ 何佩然, *班門子弟: 香港三行工人與工會* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (HK) Co Ltd., 2018), 24.

² Ibid., 26-27.

³ “Hong Kong’s CBD2,” About EKEO - Background, Hong Kong Energizing Kowloon East Office, last modified December 30, 2021, <https://www.ekeo.gov.hk/en/about-ekeo/background/index.html>.

⁴ Hong Kong Office of the Chief Executive, *The Chief Executive’s 2019 Policy Address - Treasure Hong Kong: Our Home* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Office of the Chief Executive, 2019), 13, <https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/2019/eng/pdf/PA2019.pdf>.

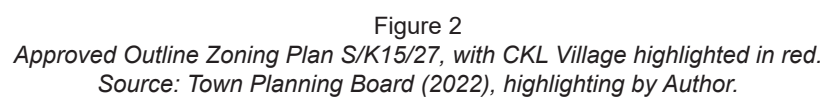
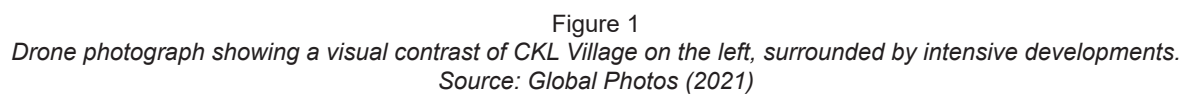
⁵ Hong Kong Planning Department, *Town Planning Ordinance (Chapter 131) Approved Cha Kwo Ling, Yau Tong, Lei Yue Mun Outline Zoning Plan No. S/K15/27 (2022)*, https://www.info.gov.hk/tpb/en/list_of_plans/plan_schd_ozp.html.

This was met with fatalistic acceptance by CKL Villagers, and the three year period between the Policy Address and the OZP approval was full of uncertainty for them.⁶ Lacking participation and representation in the urban planning process, their voices could only be heard through media outlets, grassroots organisations, and academic projects.

Meanwhile, the demolition plans evoked public interest - particularly those who self-identify as Hong Kongers - toward CKL Village. The Anti-Extradition Law Movement in 2019 had bolstered a renewed interest in local history, as protests redefined the Hong Konger identity through collective struggle and differentiation from the “other”.⁷ In relation to this, the built environment of CKL Village presents itself as a relatively permanent asset with unique features, which can contribute to delineating Hong Kong from other geopolitical territories, as well as shaping the Hong Konger's identity.

⁶ Lilian Cheng, "Tranquillity Descends on Once-Bustling Cha Kwo Ling, as Hakka Villagers Await News of Changes to Come," *South China Morning Post*, December 9, 2019, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/society/article/3041154/tranquillity-descends-once-bustling-cha-kwo-ling-hakka>.

⁷ Russell Spears, "Group Identities: The Social Identity Perspective," in *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research* (New York: Springer, 2011), 203.



Approved Outline Zoning Plan S/K15/27, with CKL Village highlighted in red.
Source: Town Planning Board (2022), highlighting by Author.

[B] Research Question, Methodology, Thesis Statement

The fate of CKL Village raises how various stakeholders value the same space differently, but lack a sufficiently comprehensive framework and opportunity to express them. Consequently, the unarticulated heritage assets often become subordinate to urban development. Further, the lack of an inclusive, common platform for negotiating respective interests implies that there are possibly overlaps that can lead to alternative, unexplored opportunities.

These primary motivations are encapsulated by the research question:

How have various societal parties developed their respective valuations of CKL Village, and where are the potentials amidst their similarities and differences?

Four societal parties have been chosen for analysis: the Government, the Developer, the Villager, and the Hong Konger – which shall be defined in their respective chapters. Their perspectives will be extracted through the analysis of primary sources, such as reports, press releases, renderings, and photos. Direct quotations from secondary sources (e.g. interview from a newspaper) will also be used, as well as factual information (e.g. academic papers) to supplement and cross-reference oral histories.

In order to align and compare the perspectives, the thesis will translate the analyses into values and attributes (Fig. 3, 4) borrowed from the first two steps of the UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach (Fig. 5, 6). The HUL has been chosen because it allows CKL Village to be holistically interpreted as “the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values”,⁸ with consideration to the “broader urban context”⁹ that includes social, ecological, and economic features. It also addresses the “intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity”.¹⁰

Thus, through this theoretical rehearsal of bringing different voices together, this thesis argues that the Hong Kong Government's current heritage mechanism fails to catch up and address the present-day interests of various stakeholders in society.

⁸ UNESCO, *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, including a glossary of definitions* (Paris: UNESCO, 2011), 3, <https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf>.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

PRIMARY VALUES	SECONDARY VALUES		REFERENCES
	SOCIAL	Spiritual	beliefs, myths, religions (organized or not), legends, stories, testimonial of past generations;
		Emotional, individual	memory and personal life experiences;
		Emotional, collective	notions related with cultural identity, motivation and pride, sense of “place attachment” and communal value.
		Allegorical	objects/places representative of some social hierarchy/status;
	ECONOMIC	Use	the function and utility of the asset, original or attributed;
		Non-use	the asset's expired function, which has its value on the past, and should be remained by its (material) existence, option (to make some use of it or not) and bequest value (for future generations);
		Entertainment	the role that might be have for contemporaneous market, mainly for tourism industry;
		Allegorical	oriented to publicizing financially property;
	POLITICAL	Educational	the education role that heritage assets may play, using it for political targets (e. g. birth-nations myths, glorification of political leaders, etc.);
		Management	made part of strategies and policies (past or present);
		Entertainment	part of strategies for dissemination of cultural awareness, explored for political targets;
		Symbolic	emblematic, power, authority and prosperous perceptions stem from the heritage asset;
	HISTORIC	Educational	heritage asset as a potential to gain knowledge about the past in the future;
		Historic-artistic	quality of an object to be part of a few or unique testimonial of historic stylistic or artistic movements, which are now part of the history;
		Historic-conceptual	quality of an object to be part of a few or unique testimonial that retains conceptual signs (architectural, urban planning, etc.), which are now part of history;
		Symbolic	fact that the object has been part/related with an important event in the past;
		Archaeological	connected with Ancient civilizations;
	AESTHETICAL	Artistic	original product of creativity and imagination;
		Notable	product of a creator, holding his signature;
		Conceptual	integral materialization of conceptual intentions (imply a conceptual background);
		Evidential	authentic exemplar of a decade, part of the History of Art or Architecture;
	SCIENTIFIC	Workmanship	original result of human labour, craftsmanship;
		Technological	skillfulness on techniques and materials, representing an outstanding quality of work;
		Conceptual	integral materialization of conceptual intentions (imply a conceptual background);
	AGE	Workmanship	craftsmanship value oriented towards the production period;
		Maturity	piece of memory, reflecting the passage/lives of past generations;
		Existential	marks of the time passage (patine) presents on the forms, components and materials;
	ECOLOGICAL	Spiritual	harmony between the building and its environment (natural and artificial);
		Essential	identification of ecological ideologies on its design and construction;
		Existential	manufactured resources which can either be reused, reprocessed or recycled;

Figure 3
Values employed by UNESCO with explanations.
 Source: Tarrafa & Pereira Roders (2011), as cited by Pereira Roders (2022).

Asset	Building element	Parts of buildings e.g. detail, parcel, facade, roof, material, or colours
	Building	Entire buildings
	Urban element	Man made elements in the urban landscape e.g. a square, bridge, street furniture, quay side, or public art.
	Natural element	Natural (or designed) green elements, flora or fauna, water elements, etc.
Area	Ensemble	A group of buildings or specific urban ensemble or configuration.
	Context or setting	The buildings or elements surrounding, supporting, contextualising the actual heritage.
	Area	A district in a wider (urban) landscape, a specific combination of cultural and or natural elements, e.g. a neighbourhood, urban fragment, urban structure, townscape, route or park.
Landscape	(Result of urban or natural) layering	A landscape illustrative of the evolution or development of human society and settlement over time, a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment.
	Everything, based on level of significance	Every part of the (urban landscape) is considered to be of value, the attributes get a level of significance.
Asset related	Concept or artistic trend	The ideas behind the design or place, e.g. period, style, design ideology (often related to, or represented by, a tangible heritage asset)
	Relation context - location	The relation with another connected element, location, place, or environment (relation object – object).
	Character	The character or image, as supported by specific design, e.g. typology, morphology, layout, composition and proportion, as well as, atmosphere e.g. tranquil, lively, urban, rural.
Societal	Use, function	The specific (typical, common, special) use or function of a place or environment.
	Knowledge, traditions, customs	The (local) practices, traditions, knowledge, customs of a community or groups (often related to a location or tangible results, tools / instruments)
	Relation context - association	Human associations with a place, element, location, or environment (relation men – object),
	Community / people	A community or society itself (its members, or specific individuals / groups) and/ or their cultural identity or diversity.
Process	Management processes	The process of managing, the type of strategy or approach (instead of the result) is what is valuable.
	Development or evolution	The process of layering, development, or evolution (instead of the result).

Figure 4
Attributes employed by UNESCO with explanations.
Source: Veldpaus (2015), as cited by Pereira Roders (2022).



Figure 5

The six critical steps of UNESCO's HUL Approach, of which this thesis rehearses the first two.
Source: Pereira Roders (2013), annotation by Author.

	PERSPECTIVES				HONG KONGER	VILLAGER	DEVELOPER	GOVERNMENT	ATTRIBUTES																		VALUES																															
	TANGIBLE									INTANGIBLE									ECOLOGICAL	AGE	SCIENTIFIC	AESTHETICAL	HISTORIC	POLITICAL	ECONOMIC	SOCIAL																																
	ASSET			AREA					LAND-SCAPE		ASSET			SOCIETAL			PRO-CESS																																									
	BUILT ELEMENT	BUILDING	URBAN ELEMENT	NATURAL ELEMENT					ENSEMBLE	CONTEXT	AREA	LAYERING	ALL	CONCEPT	RELATION	CHARACTER	USE	KNOWLEDGE	ASSOCIATION	COMMUNITY	MANAGEMENT	EVOLUTION	EXISTENTIAL	ESSENTIAL	SPIRITUAL	EXISTENTIAL	MATURITY	WORKMANSHIP	CONCEPTUAL	TECHNOLOGICAL	WORKMANSHIP	EVIDENTIAL	CONCEPTUAL	NOTABLE	ARTISTIC	ARCHAEOLOGICAL	SYMBOLIC	CONCEPTUAL	ARTISTIC	EDUCATIONAL	SYMBOLIC	ENTERTAINMENT	MANAGEMENT	EDUCATIONAL	ALLEGORICAL	ENTERTAINMENT	NON-USE	USE	ALLEGORICAL	EMOTIONAL	SPIRITUAL							

Figure 6

Table demonstrating how the thesis will integrate the UNESCO HUL Approach with the chosen perspectives.
Source: Author

[C] Significance in Academic Context

In both academia and popular media, critique against the Hong Kong Government's current heritage mechanism has emerged throughout the last two decades, during which the Government repeatedly initiated urban development plans involving the demolition of collectively valued spaces.¹¹ The criticism thus far have focused on three main aspects. First, the uncoordinated, fragmented authoritative bodies involved in the mechanism, which causes the low prioritisation of heritage against other issues in city development.¹² Second, the lack of consideration, definition, and action for the intangible values embodied in space, with collective memory often being noted yet disregarded.¹³ Third, an emphasis on singular monumental heritage, overshadowing the recognition of "whole areas which incorporate groups of heritage assets or supporting scenic landscapes and environments".¹⁴

Unfortunately, these critiques have maintained as the Government has been slow to improve the heritage mechanism. In reviewing the development of Hong Kong's conservation policy, Lee Ho-yin et al. concluded that politics have interrupted the momentum of implementing conservation policy, while economics have distracted from its importance.¹⁵ Lee is a co-founder and head of the Division of Architectural Conservation Programmes in the University of Hong Kong, which unfortunately no longer exists today. He has published numerous publications that critically examine Hong Kong's city development in relation to heritage and management. Lee has been consulted by both the Government and popular media outlets for his expertise in this field.

Simultaneously, the aforementioned critiques are becoming outdated in relation to today's specific public interests. Co-authoring with Lee, Lynne D. DiStefano (who co-founded the Division, and works extensively with conservation on an international level), had highlighted the importance of heritage to Hong Kongers' identity in a post-1997 context.¹⁶ Since then, the social movements of 2014 and 2019¹⁷ have renewed this identity, with new collective experiences that resonate with the Elaborated Social Identity Approach described by Russell Spears.¹⁸ Spears is a social psychologist whose research revolves around group memberships, characteristics, and how these inform an individual's self-view. His approach will be later elaborated upon, and used to dissect the renewed Hong Konger identity and perspective.

¹¹ Chloe Lai, "State Theatre Is Saved - but the Real Test for Hong Kong's Heritage Conservation Is Still to Come," *Hong Kong Free Press*, October 16, 2020, <https://hongkongfp.com/2020/10/17/state-theatre-is-saved-but-the-real-test-for-hong-kongs-heritage-conservation-has-yet-to-come/>.

¹² Cecilia Chu and Kylie Uebegang, *Saving Hong Kong's Cultural Heritage* (Hong Kong: Civic Exchange, 2002), 24, 35, <https://civic-exchange.org/report/saving-hong-kongs-cultural-heritage/>.
Lynne D. DiStefano et al., *Hong Kong Style Urban Conservation* (Paris: ICOMOS, 2011), 30, https://openarchive.icomos.org/id/eprint/1106/1/Session1_DISTEFANO_LEE_CUMMER.pdf.

¹³ Cecilia Chu and Kylie Uebegang, *Saving Hong Kong's Cultural Heritage*, 8, 35.

惠楚生, 李浩賢, "[記錄口述歷史] 穿梭在碩果僅存的其中一條「城中村」在茶果嶺村清拆前 探索屬於村民的共同記憶," 明周文化, August 12, 2022, <https://www.mpweekly.com/culture/%e7%a4%be%e6%9c%83/%e8%8c%b6%e6%9e%9c%e5%b6%ba%e6%9d%91-e5%af%ae%e5%b1%8b%e5%8d%80-%e5%9f%8e%e4%b8%ad%e6%9d%91-209488>.

¹⁴ Cecilia Chu and Kylie Uebegang, *Saving Hong Kong's Cultural Heritage*, 22.

Ho-Yin Lee et al., "From crisis to conservation: a critical review of the intertwined economic and political factors driving built heritage conservation policy in Hong Kong and a possible way forward," *The Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 33, (September 2018): 549.

¹⁵ Ho-Yin Lee et al., "From crisis to conservation," 548.

¹⁶ On 1 July 1997, Hong Kong was "handed over" to the People's Republic of China (PRC), after being a British colony for over a century. Maintaining a certain degree of autonomy, Hong Kong became a "Special Administrative Region" of the PRC. Refer to DiStefano et al., *Hong Kong Style Urban Conservation*, 30.

¹⁷ Referring to the Umbrella Movement and the Anti-Extradition Law Movement respectively.

¹⁸ Spears, "Group Identities: The Social Identity Perspective," 218.

Led by these societal changes, developers have also become increasingly willing to invest and proactively intervene with heritage. This emerging trend has been noted in recent press releases and interviews,¹⁹ but their presence in existing discussion has yet to reflect this interest, and doing so would require a delineation from their typical involvement in public-private partnerships.²⁰ Therefore, this thesis will attempt to analyse and extract the developer's particular interests.

There is also the villagers' perspective - the living occupants of the heritage. Previous studies had focused on their passiveness, often hoping to minimise losses or receive reimbursements. In a report for Civic Exchange, an independent public-policy think tank, Cecelia Chu and Kylie Uebegang studied the potentials of conserving Nga Tsin Wai Village,²¹ and recommended a "conservation easement approach"²² to let villagers "retain ownership rights, be financially compensated, and... protect the conservation features".²³ Yet the villagers should not only be treated as victims to make up to, but also as active participants with a voice in the processes that affect their living environment. By bringing out this voice, archaeologist Margarita Díaz-Andreu suggests that we can uncover alternative layers of space (e.g. spiritual, symbolic) that experts might otherwise neglect, due to their historical focus.²⁴

Therefore, this thesis will contribute to the existing discussion of Hong Kong's current heritage mechanism by renewing and specifying the present-day interests of the aforementioned perspectives. In doing so, unsung layers and ways to value CKL Village can also be revealed.

¹⁹ New World Development Company Limited, "Press Release: Adrian Cheng Taps WilkonsonEyre, Purcell to Conserve Hong Kong's Last Surviving Movie Palace, the 68-Year-Old State Theatre," accessed January 11, 2023, <https://www.nwd.com.hk/content/adrian-cheng-taps-wilkinsoneyre-purcell-serve-hong-kongs-last-surviving-movie-palace-6-0>.

²⁰ Ka Sing Lam, "Hong Kong's land-starved builders seek heritage projects for urban plots, cultural cachet," *South China Morning Post*, November 30, 2021, <https://www.scmp.com/business/article/3157804/hong-kongs-land-starved-builders-seek-heritage-projects-urban-plots>.

²¹ Cecelia Chu and Kylie Uebegang, *Saving Hong Kong's Cultural Heritage*, 17.
Ho-Yin Lee et al., "From crisis to conservation," 544.

²² Nga Tsin Wai Village was a squatter settlement that began as a walled village. Similar to CKL Village, it has an urban location that attracts redevelopment ambitions, therefore posing a threat to its heritage values. However, Nga Tsin Wai Village differs in that the land was gradually acquired by a private property developer, while the land in CKL Village is being acquired via authorities' land resumption. Regardless, the criticisms presented by Chu and Uebegang's report would still remain relevant to both cases.

²³ Cecelia Chu and Kylie Uebegang, *Saving Hong Kong's Cultural Heritage*, 37.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Margarita Díaz-Andreu, "Heritage Values and the Public," *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 4, no. 1 (2017): 2-6, <https://doi.org/10.1080/20518196.2016.1228213>.

II. Historical Context

[A] 18-19th Century: The Early Settlers

According to the CKL Village Head, Yau So, the village was formed in the 18th Century by Hakka people who migrated from Guangdong Province.¹ They settled and began quarrying granite, which was exported to San Francisco, New South Wales, Thailand, and South China during the 19th Century.²

In 1904, a quarrying collective called “Si Shan” (四山, lit. trans. “four hills”) was established, consisting of Ngau Tau Kok, Sai Tso Wan, Cha Kwo Ling, and Lei Yue Mun. The collective was recognised by the Qing Dynasty government,³ whom appointed ruling gentries (頭人, lit. trans. “head man”) in each hill to collect taxes. Together, they shared the Si Shan Communal Hall and a Tin Hau Temple.⁴ Out of the four villages involved in this collective, CKL Village is the only one that remains today.

[B] 20th Century: Growth and Expansion

During the first half of the 20th Century, there was a demand for granite in Hong Kong’s construction works. CKL Village supplied this for the construction of the Old Supreme Court (1912), sea walls along Kennedy Town & North Point,⁵ and land reclamation works for the Kai Tak Airport (1958).⁶ With this wider contribution, the village and its history bears great significance.

Explosives were introduced to replace hand tools, allowing quarry sites to grow in size and produce greater outputs.⁷ Furthermore, Kaolin clay was also mined intensively, as it had many uses (e.g. ceramics, cosmetics).⁸ The two industries drove growth in CKL Village from 1940 to 1960. Various civic activities also began in this period, with the formation of stonemason labour unions and traditional temple associations, the latter being responsible for funding and organising traditional festivals.⁹ In 1947, the Si Shan Communal Hall was relocated from Sai Tso Wan to CKL Village.¹⁰

¹ 何佩然, *班門子弟: 香港三行工人與工會* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (HK) Co Ltd., 2018), 24.

² Ibid., 22.

³ Ibid., 21.

⁴ Ibid., 57.

⁵ Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, *1242: Law Mansion, Nos. 50A, 51 & 51A Cha Kwo Ling Road, Cha Kwo Ling, Kowloon* (Hong Kong: Antiquities Advisory Board, 2011), 2.

⁶ Natalie Yeuk-ngan Lam et al., *Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling - A Memoir of the Urban Village* (Hong Kong: Conservancy Association Centre for Heritage, 2022), 67.

⁷ 何佩然, *班門子弟: 香港三行工人與工會*, 30, 52-53, 76.

⁸ AECOM Asia Company Limited and Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, *Site Formation and Infrastructure Works for Public Housing Development at Cha Kwo Ling Village, Kowloon East – Investigation, Design and Construction: Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report (Final)* (Hong Kong: Civil Engineering and Development Department, 2022), 5, https://www.aab.gov.hk/filemanager/aab/common/199meeting/HIA_Report_CKLV.pdf.

⁹ 何佩然, *班門子弟: 香港三行工人與工會*, 24-27, 36-49.

¹⁰ Ibid., 57.

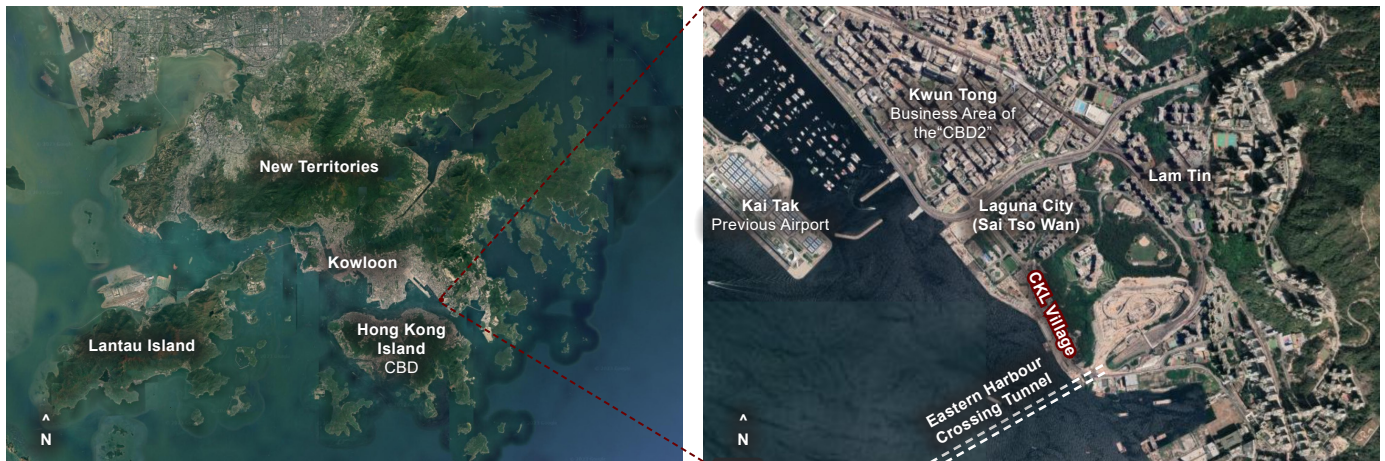


Figure 7
Aerial photos showing location of CKL Village within Hong Kong.
Source: Google Earth, annotations by Author.

[C] Late 20th-21st Century: Deindustrialisation and Intensive Redevelopment

In 1967, the government tightened laws associated with the possession of explosives, which indirectly impacted the quarries.¹¹ Simultaneously, new construction methods emerged and reduced the demand for granite.¹² Many CKL Villagers left the industry to work as fishers and general building contractors.¹³ Between the 1960-80s, self-built squatter houses made of corrugated metal sheet emerged as the village received an influx of immigrants from Mainland China.¹⁴

In general, the city's industry failed to compete with cheaper labour in Mainland China. With the consequent relocation of factories, large land plots became available for intensive development, and this is evident around CKL Village (Fig. 7). To the north are Laguna City and Lam Tin, high-density residential districts built on the old sites of oil depots. To the south is the Eastern Harbour Crossing Tunnel, whose construction required a partial demolition of CKL Village, and the relocation of around a thousand residents.¹⁵

¹¹ Ibid., 27.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 35.

¹⁴ AECOM Asia Company Limited and Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, *Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report*, 5.

¹⁵ Natalie Yeuk-ngan Lam et al., *Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling*, 258.

III. The Government's Perspective

[A] Definition & Main Sources

In this thesis, the Government's perspective will be informed through the analysis of publications from authoritative bodies that have influenced the fate of CKL Village. They have been highlighted below within the complex organisational structure of the Hong Kong Government:

Chief Executive (CE)	<i>Policy Address, 2019</i>																												
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[B] Buildings as Witnesses: Historic-Symbolic & Age-Workmanship Values

From the Historic Building Appraisal (HBA) Report and Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report, it is evident that the Government values how certain buildings have borne “witness”¹ to the significant quarrying history of CKL Village, thus endowing them with the historic-symbolic value. Furthermore, the history is physically manifested in the building’s granite construction, which translates to having age-workmanship value. Both values are exemplified in the descriptions of Law Mansion, which was given Grade 3 status in 2011.²

Both the HBA and HIA justified the mansion's significance through an extensive explanation of CKL Village’s quarrying past. In the HBA, the “Historical Interest” section alone covered over two centuries of history, constituting to half of the entire document.³ This thorough foreground built up to the statement that the building serves “to remind the changes of the village and to reveal the past village-life in Kowloon”.⁴ In its exact wording, the same conclusion was repeated in the HIA,⁵ which the CEDD commissioned eleven years later. Prepared by AECOM, a non-governmental consultancy firm specialising in infrastructure, this document was produced just one month before the OZP was approved; yet it is notably more comprehensive than the HBA. It further detailed the Law family’s “high social status”⁶ within the Village, due to ancestor Law Fun being “the headman [of CKL in the Si Shan quarrying collective]... nominated by the Qing government”⁷. Consequently, Law Mansion was considered as “an important physical testimony to the history of Cha Kwo Ling”.⁸

These histories were then identified to be embodied in the atypical use of granite in Law Mansion, which was described to have “rather unusual elongated granite blocks”.⁹ The report noted that some of this “original building material”¹⁰ was unfortunately destroyed during the city’s Japanese Occupation period.¹¹ The Government considers the use of local granite as a “Rarity Value”, which can be translated more precisely into the age-workmanship value, in particular appreciation of how the building’s construction expresses its production period.¹²

¹ Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, *1242: Law Mansion, Nos. 50A, 51 & 51A Cha Kwo Ling Road, Cha Kwo Ling, Kowloon* (Hong Kong: Antiquities Advisory Board, 2011), 1.
AECOM Asia Company Limited and Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, *Site Formation and Infrastructure Works for Public Housing Development at Cha Kwo Ling Village, Kowloon East – Investigation, Design and Construction: Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report (Final)* (Hong Kong: Civil Engineering and Development Department, 2022), 8, https://www.aab.gov.hk/filemanager/aab/common/199meeting/HIA_Report_CKLV.pdf.

² Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, *List of the 1,444 Historic Buildings with Assessment Results (as of 9 March 2023)* (Hong Kong: Antiquities Advisory Board, 2023), 45.

³ Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, *1242: Law Mansion*, 2.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ AECOM Asia Company Limited and Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, *Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report*, 7.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, *1242: Law Mansion*, 2.

¹⁰ AECOM Asia Company Limited and Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, *Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report*, 7.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, *1242: Law Mansion*, 2.

[C] Buildings as Sites of Activity: Social-Emotional & Economic-Use Values

Apart from testifying to a significant past and literally setting it in stone, the Government also recognised buildings as facilitators of dynamic, communal programs in CKL Village. This relates to the social-emotional and economic-use values. However, not all programs are equally appreciated, and this is demonstrated in the cases of Tin Hau Temple, the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association building, and Law Mansion.

Tin Hau Temple is the only other graded building in CKL Village, and the programs it facilitates include regular deity worshipping, Cantonese opera performances, Tin Hau Festival, and the Lupan Festival.¹³ These activities were extensively listed and appreciated in both reports, proving that the temple serves a “social value”¹⁴ containing “social dynamics [...] that once existed”.¹⁵ Apart from the Temple, the HIA also considered the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association building to be a “cultural heritage resource”, as it was “a remnant of a social hub for locals in the past”.¹⁶ By referencing the social activities in past tense, the Government seems to imply that these buildings are no longer active hosts of communal activities - when in fact, they are still being managed by local organisations today.¹⁷ Thus, although the activities are viewed positively, it is questionable whether the Government would be willing to engage with the living aspect of such activity.

In contrast, the activities at Law Mansion were viewed negatively, as they posed an impact on the building's authenticity. The Government reported that the mansion was initially used as an ancestral hall, but after the Japanese Occupation period, the Law family renovated and expanded it with cement and stone. Later, it was even subdivided to become three factories that operated from 1950-80,¹⁸ with modifications “using modern materials [...] which have diminished some of its authenticity, but the building's original structure are still observable”.¹⁹ Further alterations were made in subsequent decades when the building became residential again, and the resultant haphazard situation was highlighted with the photos accompanying the HBA (Fig. 8). They showed how the “rustic village appearance” has been “marred by a proliferation of cables, junction boxes, air conditioners and an ugly typhoon canopy of corrugated steel sheets”.²⁰ This emotional description stood out in the supposed objectivity of report writing, and clearly expressed the dissatisfaction toward activities that impede upon authenticity. Furthermore, the datum for what is authentic has been predominantly dictated by the physically observable, architectural purity of the building, rather than the initial activity that took place in it.

¹³ Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, 1164: *Tin Hau Temple, Cha Kwo Ling Road, Cha Kwo Ling, Kowloon* (Hong Kong: Antiquities Advisory Board, 2010), 2.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ AECOM Asia Company Limited and Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, *Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report*, 8.

¹⁶ Ibid., 10.

¹⁷ The Temple's daily operation is run by the Chinese Temples Committee; the Association is still active today.

¹⁸ Ibid., 7.

¹⁹ AECOM Asia Company Limited and Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, *Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report*, 7.

²⁰ Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, 1242: *Law Mansion*, 2.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that by highlighting the haphazard situation in the photos, it is difficult to deny that all the micro-infrastructures should be removed for practical safety reasons. However, this sentiment can easily overspill to the resident's furniture and plants, which are clear manifestations of village life, but go conveniently unmentioned in text. Thus, perhaps insiduously, the Government can once again steer clear of confrontation with the living aspects of the space.



Figure 8
Images enclosed with the Historic Building Appraisal Report for Law Mansion.
Source: AAB (2011).

[D] Buildings as Objects: Outdated Monument-oriented Approach

Until now, this discussion of the Government's perspective has been limited to two buildings of CKL Village. This is because the current heritage mechanism is fundamentally based on grading singular monuments, as stipulated by the Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance of 1976, which only concerns the "preservation of objects of historical, archaeological and palaeontological interest".²¹ It contains three corresponding sections - "Monuments", "Relics", and "Antiquities",²² the first of which is most elaborate. A proposed monument is defined as "a place, building, site or structure"²³ with declaration from the AAB, but there is no supplementary information suggesting how these may be interpreted. The scope of a monument also includes "any land adjoining the place, building, site or structure", but this is merely for the practicalities of "fencing, covering, [...] protecting, [...] or facilitating access"²⁴ to it.

Consequently, the Government rarely articulates relations between buildings and the values they jointly bring. The HBAs for Law Mansion and Tin Hau Temple included a Group Value section which contained one sentence, describing how the buildings are "within walking distance"²⁵ of each other. However, the historical or cultural significance of this was unexplained; and the opportunity to mention other related but non-graded buildings (which ironically, the Government later acknowledged) was missed. Altogether, the Tin Hau Temple, former Si Shan Public School, and Stone of Fertility (see Fig. 9) become a case in point.

Culturally, the temple and school both served the entire Si Shan quarrying collective, as indicated by the school's name and the engraving of "Si Shan Communal Hall" found at the temple's side entrance.²⁶ Built in 1948 and 1952 respectively, both buildings were supported by funds from the Government and CKL Villagers,²⁷ and commemorated by memorial plaques.²⁸ Together, these plaques were considered as the "remnants for the [...] community networks".²⁹

Spatially, both the temple and school face an open area, which would be adjoining if not separated by fences. In this open space, the Stone of Fertility lies within the school's property, where villagers' oral accounts reveal that it was initially an object in the playground (refer to Chapter VI). However, the Government did not note this history, instead focusing on its pregnancy-inducing powers³⁰ in connection to Tin Hau, which "together... demonstrates the religious culture of the village".³¹ Despite acknowledging the cultural and spatial connections between the stone, temple, and school,

²¹ Hong Kong Department of Justice, "Cap. 53 Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance," last modified December 12, 2019, <https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/cap53>.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, 1242: *Law Mansion*, 2.
Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, 1164: *Tin Hau Temple*, 2.

²⁶ AECOM Asia Company Limited and Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, *Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report*, 7.

²⁷ Ibid., 8-10.

they face separate fates as the Government is reluctant to recognise them as a group. Ultimately, the school shall not be preserved.

Lastly, another identified but neglected group is the collection of stone buildings in CKL Village. Law Mansion was reported to be “on a narrow village lane facing other stone houses”,³² while three other stone buildings were noted as cultural heritage resources.³³ However, they had “less prominent and visible”³⁴ architectural features in comparison to Law Mansion. Thus, while the Mansion shall be preserved in-situ, the others shall be demolished, with their granite blocks collected and stored for future use.³⁵

[E] Conclusion

By analysing the Government's thorough historical description of Law Mansion, we can understand how the important quarrying period was to CKL Village. The mansion gained its historical-symbolic value from being a witness of that history, and age-workmanship value from physically embodying it in its granite construction. It was, however, not appreciated for its multiple changes in use throughout its past, since they led to modifications that affected the building's material authenticity. In contrast, the variety of social and communal activities in Tin Hau Temple and the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association building did not cause any known modifications. Thus, they were positively described for their social-emotional and economic-use values.

That said, the social-emotional value is not respected in its current ongoing state, but as something of the past. This was particularly evident when describing the Association's social hub function in past tense. Additionally, traces of current villagers' lives are disregarded at Law Mansion. Overall, this demonstrates the Government's hesitance in engaging with the living and dynamic aspects of heritage, as it would entail more negotiations with more parties. This avoidance of trouble is also demonstrated by the Government's inaction in conserving heritage groups, despite acknowledging cultural and spatial connections between individual buildings and objects. This inaction bolsters significance - and consequently conservation - for only a few graded buildings, which once again, entails less negotiation and more convenience in setting the scene for urban redevelopment.

²⁸ Ibid., 10.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Hong Kong Antiquities Advisory Board, 1242: *Law Mansion*, 2.

³³ AECOM Asia Company Limited and Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, *Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report*, 6.

³⁴ Ibid., 8.

³⁵ Ibid., 18.

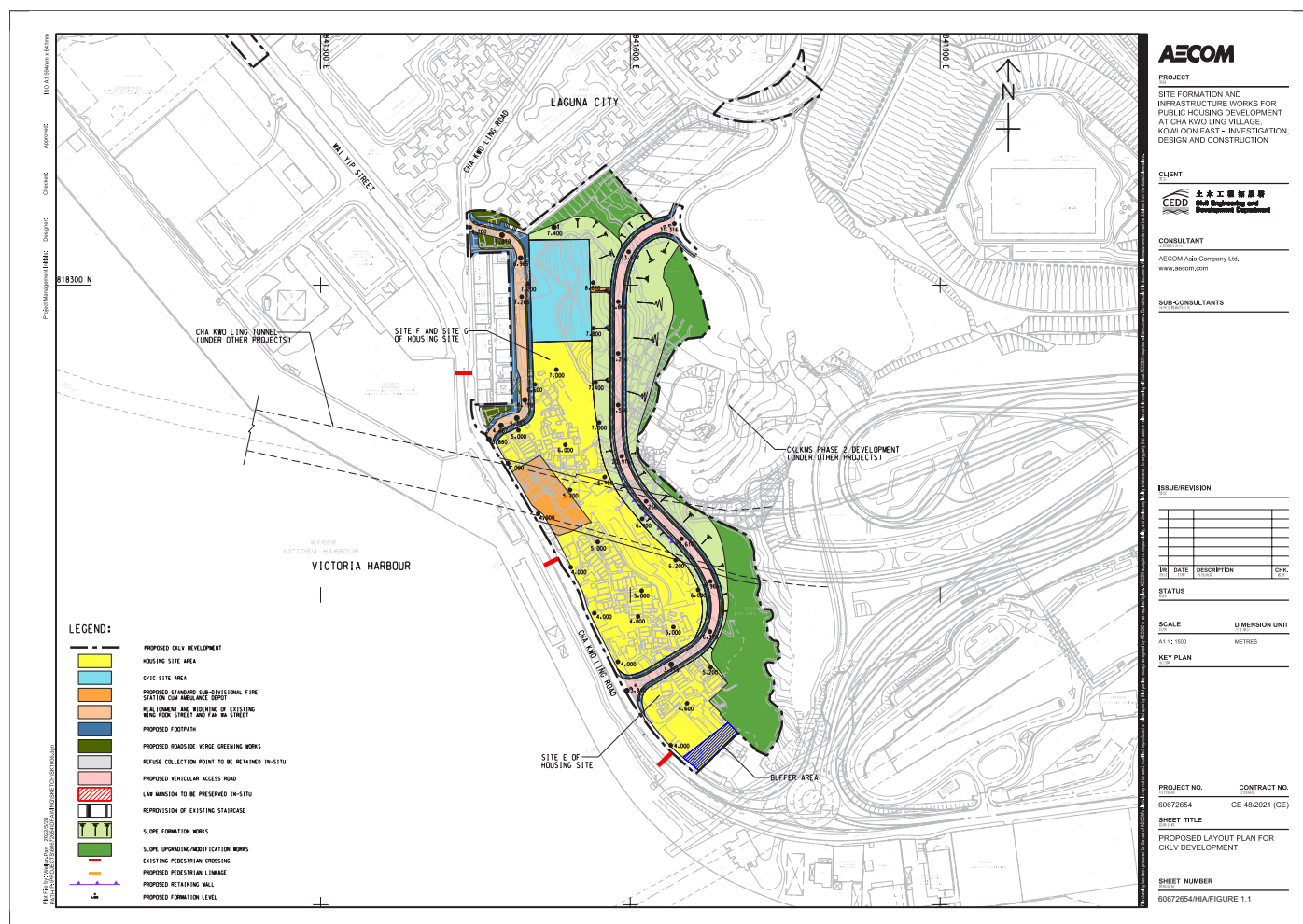


Figure 9
Map including the location of Tin Hau Temple, former Si Shan Public School, and Stone of Fertility.
Source: AECOM & CEDD (2022).

IV. The Developer's Perspective

[A] Definition & Main Sources

Public-private partnerships are commonplace in Hong Kong's urban redevelopment projects, thus the two parties involved - private developers and the Government - are often interpreted as one player. Yet, as previously mentioned, developers are becoming increasingly willing to engage in existing fabric as independent entities, in response to public interest. Therefore, this chapter shall attempt to isolate their perspective, by referencing documents from three developers who have been associated with CKL Village and/or its vicinity: Million Choice International Limited, Hong Kong Housing Society, and Wheelock Properties Limited. They are briefly introduced below.

Million Choice International Ltd.
(Million Choice)

Proposed Redevelopment of CKL Village for Comprehensive Residential Development with Supporting Retail & G/IC Facilities and Conservation of Heritage Buildings in "Undetermined" Zone, Yau Tong, S16 Planning Application No. A/K15/124, revisions 2019-2021

Million Choice is a property developer who owned 18,000 square feet of private building lots in CKL Village.¹ After the Government announced village land resumption in the 2019 Policy Address, Million Choice and the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association jointly submitted a Planning Application, with five major objectives:²

- i. To maximize public housing supply to meet society's urgent needs.
- ii. To make available public housing supply at the earliest time.
- iii. To dedicate one public housing block for rehousing the affected villagers and hence maintaining their social network.
- iv. To respect private property rights by making provision for "foot-for-foot" land exchange for private housing development.
- v. To conserve heritage buildings and cultural heritage items in Cha Kwo Ling Tsuen.

The application - which underwent four additional reviews and ultimate rejection - proposed conserving six heritage items: the former Porcelain Factory (two blocks), Hop Yi Long Dragon Boat, Law Mansion, former Si Shan Public School, and the Stones of Fertility.³ The Tin Hau Temple was outside the application area (see Fig. 10) and would also be maintained.

¹ Million Choice International Limited and Cha Kwo Ling Villagers Fraternity Association, *Proposed Redevelopment of CKL Village for Comprehensive Residential Development with Supporting Retail & G/IC Facilities and Conservation of Heritage Buildings in "Undetermined" Zone, Yau Tong, S16 Planning Application No. A/K15/124* (Hong Kong: Town Planning Board, 2019), 7.

² Ibid., 8.

³ Ibid., 11.

**Hong Kong Housing Society
(HKHS)**

Representation on Proposed Amendments to the Approved OZP No. S/K15/25 Item A1, January 2022
Notional Scheme & Artist's Impression for the CKL Village Public Housing Development, June 2022

The HKHS is an independent, non-government and non-for profit organisation that provides public housing through property development and housing schemes.⁴ In the Government's 2020 Policy Address, it was invited to implement public housing development in CKL Village,⁵ where it will provide 4500 units.⁶ The HKHS has partnered with the Government since the mid-20th century, initially in response to the lack of public housing provision in post-war Hong Kong.⁷ In 1951, it became a statutory body under the Hong Kong Housing Society Incorporation Ordinance, which provides it with powers to acquire land and property (among other acts) in accordance with its aims.⁸ Typically, the Government grants land to them at a concessionary premium with conditions regarding the housing project being built.

**Wheelock Properties Ltd.
(Wheelock)**

KOKO HILLS Website, accessed February 2, 2023
KOKO HILLS Property Page at Centaline Property, accessed February 25, 2023

Wheelock is privately developing the Ex-Cha Kwo Ling Kaolin Mine Site at the northeast of CKL Village (see Fig. 10), as granted by OZP S/K15/26 for medium density residential usage.⁹ In the future, the site shall be connected with CKL Village by vehicular and pedestrian means.¹⁰ The housing units were pre-sold, and the first of four construction phases was completed in 2022. This thesis will reference materials from their sales documents and advertisements.

⁴ Hong Kong Housing Society, "About Us," accessed March 20, 2023, <https://www.hkhs.com/en/about-us>.

⁵ Hong Kong Housing Society, *Representation on Proposed Amendments to the Approved OZP No. S/K15/25 Item A1* (Hong Kong: Town Planning Board, 2022), 1, https://www.info.gov.hk/tpb/en/plan_making/S_K15_26/Representation/001_R001-R017.pdf.

⁶ Ibid., 2.

⁷ Hong Kong Housing Society, "History and Milestones," accessed March 20, 2023, <https://www.hkhs.com/en/about-us/history-milestones>.

⁸ Hong Kong Department of Justice, "Cap. 1059 Hong Kong Housing Society Incorporation Ordinance," last modified December 15, 2022, <https://www.elegislation.gov.hk/hk/cap1059>.

⁹ Hong Kong Planning Department, *Town Planning Board Paper No. 10853, Plans* (Hong Kong: Planning Department, 2022) 3, https://www.info.gov.hk/tpb/en/whats_new/Website_S_K15_26.html.

¹⁰ Ibid., 11.

¹¹ Hong Kong Housing Society, *Representation on Proposed Amendments to the Approved OZP No. S/K15/25 Item A1*, 3.

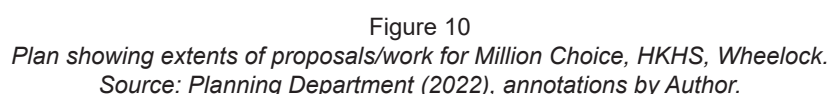


Figure 10

Plan showing extents of proposals/work for Million Choice, HKHS, Wheelock.
Source: Planning Department (2022). annotations by Author.

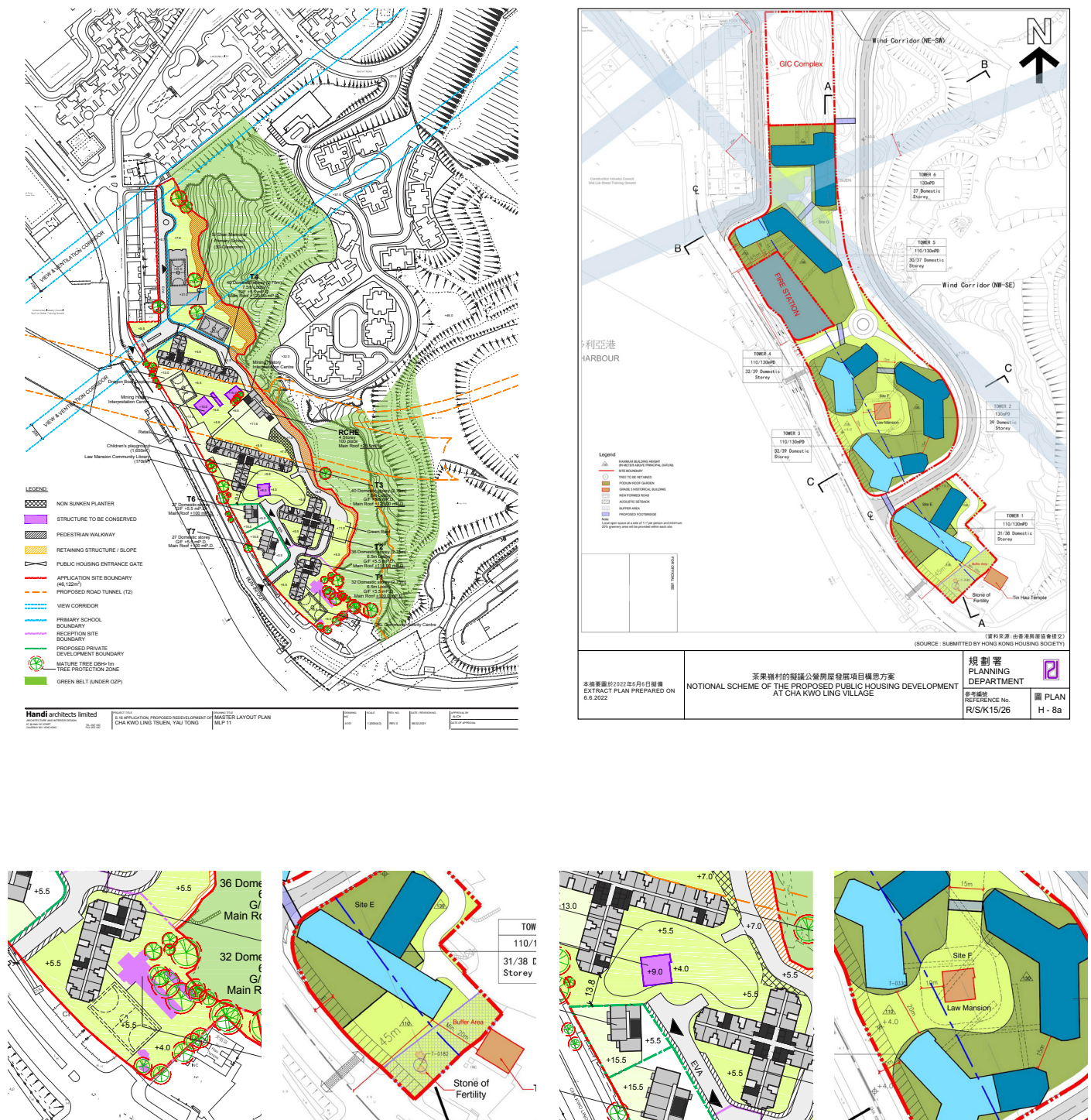


Figure 11

Master Layout Plans highlighting the proposed buildings and usages, with the discussed examples enlarged.

Sources: Left - Million Choice (2021); Right - HKHS (published by Planning Department, 2022);

Bottom set of enlargements from same sources, arranged by Author.

[B] Gathering Witnesses: Historic-Symbolic, Social-Spiritual, and Age-Workmanship Values

The Developer values heritage buildings as witnesses of history, which can become focal points in a newly developed landscape. The HKHS noted "there are buildings/structures which carry and reflect [the] historical interests and cultural heritage"¹¹ of CKL Village; and their acknowledgement of these historic-symbolic and social-spiritual values have materialised in the proposals for the areas surrounding Tin Hau Temple and Law Mansion.

As argued in the previous chapter, the former Si Shan Public School, Stone of Fertility, and Tin Hau Temple could be interpreted as an ensemble from their recognisable cultural and spatial connections. To some extent, this is materialised in the proposed masterplans by Million Choice and HKHS. Both identified the Stone in connection to Tin Hau Temple by spatialising its historic-symbolic and social-spiritual values in an open landscape with existing trees, offset inward from the project border (Fig. 11). The HKHS expressed this as a "buffer area"¹² (Fig. 12) of at least 900m², maintaining a distance of twenty metres from the loosely fenced residential tower. Visually, the Stone becomes integrated as a defining welcoming feature - a literal cornerstone - which introduces the ritualistic atmosphere of the temple, and the green mediating landscape that continues throughout the new residential development.

In contrast, Law Mansion was envisioned as a focal object enclosed by residential towers, with its singular monumentality emphasised by various landscaping strategies (Fig. 13, 14). Million Choice planned a "Circular Plaza",¹³ where stepped seating and lawns would organically surround Law Mansion. Resonating with this, the HKHS described the Mansion as "the most significant heritage asset"¹⁴ in CKL Village. Though the reason for this was not explicitly stated (apart from briefly referencing CEDD's HIA and AAB's grading, analysed in Chapter III), it can be speculated that the HKHS also identified the mansion's historic-symbolic and age-workmanship values. This is demonstrated by the suggested use of glass façades at the street level, to accentuate out the warmer, opaque granite construction through visual contrast.

Finally, it is notable that Million Choice chose to conserve the former Si Shan Public School, and two blocks of the former Porcelain Factory (Fig. 14). Like Law Mansion, the latter is visibly constructed in granite, and its usage testified to the Kaolin mine industry.¹⁵ The two blocks were proposed as the anchors of a new "Cultural Plaza",¹⁶ and together they would frame the Hop Yi Long Dragon Boat displayed in between. However, there is no noted prior historical relationship between the former factory and the dragon boat.

¹² Hong Kong Planning Department, *Town Planning Board Paper No. 10853, Plans*, 18.

¹³ Million Choice International Limited and Cha Kwo Ling Villagers Fraternity Association, *Proposed Redevelopment of CKL Village for Comprehensive Residential Development*, rev. April 27, 2021, 7-9.

¹⁴ Hong Kong Housing Society, *Representation on Proposed Amendments to the Approved OZP No. S/K15/25 Item A1*, 3.

¹⁵ AECOM Asia Company Limited and Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, *Site Formation and Infrastructure Works for Public Housing Development at Cha Kwo Ling Village*,

Overall, the aforementioned examples suggest that the Developer understands buildings as material objects with historic-symbolic and social-emotional values; and opportunities for defining focal points in a new development. Furthermore, as the treatment of the Stone of Fertility and Tin Hau Temple shows, any existing cultural or spatial connections between such objects are treated as assets that can be capitalised upon.

[C] Serving the Public: Historic-Educational & Economic-Use Values

Apart from being witnesses, the Developer also values how these buildings can be reprogrammed to fulfil their potentials for historic knowledge dissemination and general public use. This resonates with the historic-educational and economic-use values respectively.

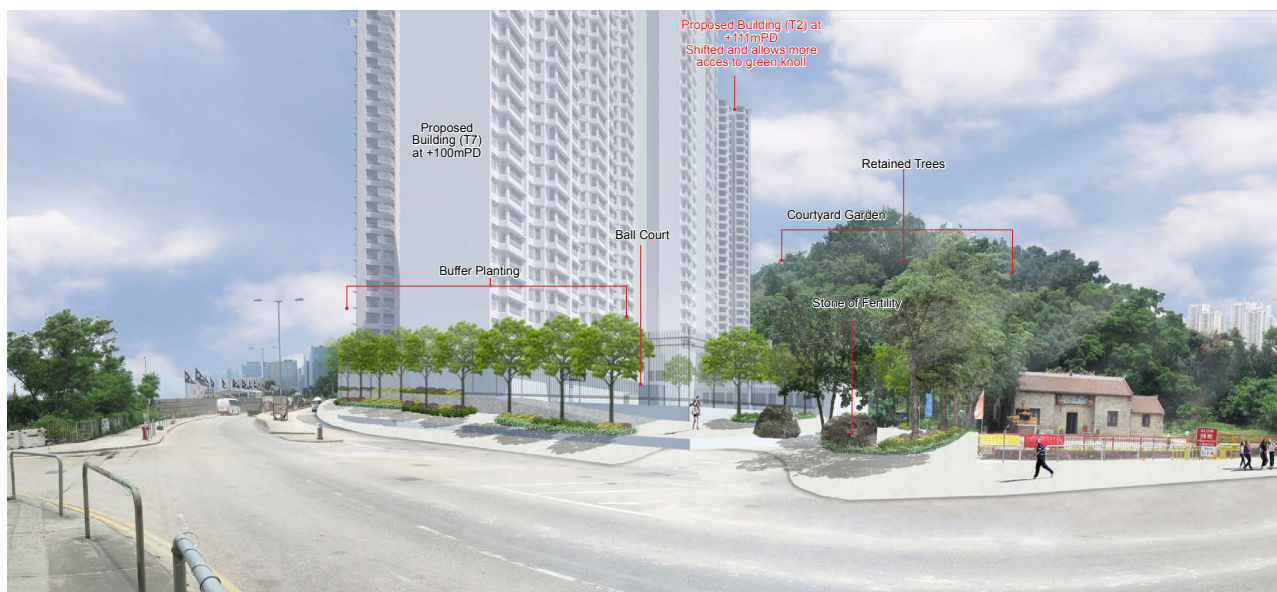
The HKHS specified that the adaptive reuse at Law Mansion should be "serving the public",¹⁷ and this idea is further detailed in Million Choice's proposal, which reused the building as a community library (Fig. 14). The former Porcelain Factory was suggested to become a "Mining History Interpretation Centre", while the former Si Shan Public School would become the "CKL Communal Activity Centre". Though not stated, the latter may have been considered as a replacement for the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association, which both proposals did not preserve.

The link between these recommended programs and the original ones is not necessarily strong, but these reuses appeal to a wide public audience involving future residents and non-residents, and they are highly civic, cultural, and educational nature.

Kowloon East – Investigation, Design and Construction: Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) Report (Final) (Hong Kong: Civil Engineering and Development Department, 2022), 10, https://www.aab.gov.hk/filemanager/aab/common/199meeting/HIA_Report_CKLV.pdf.

¹⁶ Million Choice International Limited and Cha Kwo Ling Villagers Fraternity Association, *Proposed Redevelopment of CKL Village for Comprehensive Residential Development*, rev. April 27, 2021, 7-9.

¹⁷ Hong Kong Housing Society, *Representation on Proposed Amendments to the Approved OZP No. S/K15/25 Item A1*, 3.



Current Scheme (2021)

Reduced development mass, allows more access to green knoll and open sky, therefore proposed CKL development fits into existing and planned urban context.

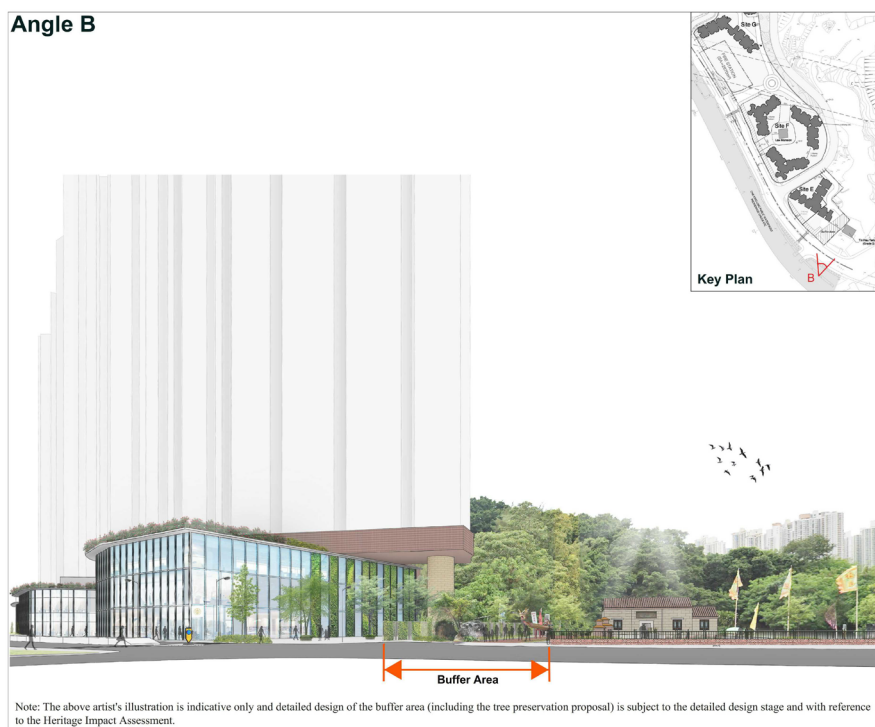


Figure 12

Artistic impressions for the treatment of the area with the Stone of Fertility and Tin Hau Temple.
Sources: Top - Million Choice (2021); Bottom - HKHS (published by Planning Department, 2022).

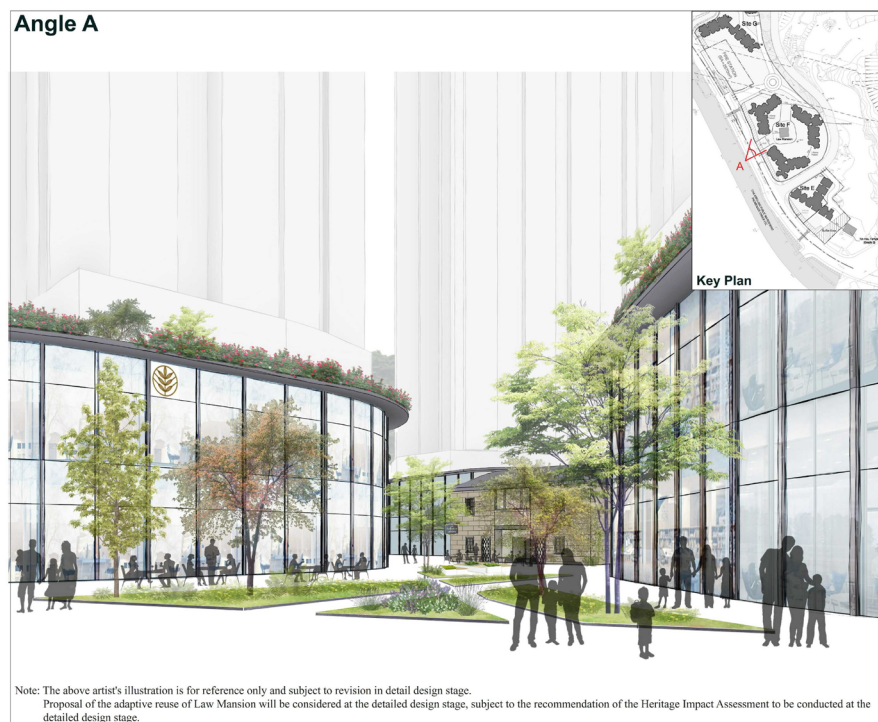


Figure 13
Artistic impression for the treatment of Law Mansion.
Source: HKHS (published by Planning Department, 2022).

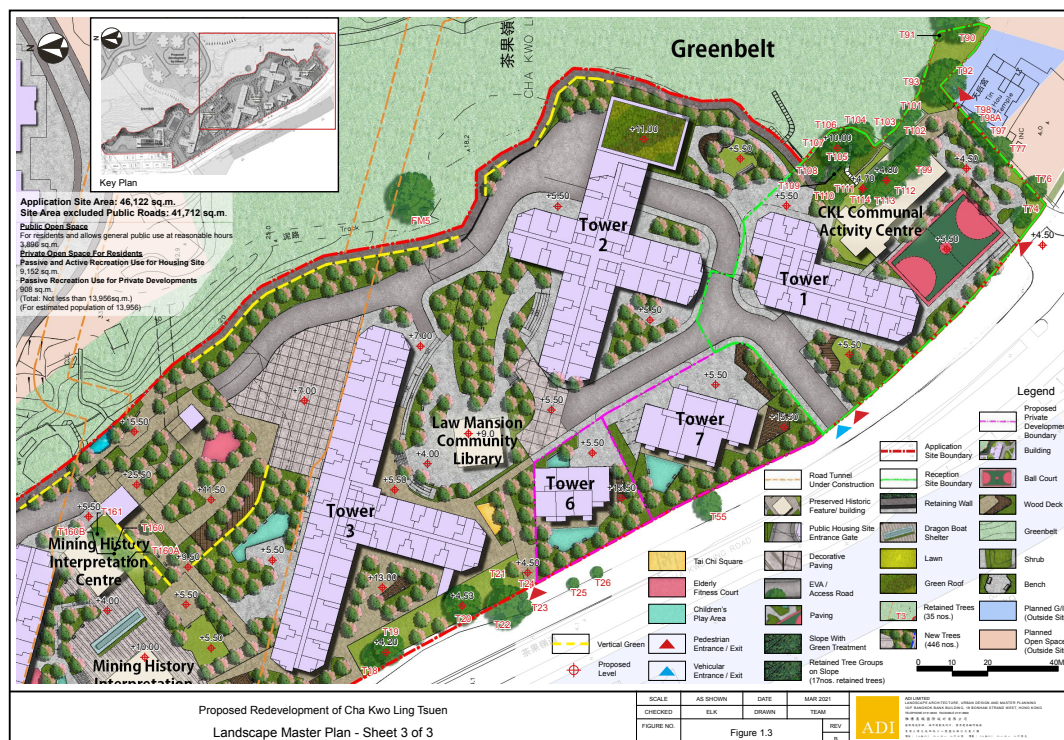
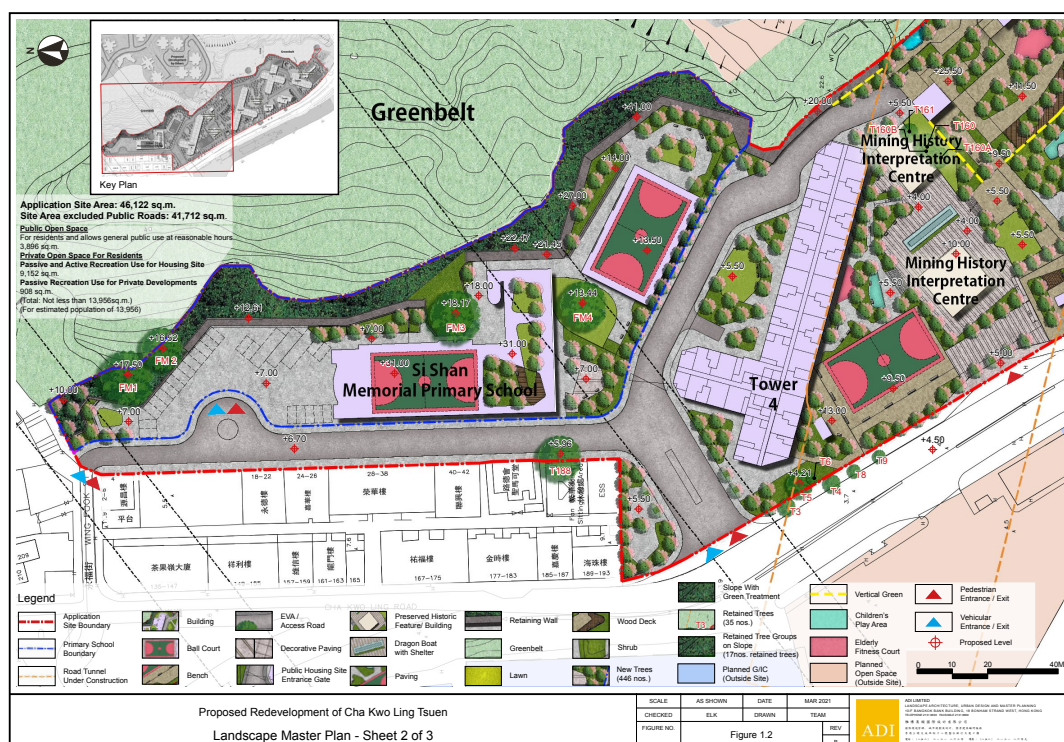


Figure 14
Detailed Landscape Master Plan (with new programmes of preserved buildings annotated)
Sources: Million Choice (2021).

[D] Connecting to the Surroundings: Economic-Use & Ecological-Spiritual Values

The economic-use value returns at the urban scale, as the Developer recognises and appreciates how the CKL Village area relates to the surroundings in three ways: transport connections, exposure to the waterfront, and green mountainous landscape.

In both the existing and future scenario, the area of CKL Village and the ex-Kaolin Clay Mine site (i.e. Wheelock's site) has been repeatedly portrayed as a well-connected zone in real estate advertisements. As seen in Figure 15, a glowing triangle depicted its proximity to the current and future CBDs. They can be reached by metro or bus from the existing Lam Tin Transport Interchange, which is only a four-minute walk away. The Interchange shall also be the starting point of the anticipated Route 6 roadway - involving a new tunnel running under CKL Village, and then parallel to the coastline - in order to improve east-west connectivity.¹⁸ Although the capacity of existing transport connections (in relation to the addition of a new residential development) has been questioned by neighbouring citizens,¹⁹ the mere availability of such transport options, along with the projected ones, is already ideal for the Developer to capitalise upon on the long run.

The harbourside location of CKL Village is also valued, primarily for the openness and panoramic views it offers. Future residents of Wheelock's development at the ex-Kaolin Mine Site were emphasised to have a wide angle view across Victoria Harbour (Fig. 15), where the subtitles highlight how one could "capture the sheer prosperity on the opposite coast" and "enjoy the night sights of fireworks and ferries". Yet it must be noted that, in an unsurprisingly Hong Kong-styled manner, the advertisement portrayed the current situation, which shall only last until the public housing towers on the CKL Village site in front are built. Exceeding one hundred metres in height, these will obstruct (and instead, be able to see) the promoted views (Fig. 16). Nonetheless, this insidious advertising strategy demonstrates the large economic-use value placed upon the harbourside location.

Furthermore, both HKHS and Million Choice designed its ground level landscape with the anticipated public waterfront promenade in mind, as it was identified to encourage visual and physical access to the preserved buildings at CKL Village.²⁰ This can be interpreted as a reclamation of a spiritual connection to the sea, which the village has historically relied upon. In accordance with the belief that facing the water with your back against the mountain (背山面海) is a favourable orientation, the mountain behind CKL Village is also valued, but not in terms of its historical significance - rather, for the seventy-seven hectares of green landscape that it offers around Wheelock's development site.²¹ This landscape is emphasised in their advertisements, which use the slogan "Your Mountain

¹⁸ Hong Kong Civil Engineering and Development Department, "Trunk Road T2 and Cha Kwo Ling Tunnel," accessed February 20, 2023, <https://www.trunkroadt2.hk/eng/index.php>.

¹⁹ Hong Kong Planning Department, *Town Planning Board Paper No. 10853, Consideration of Representations No. TPB/R/S/K15/26-R1 to R184 and Comments No. TPB/R/S/K15/26-C1 to C5* (Hong Kong: Planning Department, 2022), 15, https://www.info.gov.hk/tpb/en/whats_new/Website_S_K15_26.html.

²⁰ Hong Kong Housing Society, *Representation on Proposed Amendments to the Approved OZP No. S/K15/25 Item A1*, 3.

²¹ Centaline Property, "KOKO HILLS," accessed February 25, 2023, <https://hk.centalen.com/info/en/new-property/%E8%8C%B6%E6%9E%9C%E5%B6%BA-%E6%B2%B9%E5%A1%98-%E9%AF%89%E9%AD%9A%E9%96%80/Koko-Hills/1817>.

Sanctuary"²² and promote a lifestyle "in harmony with nature".²³ It also extends into the development, as the shared facilities are depicted as nature-inspired objects in a green environment (e.g. "The Lagoon", "Yoga on the Lawn", "Redwoods Lounge"; refer to Fig. 17). Overall, the Developer's intention to strengthen connections with the sea and mountain landscape reflects an appreciation of the ecological-spiritual value in CKL Village.

[E] Conclusion

Like the Government, the Developer also identifies historic-symbolic, social-spiritual, and age-workmanship values in CKL Village. This is reflected in their landscaping and use of material when proposing Tin Hau Temple and Law Mansion as focal points of the new development. In creating these points, the Developer does not hesitate to group heritage assets, regardless of whether they have a known existing relationship or not. This is demonstrated by the collective treatment of Tin Hau Temple and Stone of Fertility; and the Cultural Plaza, composed by the Hop Yi Long Dragon Boat and the former Porcelain Factory.

The Developer also sees the economic-use value of heritage buildings for both villagers and non-villagers, by suggesting public functions for their adaptive reuse. These buildings are also given historic-educational value, as they are envisioned as educational resources retelling CKL Village's mining history. On a wider scale, the village is also given economic-use and ecological-spiritual values, owing to its connection to existing and future transport networks, the harbour it faces, and the mountain on its back - qualities which the Developer accentuates and extends in their designs.

²² Wheelock Properties Limited, "KOKO HILLS - Your Mountain Sanctuary," accessed February 2, 2023, <https://www.kokohills.hk/en/home>.

²³ Ibid.



Figure 17
User map of facilities and designed landscapes in Wheelock's development of the ex-Kaolin Clay Mine Site.
Sources: KOKO Hills Website (accessed 2 January 2023).

V. ***The Villager's Perspective***

[A] Definition & Main Sources

The residents of CKL Village - whom are considered as the Villagers in this thesis - were not actively given a voice in the formation of the Outline Zoning Plan.¹ More precisely, in May 2021, the Government had indeed invited the affected landowners, business owners and residents of the village to a Town Hall Briefing Session.² However, referring to the actual meeting minutes, the alleged agendum of discussing "the broad development proposal for CKLV, programmes and the compensation and rehousing (C&R) arrangements"³ was not covered. Instead, most of the meeting was focused entirely on the latter aspect.

Thus, this chapter shall articulate their perspective through the analyses of various oral histories and quotes, primarily from the book *Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling - A Memoir of the Urban Village*. Published in 2022, it is a curated record of villagers' stories collected by the Conservancy Association Centre for Heritage (CACHe), a non-profit group aiming to promote the conservation of history, cultures and heritage in Hong Kong.⁴ The first part of the book is organised by narrative, while the second is organised by the associated space - both of which are mapped (Fig. 18). Further referenced quotations are taken from interviews in newspaper articles and video documentaries, whose translations can be found in the appendices. The main quoted individuals are as follows:

Au-Yeung Wai King (歐陽偉鏡)
Owner of Wing Wah Cafe
(榮華冰室) at 106A

<https://lj.hkej.com/lj/artculture/article/id/2314736>, 12 December 2019
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_hmxC74vmhg, 11 February 2021
Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling - A Memoir of the Urban Village, pp 130-139, 2022

Ng Bo Wo (吳寶和)
Owner of Mau Fat Noodle Store
(茂發茶室), now a kiosk at 114

<https://lj.hkej.com/lj/artculture/article/id/2314736>, 12 December 2019
<https://ubeat.com.cuhk.edu.hk/145-chakwoling/>, 21 December 2019
<https://collection.news/appledaily/articles/6TA5QI4OJEHADOVPRM27JJDRIU>, 23 November 2019
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_hmxC74vmhg, 11 February 2021
Tranquillity descends upon Cha Kwo Ling Village...
Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling - A Memoir of the Urban Village, pp. 140-147, 2022

Yau Dong (邱)
Past CKL Village Head

<https://lj.hkej.com/lj/artculture/article/id/2314736>, 12 December 2019
Tranquillity descends upon Cha Kwo Ling Village...
Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling - A Memoir of the Urban Village, pp. 64-71, 2022

Law Yuet Ping (羅悅屏)
A founder of the CKL Kylin Team
(spiritual ritual of Hakka people)

<https://ubeat.com.cuhk.edu.hk/145-chakwoling/>, 21 December 2019
Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling - A Memoir of the Urban Village, pp. 80-91, 2022

¹ Lilian Cheng, "Tranquillity Descends on Once-Bustling Cha Kwo Ling, as Hakka Villagers Await News of Changes to Come," *South China Morning Post*, December 9, 2019, <https://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/society/article/3041154/tranquillity-descends-once-bustling-cha-kwo-ling-hakka>.

² Hong Kong Planning Department, *Town Planning Board Paper No. 10853, Annex VII: Gist of Town Hall Briefing Session on 10.5.2021* (Hong Kong: Planning Department, 2022), https://www.info.gov.hk/tpb/en/whats_new/Website_S_K15_26.html.

³ Hong Kong Planning Department, *Town Planning Board Paper No. 10853, Consideration of Representations No. TPB/R/S/K15/26-R1 to R184 and Comments No. TPB/R/S/K15/26-C1 to C5* (Hong Kong: Planning Department, 2022), 5, https://www.info.gov.hk/tpb/en/whats_new/Website_S_K15_26.html.

⁴ Conservancy Association Centre for Heritage, "About Us," accessed March 20, 2023, <http://www.cache.org.hk/en/>.

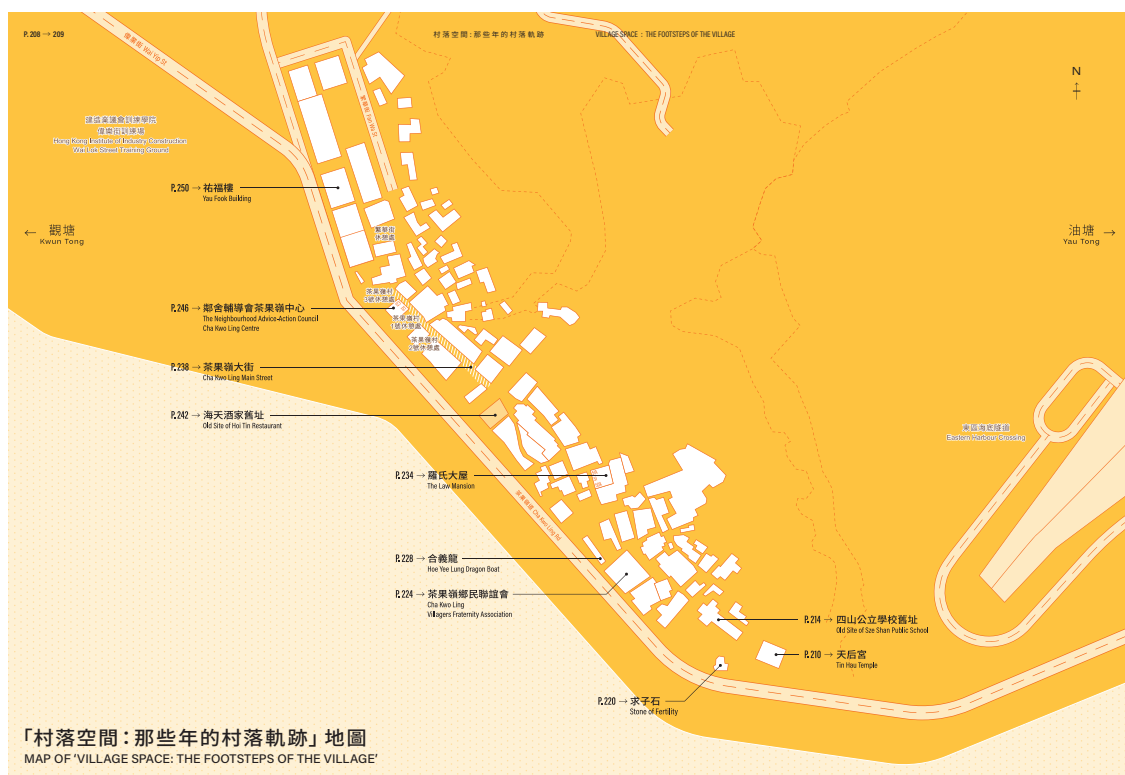
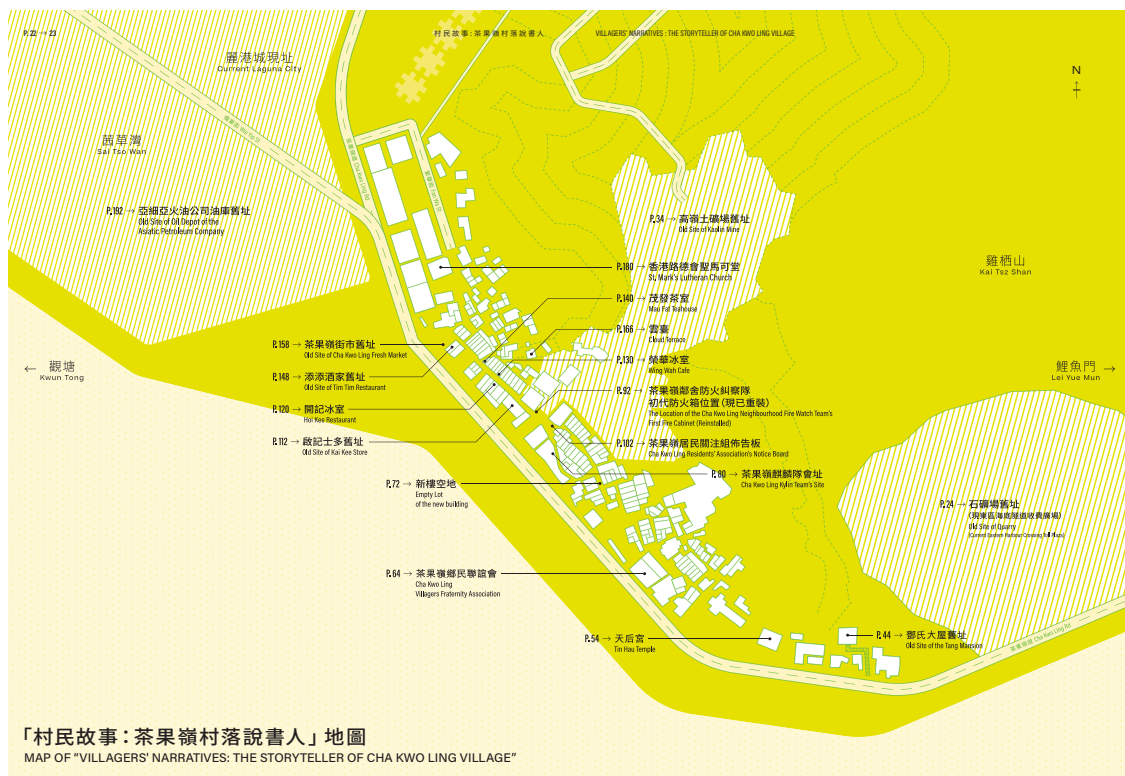


Figure 18

Mapping of the spaces in CKL Village in relation to the narratives and spaces CKL Villagers associate themselves with.
Sources: CACHe (2022).

[B] Collective Hard Work: Scientific-Workmanship Value

As previously demonstrated, the Government and Developer both see monuments within CKL Village as witnesses to history. However, given that the Villagers are the actual participants of this history, they relate to it differently - thus generating a set of values that are more personally motivated. The scientific-workmanship value is one example. It is concerned with the laborious efforts embodied in built fabric, as seen in the Kylin Team training grounds (demolished) and former Si Shan Public School.

This value arises from a pragmatic view of building from necessity, which is demonstrated by Law Yuet Ping's oral history of the CKL Village Kylin Team and its training grounds.⁵ He recalled training in two squatter structures - one located behind the village market, and one behind the village office. Both were eventually taken down by the Government's Squatter Control Office.⁶ In response, the team proactively rebuilt a bigger one elsewhere. The authorities repeatedly intervened, until the principal of Ming Tak Primary School helped them make a plea, allowing their practices to continue there. Although no longer standing today, the persistent rebuilding of the Kylin Team training grounds demonstrates a strong, united desire to build for necessity, even against legal enforcement.

This spirit becomes further evident in how the CKL Villagers remember and appreciate the work invested into creating the Si Shan Public School. Law Chi Wing, son of the first school chancellor, noted that his father had to organise and fundraise for tables, chairs, concrete pavings for the mud in the open area, and the barbed wire fences.⁷ Law Yuet Ping noted that "it wasn't easy to build a school", recounting the process of finding sponsors and then writing the memorial plaques, "piece by piece for every single (class)room".⁸ Apart from these physical efforts relating to the school building, many villagers also took pride in the mental efforts required get admitted into the school as a prestigious institution. Law was in the sixteenth cohort to graduate, and commented that because it was the only school in the area, it was "amazing and hard to enroll into".⁹ He also recalled that only half of the fourth graders were allowed to proceed to the fifth grade, and he was one of them. Other oral accounts regarding the former Si Shan Public School resonate with these memories,¹⁰ thus demonstrating that it is commemorated both as a space and institution resulting from proactive initiatives and hard work.

⁵ The Kylin is an auspicious unicorn-like creature. Teams have to train for the Kylin dance, a Hakka tradition that is performed for good fortune.
Natalie Yeuk-ngan Lam et al., *Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling - A Memoir of the Urban Village* (Hong Kong: Conservancy Association Centre for Heritage, 2022), 83.

⁶ Ibid., 85.

⁷ Ibid., 216.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ 劉佳欣, "偏居鬧市四世紀茶果嶺村 終到命運關口," *大學線 U-Beat Magazine*, December 21, 2019, <https://ubeat.com.cuhk.edu.hk/145-chakwoling/>.

¹⁰ Lam et al., *Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling*, 217.

¹¹ Ibid., 236.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 237.

[C] Ad Hoc Changes for Necessity: Economic-Use Value

The Villagers' pragmatic attitude continues with the economic-use value, as they appreciate and remember buildings for the functions they cater for. Thus, ad hoc spatial alterations are seen as necessary changes, which are welcomed with little consideration to a building's architectural qualities. This is exemplified in Law Mansion, Tang's Mansion (demolished), and the Wing Wah Cafe.

As mentioned before, the Government negatively viewed the modifications that Law Mansion underwent, from being a single mansion with an ancestral hall, to subdivided factories, and then residences. Yet, these activities were the primary subject of the Villagers' oral accounts, who perceived them as neutral and inevitable events. They recalled that the building was initially called the Law Family Ancestral Hall.¹¹ During its factory days, the ground floor "had a weaving workshop when I was young, making those dutch labels".¹² The upper floor was partially occupied by Ngai Man Private School ("we used to call it kindergarten"¹³), and the rest of it was partitioned for rent, "like in the [movie] 'House of 72 Tenants'".¹⁴ Evidently, the villagers did not remember Law Mansion for its architectural qualities, but rather by all the functions that it hosted.

The oral accounts of Tang Mansion also demonstrate this. Located in the east end of CKL Village, it was also a granite building, but much larger than Law Mansion (Fig. 19). It housed a maximum of eighty people, with makeshift internal partitions composed of sheet iron and fibreboards.¹⁵ Accounts of the mansion focused not only on domestic life and festivities, but also on how it became a "small factory"¹⁶ as residents took their work home. Stonemasons took rocks back for cracking, and processing workers took plastic flowers, toys, and beads back for assembling.¹⁷ Thus, the mansion was considered "A Home of Hundred Shapes",¹⁸ indicating an open attitude toward various functions and their spatial implications.

This attitude is most drastically manifested at Wing Wah Cafe. According to owner Au-Yeung Wai King, the building used to be a granite church.¹⁹ His father bought the property after the church organisation relocated elsewhere and opened Wing Wah Cafe in August 1962, which continued as the family business for three generations.²⁰ There are a series of obvious alterations made for the cafe throughout the decades. In the interior, Au-Yeung painted the granite walls and wooden roof structure in white (Fig. 20), and repaints them annually. In addition, the kitchen has a layer of tiles.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 47.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," last modified February 12, 2022, 08:26, <https://www.mill-milk.com/travel/%e8%a7%80%e5%a1%98-%e8%8c%b6%e6%9e%9c%e5%b6%ba-%e5%af%ae%e5%b1%8b%e5%8d%80-%e6%87%b7%e8%88%8a%e5%86%b0%e5%ae%a4-%e8%b2%93/>.

²⁰ 潘天惠, "茶果嶺村民毋忘歷史與人情味 九龍現存寮屋區之一," 信報財經新聞 優雅生活, December 12, 2019, <https://lj.hkej.com/lj/artculture/article/id/2314736>.

²¹ Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 05:45.

The exterior shopfront is made of metal sheet, brackets, and a folding gate. It is an oxymoronic collage, with granite walls speaking of permanence concealed by layers metal surfaces speaking of temporality, all of which are finished in white to give the impression of a single monolithic space. This is the hybrid tectonic language of many squatter structures that were built from granite pigsties during the village's heydays,²¹ but Wing Wah Cafe is certainly the most telling example of how the Villagers' needs can override its original material qualities, which are highly valued by the Government.

These three examples demonstrate how important the economic-use value is to CKL Villagers, as they willingly accept alterations in response to changing functional needs over time. To conclude this section, the Stone of Fertility shall be briefly discussed, as it demonstrates how this value can even impact its surrounding values.

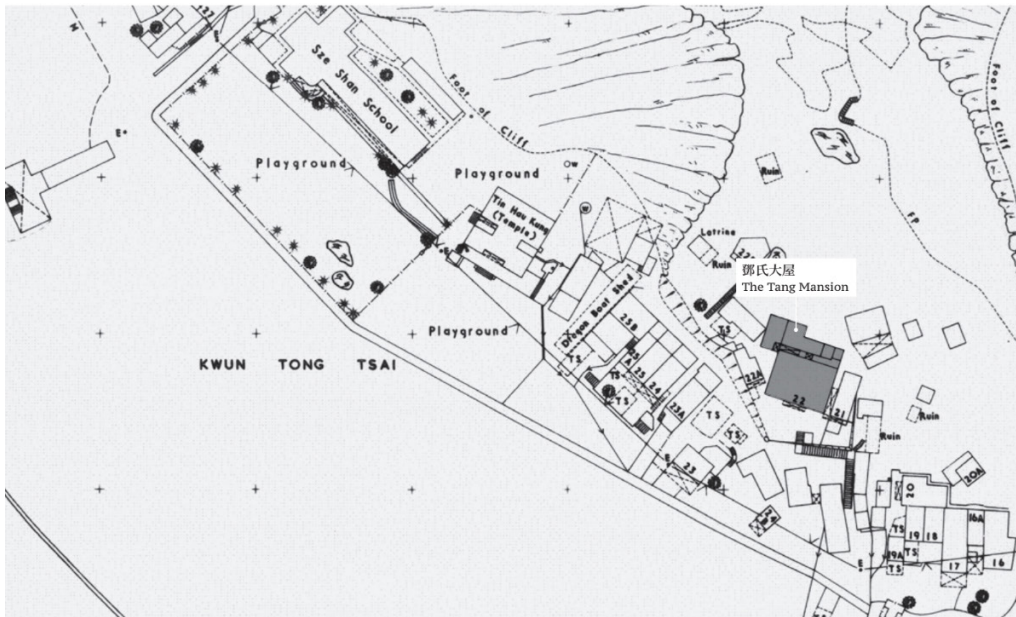
As previously mentioned, the Stone of Fertility lies within the former Si Shan Public School's fenced boundary. Villagers' oral accounts reveal that when the school operated from 1952 to 1993, it was actually a stone without meaning.²² The students often climbed and sat on it for fun (Fig. 21), until safety concerns led to a new school rule banning students from doing so.²³ Later, rumours began circulating that those who climbed it and fell down would not be healed.²⁴ The stone's fertility-inducing power was only introduced after the school ceased operation. One villager learned of it ten years after leaving the village in 1985;²⁵ and a metal sign explaining the stone's current name had only been erected in December 1999. Thus, the stone's meaning changed with the uses around it, suggesting that the economic-use value is so prominent that it can pose an impact on the social-spiritual value - which shall be elaborated upon in the following section.

²² Lam et al., *Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling*, 222, 256.

²³ Ibid., 221.

²⁴ Ibid., 223.

²⁵ Ibid., 53, 222.



← 繪製於1968年的茶果嶺地圖，右側標示為22號的建築物即鄧氏大屋。地圖上可見屋前連接着長樓梯。
Map of Cha Kwo Ling drawn in 1968 showing Tang Mansion on the right with the marking '22' and the long stairs connected to it.

香港特別行政區政府地政總局繪圖處提供
Provided by Survey and Mapping Office, Lands Department, the Government of the HKSAR



Figure 19
Location and photograph of the Tang Mansion before demolition.
Source: CACHe (2022).



Figure 20
The altered interiors and exteriors of Wing Wah Cafe, which used to be a granite church.
Sources: Mill MILK (2022); bottom left from Get Ready HK (2022).

→
四山公立學校學生於求子石上合照。
Students of Sze Shan Public School on
the Stone of Fertility.
《四山公立學校創校三十週年紀念特刊
1952-1982》
吳寶和先生提供
Sze Shan Public School 30th Anniversary Magazine
1952-1982
Provided by Mr Ng Po-wo



↑
1970 年代末至 1980 年代初，
學生坐在求子石上。由於地面出現水浸，
此照片在校刊刊登時，標題打趣寫道：
「待援：陸上行舟」。
Students sitting on the Stone of Fertility
in the late 1970s to early 1980s.
The caption "Waiting for help - sailing on
land" published in the school magazine
made fun of the flooding.

《四山公立學校創校三十週年紀念特刊
1952-1982》
吳寶和先生提供
Sze Shan Public School 30th Anniversary Magazine
1952-1982
Provided by Mr Ng Po-wo



Figure 21

Photographs contrasting the altered collective meaning of the Stone of Fertility - a landscape object during the operation of Si Shan Public School (top), versus a shrine after the school ceased operation (bottom).
Source: CACHe (2022).

[D] A Trusting Community: Social-Spiritual & Social-Emotional Values

Over the decades, the CKL Villagers have built up strong traditions and relationships. Although these are intangible, they are facilitated by certain spaces with social-spiritual and social-emotional values respectively. Oral accounts of Tin Hau Temple and the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association demonstrate how these values can be stronger than those associated with the physical building itself. Furthermore, the spaces with these values become an integral ensemble for bolstering a strong sense of community and trust among villagers.

From the villagers' perspective, the predominant value of Tin Hau Temple is its social-spiritual role in housing the deities. Almost all oral accounts were focused on how it was a focal point during Tin Hau Festival. Ng Bo Wo recounted how it took over an hour to carry bamboo-paper offerings from the CKL Main Street to the temple, as they had to "squeeze through very slowly through the big crowd".²⁶ Kylin and lion dance performances would parade through the "hustle and bustle" of the village, ending with a worship ritual outside the temple.²⁷ At the harbour, "more than 100 ships" would visit and bow toward the temple, by moving to and fro.²⁸ Dragon boats would also race toward the temple during the Tuen Ng Festival in June.²⁹ As the core of these village rituals, the social-spiritual value of Tin Hau Temple prevails over its physical features.

Similarly, the social-emotional value prevails at the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association. The building is a one-storey granite building, with a ladder-shaped entrance sign (Fig. 22). Despite these unique physical features, the Villagers value the Association building as the base of a community-oriented organisation. According to Yau Dong, it was initially called the "CKL Village Office and Kaifong Association", which "enthusiastically fought for [the villagers'] benefits and provided entertainment to them".³⁰ They lacked a gathering space until the current building was completed in 1956, which allowed them to host literacy classes and parties inside.³¹ Since 1977, they have dismissed their previous responsibilities and focused on organising traditional festivities with the name that they bear today.³² Numerous villagers recounted that they kept performance equipment in the building, and funded major celebrations.³³ Ng Bo Wo recalled that during Lupan Festival, "the custom of the Village Office" was to distribute food to villagers who would arrive with containers.³⁴ Finally, besides supporting communal traditions, the Association has also been a go-to point for community members. After the aforementioned Tang Mansion was abruptly demolished by the Government in

²⁶ Ibid., 213.

²⁷ Ibid., 212.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 229.

³⁰ Ibid., 69.

³¹ Ibid., 225.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 226.

³⁴ Ibid., 227.

1985, the displaced family members gathered at the Association building, weeping together.³⁵ Until now, people who had moved out of the village would still return there to meet friends and family.³⁶ Thus, by facilitating the villagers' interests, the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association building is a core community gathering place where the social-emotional value prevails.

There are more places and objects where social values overshadow their physical qualities - namely the Neighbourhood Advice-Action Council, St. Mark's Lutheran Church, and the Hop Yi Long Dragon Boat. Their communal significance is explicitly recorded in oral accounts and will not be individually analysed here - but altogether, they are instrumental in fostering the sense of community and trust throughout CKL Village, which are epitomised at CKL Main Street and its businesses. Villagers know it as a casual place to chat and gamble.³⁷ Cats freely roam there, and the villagers thank them for shooing off snakes, insects, and rats.³⁸ Ng's kiosk spills onto the street with consignment lots at the storefront (Fig. 23), where he helps other villagers sell goods. He insists on returning all earnings to them, as "the village relationships are definitely more important than money... you cannot get [them] back once they are gone."³⁹ Ng lived in another district for two years when he was young, where he experienced an indifferent atmosphere. In contrast to the tight-knit community at CKL Village - where he could "just open the door and the neighbours would just come to chit-chat"⁴⁰ - Ng noted that "If you move into an apartment... [you] won't even know who lives opposite you".⁴¹ Indeed, the Villagers are so close that in Au-Yeung's cafe, they "don't even have to ask the old customers what they wanted".⁴² As it is considered to be the Villagers' "canteen",⁴³ they would often pay later or for each other,⁴⁴ and call Au-Yeung to ask if their friends are there.⁴⁵ Overall, the sense of community, familiarity, and trust are clearly present and valued among CKL Villagers.

³⁵ Ibid., 53.

³⁶ Ibid., 71.

³⁷ Ibid., 147.

³⁸ Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 04:39.

³⁹ Ibid., 03:00.

⁴⁰ Lam et al., *Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling*, 147.

⁴¹ 劉佳欣, "偏居鬧市四世紀茶果嶺村 終到命運關口," 大學線 U-Beat Magazine, December 21, 2019, <https://ubeat.com.cuhk.edu.hk/145-chakwoling/>.

⁴² Lam et al., *Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling*, 139.

⁴³ Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 10:00.

⁴⁴ Lam et al., *Travelling through Cha Kwo Ling*, 117, 123, 145.
Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 10:00.

⁴⁵ Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 13:25.

→ 鄉民聯誼會每年都會舉辦傳統節慶活動，圖中為存放在會址內的天后誕物資。
Supplies for the Tin Hau Festival are stored in the centre of Villagers Fraternity Association which holds traditional celebrations every year.
圖說：陳悅屏先生提供
Provided by Mr Lo Yuet-ping



Villagers distribute and enjoy the 'master rice' at the Villagers Fraternity Association on Lo Pan's Birthday, 2017.

圖說：陳悅屏先生提供
Provided by Mr Lo Yuet-ping



Figure 22

Photographs showing different interior usages (top), and the exterior entrance signs showing its previous and current names at the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association building (bottom).

Source: CACHe (2022).



Figure 23
Life on the CKL Main Street, which the Mau Fat Noodle Shop (now kiosk) extends into.
Sources: Mill MILK (2022).

[E] Conclusion

The Villagers' personal accounts have offered a more social and experiential valuation of CKL Village. Generally, they have taken a pragmatic stance toward buildings. Driven by necessity, the Kylin Team training grounds and former Si Shan Public School were emphasised as the fruits of their labour, which corresponds to the scientific-workmanship value. Necessity was also the driver of numerous ad hoc building alterations over the decades, in response to changing functional requirements at Law Mansion, Tang Mansion, and Wing Wah Cafe. They indicate an open attitude toward such changes, which increase the buildings' economic-use value. This value's importance can override the buildings' granite construction; and even affect the social-spiritual value of its surroundings, as revealed by the accounts regarding the Stone of Fertility.

Similarly, in the cases of Tin Hau Temple and the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association, their social-spiritual and social-emotional values have overshadowed the buildings' physical features. Oral accounts focus on the rituals and communal activities that these places (and an ensemble of many others) facilitate, hence forming strong, valued relationships between villagers. These are materialised along CKL Main Street and inside its businesses, where feelings of familiarity and trust can also be found.

VI.

The Hong Konger's Perspective

[A] Definition & Main Sources

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the demolition plans of CKL Village evoked interest from Hong Kongers, who have experienced unique features in the village that can contribute to defining the city, and subsequently their identity. These features will later be articulated under the values framework - but before that, it is necessary to define the Hong Konger. Compared to the other perspectives, this one stands out because it has no obligatory involvement in the urban redevelopment procedures that set the fate of CKL Village. Therefore, this thesis turns to Spears' Elaborated Social Identity Approach to understand the present-day Hong Konger identity.¹

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the Hong Konger identity has resurrected with the Umbrella Movement and the Anti-Extradition Law Movement. Given that the latter developed in a leaderless, decentralised manner - with information and decision-making processes disseminated through social media platforms - the Hong Konger identity has been largely undertaken through self-categorisation. Spears defines this as the process of identifying oneself as a member of one or multiple social groups.² A group holds particular values and attributes, which are compared and distinguished from those of other groups. Then, these are used to characterise oneself.³

Spears linked this identity formation process to explain how crowd behaviour and collective action can still occur without a clear leadership, due to the sharing of goals and norms.⁴ The collective execution of decided actions - such as following an all-black dress code for protests - would then return to bolster the sense of identity that fundamentally motivated it, as co-action "gives a sense of support and efficacy" to an individual's actions, along with a sense of "oneness with others".⁵

Further, external instigators can also "galvanise" the group identity.⁶ The presence of an authoritative out-group that treats the in-group in a certain way would further unite and radicalise all whom fall victim to them. Spears raises the example of police generalising protesters as lawbreakers, which would unite all whom are susceptible to the treatment that this judgement brings - including those

¹ Russell Spears, "Group Identities: The Social Identity Perspective," in *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research* (New York: Springer, 2011), 203.

² Ibid., 221.

³ Ibid., 212.

⁴ Ibid., 214.

⁵ Ibid., 218.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Centre for Communication and Public Opinion Survey, Chinese University of Hong Kong, *Research Report on Public Opinion During the Anti-Extradition Bill (Fugitive Offenders Bill) Movement in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: CCPOS, CUHK, IPCC) May 2022, 105, <http://www.com.cuhk.edu.hk/ccpos/en/pdf/202005PublicOpinionSurveyReport-ENG.pdf>.

⁹ Amos Why, "@amoswonghoyin," Instagram User Profile, accessed February 2, 2023, <https://www.instagram.com/amoswonghoyin/?hl=en>.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Kerr, "How Director Amos Why Found Creative Freedom in the Collapse of Hong Kong Film," *Zolima City Mag*, November 14, 2018, <https://zolimacitymag.com/how-director-amos-why-found-creative-freedom-in-the-collapse-of-hong-kong-film/>.

¹¹ Get Ready HK, "關於GetReady - 香港好去處·品味生活·旅遊資訊," last modified October 1, 2015, <https://www.getreadyhk.com/about-us>.

¹² Liber Research Community, "About Us," last modified November 29, 2019, <https://liber-research.com/en/about-us-2/>.

¹³ Mill MILK, "關於我們," accessed February 2, 2023, <https://www.mill-milk.com/about-us/>.

¹⁴ 愛Pepe三千, "茶果嶺興衰見證香港發展 《在地餐桌小旅行》作者:不記下便沒了," *HK01*, May 22, 2015, https://www.hk01.com/article/626489?utm_source=01articlecopy&utm_medium=referral.

who did not originally associate themselves to be radical.⁷ This example had in fact realised in Hong Kong upon multiple incidents of police brutality throughout 2019, which became a key reason for people to attend protests - at times even surpassing the importance of retracting the extradition law, which the movement is named after.⁸

Since the Government's COVID-19 measures halted all public gatherings and protests in 2020, the movement diminished in the physical sense, while the Government increasingly strengthened its authoritarian stance. Citizens began searching for the cultural domains that could more objectively and sustainably define Hong Kong and its local people, given that the collective struggle of past movements would inevitably fade.

Thus, by understanding that the present-day Hong Konger is a group social identity that was first self-determined; bolstered through the collective actions in protests; expanded in reaction to out-group treatments; and finally left with a search for sustainable identity-defining elements, this chapter shall refer to sources whom have a self-proclaimed, personal connection and/or commitment to Hong Kong, as opposed to another geopolitical entity. Direct quotes are supplemented to denote how they fulfil this criterion.

<p>Amos Why (黃浩然) Movie Director</p>	<p><i>Far Far Away 緣路山旻晃, 2021</i></p> <p>"Made by/in/for HKG"⁹ <i>"So rather than talking about Hong Kong totally losing itself there is another option. I'm not necessarily an optimist, but I do believe in cycles."</i>¹⁰</p>
<p>Yeh Tin Miu @ Get Ready HK (野田苗) Travel and Lifestyle Journalist</p>	<p><i>茶果嶺村·掉進時間的狹縫中, (trans: CKL Village - Falling into the slit of time), 2022</i></p> <p>"...更希望香港有一個交流及分享理想生活嘅空間 / 香港人, 應該想想, 如何享受生活!"¹¹ <i>(trans: ...hope that Hong Kong can have a space to exchange and share their ideal lifestyles / Hong Kongers should think about how to enjoy life!)</i></p>
<p>Liber Research Group (本土研究社) Independent Research Group</p>	<p><i>市區舊村最後倒數 — 茶果嶺村將會拆剩什麼?, (trans: Countdown for the old urban village - After demolition, what will be left of CKL Village?), accessed 2023</i></p> <p>"By locals, for locals / Unlike tertiary institutions which focus on topics that the global academic community is interested in, we study topics that Hong Kongers care about."¹²</p>
<p>Mill MILK Independent Journalism Group</p>	<p><i>觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區, (trans: Kwun Tong CKL Village is soon to be demolished - visiting the last squatter area), 2022</i></p> <p>"我們紮根香港, 穿過大街小巷, 搞高搞低, 洞悉城市脈搏, 呈現原汁原味的香港地, 為這城市的每個人補充養份。香港地生, 香港地活。"¹³ <i>(trans: We are rooted in Hong Kong... presenting the authenticity of this land, replenishing citizens with nutrients. Born in Hong Kong, living in Hong Kong.)</i></p>
<p>Sandy Wong (黃可衡) Local Travel Book Author & Blogger</p>	<p><i>茶果嶺 (trans: CKL), 2016</i></p> <p>"說到香港舊時人情味, 我相信這位叔叔很有代表性, 而且我認為不單止碩果僅存, 是去到香港精神遺產的地步。"¹⁴ <i>(trans: ...this uncle is representative of Hong Kong's old sense of community, which I believe should not be seen as a remnant of history, but as a piece of spiritual heritage)</i></p>

[B] Revealing a Lesser-known Past: Age-Workmanship & Historic-Educational Values

The Hong Konger appreciates how the quarrying and mining history of CKL Village is embodied in its granite buildings, thus corresponding to age-workmanship value. This is apparent in general descriptions of the village's buildings, and in specific cases like the former Porcelain Factory. Further, these physical embodiments of history are understood as educational resources, which should be kept to learn about a lesser-known past.

Apart from the movie, all other sources pointed out the prevalence of stone buildings in CKL Village, and highlighted them in connection with its quarrying history. Yeh Tin Miu noted that "in this village that once produced granite, there are several stone houses, schools, and temples".¹⁵ Mill MILK presented two particular examples - a squatter house built on granite walls, and the Wing Wah Cafe - again justifying that the material choice was "because CKL used to be a quarry".¹⁶ With the most detail, the Liber Research Group explained that the village was "an important base" for granite and Kaolin clay production, and this is encapsulated by the former Porcelain Factory, a granite building consisting of storage areas and quarters for the Kaolin mine workers (Fig. 24).¹⁷ The building had four stones with "ML 20" engraved on them, referring to the Kaolin "Mining Lot No. 20".¹⁸ Thus, Liber argued that altogether, the materiality of the factory and stones displayed the "unique" history of the village.¹⁹ Along with other stone buildings and quarry relics, they constituted to an "industrial settlement" that "embodies Hong Kong's masonry and architectural history that was once well-known."²⁰ Thus, by drawing connections between the history and material expression of granite structures in CKL Village, the Hong Konger endows age-workmanship values upon them, and identifies them both individually and collectively.

Further, the aforesaid history and its physical manifestations are perceived as neglected parts of the city, which should therefore be kept for future generations to learn about this lesser-known past. The village is portrayed to have been "forgotten over time, but it still quietly exists",²¹ as a "place gathering dust in the corner".²² For this precise reason, movie director Amos Why chose CKL Village as a setting in *Far Far Away*, as he hoped that the movie could introduce "places that Hong Kongers have never been to, or don't even know about".²³ More specifically, Liber criticised that the Government had only "lightly mentioned" the history of the former Porcelain Factory, causing it to

¹⁵ 野田苗, "茶果嶺村·掉進時間的狹縫中," 香港休閒好去處, July 3, 2022, <https://www.getreadyhk.com/leisure-and-fun/place-to-go/item/1062-cha-kwo-ling>.

¹⁶ Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即走入僅存寮屋區," last modified February 12, 2022, 07:36-08:23, <https://www.mill-milk.com/travel/%e8%a7%80%e5%a1%98-%e8%8c%b6%e6%9e%9c%e5%b6%ba-%e5%af%ae%e5%b1%8b%e5%8d%80-%e6%87%b7%e8%88%8a%e5%86%b0%e5%ae%a4-%e8%b2%93/>.

¹⁷ Liber Research Community, "市區舊村最後倒數 — 茶果嶺村將會拆剩什麼?," accessed January 24, 2023, <https://liber-research.com/chatwolong1/>.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ 野田苗, "茶果嶺村·掉進時間的狹縫中."

²² Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 00:30.

²³ 曾蓮, "導演專訪 | 《綠路山台見》導演黃浩然:創作源自生活 香港真係好靚" 大紀元時報, August 4, 2022, <https://hk.epochtimes.com/news/2022-08-04/16567600>.

be "severely underestimated and ignored" - an opinion which they pertain toward Tsang's Mansion as well.²⁴ Amidst the consensus that the village has an unsung history, Sandy Wong encouraged visitors to "stay at the bottom of the mountain, and learn about [its history] from the building materials of the granite houses".²⁵ Similarly, Why used the movie to raise awareness that CKL Village would be demolished, and wished that the audience would visit it before then.²⁶ Therefore, after the movie was released, he led a tour through the village to describe its history and his experiences during filming.²⁷ This shows how the Hong Konger finds historic-educational value in CKL Village, as it can reveal and inform people about a lesser-known past that is embedded in physical fabric.



Figure 24

Photographs of the former Porcelain Factory, focusing on its granite construction and stones engraved with "ML20".
Source: Liber Research Group (2022).

²⁴ Liber Research Community, "市區舊村最後倒數 — 茶果嶺村將會拆剩什麼?."

²⁵ Sandy Wong, "茶果嶺," accessed February 2, 2023, <https://www.localfoodtravel.com/blank-uxn2p>.

²⁶ 曾蓮, "導演專訪 | 《綠路山脊》導演黃浩然:創作源自生活 香港真係好靚."

²⁷ 呂諾君, "綠路山脊 | 導演親身帶陸路團 用電影留住茶果嶺村、沙頭角風景," *HK01*, July 22, 2022, <https://www.hk01.com/18%E5%8D%80%E6%96%B0%E8%81%9E/795141/%E7%B7%A3%E8%B7%AF%E5%B1%B1%E6%97%AE%E6%97%AF-%E5%B0%8E%E6%BC%94%E8%A6%AA%E8%BA%AB%E5%B8%B6%E9%99%B8%E8%B7%AF%E5%9C%98-%E7%94%A8%E9%9B%BB%E5%BD%B1%E7%95%99%E4%BD%8F%E8%8C%B6%E6%9E%9C%E5%B6%BA%E6%9D%91-%E6%B2%99%E9%A0%AD%E8%A7%92%E9%A2%A8%E6%99%AF>.

[C] Standing Out: Political-Entertainment Values

Within the village's past, the Hong Konger highlights features that allow CKL Village to bear significance in a wider context. This is exemplified in the descriptions of the granite and Kaolin clay industries, the Porcelain Factory, Si Shan Public School, and Wing Wah Cafe, which are expressed in connection with other entities. By doing so, the unique attributes of the village are extracted; and on a larger scale, they contribute to the delineation of Hong Kong from other geopolitical areas. Consequently, the village becomes part of the self-categorisation process that shapes the Hong Konger's identity, which translates to bearing political-entertainment value.

When illustrating the village's history of granite quarrying and Kaolin clay mining, the Hong Konger emphasises on the influence it bears both within and beyond the city. Wong specified that granite from CKL Village was not only used in the former Legislative Council Building and the Bank of China Headquarters in Hong Kong, but "even exported to Guangzhou for the Stone Chamber Sacred Heart Cathedral".²⁸ Both Wong and Liber stressed that Kaolin clay could be used in many products, and was "exported to as far as Japan, for producing cutlery, high-end ceramics, high-voltage insulators, and refractory bricks."²⁹ They concluded that together, the granite and clay industries brought "fame to Hong Kong with these exports".³⁰

Apart from geographic relations, the Hong Konger also links the village's spaces to enterprises and people of city-wide significance. The Liber Research Group pointed out that the Porcelain Factory was "precisely the old location of the Hong Kong Clays and Kaolin Company", which famously serviced the city for 70 years.³¹ Wong highlighted the Asiatic Petroleum Company, which was specified as "the second largest company in Hong Kong (after HSBC)".³² Their oil tank project was responsible for the relocation of Tin Hau Temple to its current site, and they provided funds for the Si Shan Public School, which was highlighted as the alma mater of local celebrities Law Ka Ying and Lau Dan.³³ Similarly, Wing Wah Cafe was described to have served local celebrities Eric Tsang, Sean Lau, and Siu Kwok-wai.³⁴ These descriptions demonstrate the Hong Konger's desire to articulate CKL Village's position within a broader and better recognised context of the city, in search of distinguished values and attributes in the self-categorisation process.

²⁸ Wong, "茶果嶺."

²⁹ Liber Research Community, "市區舊村最後倒數 — 茶果嶺村將會拆剩什麼?." Wong, "茶果嶺."

³⁰ Liber Research Community, "市區舊村最後倒數 — 茶果嶺村將會拆剩什麼?."

³¹ Ibid.

³² Wong, "茶果嶺."

³³ Liber Research Community, "市區舊村最後倒數 — 茶果嶺村將會拆剩什麼?."

³⁴ 野田苗, "茶果嶺村·掉進時間的狹縫中."
Milli MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 09:11.

[D] Nostalgia for an Outsider: Age-Existential & Social-Emotional Values

The Hong Konger acknowledges and values the worn and aged fabric of CKL Village, which resonates with the age-existential value. This is coupled by an appreciation of the tight-knit community and the "human taste" (人情味) that it holds, a term that refers to the intimate atmosphere and strong collective feeling between villagers, translating as a social-emotional value. Both values are experienced throughout the whole village - and in particular, Wing Wah Cafe serves as a microcosmic example.

The Hong Konger acknowledges the run down condition of CKL Village, which was introduced as "a collection of dilapidated steel sheet houses".³⁵ It is nonetheless perceived positively, as a place that "retain[s] its appearance from the 60s-70s",³⁶ where "each corner speaks of history"³⁷ and takes you "back in time".³⁸ The few remaining businesses on the CKL Main Street were described as "nostalgic",³⁹ and among them, Wing Wah Cafe most explicitly shows this patina of time which the Hong Konger appreciates. Its interior was described as "authentic",⁴⁰ "simple and dilapidated, but that is precisely the point [of what is unique about the cafe]".⁴¹ The furnishings are "antique, bearing witness to history",⁴² while the food they serve are not just the classic French toast and marinated chicken wings - but also a hot egg milk drink that "many young people would not know about".⁴³ Finally, a wall of old photos, posters, and handwritten menus that expressed the passing of time was also noted.⁴⁴

All of these elements contribute to Wing Wah Cafe's nostalgic atmosphere, which Why chose as the setting of the protagonist's upbringing, and his reunion with his childhood friends (Fig. 25). Correspondingly, the nostalgia that Hong Kongers value is not only provoked by traces from the past, but also by the humane feelings and communal relationships that can be felt, even as an outsider. Wong's recounted experience illustrates this - she asked some villagers on the street whether she would find Cha Kwo (a Hakka snack) in CKL Village. They immediately contacted another villager, who arrived with food on a tray two minutes later. Wong was surprised by their enthusiasm, and the villager who made the food even brought Wong to her home, to show her the manual process behind the food. On the way, they greeted other villagers, and Wong remarked that "the air was full of a strong sense of human taste."⁴⁵ Such intimate village connections were also described as

³⁵ 野田苗, "茶果嶺村·掉進時間的狹縫中."

³⁶ Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 00:04.

³⁷ 野田苗, "茶果嶺村·掉進時間的狹縫中."

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Liber Research Community, "市區舊村最後倒數 — 茶果嶺村將會拆剩什麼?."

⁴¹ 野田苗, "茶果嶺村·掉進時間的狹縫中."

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 11:50.

⁴⁴ 野田苗, "茶果嶺村·掉進時間的狹縫中."

⁴⁵ Wong, "茶果嶺."

"sai gau"⁴⁶ (世交, lit. trans: universal relationship), a relationship that spans through generations and goes "beyond merely knowing each other as family members".⁴⁷ It also extends to involve cats, who have been observed to roam around the streets and small shops.⁴⁸ The latter is considered as "gathering points" for a "community network" which possesses the "memories of villagers and tourists",⁴⁹ and forms an environment where all human and non-humans can "coexist peacefully".⁵⁰

[E] Conclusion

The Hong Konger recognises and appreciates the connection between the granite buildings of CKL Village and its quarrying period, which translates to the age-workmanship value. This value is not only appreciated in a group - as an industrial settlement - but also in the particular case of the former Porcelain Factory, which has traces of the Kaolin mining history engraved in it too. These histories, and the structures that embody them, are perceived as neglected parts of the city that can be valuable learning resources to reveal this lesser-known past.

Recognising its political-entertainment value, the Hong Konger articulates this past in connection to wider geographic contexts (when referring to the export locations of granite and Kaolin clay); and enterprises and figures of city-wide significance (when describing the Porcelain Factory, Si Shan Public School, and Wing Wah Cafe). In doing so, the Hong Konger understands the distinguished position of CKL Village within Hong Kong's history, which contributes to the self-categorisation of Hong Kongers by uncovering qualities that delineate the city from other geopolitical entities.

Finally, despite being an outsider, the Hong Konger appreciates the patina of time and strong sense of community experienced throughout CKL Village. This translates to age-existential and social-emotional values, which are epitomised at Wing Wah Cafe and the CKL Main Street - spaces where the dilapidated conditions are in fact appreciated, as they foreground a network of relationships transcending generations, familial relations, and even species.

⁴⁶ Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 13:16.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 13:16.

⁴⁸ 野田苗, "茶果嶺村·掉進時間的狹縫中."

Mill MILK, "觀塘茶果嶺清拆在即 走入僅存寮屋區," 04:48-04:59.

⁴⁹ Liber Research Community, "市區舊村最後倒數 — 茶果嶺村將會拆剩什麼?."

⁵⁰ 野田苗, "茶果嶺村·掉進時間的狹縫中."



Figure 25
Stills from *Far Far Away*, taken in the dilapidated streets of CKL Village and nostalgic Wing Wah Cafe.
Source: Golden Scene (2022).

VII.

Comparative

Conclusion

[illegible]

Figure 26
Table synthesising the analyses of perspectives and the attributes that they value in CKL Village.
Source: Author.

This thesis began with the research question:

How have various societal parties developed their respective valuations of CKL Village, and where are the potentials amidst their similarities and differences?

With reference to the table of synthesised analysis (Fig. 26), this conclusive chapter will focus on responding to the latter part of the research question, as the former part has been addressed in previous chapters. The four perspectives can be found on the far left, each occupying a row. The columns on the left are the attributes being valued, while the columns on the right are the values that apply to them. The table is filled with examples that this thesis has covered, which are as representative as possible, and by no means a complete list.

In general, all perspectives are able to identify tangible assets of various scales, such as granite blocks (element), the Tin Hau Temple (building), and the CKL Main Street (urban element). However, the Government falls short when it comes to valuing areas and landscapes - which require the respective understanding of multiple pieces of heritage, and the context that bolsters their significance. This is owing to the aforementioned outdatedness of the heritage mechanism (with its basis dating back to the Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance of 1976). Meanwhile, the Developer is strong in identifying these wider tangible attributes of CKL Village (e.g. mountain & harbour context, connectivity to business centres), primarily using them in terms of their future potentials to market its properties; as well as envisioning heritage assets as focal areas in the future landscape. The Hong Konger also appreciates the village in terms of a landscape (albeit for its aged fabric), and in comparison to the city. More specifically, the Hong Konger and Villager are able to value existing ensembles (e.g. cafes and businesses), which have collectively facilitated a strong sense of community.

This leads to the intangible attributes, many of which the Villager values, including relations between assets, rituals as societal knowledge, and the tight-knit community itself. The latter is appreciated by Hong Kongers as well, along with a nostalgic atmosphere. On the other hand, the Developer barely addresses intangible attributes, unless they offer profitable opportunities (e.g. societal uses). The Government is able to value intangible elements like the community's social dynamics and networks - but as prior analyses has highlighted, they are only considered as something of the past.

Continuing on that, all perspectives recognise the social-emotional values in CKL Village, but they think from different points of departure, and in different scales. The Villager and Hong Konger attributes it to the community itself, and the variety of places in which they gather - some are intimate but extensive places (e.g. street), while others are buildings that have been collectively organised (e.g. CKL Villagers Fraternity Association). The Government and Developer resonates more with the

latter building scale, or otherwise, the element scale (e.g. memorial plaques). They tend to attribute the social-emotional value to condensed objects embodying the communal history, instead of places where the existing village community stays active. Again, we see a reluctance to appreciate the CKL Villagers as a collective that is still alive and ongoing.

Thus, this analysis and comparison of how CKL Village is valued by four different perspectives reveals two key shortcomings of the Government's current heritage mechanism. Firstly, there is still an underlying monument-based approach that fails to address the value of heritage assets taking the form of landscapes and/or groups, which the Developer, Villager, and Hong Konger appreciate in their separate ways. Secondly, there is a reluctance to engage with the existing community, whose strong relationships are also valued by outsiders, like Hong Kongers. Perhaps this is a missed opportunity, as the Villagers' oral accounts have actually revealed intricate details about the village's history during the writing of this thesis. Further reflecting on that, the perspective and value framework has been a useful tool in gaining a deeper and aligned understanding of various voices, but simultaneously, this has revealed specificities and differences that are difficult to conclude and suggest potentials from. Perhaps, this final step should take place beyond the scope of thesis writing, in a setting where the perspectives are not just subjects of analyses, but active people who can respond and negotiate with each other.

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Timestamp & Voice	Chinese (Original)	English (Translated by Author)
0:00-0:09 Long (Reporter)	現時流行懷舊復古 香港還有一條村 村內店舖不多 但每間舖也停留在 60 70 年代的模樣 我們今次就看看為甚麼這條村可以將 時空定格在 60 70 年代	Vintage things are back in trend nowadays. Though there are few shops left in it, Hong Kong still has a village that retains its appearance from the 60-70s. Today, we are going to see why this village can freeze time and remain in that time period.
0:20-0:36 Long	走進位於觀塘的茶果嶺村 可以看到以前時代的通花鐵閘 雖然現時已十室九空 但這裡曾住上過萬人 數次火災令居民越來越少 近 20 年來一直有拆村重建的消息 令這裡變成塵封起來的一角	Walking into Cha Kwo Ling Village in Kwun Tong, we can see old steel gates with carved patterns. Although most of these houses are empty now, there were once over ten thousand people living here. The residential population decreased due to several fires; and in the last twenty years, constant news of village demolition for urban renewal caused this place to gather dust in the corner.
0:39-0:47 Ng Bo Wo	我 1955 年來到這裡 未夠 1 歲便來到茶果嶺 我們一到埗就租了這裡 最初賣魚蛋粉 咖啡奶茶 現在會賣一些小吃 如魚蛋燒賣	I came to Cha Kwo Ling in 1955, before I turned one year old. We rented this place upon arrival. At first, we sold fishball noodles, coffee, and milk tea. Now we only sell snacks, like fishballs and shaomai (a type of fish dumpling).
0:55-1:06 Long	67 歲的華哥在 5 6 年前 因為膝蓋問題放棄煮麵 雲吞麵舖搖身一變 變成士多 不過這裡的一枱一櫈仍跟以前一樣	67-year old Brother Wah had to stop cooking noodles five to six years ago, due to knee problems. His wonton noodle store quickly transformed into a kiosk, but all the chairs and tables are still the same as before.
1:07 Ng Bo Wo	沒有改變 店舖仍是這樣	It hasn't changed, the store remains the same.
1:09-1:12 Long	華哥 我見這邊的樓底特別矮 這部份是甚麼？	Brother Wah, I noticed that the ceiling lowers here. Why is that?

1:13-1:21 Ng Bo Wo	是閣樓來的 我們小時候關門後 就會掛一條鐵梯在橫方上 上去睡覺	This is a mezzanine floor. When I was younger, after the restaurant closed for the day, we would hang a steel ladder on that horizontal beam and climb up to bed.
1:24 Long	即是開張時已經有這部份了嗎？	So it was already there since the restaurant opened?
1:25-1:42 Ng Bo Wo	開張時已經有 我幾歲睡到 10 多歲 這張枱有 60 多年了 表面磨平了才換了防火板 我個人寧願要舊的東西 不要新的 如果是舊物的話 我可以回想起以前的東西 用新東西的話 好像忘記以前的事	Yes, it was already there when the restaurant opened. I slept there until I was a teenager. This table is over sixty years old, we only replaced the tabletop with a fireproof board after the original surface was wiped so much that it eroded. I'd rather have old stuff than new. If it is old, I can think back to past times. If I use something new, it seems like I would forget the past.
1:46-1:51 Long	華哥的舖還有另一個特色就是格仔舖 他會劃分不同位置讓街坊寄賣不同東西 這些菜是你種的嗎？	Brother Wah's kiosk has another unique feature – the consignment lots. He designates different spaces for villagers to sell various goods. Did you grow these vegetables yourself?
1:53-2:02 Ng Bo Wo	不是 是街坊叫我幫忙賣的 他在外邊賣菜 有時賣不去的 就會便宜一點 半價賣給街坊 好像這些沙律菜是 8 元	No, the villagers asked me to help sell them. They usually sell vegetables elsewhere, so these are the leftovers. To benefit the villagers around here, they are sold for half the original price. For example, these salad vegetables are eight dollars.
2:04 Long	你讓地方給他賣菜 賣到的錢怎樣處理？	So you provided a space for them to sell their vegetables. What happens to the money earned?
2:07-2:11 Ng Bo Wo	都是他的 他說將一部份給我 我說不好了 反正大家是街坊 那麼相熟	It's all his. He suggested to split some earnings for me, but I refused to accept that since we are all such close villagers.
2:11 Long	他會不會叫你拿回去吃？	Would he tell you to bring the vegetables home and eat them yourself?

2:12-2:18 Ng Bo Wo	他經常叫我拿去吃 也不願收我錢 大家都是左鄰右里	He always tells me to eat them myself, and rejects my offers to pay him. We are all villagers.
2:18-2:20 Long	這個寫著迷你幻燈片機 其實是甚麼？	This says mini magic slide machine. What is it actually?
2:22-2:34 Ng Bo Wo	這裡有圖片 然後可以放進機內 向著光源看 按下去就可以看到圖片 很有趣 這是我小時候玩過的 大約 50 年前	Here is a slide with an image, which you can insert in the machine. Look toward a light source, and press the button to see different images, it's really cute. I played it when I was a child, around fifty years ago.
2:36-2:41 Long	我見這個寫了英文有故事般 是不是有其他圖片？	I see that this one has some English story in it. Would there be other sets of images and stories?
2:24-2:49 Ng Bo Wo	有一些動物 動物漂亮一點 有朋友叫我替他賣 替他賣掉後 將錢給他 起初他說兩人一起分 我說不好了	There are some with animals, animals are prettier. My friend asked me to sell them. I gave him his earnings back. At first he said we should split it equally between us, but I said no.
2:51 Long	為甚麼不好？	Why not?
2:52-2:59 Ng Bo Wo	沒所謂 反正我也是坐在這裡 大家相識了很久 他也是在茶果嶺出生	It doesn't matter, I'm sitting here anyway. We've known each other for so long, he was also born here in Cha Kwo Ling.
3:00 Long	你一天有多少生意？	How much do you earn in a day?
3:01-3:22 Ng Bo Wo	如果包括香煙 都是數百元左右 街坊感情當然比錢重要 錢可以再賺 街坊感情無法找回來 不可以整塊買 可以抽 5 次 10 元	If you include cigarettes sold, it's just a few hundred dollars. The village relationships are definitely more important than the money. You can earn money back, but you cannot get the villagers' relationships back once they are gone. You can't buy the whole board. You can draw five times for ten dollars. Sometimes you get a big ball, sometimes you get the small one.
3:22 Kaka's Mother	嘉嘉你試試抽吧	Kaka, try drawing one.
3:22-3:26 Ng Bo Wo	我替你撕開 一張而已 48 號在哪兒	Let me tear it for you, just one right. Where's number 48?

	48 號是這個	48, it's here.
3:28-3:30 Kaka's Mother	嘉嘉你看這麼小 你再抽吧	Kaka, look, the ball is so small. Draw another one.
3:34-3:38 Ng Bo Wo	5 號 是大波 對 是 5 號 叻女	Number 5, it's a big ball. Yes, number 5. Good girl!
3:40 Long	平時會不會經常帶女兒來買玩具	Do you usually bring your daughter here to buy toys?
3:42-3:48 Kaka's Mother	經過就會進來買 嘉嘉 你舉高喜歡的那個 最喜歡哪一個	We buy when we pass by. Kaka, raise up the one you like the most.
3:50-3:54 Ng Bo Wo	有些人抽不到大的 就會不斷抽 可以抽 10 次 有時 10 次也抽不到	Some people can't draw the big one, so they draw again and again. They draw ten times, but sometimes they still won't get it.
3:55-3:58 Long	你很多玩具都是 2 元至 10 多元 外邊最貴的玩具是甚麼？	Most of your toys cost between two to ten dollars. What's that most expensive toy placed outside?
4:01-4:08 Ng Bo Wo	這個要用電池的 可以釣魚 我們小時候玩 它會張開口就可以釣 好像是最後一件了 賣完就算了	It needs batteries, this toy is a fishing game. We played it when we were young. When the fishes open their mouths, you can pull them out. I think it's the last one. Once it's sold, that's it.
4:17-4:39 Ng Bo Wo	這裡 7 時就開門 營業至晚上 11 12 時左右 反正在家也是呆坐 倒不如做生意 可以跟街坊聊天 時間快過一點 有時晚上會餵流浪貓 餵了很長時間 10 多年了 (這裡) 很多人也養貓 可以趕走蛇蟲鼠蟻	We open at seven, and work until eleven or twelve at night. If I was home, I'd be sitting and dozing off anyway, so why not do this business. I can talk to the villagers, and time passes quickly. Sometimes at night, I feed the stray cats. I've been feeding them for over ten years. Many people here have cats, they help shoo off snakes, insects, rats and ants.
4:48-4:59 Long	中午時在這裡走 你會發現除了有很多地盤工人外 還有很多貓 我聽村民說 他們喜歡放養貓 放養牠們就可以讓牠們巡邏 令自己家中沒有那麼多老鼠蟑螂	When walking here in the afternoon, you will find that apart from a lot of construction workers, there are a lot of cats. I've heard from the villagers, that they like to let their cats freely roam around, to protect their home from rats and cockroaches.
5:07-5:16 Long	原來茶果嶺真的有茶果 這間舖最特別的是	Turns out that you can really eat Cha Kwo in Cha Kwo Ling!

	<p>它是地舖 同時又是民居 街坊只要致電這裡 就有茶果和其他不同東西吃</p> <p>柏小姐你好 我想這裡以前是店舖還是住宅</p>	<p>The special thing about this shop is that it is simultaneously a ground floor shop and a home. Villagers just have to give them a call, and Cha Kwo and other snacks will be available!</p> <p>Hello Ms Pak. I want to ask, was this previously a shop or a home?</p>
5:23-5:25 Ms Pak	<p>以前是商店 現在是住宅</p>	It was a shop, and now it's a home.
5:26 Long	街坊會怎樣找你買東西吃？	So how do the villagers normally reach you?
5:27 Ms Pak	有時會致電給我 我送去	Sometimes they call me and I deliver to them.
5:30 Long	通常會煮甚麼東西？	Normally, what is there to eat?
5:31 Ms Pak	有茶果 狗仔粉 糯米糍	There's Cha Kwo, short "doggie" noodles, glutinous rice balls.
5:34 Long	那麼我今天可以嚐到你煮的東西嗎？	Will I be able to try something today?
5:35 Ms Pak	可以	Yes you can.
5:36 Long	我跟你進廚房看看吧	Then I'll follow you into the kitchen and have a look.
5:40 Ms Pak	好的	Sure.
5:45-5:51 Long	<p>聽街坊說茶果嶺一些寮屋的前身是豬欄 柏小姐這裡就是其中一個例子 廚房內的貨倉前身是舊豬欄 但已經數十年沒有用 現在主要用來放貨物</p>	According to the villagers, some squatter houses were previously pigsties. Ms Pak's place is an example of that. The storage room of her kitchen was a pigsty that hasn't been used in several decades. Now it is used to put stock.
5:53-6:15 Long	<p>茶果嶺原本是一條客家村 加上寮屋租金便宜 吸引了許多新移民定居於此 當中不少人是如柏小姐般的客家人 有些街坊甚至叫這裡作大陸新村 不過雖然是客家村 但仍有客家食物的地方就只有這裡</p> <p>這個麵粉還有點濕潤 是今早搓的嗎？</p>	<p>Because Cha Kwo Ling used to be a Hakka village, and squatter housing could be rented cheaply, many new immigrants decided to settle here. Many of them are Hakka like Ms Pak, and some villagers call this village the "Mainland New Village". Although it was a Hakka village, Ms Pak's place is the only remaining one where you can eat Hakka food.</p> <p>I see the dough is quite moist, did you knead it this morning?</p>

6:15-6:26 Ms Pak	是的 我一早搓的 我用的是中筋麵粉 其實狗仔粉和狗仔粥都是差不多	Yes, I kneaded it this morning. I used all purpose flour, it's a similar process to making noodles and congee.
6:23 Long	然後要怎樣做 壓平它嗎？	And then what do you do? Flatten it?
6:25-6:25 Ms Pak	對 大概一毫子般的厚度就差不多	Yes, until it's the thickness of a one cent coin, that would be enough.
6:27-6:30 Long	要壓至一毫子的厚薄也有點難度 我想問狗仔粥其實是哪個地方的菜式？	It's quite difficult to knead it until it reaches that thickness. Actually, where does the "doggie" congee come from?
6:33-6:43 Ms Pak	正宗來說是客家人 客家人不叫狗仔粥 叫刀切板 這是蝦米 豬肉 豬油渣 薑蔥頭 半肥瘦豬肉 假如全是瘦肉 狗仔粉就沒有味道	Traditionally, it comes from the Hakka people. But Hakka people don't call it the "doggie", we call it the "knife-cut slats". This is dried shrimp, pork, pork oil, ginger, spring onions and semi-fat lean pork. If you use fully lean pork, it won't have enough flavour.
6:48-7:12 Long	這就是柏小姐做的狗仔粉 嚐嚐是否好吃 這口是未有菜脯的 感覺淡淡的 我覺得本身湯底偏淡 菜脯的辣味與湯和肉是頗搭配的 這個是柏小姐做的糯米糍 它是花生餡嗎？	This is Ms Pak's "doggie" noodles. I'll try if it's tasty now. This first bite didn't have preserved radish, it tastes mild. I think the soup base itself is mild, so the spiciness of the preserved radish complements the soup and meat quite well. This is Ms Pak's glutinous rice ball. Is there a peanut filling inside?
7:13 Ms Pak	它是芝麻花生餡	It's a sesame and peanut filling.
7:16-7:23 Long	很足料 餡料幾乎溢出來 極力推薦這個糯米糍 非常滿足	It's completely stuffed, the filling is almost falling out. I really recommend this glutinous rice ball. I feel fulfilled.
7:24 Ms Pak	這些是艾草茶果	This is a wormwood tea fruit Cha Kwo.
7:28-7:30 Long	有少許綠茶的味道 不過記住 糯米糍和茶果都要周末才有	It tastes a little like green tea. But remember, the glutinous rice balls and Cha Kwos are only available on weekends.

7:36-8:04 Ms Pak	<p>（這裡有）差不多三份之一至三份之二是客家人 這裡的村長也是客家人 過冬時這裡的客家味最濃 因為我們會一起製作蘿蔔茶果 最初來這裡的時候不太習慣 這裡的外牆全是用石頭做的 最怕颱風 因為天花是鐵皮 颱風會吹走 就會很擔心 山竹的時候就試過 我一整晚也沒有睡覺 廚房的鐵皮吹走了 都是隔壁的程先生再送給我 這裡人情味好 是我最喜歡的</p>	<p>Around a third to two-thirds of the people here are Hakka, including the village head. The Hakka spirit is strongest when we go through winter together, because we would make radish Cha Kwo together. When I first arrived, I wasn't used to this place, because the walls are all made of stone. I'm afraid of typhoons, because my roof is made of steel sheet. I get worried that typhoons would blow them away. During Typhoon Mangkhut, I didn't sleep for an entire night. The steel sheets at my kitchen blew away. Then my next-door neighbour, Mr Ching, gave new sheets to me. Here, the "human taste" is good. That's my favourite thing.</p>
8:07-8:23 Long	<p>茶果嶺有很多屋 都是用花崗石做的 這裡還有一間以前是教堂的石屋 現在變成冰室 我們看看冰室怎樣 這裡會用花崗石建造 是因為茶果嶺曾經是石礦場 而 70 歲的鏡叔 就是這間石屋冰室的老闆和大廚</p>	<p>There are many houses in Cha Kwo Ling built with granite. Here, there used to be a granite church, which has now become a café. Let's have a look at the café. These houses were built with granite because Cha Kwo Ling used to be a quarry. 70-year old Uncle King is the owner and chef of this granite-built café.</p>
8:26-8:40 Au-Yeung Wai King	<p>這裡是教會 以前的小朋友會來這裡拿零食 後來它搬走了 我爸爸當時便買了這裡 我們做了 60 年 我們 1962 年開張</p>	<p>It used to be a church. Children came to get snacks. Then the church moved elsewhere, so my father bought this place. We've been in business for 60 years, we opened in 1962.</p>
8:42 Long	<p>白色牆身和天花是因為教堂嗎？</p>	<p>The white walls and ceiling, is it because it used to be a church?</p>
8:45-8:48 Au-Yeung Wai King	<p>不是 是因為再上髹 每年也會再上髹 本身是麻石來的</p>	<p>No, it's because we painted it. Every year we paint it. It was originally granite.</p>
8:50 Long	<p>鏡叔 我想問這個（廚櫃）是不是很久了？</p>	<p>Uncle King, how old is this kitchen cabinet?</p>
8:53-9:01 Au-Yeung Wai King	<p>很久了 開張多久就多久 這裡也沒有改變過 地方小 無法改變</p>	<p>It's been a long time, as long as we have been in business. Nothing has changed here.</p>

	這些櫈至少 70 至 80 年	There's not much space, we can't change anyway. These chairs are at least 70-80 years old.
9:04 Long	豈不是未有冰室已經有櫈	So you had the chairs even before the café began business?
9:06-9:08 Au-Yeung Wai King	我們都是用二手貨 在旺角 別人不要 我們才拿回來	These are all second-hand furniture, we took them back from Mong Kok because no one wanted them.
9:11-9:18 Lan	我們村中大哥 馴獸師蕭國威很喜歡坐 這個位 以前小時候 他父親富有 買了獅子 老虎等	Our village big brother, animal trainer Siu Kwok-wai loved sitting in this seat. When he was young, his father was wealthy and bought some lions and tigers.
9:24 Long	他在哪裡馴獸	Where would he train the animals?
9:25-9:37 Lan	他在村中住的地方叫雲臺 我這麼大 都是去過兩次 每次也要先致電他們 因為那時候有養狗和其他動物 沒有人夠膽去那裡	In the Cloud Villa in the village. I'm so old and I've only been there twice. You have to call them before going up there, because they had all sorts of animals and dogs there, no one had the guts to go there.
9:38 Bat	這裡全部街坊都認識了很久	We've all known each other for a long time.
9:40-9:43 Au-Yeung Wai King	他父親也是光顧這裡 每天早上也在這裡	His father also came to eat, every morning he would be here.
9:45-9:54 Bat	我的兄弟姊妹也光顧這裡 我哥哥的兒子和孫子 4 代人了	My brothers and sisters also came to eat. My brother, his son, and grandsons, that's four generations.
9:55-10:11 Lan	(鏡叔的) 爸爸 鬍鬚佬在的時候 已經在這裡飲茶 人情好 而且可以賒數 是我們的飯堂 他休息的話 我的子女就會罵他 最錯都是阿鏡不營業 所以沒有東西吃了	When Uncle King's dad, "moustache man", was still around, he would drink tea here. The humane feelings are good, you don't have to pay immediately. It's our canteen. If Uncle King rests, my children would get angry at him: Uncle King is not working today, it's his fault that we have nothing to eat!
10:13- 10:18 Long	鏡叔煮的西多士一直聞名 但街坊話雞翼尖才是其他地方找不到的美食	Uncle King's french toast has always been famous, but the villagers say that the chicken wing tips cannot be found elsewhere.

10:20- 10:26 Mr Wong	我會推介雞翼尖 其他地方不會有的 因為它的優點是 入口就可以吸啗所有肉 我覺得它的汁跟米粉很搭	I would recommend the chicken wing tips. You can't find them anywhere else, because the best part is, you can suck all the meat when you take the first bite. I think the sauce goes well with the noodles.
10:30- 10:33 Chung	我很喜歡吃這雞翼尖汁 雞翼尖只是附帶	I love the sauce so much, the chicken wing tips are really just accompanying it.
10:34- 10:39 Eric	西多士 老闆很細心 會即時煎完切開 平均分好煉奶 牛油等	The owner attentively slices the french toast and distributes the condensed milk, butter etc. for you.
10:46- 10:58 Au-Yeung Wai King	我正在製作西多士 首先要打蛋 剛剛好一隻蛋就足夠 這是油 西多士是油炸 這些麵包 25 元一條 本地做的 在觀塘做的 油滾了 就可以放下去	I'm making a French toast. First you have to beat the eggs, just one egg is enough. This is the oil for deep frying the French toast. This loaf of bread is 25 dollars. It is made locally, in Kwun Tong. Once the oil is boiling, you can put it in.
11:06- 12:10 Long	其他地方吃西多士都會配糖漿 但鏡叔這裡不要用糖漿 它的甜味跟平常配糖漿 牛油的味道是差不多的 這些雞翼尖都要花點工夫 要先氽水 再用滷水汁炆一天 先嚐一嚐 真的很軟 可能因為炆了一整天 一放進口就可以啖到肉 可以看到這些骨 吃得很乾淨的 它的滷水汁都很濃 我聽鏡叔說 這個滷水汁用 2 至 3 天就要換 然後這個就是 我相信很多年輕人都不知道 是甚麼的奶水蛋 奶水蛋以前有補身的作用 小朋友沒有很多飲品 他們想小孩多一點營養 就會沖滾水蛋或奶水蛋 它的蛋味不是很濃 反而很重煉奶味 很甜 我覺得小朋友應該很喜歡	Other places would recommend adding syrup to the french toast, but you don't have to with Uncle King's one. It already has the sweet taste of normal french toast with additional syrup and butter. The chicken wings are the result of many efforts. You have to scald it first, then cook it in brine for a day. Let me try it. It's really soft, maybe because it was cooked in brine for a day. I can chew on the meat once it enters my mouth. The bones on my plate are very clean. The brine sauce is really rich. Uncle King told me, this brine sauce would be changed every two to three days. And this, is something many young people would not know about. It is a hot milk and egg drink. People drank it to strengthen the body. Back then there wasn't much for children to drink, but they needed the nutrition, so a hot egg or hot milk and egg drink would be made.

		It doesn't have a strong egg taste, instead the taste of condensed milk is really strong, it's very sweet. I think children would enjoy it.
12:21-12:50 Au-Yeung Wai King	很多時都是我自己一個人做 以前是兩夫妻一起工作 我們都差不多結婚 50 年了 離開了數年 2017 年末（去世） 抱著老虎的就是我太太 她比我還厲害 她煮豬皮蘿蔔 甚麼東西都懂得 現在沒有賣了 一個人做不了這麼多 加上現時人流少了很多 以前熱鬧一點 農曆 3 月 23 日就熱鬧 彭定康也有在這裡拍照 1997 年 他去看粵劇	I mostly run the business alone. I used to work with my wife too, we were married for fifty years. But she passed away in late-2017. My wife is the one holding the tiger. She's more amazing than I am. She cooked pig skin radish, she knew how to make everything. We don't sell that dish anymore, I can't do it alone. And, there are fewer people now. It used to be more crowded. On the twenty-third day of the third month (Tin Hau Festival in the lunar calendar), it becomes more crowded. Colonial Governor Chris Patten also came one year and took a photo. In 1997, he came here to watch Cantonese opera.
12:51-12:58 Lan	我們會有舞龍舞獅 以前會有飄色巡遊 如果不是疫情 我伯伯在澳洲也會回來	We have lion and dragon dancing performances. We used to have the floating colours parade too. If it wasn't for the pandemic, my uncle would have come back from Australia.
13:00-13:09 Unknown Villager	會跟舊街坊一起說說小時候的事 感情會好一點 全部居民都會守望相助 不會像現在的社會 （感情）很淡薄 沒有人情味	Chatting with the villagers about our youth, the neighbouring feelings were stronger. Everyone would look out for each other, not like present-day society, where these feelings are thin and lacking in "human taste".
13:16-13:50 Long	我走進這條村之前會覺得 世交是一件很不真實的事 但走進餐廳就發現 這是一件很普通的事 會有一家人幾代也光顧一間餐廳 他們的關係不止體現在 認識彼此的家人 很難想像到 我要找一個朋友 我竟然不是致電給他 而是致電到餐廳找他 餐廳老闆會說他正在用餐 沒有空 這件事令我覺得驚訝	Before I came to this village, I thought eternal relationships were not real. But after entering the restaurant, I realized that it was a very common thing here. Several generations of a family would visit the same restaurant. This kind of relationship extends beyond merely knowing each other as family members. It's hard to believe that if I had to find a friend, I would not call him directly, but call the restaurant. And the restaurant owner would tell me that

	大家的關係可以如此緊密	he's not free now, because he's eating. Those intimate relations found here really surprise me.
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Source: 潘天惠. “茶果嶺村民毋忘歷史與人情味 九龍現存寮屋區之一.” 信報財經新聞 優雅生活, December 12, 2019, <https://lj.hkej.com/lj/artculture/article/id/2314736>.

Chinese (Original)	English (translated by Author)
<p>茶果嶺村民毋忘歷史與人情味 九龍現存寮屋區之一</p>	<p>Cha Kwo Ling villagers never forget their history and “human taste” One of Kowloon’s last squatter settlements</p>
<p>茶果嶺村，鬧市中被遺忘的隱世之地，位於藍田與油塘之間，面向維多利亞港，與牛池灣村和竹園聯合村成為九龍區僅存的寮屋區，齊齊在 10 月發表的《施政報告》被列為收地重建藍圖之內，聲稱可提供「6300 個公營房屋」，村內村外，意見紛陳。</p> <p>有些一把年紀的老街坊，對於遷拆，多年來只聞樓梯響，早已無所謂，一切順其自然，如果拆得成認為最重要是做好安置和補償的問題，但也有街坊捨不得濃厚的人情味，即使搬了出去，也幾乎每日回來打躉，同老朋友吹水聯誼，有得揀的話還是「唔拆好過拆」。</p> <p>牛頭角、茜草灣、茶果嶺和鯉魚門合稱四山，以茶果嶺為首，但名字由何而來呢？「這兒的人多數做石，少數做泥，據說茶果嶺盛產『高嶺土』，黏性非常高，像茶果一樣，因而得名。」茶果嶺村村長邱東解釋。</p> <p>翻查歷史，另有兩個說法：一個是六十年代從觀塘仔灣看過去，茶果嶺山形似茶果；另一個是愛做茶果的客家人大批搬入後，在山上種茶果樹而得名，目前已無從稽考。</p> <p>茶果嶺村的歷史超過 400 年，目前尚存的登記戶口約 470 個，估計人口約 2000 至 3000 人，昔日車水馬龍，大街熙來攘往，士多、冰室、肉檔、酒莊、五金行應有盡有，可是，時代巨輪不斷向前，今日已十室九空，目下盡是破舊的鐵皮屋，剩下的店舖充滿歷史痕跡。</p>	<p>Cha Kwo Ling Village, the hidden and forgotten land in the city, is located between Lam Tin and Yau Tong, and faces Victoria Harbour. Along with Ngau Chi Wan Village and Chuk Yuen United Village, they are the last squatter settlements in Kowloon; but in the Policy Address in October, they have all been included in the blueprints for land resumption and renewal, which shall provide “6300 public housing units”. Regarding this, there are varying opinions, both within and outside of the village.</p> <p>Some elder villagers have already heard of demolition plans several times across the years. They do not care anymore and see it all as a natural process. If the demolition really happens, their primary concerns are the compensation and relocation arrangements – but, there are also villagers who will miss the rich “human taste”. Even if some have moved elsewhere, they return almost daily to sit around, chatting to old friends. If they had a choice, “not demolishing is better than demolishing”.</p> <p>Si Shan was formed by Ngau Tau Kok, Sai Tso Wan, Cha Kwo Ling and Lei Yue Mun collectively, with Cha Kwo Ling as the administrative base. But where did the name of the area come from? The village head, Yau Dong, explained: “Here, most people were stonemasons, while some did clay work. Cha Kwo Ling produced a lot of “Kaolin Clay”, which was very sticky, like a Cha Kwo, so that’s how the name came along.”</p> <p>Historically, there are two other stories: One refers to the mountain looking like a Cha Kwo if you saw it from Kwun Tong Tsai Bay during the 1960s. The other story refers to the large number of Cha Kwo trees on the mountain planted by the Hakka immigrants</p>

	<p>who loved making Cha Kwos. Today, there is no way to verify the stories.</p> <p>Cha Kwo Ling Village has a history of over 400 years, there are around 470 registered households now. There is an estimated population of 2000-3000. In the past, there was a lot of traffic and people on the main street, where there were kiosks, cafes, butchers, wineries, mechanical stores... but as times have changed, most buildings there are now empty. Deteriorated metal sheet squatter houses are left, with shops that are filled with traces of history.</p>
 <p>茶果嶺村位於藍田和油塘之間，面向維港，屬市區靚地，只是政府一直未能與村民達成協議。（資料圖片）</p>	<p>As Cha Kwo Ling Village is located between Lam Tin and Yau Tong, facing Victoria Harbour, it is considered a nice plot in the city. However, the Government has not been able to reach an agreement with the villagers. (Stock Photo)</p>
<p>長開店舖僅六七間</p>	<p>Only six or seven permanent shops remain in business</p>
<p>記者在一個平日的早上實地考察，只見到處都是兩鬢斑白的老人，村內除了垃圾回收場傳出的雜音之外，非常寧靜，碰到最多的是在附近工作的建築工人，偶爾也見到年輕媽媽帶着年幼的子女出入。</p> <p>「小姓歐陽。」經營榮華冰室的歐陽偉鏡（人稱鏡哥）這樣自我介紹，一時間令人聯想到上世紀五六十年代的粵語長片，被記者問到村內是不是很少年輕人居住，他立即否認：「後生子女？其實都不算少，只是這個時間上班的上班，上學的上學。」</p> <p>「這冰室在 1962 年 8 月開業，初頭是爸爸先做，曾經賣過西餅、豬皮蘿蔔。」鏡哥早前因病足足休業了一個月，記者時來運到，剛好碰上他重新開舖的第一天，「爸爸當年都沒有請人，今日生意大不如前，每日只有十枱八枱客人，主要是附近的地盤工友，生意最</p>	<p>Our reporter visited the site in the morning of a weekday, and only saw elderly people. Apart from some noise at the recycling centre, it was very quiet, and most other people there were construction workers who were working nearby. Occasionally there would be young mothers with their children walking in and out.</p> <p>“My surname is Au-Yeung.”</p> <p>The owner of Wing Wah Café, Au-Yeung Wai King (nicknamed Brother King) introduced himself in a way that reminds you of Cantonese dramas from the 1950-60s. When asked if there are very few young people living in the village, he immediately denied: “Young people? Actually there aren’t that few, but at this hour, those at work are at work, and those at school are at school.”</p>

好景的時間是八十年代尾到九十年代初，每日做到 2000 多元，」他頓了一下，再說：「每日 7 點開舖、5 點左右關門，以前我同老婆一齊做，但兩年前她先行一步。」

小小冰室前身是古老花崗石建成的石屋教堂，變身超過半世紀，養活了三代人，鏡哥育有兩子一女，他慨嘆現今村內每日開門的店舖，大概剩下六七間，「現在，我仍然同女兒和大孫一齊住，三代同堂都幾開心，但畢竟年紀不輕，夜晚多數都不煮飯，外出吃飯更方便。」很多名人都曾到冰室幫襯，例如前港督彭定康，記者在午飯時間再次經過，每張枱都坐滿，客人甚至要自己寫單。

"This café opened in August 1962 by my father. We once sold cakes, and pig skin with radish."

Due to illness, Brother King had to stop working for the past month, and our reporter was lucky enough to meet him on the first day of reopening.

"My father did not hire anyone back then. Today's business is not nearly as good as before, there are only eight or ten tables of customers every day, who mainly come from the construction site nearby. The best business was during the 1980-90s, we made a daily profit of 2000 dollars."

He stopped for a moment, before continuing: "Every day we open at 7, close at around 5, and I used to work with my wife. But she passed away two years ago."

The small café used to be a granite-built church, which has gone through changes for over half a century, supporting the lives of three generations – Brother King has two sons and one daughter himself. He laments that there are only six or seven shops left in the village that open daily: "Nowadays, I still live with my daughter and older grandchild, I'm quite happy that that three generations can live under the same roof, but in the end I'm not young anymore. At night we don't cook, we go out to eat because it's more convenient."

Many famous people have visited his café, including past colonial governor Chris Patten. When our reporter walked by during lunch hour, all the tables were full – the customers even had to write down their orders themselves.



茂發茶室的吳寶和（上）及榮華冰室的歐陽偉鏡（下），兩人都已在茶果嶺村經營飲食幾十年。（吳楚勤攝）

Mau Fat Café's Ng Bo Wo (above) and Wing Wah Café's Au-Yeung Wai King (below), both have been operating eateries for decades at Cha Kwo Ling Village. (Photo by Ng Chor-Kun)

天后誕場面最墟𩚑

The most bustling scene takes place during Tin Hau Festival

相距 10 步左右是茂發茶室，靠雲吞麵打響名堂，每碗 17 元，後來兼做士多，老闆吳寶和被街坊稱為「華仔」，原來是客家村民舊時口音不正，經常把「和仔」讀成「華仔」，將錯就錯。「我在大埔出世，但未夠一歲就搬入來，轉眼 65 年。」他慢條斯理地說。

「六十年代，茶室最風光，朝早 10 點開門，做到凌晨兩點，但當時仍然是爸爸經營，我在九十年代接手，生意額已一落千丈。」最近，他因腳痛停賣雲吞麵，他的話語中充滿獅子山精神，「舊街坊陸續搬走，生意早就維不到皮，只在乎過日辰，但之後身體好點，也會再賣雲吞麵，反正有食肆牌，一定會做落去，做到做不到為止。」

對於可能來臨的「滅村」厄運，「華仔」處之泰然：「順其自然，最重要做好安置和賠償，這兒經常發生火災，燒完又燒，而且溫黛和山竹吹過來時，大家都提心吊膽，實在不安全。老實說，我爸有 5 個子女，我排第四，其餘 4 個姊妹都不願做，才由我接手，我女兒寧願在外面打工，已搬出村外居住。」

Around ten steps away is Mau Fat Café, which got famous with its 17-dollar wonton noodle bowls. Later, it became a kiosk. Owner Ng Bo Wo is nicknamed "Wah" by the villagers, because the Hakka accent changed "Wo" into "Wah", and that stuck. "I was born in Tai Po, but I moved here before I turned one year old, and now it has been 65 years." Ng says without hurry. "In the sixties, the café was at its peak, it would open at 10 in the morning and close at 2 in the next morning, that was when my father was running the business. I took over in the nineties, by then business had already plummeted." Recently, Ng had to stop selling wonton noodles because of his leg injury. His words are full of the Lion Rock Mountain spirit: "As old villagers are moving away, the business has not been able to make profit for a while, but I wish to let the days pass. When my body condition is better, I will sell wonton noodles again, since I have the food license anyway. I will definitely go on making it, until I can't make it anymore."

回首從前的茶果嶺生活，他不勝唏噓：「憶起從前，睇住一大班細路仔通山跑，今日已不復再，剩下的喜慶日子就是每逢舊曆 3 月 23 日的天后誕，搬出去的人都會回來慶祝，場面墟𩇛。」

天后誕會辦巡遊、舞獅及花炮會，鼎盛時間過百艘船停泊在茶果嶺，每一個花炮 4 至 8 米高，畫面可以媲美千軍萬馬的戰爭片。

不願上鏡的原居民郭太異口同聲表示，天后誕是現時村內最熱鬧的日子，但對於遷拆與否，她的態度與兩位老闆迥異，「剩下的人不多，晚上 7 點後水靜鵝飛，但是如果有得選擇，我就不想拆，我自己在這兒出世，媽媽是茶果嶺人，大大話話我們住了超過百年，當然捨不得它消失風雨中。」

Regarding the fate of village demolition, “Wah” takes it easy: “Let fate take its natural course, the most important thing is relocation and compensation. Fires always happen here, time after time, and when Typhoons Wanda and Mangkhut arrived, everyone was fearful as it is unsafe.

Honestly, my father had five children, I was the fourth, the other four sisters did not want to work, so I took up the business. My daughter prefers working outside, so she has moved away from the village.”

Recalling the old lifestyle in Cha Kwo Ling, Ng can’t help sighing: “Thinking back, watching a big group of children running in the mountains, you won’t see that scene today. The remaining festivity to look forward to is Tin Hau Festival, every 23rd day of the third month in the lunar calendar. Those who have moved away would return to celebrate, the scene is bustling.”



Tin Hau Festival involves parades, lion dances, and *fa pau* (bamboo-paper offerings with fireworks). At its peak, over a hundred boats would park by Cha Kwo Ling, with bamboo-paper offerings reaching four to eight metres high, creating a scene comparable to war movie with thousands of troops and horses.

Ms Kwok, a villager who did not wish to be shown, says that Tin Hau Festival is currently the most busy day for the village. Regarding the demolition plans, she has a different view compared to the café owners: “There are not many people remaining here, after 7pm it’s extremely quiet. But if we had a choice, I would prefer no demolition. I was born here, my mother is a Cha Kwo Ling-er, we really lived here for over a century. Of course I wouldn’t want it to disappear in the wind and rain.”



The large dragon boat “Hop Yi Long” is a symbol of glory for the village. It was the champion of races during the 1950-60s, now it is retired. (Photo by Ng Chor-Kun)

<p>大型龍舟「合義龍」是村內輝煌史的象徵，在五六十年的賽事大殺四方，目前已退役。（吳楚勤攝）</p>	
<p>兩年前才截斷山水</p>	<p>Mountain water was cut just two years ago</p>
<p>郭太的老公在內地經商，但現已破產，郭太一年多前搬入公屋，幾乎每日都會回村探望老友，「當年不是每家每戶都有電視，就算有一家人買了電視，也會收錢才給你看，小孩子的主要娛樂是一班細路在外面玩水玩沙玩石頭（當時茶果嶺一帶尚未填海），有時候掘蜆加餸，每次都是成盆成盆掘回來。」</p> <p>其母 40 多年前在睡夢中爆血管離世，當時村內未有小巴接駁，救護車花了半小時才抵達，她邊嘆氣邊說：「若早點送去醫院，或者救得回來。」</p> <p>「以前，我們要去擔水擔柴，多年來一直飲山上的自來水，直至兩年前才被政府截斷了，規定我們要交水費。」鐵皮屋沒有洗手間，今時今日村民仍要使用公共浴室和廁所，她認真地說：「現在好一點，之前晚上很多野狗，三更半夜我們都是用自己方法解決，但習慣了都不覺得是問題。」</p> <p>2013 年，政府計劃把茶果嶺高嶺土礦場改建為住宅區，村長邱東入稟法院申請逆權侵佔部分官地，現在態度明顯改變（詳見另文），尤其是藍田隧道自 2016 年動工後，很多寮屋逐漸變得搖搖欲墜，因此，村長的底線是必須保留鄉公所、天后廟和四山公立學校舊址。</p> <p>「祖業足夠我們食五十世都食不盡，這些都是祖先積的福，我只想對後人說『春秋二祭、不要忘本』，整條村的精神是不會消失，守望相助是必然，更加會一呼百應，以團結為核心，你知我米缸有幾多米，我知你米缸有幾多米，又怎會有隔夜仇？」邱東霸氣地說。</p>	<p>Ms Kwok's husband does business in Mainland China, but is now bankrupt. Ms Kwok moved into public housing a over year ago, but returns to the village almost every day to visit old friends.</p> <p>"Not every household had a TV back then, even if someone bought one, they would ask you for money if you wanted to watch it. Children entertained themselves by playing with water, sand, and stones outside (when the coastal area of Cha Kwo Ling hadn't been reclaimed yet). Sometimes we would get trays of clams and eat them."</p> <p>Ms Kwok's mother passed away over forty years ago in her sleep due to a hemorrhage. The village was not accessible by minibus at the time, and the ambulance took over half an hour to arrive. Ms Kwok sighed and said: "If she was brought to the hospital earlier, maybe she would have been saved."</p> <p>"We used to carry water and firewood, and we drank natural mountain water for many years, until the Government cut the source two years ago and asked us to pay water bills." The metal sheet houses don't have washrooms, so the villagers have to rely on the public bath and toilet. Ms Kwok firmly said: "Now it's better, there used to be stray dogs at night, so we had to find solutions ourselves in the middle of the night. Once you are used to it, it's not a problem."</p> <p>In 2013, the Government changed the usage of the Cha Kwo Ling ex-Kaolin Mine Site into a residential area, and village head Yau Dong filed an application to the Court for the infringement of his land. Now, his attitude has changed (refer to other text), especially after the Lam Tin Tunnel works began in 2016, many squatter houses are becoming unstable. Thus, the village head's bottom line is to keep the village office, Tin Hau Temple, and the Si Shan Public School.</p> <p>"Our ancestors' property is enough for us to enjoy for fifty lives, these are the blessings they have accumulated. I just want to tell the later generations, don't forget your</p>

	<p>origins. The village spirit will never disappear, helping each other will always happen, any call for help will be answered by many. We are united at the core. You know how much rice is in my rice tank, and I know how much is in yours. Why would we have any feuds lasting overnight?" Yau Dong says with confidence.</p>
 <p>記者由早上逗留到下午茶時間，沿途見得最多的是地盤工人，村內商舖大部分已不再營業。(吳楚勤攝)</p>	<p>Our reporter stayed until tea time, mostly seeing construction works. Most shops in the village are no longer running. (Photo by Ng Chor-Kun)</p>
 <p>天后廟是茶果嶺村的重要地標，村長表明無論如何也要原址保留。(吳楚勤攝)</p>	<p>Tin Hau Temple is an important landmark in the village. The village head states that it must be kept in its original location no matter what. (Photo by Ng Chor-Kun)</p>

Source: 劉佳欣. “偏居鬧市四世紀茶果嶺村 終到命運關口.” 大學線 U-Beat Magazine, December 21, 2019, <https://ubeat.com.cuhk.edu.hk/145-chakwoling/>.

Chinese (Original)	English (translated by Author)
偏居鬧市四世紀茶果嶺村 終到命運關口	Segregated from the bustling city, four centuries-old Cha Kwo Ling Village meets its fate
<p>由藍田港鐵站沿斜路走下去，身旁麗港城和商場等繁華城市的景象逐漸褪色，一條滿佈鐵皮屋的小村落出現眼前。狹窄的小巷，殘破的鐵皮屋，明街暗巷中交錯的老舊電線、微弱的街燈，行過兩三條小路，可見到幾位老人在一家士多旁靜坐聊天。茶果嶺村雖偏居一隅，但也曾人丁興旺、自給自足，甚至「旺過觀塘」。這海風吹拂過的寧靜村落，如今卻難見舊時模樣，2019年的特首施政報告，點名要收地發展茶果嶺，殘破小村面對未知的將來。</p>	<p>As you walk down the slope from Lam Tin Station, the bustle of the city gradually diminishes as you get further away from Laguna City and the malls, and a little village of metal sheet squatter houses appears in front of you. Narrow alleys, deteriorating sheet metal houses, old wires weaving through the streets, weak streetlights. After two or three paths, you find several elderly people sat beside a kiosk, chatting away. Although Cha Kwo Ling Village is tucked in a corner of the city, it was once full of people, self-sufficient, and even “busier than Kwun Tong”. Blown by the sea breeze, it is difficult to see the old face of this quiet village, as the 2019 Policy Address called for resuming and developing land at Cha Kwo Ling. The deteriorated village faces an uncertain future.</p>
<p>茶果嶺清初建村，由於山嶺長滿「茶果樹」，故名「茶果嶺村」，這裏的後山盛產優質花崗石，吸引了大量以採石為生的客家人聚居。上世紀茶果嶺以採石聞名，出產的花崗石十分行銷，今天的終審法院、舊中銀大廈，甚至廣州的石室聖心大教堂及虎門炮台的石材，均由茶果嶺出產。</p>	<p>Cha Kwo Ling Village was established in the early Qing dynasty, and it was named after the large number of “Cha Kwo Trees” grown on the mountain. The mountain’s backside was full of high quality granite, which attracted many Hakka people gather together and quarry there for a living. In the last century, Cha Kwo Ling was famous for their quarries, and their granite sold well. The Court of Final Appeal, old Bank of China Tower, and even the Sacred Heart Cathedral and Weiyuan Fort in Guangzhou used stone from Cha Kwo Ling.</p>



茂發茶室已有 60 多年歷史。(張煒琳攝)

Mou Fat Café already has over sixty years of history. (Photo by Chang Wai-lam)

茂發茶室老闆吳寶和一歲時跟爸爸遷到茶果嶺村居住，他還記得，當年的茶果嶺村是一片泥地，他們一家隨意找個位置，用麻繩和黃泥搭建了這間現已屹立了 60 多年的茶室，售賣雲吞麵和各式小菜。「以前有街市、雜貨鋪、酒樓、士多、冰室，甚麼都有。」雖然當年的茶果嶺村未有任何交通規劃，出入主要靠水路，和外界交通不便，但村內自給自足，甚至連村外人也會到茶果嶺街市來賣東西。

Owner of Mou Fat Café, Ng Bo Wo, moved to Cha Kwo Ling Village with his father when he was one year old. He still remembers that at the time, the Village was a mudflat, so their family casually claimed a spot and built this building that has stood for sixty years, using hemp rope and yellow clay. They sold wonton noodles and various dishes.

“There were markets, shops for daily goods, restaurants, kiosks, cafes, everything.”

Back then, there was no transport connectivity planning for the Village. Although they were relatively disconnected from other areas and relied on boats, the Village was so self-sufficient that even outsiders would travel to the village market for shopping.



經營茂發茶室的吳寶和指，七十年代的茶果嶺村人口達兩萬人，二十四小時也有人經過茶室。(劉佳欣攝)

According to Ng Bo Wo who runs the Mou Fat Café, the population of Cha Kwo Ling Village reached twenty-thousand in the 1970s. People passed by his café at every hour of the day. (Photo by Lau Kai-yan)

<p>淒風苦雨中掙扎 難捨鄰里人情味</p>	<p>Struggling in the harsh winds and rain, Reluctantly missing the neighbouring “human taste”</p>
<p>茶果嶺村雖歷史悠久，住戶眾多，但因居所擁擠、道路狹窄，多年來無法興建化糞池，村民至今仍需到村口公廁解決大小二便及沖涼問題，公共浴室更是限時開放。此外，茶果嶺鄰近海濱，寮屋簡陋的結構經不起風吹雨打。65歲吳寶和至今仍記得，1962年颱風「溫黛」來襲的情況：「海浪都打到屋裡了，周圍全部濕透，雜物碗盤都打爛了，對面鋪頭的雪櫃全被掀翻。有的屋塌了，只好等打完風再慢慢搭回。」他當時還不到十歲，幫不上忙，只記得茶室整月都未開工，父親獨自慢慢重建茶屋。2018年「山竹」颱風來襲時，茶果嶺被海水倒灌。吳寶和說，當時村內水位已及他膝蓋，整條村都被淹沒。鹹水不比雨水，清理起來不易，茶室好多貨品都不能再用。颱風無常，他斷斷續續清理了一個多月才算做完。</p>	<p>Although Cha Kwo Ling Village has a long history with many inhabitants, they have not been able to build a septic tank due to the density of dwellings and narrow paths. Thus, even today, villagers rely on the public toilet and shower, which in fact only operates at certain times. Apart from that, Cha Kwo Ling is by the waterfront, making the primitive squatter house structures highly susceptible to wind and rain that they cannot withstand.</p> <p>65-year old Ng Bo Wo still recalls the situation when Typhoon Wanda hit in 1962: “The sea waves hit into our houses, the surroundings were completely drenched, our goods and plates were all broken, a fridge in the store opposite us overturned. Some houses collapsed and could only be slowly rebuilt, after the typhoon.”</p> <p>Ng was not even ten years old at the time, so he could not help, but he remembered that the café closed for an entire month, as his father slowly rebuilt the building alone. When Typhoon Mangkhut hit in 2018, Cha Kwo Ling was flooded with seawater. Ng recalled that the water level in the village reached his knees, the entire village was flooded. Unlike rainwater, the salinity of seawater is difficult to clean, and many goods in the café could no longer be used. Dealing with the unpredictability of typhoons, Ng spent a month cleaning the café intermittently.</p>
 <p>2018年山竹來襲，村民自發清理倒塌的樹林。（茶果嶺鄰舍輔導會提供）</p>	<p>Villagers proactively began cleaning up the fallen trees after Typhoon Mangkhut hit in 2018. (Photo provided by The Neighbourhood Advice-Action Council Cha Kwo Ling Centre)</p>
<p>環境惡劣、交通不便，但即使有過上樓機會，仍有許多村民不願意搬離茶果嶺村，即</p>	<p>The environment is bad, transportation is inconvenient, but even with the chance to move to an apartment, there are still many</p>

<p>使已離開的，每個週末也會回來。街坊留戀的，正是茶果嶺村的「人情味」。吳寶和年輕時，曾搬去旺角上海街住過兩年，但覺得人情淡薄：「返工放工都不打招呼」，又搬回茶果嶺：「這麼多年，個個都熟悉，街坊關係好好。走在村內會有人問你吃過飯沒，沒吃就一起吃，如果上了樓，打開門對面街坊是誰都不知道。」。</p>	<p>villagers who do not want to leave Cha Kwo Ling Village. Even if they have left, they come back every weekend. The Villagers are nostalgic for the “human taste” in the village. When Ng was young, he moved to Shanghai Street in Mong Kok for two years, but felt that people were indifferent there: “There are no greetings when you go or return from work”, thus he moved back to the village: “After so many years, everyone knows each other well, villagers’ relationships are good. When you walk through the village, people are you if you have eaten yet – if not, we eat together. If you move into an apartment, you open the door and won’t even know who lives opposite you.”</p>
<p>節日慶典不斷 龍舟伴隨成長</p>	<p>Festivities and celebrations, The dragon boat accompanies growth</p>
<p>街坊情誼之外，茶果嶺村的節日慶典，也是吳的難忘回憶。擁有四百多年歷史的茶果嶺村，有很多特別的節日慶典流傳至今，如天后誕、端午節、師傅誕等。其中最隆重的就是天后誕，巡遊、拜神、做大戲，接連幾天，熱鬧非凡。吳寶和表示，小時候最期待天后誕：「那天可以通宵去玩，去唱歌、吃東西、在街頭踩單車、通山跑。」最興旺時，茶果嶺的大戲由下午兩點一直做到夜晚 12 點，場場都座無虛席。搬出去的街坊甚至村外人都會在天后誕時來到茶果嶺村拜神看戲。1996 年彭定康卸任前也曾到過茶果嶺村看大戲：「一兩日前突然通知要來，搞到成條村都緊張，要即刻鋪紅地毯，他（彭定康）聽不懂，但他又鼓掌，笑到村民肚痛。」吳寶和回憶到這些舊日故事，仍忍不住笑。</p>	<p>Apart from the villagers’ relationships, the festivities and celebrations at Cha Kwo Ling Village are also unforgettable for Ng. With over four hundred years of history, there are many special celebrations at the village which have passed onto today, such as the Tin Hau Festival, parade, deity worshipping, Cantonese opera; they take place on consecutive days, providing an exceptionally lively atmosphere. When Ng was young, he most anticipated the Tin Hau Festival: “On that day, we can play all night, sing, eat, cycle on the streets, run in the mountains.” During its peak, Cha Kwo Ling’s Cantonese opera would run from 2pm to midnight, with no empty seats. Villagers who had moved out – and even non-villagers – would visit the village to worship deities and watch the opera. In 1996, Colonial Governor Chris Patten also watched the opera at the village before his term was over: “We had just one or two days of sudden notice before he would arrive, so the whole village was very nervous, and had to immediately prepare red carpets. Patten did not understand anything but still applauded, which made the villagers laugh so hard that our stomachs hurt.” As Ng recalled these memories and past stories, he still could not resist from laughing.</p>



茶果嶺天后誕盛況。(茶果嶺鄰舍輔導會提供)

The spectacular situation during Tin Hau Festival at Cha Kwo Ling. (Photo provided by The Neighbourhood Advice-Action Council Cha Kwo Ling Centre)

端午節也是村內一大盛事，不少村民組成「漁民隊」，撐着代表茶果嶺村的「合義龍」龍舟出海比賽，屢獲殊榮。過去的農曆五月初三，龍船會在維港夜遊，初四在灣頭競賽，初五則去油麻地競賽，「合義龍」從未令人失望，為茶果嶺贏得「七連冠」。可是，由於政府在 60 年代起，在茶果嶺一帶填海及興建海事處，龍舟不能經沙灘下水，需要由陸地上吊下海，因此船身受損、入水，只能長留陸上。「合義龍」雖已不能下水比賽，但村民仍心存敬畏，每年端午仍會上香供奉。

Dragon Boat Festival is also a big and important event in the village, as a number of villagers team up to represent the village as the "Fisherman Team". Paddling on the "Hop Yi Long" dragon boat, they have won awards several times. On the third day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar, the dragon boat would traverse the waters of Victoria Harbour at night, before racing on the next day. The day after, it would go to Yau Ma Tei for another race. "Hop Yi Long" had never disappointed – it helped Cha Kwo Long win seven years in a row. However, the Government began reclaiming land at Cha Kwo Ling's waterfront since the 1960s to build an office for the Marine Department, which meant that the dragon boat could no longer enter the water via the beach. Instead, it had to be suspended down to the water, which caused damages and leakages to the boat. Consequently, the boat could only remain on land.

Although "Hop Yi Long" can no longer race in the waters, the villagers still respect it. Every year on the Dragon Boat Festival, they give it incense and offerings.



「合義龍」雖已不能下水，村民仍心存敬畏，在每年端午上香供奉。(張煒琳攝)


Although "Hop Yi Long" can no longer race in the waters, the villagers still respect it. Every year on the Dragon Boat Festival, they give it incense and offerings (Photo by Chang Wai-lam)

<p>村民的集體回憶 由盛轉衰的四山公校</p>	<p>Villagers' collective memories, Witnessing the deterioration of Si Shan Public School</p>
<p>茶果嶺村的一座標誌性建築物則是 1952 年由政府撥地，村民籌款而建的四山公校。該校曾是觀塘一帶唯一的小學，又因師資優良，大批學生到此求學。68 歲的羅悅屏是四山公校第十六屆的畢業生：「我們這所學校很厲害、很難考入，以前觀塘、油塘都沒有甚麼學校。」他指，當年四山公校很難升班，學校制度規定，小四升小五時，升班人數會減半，所以很容易留級，但幸好自己順利升班。他回憶起以往讀書的日子時表現興奮：「放學後便會到山上玩，例如鯉魚門、魔鬼山的山洞，四處走、四處玩，會捉別人的雞或找蕃薯吃，很開心，比現時更開心。」羅悅屏指，四山公校的同學感情很好，即使畢業數十年，亦一直保持聯絡。</p>	<p>An iconic building in Cha Kwo Ling Village was built on land allocated by the Government in 1952. The villagers fundraised money to build the Si Shan Public School, which was the only primary school in the Kwun Tong area at the time. Many students wished to enroll in it, as the teachers and resources were excellent. 68-year old Law Yuet Ping graduated in the 16th cohort of the School: "Our school was amazing and hard to enroll into, there weren't many schools in Kwun Tong and Yau Tong back then."</p> <p>Law mentioned that it was difficult to continue to the next grade, because according to the school rules, the number of students going from fourth to fifth grade had to be halved. Luckily, Law successfully moved to the fifth grade.</p> <p>Law excitedly recalled his student days: "After school, we would play in the mountains, in Lei Yue Mun, the caves of Devil's Peak, running and playing everywhere, catching chickens or finding potatoes to eat, I was really happy, happier than now."</p> <p>Law says that the students are really close, and have remained in touch even after graduating for decades.</p>
<p>照合學同業畢體全屆六十第</p>  <p>四山公校第 16 屆（羅悅屏所在屆）畢業合照。（受訪者提供）</p>	<p>The graduating photo of the 16th cohort (Law's class) from the Si Shan Public School. (Photo provided by the interviewee)</p>
<p>可是在 1980 年代末，觀塘發展，其他小學出現，四山公校生源漸流失。由於學生人數減少，學校未能取得政府資助，最終 1993 年停止辦學。雖然學校停辦，但校舍沒有被荒廢，鄉民聯誼會把它改為社區活動場地。</p>	<p>However, in the late 1980s, other schools were established in the development of Kwun Tong, causing a decline in enrollments at Si Shan Public School. Following this, the school lost Government funding, and had to stop operating in 1993.</p>

	Despite this, the school building was not completely deserted, as the Village Fraternity Association converted it into a communal activity centre.
被遺忘的村落 村民互保求存	The forgotten village, Villagers protect each other to survive
<p>「政府成日講發展，講完又不做，茶果嶺已被政府遺忘。」羅悅屏說。早於 1960 年代，已有風聲傳出政府要發展茶果嶺村，填海後，雖然政府興建了馬路連接茶果嶺、觀塘及鯉魚門，讓居民能夠陸路出入，但自始再無動作。2000 年時，前特首董建華曾計劃在茶果嶺起學校、公屋和私樓，村民以為生活可獲改善，但終究再無下文。2012 年，當時的特首候選人梁振英也到過茶果嶺，似有意發展，羅悅屏之後致電梁，對方卻回答「未有此事」。直至今次特首林鄭月娥在施政報告中再次提出發展茶果嶺，羅悅屏認為，村民已無法相信：「又沒有官員落村諮詢村民，藍圖是甚麼？甚麼都不知道。」</p>	<p>Law says, "The Government always talks about development, but doesn't execute it after saying so – the village has been forgotten by them."</p> <p>Since the 1960s, there had already been hints that the Government would develop Cha Kwo Ling Village. Apart from reclaiming land for building a road connecting Cha Kwo Ling, Kwun Tong, and Lei Yue Mun to improve village access, there has been no other action.</p> <p>In 2000, ex-Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa proposed to build a school and both public and private housing in Cha Kwo Ling, which made villagers anticipate improvements to their life. However, no actions followed.</p> <p>In 2012, Leung Chun-ying visited Cha Kwo Ling when running for Chief Executive, seemingly with intent to develop the area. Law called Leung afterward, but received the response that "there is no such plan". Now, Chief Executive Carrie Lam's Policy Address has mentioned the development of Cha Kwo Ling, but Law believes it is hard for the villagers to be convinced: "There were no officials surveying the village, nor asking for villagers' opinions, what's the blueprint for the future? We have no idea."</p>
 <p>羅悅屏夫婦在翻閱舊日照片。(劉佳欣攝)</p>	<p>The Law couple rewatching old photos (Photo by Lau Kai-yan)</p>
雖是「被遺忘」，茶果嶺的村民一直在為自己爭取權益。1990 年代該村經常出現水浸，區議員次次落村看過後僅稱「好淒涼、好慘」，	Although it has "been forgotten", Cha Kwo Ling Villagers have always been fighting for their rights.

<p>卻並未提出切實解決方案。茶果嶺村民自發去立法會抗議，幾個月後終得到立法會 70 餘萬元撥款修海渠，水浸問題得以解決。</p>	<p>In 1990, the village was frequently flooded. The District Councillor made multiple visits and said “It’s miserable, so miserable”, but never proposed solutions. Therefore, the villagers protested at the Legislative Council, and after several months, they received seven hundred thousand dollars to fix the seawater channel, thus solving the flooding issues.</p>
<p>面臨發展 村民不知何去何從</p>	<p>Facing development, the villagers don’t know where to go</p>
<p>2013 年，政府擬建「將軍澳-藍田隧道」，最初打算從地面通過茶果嶺，村民認為這會破壞村內環境，數百人多次去區議會抗議，與政府輾轉周旋幾年，隧道才改為由地底通過。對於今次政府的發展計劃，羅悅屏透露，大部分村民都不想搬走，但「政府要發展，村民不可能阻擋，但我們可搬到哪裏呢？」羅悅屏指，現時生活水平提高，一個四人家庭月入難以通過公屋入息審查，難以上樓；他們亦擔心上樓後，難以適應及負擔開支；他們希望毋須通過資產審查，並獲原區安置和補償搬遷費。</p> <p>「說要遷拆，卻又虛度三十多年，你如何能信這個政府？你要發展是可以的，但你應找個官員來和我們談。」羅悅屏和村民已去信政府部門，希望政府儘快派人落村諮詢村民意見，或會找立法會議員協助向政府反映意見。</p>	<p>In 2013, the Government began drafting plans for the “Tseung Kwan O-Lam Tin Tunnel”, and initially proposed for it to pass through Cha Kwo Ling above the ground. The villagers believed that this would destroy the village environment, and gathered several hundred people to protest against it at the District Council. Only after several years of back and forth negotiations with the Government, the Tunnel was changed to run underground.</p> <p>Regarding the current development plan, Law revealed that most villagers don’t want to move away, and “if the Government wants to develop, the villagers cannot stop that, but where can we move to?”.</p> <p>Law says that nowadays, the standard of living has increased; the monthly income of a family of four would not be eligible for public housing, while they cannot afford private housing. They worry that the change housing would require adapting to new expenditures. They hope that they can bypass the means test, and be relocated to the same district, with moving subsidies.</p> <p>“They have said that they would demolish for over thirty years, how could you trust this Government? You can develop if you want to, but you should send an official to talk to us.”</p> <p>Law and the villagers have already written letters to government departments, hoping that they will send an official to survey their opinions, or find a legislative councillor to reflect their opinions to the Government.</p>

Source: Get Ready HK. "關於 GetReady - 香港好去處 · 品味生活 · 旅遊資訊." Last modified October 1, 2015. <https://www.getreadyhk.com/about-us>.

Chinese (Original)	English (translated by Author)
	
<p>茶果嶺村 · 掉進時間的狹縫中</p>	<p>CKL Village – Falling into the Slit of Time</p>
<p>茶果嶺是香港人熟識的名字，但實際上有多少人去過或知道茶果嶺在哪裡呢？茶果嶺在時代巨輪中被人遺忘，卻靜靜的存在著。茶果嶺村是一群破舊的鐵皮屋，數十隻可愛貓咪到處遊蕩，幾間懷舊的冰室成為茶果嶺的地標。尋幽探秘後走到茶果嶺附近的海旁看日落，感覺孤寂又淒美。</p>	<p>CKL is a familiar name to Hong Kongers, but how many people have really been there, or know where it is? CKL has been forgotten over time, but it still quietly exists. CKL Village is a collection of dilapidated steel sheet houses, where adorable cats freely roam around, and a few nostalgic cafes have become landmarks in CKL. After exploring, I walked to the harbourside near CKL Village to watch the sunset, feeling lonely and poignant.</p>
<p>茶果嶺村交通</p> <p>小巴：藍田港鐵站 D1 出口，乘 23B 或 23C 小巴到茶果嶺村。</p> <p>步行：油塘港鐵站 B 出口，沿茶果嶺道經麗港城、朗思國際幼稚園到達茶果嶺村，路程約 15 分鐘。</p>	<p>Transport to CKL Village</p> <p>Minibus: From the Exit D1 of the Lam Tin MTR Station, take 23B or 23C.</p> <p>By foot: From Exit B of the Yau Tong MTR Station, walk along CKL Road via Laguna City and Think International Kindergarten to reach CKL Village in roughly 15 minutes.</p>
<p>茶果嶺在藍田麗港城與油塘之間，百多年歷史的茶果嶺村是寮屋區，曾經以盛產花崗岩聞名，全盛時期住了 2 萬人。茶果嶺村的鐵皮屋建得密密麻麻，雜亂又簡陋，在 70、80 年代時，大街兩旁開滿餐廳、酒樓、士多、米舖，熱鬧 非常。</p>	<p>CKL is located between Lam Tin's Laguna City and Yau Tong. With over a century of history, CKL Village is a squatter settlement, which used to be known for its granite production. At its peak, there were 20,000 residents. The houses of CKL Village are messy, primitive, and densely built. During the 1970s and 80s, the Main Street was lively and filled with restaurants, kiosks, rice shops.</p>



繁華不再，沒落了的茶果嶺村已經人去留空，只剩下幾間冰室及千多個村民。遊覽茶果嶺村就如時光倒流一樣，每個角落都在訴說歷史，懷舊的主題亦使其成為攝影好去處。

No longer prosperous, the declining CKL Village is now empty, except for several cafes and roughly a thousand villagers. Visiting CKL Village is like stepping back in time, as each corner speaks of history, and the nostalgic atmosphere makes it a good photography spot.



鐵皮屋的通花鐵閘是其特色之一。

The engraved metal folding gates of metal sheet squatter houses are a unique feature.



狹窄而紆迴的街道，兩旁是鐵皮屋。

The narrow and winding streets are lined with metal sheet squatter houses.



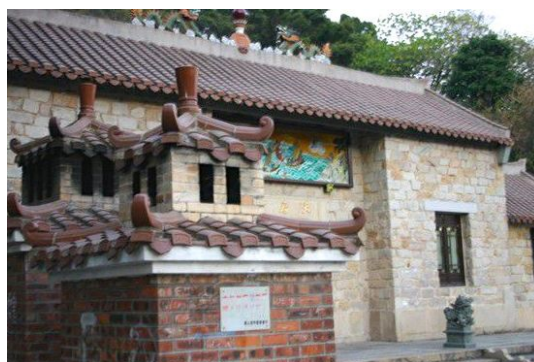
曾經盛產花崗岩的茶果嶺村村內有幾間石屋，從前是學校、寺廟，現在已經荒廢。

In this village that once produced granite, there are several stone houses, schools, and temples, now abandoned.



古老的村落都不少得一間寺廟，茶果嶺村也不例外，這裡有天后廟，不少村民都會前來供奉，因此保養得特別好。

All old villages must have a temple, and CKL Village does too. This is Tin Hau Temple, many villagers come here to worship and give offerings, so this building is maintained well.



茶果嶺村的另一個特色之處，就是每個角落都會看到貓的蹤影，有些懶洋洋在睡覺，有

Another unique feature of CKL Village are the cats you would see in every corner –

些蹲著發呆，有些在曬太陽，有些在玩瑜珈，牠們可愛的一舉一動成為攝影好題材。茶果嶺村內有數十隻貓，村民都會給牠們食物，大家相親相愛、和平共處。

some are sleeping lazily, some are dozing off, some are sunbathing, some are doing yoga. Their adorable movements are good photography subjects. There are many cats, who are fed by the villagers. Everyone loves each other and coexists peacefully.



茶果嶺村內有數間冰室，其中以榮華冰室最為馳名，在茶果嶺村開業近六十年的榮華冰室由一對老夫妻所打理。

There are several cafes in CKL Village, Wing Wah Café is the most famous. It has been open for nearly sixty years, and run by an old couple.



冰室非常簡陋殘破，但卻是味道所在，每件桌椅及裝飾都是古董及歷史的見證。

The café is very simple and dilapidated, but that is precisely the point. Each table, bench, and piece of decoration is antique, bearing witness to history.



牆上貼滿相片，除了是與老街坊的合照外，原來曾志偉、劉青雲等也有來過。

The walls are filled with photos. Apart from photos with villagers, it turns out that famous people like Eric Tsang and Sean Lau have visited the cafe before.



來榮華冰室必試西多士，又或在一個仿如時光倒留的環境內吃個餐蛋麵也別具風味。

The French toast is a must-try if you visit Wing Wah Café. Eating noodles with luncheon meat and egg in this environment where time has turned back is also a unique experience.



離開茶果嶺村，橫過馬路，就是海旁，這裡是原是貨物裝卸碼頭，現在已經關閉，但有空隙可進入，由於不是開放地區，因此人跡罕見，讓人享受一個寧靜又美麗的黃昏日落。

Leaving CKL Village, you can cross the road to reach the harbourfront. This area was originally a cargo unloading pier, but it's now closed. There is a gap from which you can enter, but the area is not technically open to public, thus there are rarely traces of people here. This allows one to enjoy a peaceful and beautiful evening sunset.



海旁有座藍色的建築物，應該是昔日的海事處辦公室，牆上畫有塗鴉，增添了不少藝術氣息。

There is a blue building at the harbourfront, which should be a previous office for the Marine Department. Graffiti has been drawn on the walls, which adds an artistic atmosphere.



Source: Liber Research Community. “市區舊村最後倒數 — 茶果嶺村將會拆剩什麼？”
Accessed January 24, 2023. <https://liber-research.com/en/about-us-2/>.

Chinese (Original)	English (translated by Author)
	
<p>市區舊村最後倒數 — 茶果嶺村將會拆剩什麼？</p> <p>#茶果嶺村 #歷史保育 #榮華冰室 #公屋發展</p>	<p>Countdown for the old urban village - After demolition, what will be left of CKL Village?</p> <p>#CKLVillage #PreservingHistory #WingWahCafe #PublicHousingDevelopment</p>
<p>政府在 2019 年的《施政報告》提出清拆茶果嶺村，並計劃在原址發展以公營房屋為主的新社區，近日已是城規會討論審議的最後階段。很多人擔心茶果嶺村內天后廟和羅氏大屋兩座三級歷史建築的去留，卻忽略了對古村落整體價值的評估【註 1】。</p> <p>其實村內亦有一系列石砌樓房、礦場遺蹟、學校、村公所等建築，亦有多間特色士多和冰室等民生小店，但在城規會最近的會議文件的顧問建議並未獲重視，令這些有潛在價值的歷史建築一概不予保留。【註 2】以下列出將會因清拆茶果嶺村而消失的歷史建築地景：</p>	<p>In the 2019 Policy Address, the Government proposed to demolish CKL Village, and announced plans to develop a new public housing community. Recently, the Town Planning Board has already reached the final stages of discussing these plans. Many people are concerned about the fate of two Grade 3 heritage buildings, Tin Hau Temple and Law's Mansion - but have neglected an overall value assessment of the old village.</p> <p>In fact, in the village, there are a series of stone buildings, quarry relics, a school, a village office among other buildings; as well as unique kiosks, cafes, and small businesses supporting livelihoods. However, these have not been given attention in the consultant's recommendations found in the TPB's latest meeting documents. Consequently, these heritage buildings with potential values are not going to be preserved. The following list of heritage buildings and landscapes shall disappear due to the demolition of CKL Village:</p>

1 被遺忘的外銷品—瓷泥廠與界石	1 The forgotten exports – the Porcelain Factory and Boundary Stone
<p>過往茶果嶺是開採花崗岩石材和高嶺土的重要基地。位於茶果嶺大街的瓷泥廠正正是香港磁坭有限公司的舊址，歷史超過 70 年。前瓷泥廠廠房於上世紀 90 年代改建成廢紙回收廠，但倉庫、瓷泥庫和職工宿舍等建築仍然存在，且大致仍保存下來。昔日廠房樓高約 6 米，由大量花崗岩塊堆砌而成，連撐起高牆的扶壁也相當高聳厚實，規模龐大。</p> <p>在過往研究考察過程中，發現其中一排扶壁下嵌有四塊「ML20」字樣之界石，意即礦場地段（Mining Lot）20 號，與山上的高嶺土礦場以及周邊的選礦場遺址形成建築群，茶果嶺幾近是香港現存唯一的高嶺土礦場遺址，開採出來的高嶺土又稱白泥、觀音土或萬能石，既是製作瓷器的黏土，亦可用於生產牙膏、化妝品、陶瓷等產品，甚至可用作食物添加劑。當年出產更曾遠銷至日本，用以製作餐具、高級瓷器、高壓絕緣體，以及耐火磚。礦場既為村民製造就業機會，亦為香港帶來馳名的外銷產品。【註 3】而昔日瓷坭廠老闆麥邊（Edward McBain）曾擔任茶果嶺街坊值理的名譽值理，在興建鄉公所、重建天后廟和修建道路等村中大事上均慷慨出資，輔助村內社區發展。</p> <p>有關這建築的歷史價值，過往在區議會上分享的《可行性研究報告》只簡單作結介紹羅氏大屋和天后廟的相關保育，對於瓷泥廠及礦場界石這類能夠彰顯茶果嶺高嶺土礦場以及打石業歷史獨特性的建築群，不論在區議會還是城規會會議上也都只被輕輕帶過，價值被嚴重低估及忽略。</p>	<p>Previously, CKL has been an important base for quarrying granite and Kaolin clay. The Porcelain Factory on the CKL Main Street is precisely the old location of the Hong Kong Clays and Kaolin Company, which has over 70 years of history. Since the 1990s, the factory building has been converted into a paper recycling facility, but the original factory's storage areas, workers' quarters, and other structures are still largely preserved and standing. The factory building is six metres tall, and built of granite blocks. The buttresses that support the tall walls are quite tall and thick, the building is of a large scale.</p> <p>During previous investigations, four boundary stones with "ML 20" engraved upon them were found under the buttresses. It refers to "Mining Lot No. 20", which forms an building group with the Kaolin Clay Mine site on the mountain and its surrounding mineral processing sites. CKL is almost the only location of Kaolin Clay mining sites that remains in Hong Kong. The Kaolin clay is also called white clay, Guanyin clay, or universal stone. It is not only used in porcelain, but also in producing toothpaste, cosmetics, pottery, and other products, even as a food additive. Back then, the produces were exported to as far as Japan, for producing cutlery, high-end ceramics, high-voltage insulators, and refractory bricks. The mines produced job opportunities for villagers, and fame to Hong Kong for these exports. Edward McBain, the head of the Porcelain Factory, was once the Honorary Secretary of the CKL Village Office, offering generous funds to build the CKL Village Office building; rebuild Tin Hau Temple; and fix the roadways, thus helping the village develop.</p> <p>Regarding the historic value of this building, the Feasibility Reports distributed in District Council meetings only contained summarised descriptions of conserving Law's Mansion and Tin Hau Temple. The Porcelain Factory and Boundary Stones, which could potentially form a building group that displays the unique history of</p>

	quarrying and the Kaolin Clay mine site, were only lightly mentioned in both TPB and DC meetings. Thus, its value has been severely underestimated and ignored.
2 旁落一角的堡壘 — 曾氏大宅	2 The Fortress in the Corner – Tsang's Mansion
<p>於茶果嶺村 212 號的曾氏大宅，毗鄰大型屋苑麗港城，一直鮮有人提及，其一直被鐵絲網和大樹包圍，隱於古村邊陲。大宅兩層高，為一所兩進三開間、金字瓦頂的客家府邸。內攏為木結構，外牆由混凝土和花崗岩混合構築而成，牆上有多個槍眼般的孔洞。窗框則以花崗岩製成，輔以防盜鐵枝和多個孔洞，增強防盜功能。</p> <p>以往茶果嶺居民多為客家人，有邱、羅、鄧、黃、曾五大姓氏。研究員親身與曾氏後人經過數次交談，據其透露，曾氏以打石業發跡，原藉五華水寨鄉，自英國在 1860 年按《北京條約》取得九龍半島和昂船洲後，曾氏五代人便搬至茶果嶺定居；及後開設當地最大的石塘，曾僱用二三百名打石工人。大宅就曾住上廿多名工人，今日大宅已荒置，沒有人居住，只有該名曾氏後人獨自住在對面搭建的房子。大宅內現仍放置天后神位和祖先牌位，其祖先堂號則為「三省堂」，源自祖先曾子名言「吾日三省吾身」。古宅雖然不太起眼，但見證著區內氏族對地區發展和打石業的貢獻。</p> <p>根據地契資料，曾氏大宅早年由曾伯通所持有，後來輾轉賣予發展商至今，但一直仍保留原貌。【註 4】在政府最新的未來規劃中，現址卻被劃為「美化用地」的用途，欲將這座逾 70 年的大宅將夷為平地</p>	<p>Located in No. 212 CKL Main Street, Tsang's Mansion is adjacent to the large residential development of Laguna City, but has rarely been mentioned. It has always been surrounded by barbed wire fences and large trees, thus hidden in the edge of the village. The mansion is of Hakka style, with two storeys, two entrances, three bays, and a pyramid tiled roof. The inner walls have a wood structure, while the outer walls are constructed with concrete and granite and have a lot of loopholes. The windowframes are made of granite, with anti-theft iron branches and holes to enhance the anti-theft function.</p> <p>In the past, most of the residents in CKL were Hakka people, with five surnames: Yau, Law, Tang, Wong, and Tsang. The researcher has personally talked with the descendants of the Tsang family several times. According to them, the Tsang family made a fortune in the stone mining industry. It was originally located in Shuizhai (Wuhua County). After the British acquired the Kowloon Peninsula and Stonecutters Island in 1860 according to the Convention of Peking, the five generations of Tsang family moved to CKL to settle down; and later opened the largest quarry in the area, employing 200 to 300 stone workers. The mansion used to house more than 20 workers. Today, the mansion is deserted and no one lives in it. A descendant of the Tsang family lives alone in a house built opposite the mansion. The Tin Hau shrine and ancestral tablets are still in the mansion, and the name of the ancestral hall is "Saam Saang Tong", which comes from the famous saying of the ancestor Zeng Zi, "I reflect upon myself three times everyday". Although the old mansion is not very eye-catching, they have witnessed the contribution of family to the development of the area and the stone mining industry.</p>

	<p>According to the land deed, Tsang's Mansion was owned by Tsang Bak Tong in the early years, and was later sold to a developer, who still owns it until now - yet it still retains its original appearance. In the government's latest future plan, the site is designated for "landscaping", expressing the intention to demolish this 70 year old mansion.</p>
3 打石之鄉出名校 — 四山學校	3 The Famous School of the Quarrying Village – Si Shan Public School
<p>四山公立學校於 1952 年創校，直至 1993 年停辦，為昔日區內唯一受政府津貼的小學。現址目前由本地劇團及體藝中心分別租用。所謂「四山」是指牛頭角、茜草灣、茶果嶺及鯉魚門四個東九龍地區。過去四山分別選出「四山頭人」，帶領整個地區的居民以及打石業，兼管稅收，且享有特殊地位，出入穿著清官衣飾，有儀仗巡行敲鑼開路，甚具氣派。學校地下樓層設有三間課室，分別名為「副華民政務司鍾境培堂」、「亞細亞公司堂」及「華人廟宇管理委員會堂」，以紀念捐建學校的各個單位。學校除了吸引茶果嶺學童外，亦吸引其他四山子弟就讀，粵劇名伶羅家英及藝人劉丹亦曾在四山公立學校上課。今日則成為村民的集體回憶【註 5】。</p> <p>四山學校毗鄰天后廟，正好與天后廟側的四山公所牌匾相對。然而在政府的規劃圖則中，只有天后廟旁 70 米的土地被劃為緩衝區，四山學校剛好被斬成一半，最後決定整個不被保留。</p>	<p>Si Shan Public School was established in 1952, and was in operation until 1993. It was the only primary school in the district receiving government subsidies. The current site is currently rented by a local theater troupe and a sports center respectively. The so-called "Four Mountains" refer to the four East Kowloon areas of Ngau Tau Kok, Sai Tso Wan, Cha Kwo Ling and Lei Yue Mun. In the past, "Four Mountain Headmen" were elected from each of the four mountains to lead the residents of the entire area and the stone industry. They also took charge of collecting taxes, and enjoyed a special status, wearing clothes of Qing dynasty officials and having guards and the sounds of gongs accompanying their grand journey. There are three classrooms on the basement floor of the school, named "Deputy Secretary for Chinese Affairs Chung King Pui Hall", "Asiatic Petroleum Company Hall" and "Chinese Temple Management Committee Hall" to commemorate their donations for building the school. In addition to attracting students from CKL Village, the school also attracts children from other villages in the Si Shan network. The famous Cantonese opera actress Law Ka Ying and entertainer Lau Dan also attended the Si Shan Public School. Today, it has become a collective memory of the villagers.</p> <p>Si Shan Public School is next to Tin Hau Temple, facing opposite a plaque on the side of Tin Hau Temple saying "Si Shan Communal Hall". However, in the government's planning plans, only the land 70 meters away from the Tin Hau Temple was designated as a buffer zone, which crossed through half of the school.</p>

	Ultimately, they have decided not to retain it at all.
4 古鄉之魂 — 鄉公所與合義龍	4 The Soul of the Old Village – The Village Office and Hop Yi Long
<p>茶果嶺鄉公所在 1956 年興建，是茶果嶺鄉民聯誼會的會址。以前鄉公所立於海濱之前，但如今已離岸甚遠。鄉公所是村民舉行大小聚會、會議之重要場所，牆上的瓷相、紀念碑，刻見村中重要人物及相關史蹟。每年魯班先師誕，村民會在公所烹煮和免費派發「師傅飯」（客家鹹菜燜豬肉飯）予長者及一眾貧苦大眾。村民不收分文，上下一心，發揮互助精神，乃彼此關顧的表現。【註 6】過去每逢端午節，茶果嶺街坊也會以坤甸木製的「合義龍」參與龍舟競渡，70 年代更曾在油麻地避風塘中多次奪冠，威風一時；亦會划到九龍灣一帶舉行「遊夜龍」、祭水幽之習俗。經歷發展多年，茶果嶺村早已遠離海邊，龍舟早已功成身退，惟依然被村民供放於鄉公所側的「龍船棚」，簪花掛紅，掃上金漆，承傳昔日風光。【註 7】</p> <p>今年已 66 歲的鄉公所，在村中地位本來舉足輕重，但由於不被列作歷史建築，亦無一倖免遭遇遷拆。而合義龍與龍船棚，土拓署聲稱將與房協商討能否保留或收藏於屋邨範圍內，故前程未卜。</p>	<p>The CKL Village Office was built in 1956, and it is the meeting place of the CKL Villagers Fraternity Association. Originally, the office was by the sea, but now it is far away from it. The office is an important place for villagers to hold gatherings and meetings. The porcelain pictures and monuments on the wall are engraved with important figures and events in the village. Every year on Lu Pan's birthday, the villagers will cook and distribute "Master's Rice" (Hakka Rice with Pickled Vegetables and Braised Pork) to the elderly and the poor in the office for free. The villagers do not receive a penny, and they work together as one, displaying the spirit of mutual assistance and care. In the past, during the Dragon Boat Festival, villagers would also participate in dragon boat races with "Hop Yi Long", which is made of Pontianak wood. They would join the "Dragon Night" and water offering customs held in Kowloon Bay. After years of development, CKL Village is no longer close to the seaside, and the dragon boats have since retired, but they are still placed in a "Dragon Boat Shed" next to the village office. Maintained with red and gold paint, it still retains its past grandeur.</p> <p>The village office that is 66 years old this year has an important status in the village, but because it hasn't been listed as a heritage building, it has not been spared from demolition. As for the Hop Yi Long Dragon and its shed, its future is uncertain, as the CEDD claimed that it would discuss with developer whether it could be kept or stored within the estate.</p>
5 鎮村瑰寶 — 茂發士多與榮華冰室	5 The Village Treasures – Mau Fat Kiosk and Wing Wah Cafe
<p>茶果嶺大街貫穿茶果嶺村，大街上曾有多間糧油雜貨商行，當中經營逾六十載的茂發士多、德記士多、榮華冰室和開記冰室等都是街坊的聚腳點，盛載著村民和遊人的人情味和回憶。</p>	<p>CKL Main Street runs through CKL Village. There used to be many grain, oil and groceries shops on the street. Among them, Mau Fat Kiosk, Tak Kee Kiosk, Wing Wah Cafe and Hoi Kee Cafe, which have been in</p>

「茂發」老闆吳寶和（和哥）收藏多項剪報、刊物和文物，珍而重之，營業時會和區內外的街坊閒話家常，對村外人士亦相當友善，滔滔不絕分享往事。【註 8】「榮華」老闆之歐陽偉鏡（鏡叔），自太太過身後依然兢兢業業，全憑一人之力營運整個食店，冰室前身是一座石砌教堂講堂，保留下來的雕花實木卡位座椅、木製大字招牌、老照片舊海報等，加上雞翼尖、西多士等馳名小吃，裝潢風格古樸而地道，仿佛讓時光停留在半世紀之前。這些小店盛載的街坊網絡，都很難在目前的重建方案下得以承傳。【註 9】

根據城規會文件，規劃署辯稱村內除了天后廟及羅氏大屋，便沒有古諮會須留意的項目，最後將責任交給未有作出評級或提出反對意見的古蹟辦和古諮會。有關回應貶低了古村和其餘項目的整體歷史價值，只「考慮完整記錄該建築物」和保留「部份文物構件／特徵元素」【註 10】，這說法的潛台詞，簡單來說即是「拍照存念」和「留低幾件細嘅」作罷，然而到底又有那些「構件」、「特徵元素」可以留低，會以怎樣形式呈現和保養，到今天仍然是未知之數，難以預料。

business for more than 60 years, were all gathering points for villagers. They possess the human touch and memories of villagers and tourists.

Ng Bo Wo (Brother Wo), owner of Mau Fat Kiosk, collects many newspaper clippings, publications and mementos. He treasures them very much. When he is in business, he will gossip with the people from within and outside the district. Au-Yeung Wai King (Uncle King), the owner of Wing Wah Cafe, has continued working hard since his wife passed away. He runs the entire restaurant alone, with his own strength. The cafe used to be a stone church hall, and the carved solid wood benches, large wooden signboards, old photos and old posters, etc.; and well-known snacks such as chicken wing tips and French toast; all contributing to a simple and authentic interior style, as if time has stopped half a century ago. The community network of these small shops is difficult to be inherited under the current reconstruction plan.

According to the TPB's documents, the Planning Department argued that apart from the Tin Hau Temple and Law's Mansion, there were no projects that the AAB should pay attention to. In the end, the responsibility was handed over to the AMO and the AAB, which did not make ratings or raise objections. This response underestimates the overall historical value of the ancient village and this project, only considering to create "complete documentation of the building" and retain "some cultural relic components/characteristic elements". In short, these statements imply that they will take photos to remember the buildings, and keep some small things from them. Until today, it is still unknown and unpredictable which actual "components" and "characteristic elements" will be retained, and how they will be presented and kept.

市區古村還有何意義？

What is the significance of urban villages?

過往香港也曾發生多次清拆事件，當中也不乏最終像曾大屋的客家村民、灣仔藍屋的居

In the past, there have been many demolition cases in Hong Kong. Many cases could retain both the houses and its

民般，能夠留屋又留人。然而這次沿用昔日清拆衙前圍村、大磡村等村落的重建模式，將村落拆光拆淨，重覆著只留下幾件村中「三寶」的做法，保留下的文物與重建後之環境往往貌合神離，毫不相干，相關保育模式長期為人詬病。

而茶果嶺的石砌樓房、礦場遺蹟、瓷泥廠等建築群形成了產業聚落，皆象徵著香港打石業和建築史中曾經聞名一時的風光歲月，鄉公所、學校、天后廟、小店等又扣連出的緊密而獨特的客家文化、鄰里關係與社區脈絡。發展計劃彷彿勢在必行，但最終能否更完整地保存地方文物歷史，傳統風俗習慣能否承傳下來，往往不是各部門的首要考慮，例如土拓署將合義龍的保存責任寄在房協身上，但房協至今卻未有如石硤尾邨保留美荷樓的方案，仔細審視整條古村內的文物分佈。現時規劃發展公共房屋也無須徹底剷村，一刀切平整所有土地，只簡單挑幾座「完成任務」，明顯地破壞地區關係之餘，還用這種「拍照存念」，明顯未有正視香港那些剩餘市區舊村所反映的價值及意義。

歷年來，茶果嶺村自 50 年代開始已有多次清拆建議，都分別有村民曾多次反對清拆，最後都統統擱置，直到今次清拆計劃真正落實。居民因多年來的火災、風災問題，曾搬離家園，區內的渠務及衛生狀況亦一直未有太大改善；一直留在村內的尚餘 2 千多人，與高峰期的萬多人差距甚遠，而且不少村民也年過花甲，要他們遷離古村，適應全新居住環境亦非易事。住在茶果嶺的居民不少希望改善生活，但當重建到臨，原區安置卻又未有下文，文物保育不合格，帶來的，只有居民因居住前景不明朗而人心惶惶。這種不安，不只在茶果嶺重建中呈現，也瀰漫在九龍三村以及其他重建區之中。

residents (e.g. Hakka villagers in Tsang Tai Uk and the residents of Blue House in Wanchai). However, this time, following the urban redevelopment model that demolished villages like Nga Tsin Wai Village and Tai Hom Village, the practice of leaving only "three treasures" in the village has been repeated again for CKL Village. As a result, the conserved heritage items are usually incongruent with the new redeveloped environment. This conservation model has long been criticized.

In CKL, stone buildings, quarry relics, porcelain factories and other building groups form an industrial settlement, all of which embody Hong Kong's masonry and architectural history that was once well-known. The close and unique Hakka culture, neighborhood relations and community context are linked together by small shops. The development plan seems to have imperative plans for all of this, but in the end, whether the history of local cultural relics can be preserved entirely; and whether traditional customs can be passed on, are often not the primary considerations of various Governmental departments. For example, the CEDD has put the responsibility of how to conserve the Hop Yi Long on the HKHS, who until today, has not yet made a plan as they had done so with Mei Ho House in Shek Kip Mei, where they carefully examined the distribution of cultural relics in the entire village. Nowadays, the planning and development of public housing should not necessarily require complete demolition of the village. By simply flattening the land and select a few buildings to "complete the task", the community relationships are obviously damaged; and the photographing to remember approach demonstrates an inability to confront the values and significance that the old villages bring to urban areas.

Since the 1950s, there have been several proposals for demolition of Cha Kwo Ling Village, followed by repeated opposition by villagers. All the proposals were shelved until now. Residents have moved away from their homes due to fire and wind disasters over the years, and the drainage

	<p>and sanitation conditions in the area have not improved much; there are still more than 2,000 residents today, which is far less than the ten thousand that lived there during the village's peak period. Moreover, most villagers are over sixty years old. It is not easy for them to move out of the old village and adapt to new living environments. The villagers hope to improve their lives, but facing redevelopment, there is still no news regarding resettlement in the vicinity, and the conservation plans are not up to standard. All of these uncertain prospects cause worry and panic among villagers. This anxiety is not only emerging in CKL, of Cha Kwo Ling, but also in the other two squatter villages that will be demolished for redevelopment.</p>
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Source: Wong, Sandy. "茶果嶺." Accessed February 2, 2023.
<https://www.localfoodtravel.com/blank-uxn2p>.

Chinese (Original)	English (translated by Author)
【有關茶果的故事】	The Story of Cha Kwo
<p>茶果嶺得名因山上有很多血桐樹，葉子用以蒸茶果時墊在底部，因此得名茶果嶺。到這裡考察，心裡一直在想「茶果嶺現在還有茶果嗎？」來了這裡幾次也見不到，一次，以「隨口問問」的心態，向村口合興聯宜會外坐著乘涼的街坊問起「茶果嶺現在還有茶果嗎？」，她們竟群起說「有，打個電話即刻有！」二話不說便撥出電話，不消兩分鐘馮太便拿著載著茶果的圓型鐵盤、一臉笑容走過來，原來賣的是咸茶果(\$5/件)，盤內還有一碗狗仔粉，是另一街坊點的外賣，很想試！馮太說可以在她家吃，於是便跟著她走，沿途向走過的街坊打招呼，空氣中散發出濃濃的人情味。</p>	<p>CKL got its name from the fact that there are many Elephant's Ear trees on the mountain, and the leaves are used as a pad at the bottom for steaming Cha Kwo, hence the name Cha Kwo Ling. When I came here to make observations, I kept thinking, "Is there still Cha Kwo in Cha Kwo Ling?" I didn't see it when I visited several times. Once, with the mentality of "just asking casually", I sat outside the Hop Hing Association at the entrance of the village. I asked villagers who were enjoying the shade: "Is there still Cha Kwo in Cha Kwo Ling?" Surprisingly, they all said: "Yes, you just have to make a call!" They did so without further ado, and in two minutes, Mrs. Fung came over with a smile, holding a round iron tray with Cha Kwo. She turned out to sell salty Cha Kwo (\$5/piece), and there was also a bowl of doggie noodles on the tray. It was a takeaway ordered by another villager, which I really wanted to try! Mrs. Fung said that I could eat some at her house, so I followed her and greeted the villagers who passed by along the way; the air was full of a strong sense of human taste.</p>
	



走上頗斗斜樓便到達了馮太的家，心裡很是興奮，每次來考察都只在外面拍照，還是首次走進民居。

家中簡潔的擺設，窗外風景 明睇、吹來陣陣涼風，這便是馮太每天起居飲食及工作的地方。

I arrived at Mrs. Fung's house after walking up quite a slope, and I was excited. Every time I came to observe the village, I could only take photos outside. This was the first time I could enter a house.

With simple furnishings of the home, the bright scenery outside the window, and the cool breezes blowing in – this is the place where Mrs. Fung lives, eats, and works every day.



不消數分鐘，馮太便端上了一碗狗仔粉，粉是每天新鮮製造，配上自家製辣菜脯，惹味十足。

除了茶果及狗仔粉，馮太亦會做糯米滋，如想大量訂購，請預先致電。馮太是客家人，從前姑姐以賣茶果為生，現在由她接手，每天一大早便要起床準備，由揉粉開始全以人手製作，可說是體力勞動的工作，客人以區內客為主，也有客人遠道駕車來尖光顧，為她帶來很大滿足感。馮太的堅持，是為生計，不想客人失望而回，也希望客家人傳統得以承傳。

Within a few minutes, Mrs. Fung served a bowl of doggie noodles. The noodles are freshly made every day and served with homemade spicy preserved vegetables, full of flavor.

In addition to Cha Kwo and doggie noodles, Mrs. Feng also makes glutinous rice dumplings. If you want to order them in large quantities, please call in advance. Mrs. Fung is a Hakka person. In the past, her aunt made a living selling Cha Kwo. Now she has taken over the job. She has to get up early every morning for preparations. Starting from kneading powder, all the work is done by hand. It can be said that the work is manual labour. Most customers come from the district, but there are some who deliberately drive from afar, which brings her a great sense of satisfaction. Mrs. Fung's persistence is for her livelihood. She doesn't want customers to be disappointed, and also hopes the Hakka tradition can be inherited.

【歷史與城市發展】	History and City Development
	
<p>位於九龍東的茶果嶺，其發展可追溯至清末民初時期，當時她是九龍東管轄中心「四山公所」的所在地。管轄範圍包括牛頭角、茜草灣、茶果嶺及鯉魚門，村民多以開採石礦及務農為生，立村初期居民有姓鄧、羅、曾、邱的客家人。當時駐紮在九龍寨城的滿清官員在每「山」(石礦)任命一「頭人」(頭目)，合稱「四山頭人」，主管四山大小事務，而他們的辦公地點在「四山公所」。「四山頭人」雖然不是清官，但出入均穿戴清官服飾，儀仗「肅靜」「迴避」高腳牌，連新位九龍官員也要先來拜會，地位超然。</p>	<p>The development of Cha Kwo Ling in East Kowloon can be traced back to the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, when it was the location of the "Si Shan Communal Hall", the administrative center. The area under its jurisdiction included Ngau Tau Kok, Sai Tso Wan, Cha Kwo Ling and Lei Yue Mun. Most of the villagers made a living from quarry mining and farming. In the early days of the village, there were Hakka people surnamed Tang, Law, Tsang and Yau. At that time, the Manchu Qing officials stationed in the Kowloon Walled City appointed a "headman" (leader) in each "mountain" (quarry), collectively known as the "Four Mountain Headmen", to be in charge of the affairs of the four mountains. They worked at the Si Shan Communal Hall. Although the four headmen were not Qing officials, they could wear official attire when they come and had signs to order for "silence" and "to avoid". Their status was so high that even the new Kowloon officials would visit them.</p>
<p>在遊覽茶果嶺時往山上，不難發現開山的痕跡，山崗主要以花崗岩中的麻石組成，在這裡開採的石材，建成了前立法會大樓及中銀總行，更遠銷至廣州建造廣州石室聖心大堂，石礦場在六十年代已停產。除麻石外，茶果嶺亦盛產高嶺土，又稱白泥，可造胭脂粉和陶瓷，曾出口日本。現時，政府已把石礦場納入研究轉為住宅用地的範圍。村民提醒山上有很多野狗，由小在這裡長大的村民也盡量不會上山，建議遊人也留在山下，從石屋的建材中細嚐茶果嶺打石的歷史。</p>	<p>When visiting Cha Kwo Ling, looking up the mountain, it is not difficult to find traces of the quarrying. The hills are mainly composed of granite, which were used to build the former Legislative Council Building and the Bank of China Headquarters, and even exported to Guangzhou for the Stone Chamber Sacred Heart Hall. The quarry ceased production in the 1960s. In addition to granite, CKL is also rich in kaolin, also known as white clay, which can be used to make rouge powder and ceramics, and was</p>

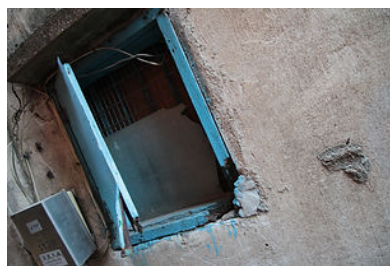
茶果嶺人口在 1945 年後，國共內戰，大量新移民湧入提供了勞動力，也增加了對房屋的需求，除用花崗岩建造的村屋外，在山腳見到一群以鐵皮搭成的寮屋，依山而建，至今仍大致保留下來。

「亞細亞油公司」曾是在匯豐銀行後，香港第二大企業，但在日佔期間所有資產被日軍徵用，戰後 1947 年在四山管轄中的茜草灣建了儲油庫，1990 年代發展成今天的麗港城。1980 年政府大力發展觀塘區，「四山公所」原址被命名為「四山街」。牛頭角在六十年代興建了公屋，四山中現在餘下的只有茶果嶺村及鯉魚門村。這片美麗而寧靜的村落在城市不斷拓展下將何去何從呢？

once exported to Japan. At present, the government has included quarries in the scope of the study on converting land for residential use. The villagers reminded that there are many wild dogs on the mountain, so when they grew up, they would not go up the mountain. Thus, they also suggest that should also stay at the bottom of the mountain, and learn about the history of CKL quarries from the building materials of the granite houses.

Due to the Civil War between the Kuomintang and Communist Party, the population of CKL increased as there was an influx of new immigrants joining the labour force. This increased the demand for houses, thus in addition to the village houses built of granite, a group of squatter houses made of metal sheet were built at the foot of the mountain. Built on the hillside, they are still largely preserved.

"Asiatic Petroleum Company" was once the second largest company in Hong Kong (after HSBC), but all assets were confiscated by the Japanese army during the Japanese occupation. After the war, in 1947, an oil storage depot was built in Sai Tso Wan within the Si Shan area. It developed in the 1990s to become Laguna City. In 1980, the government vigorously developed Kwun Tong District, and the original site of "Si Shan Communal Hall" was named "Si Shan Street". Public housing was built in Ngau Tau Kok in the 1960s. Of the four hills, only CKL Village and Lei Yue Mun Village remain today. Where will this beautiful and quiet village go with the continuous development of the city?



【宗教與建築】	Religion and Architecture
<p>茶果嶺天后廟是清朝道光年間由官府興建,原址在今日麗港城。1947 年政府將觀塘灣畔的土地以廉價售予亞細亞公司興建油庫,天后廟因而被迫拆卸。後來政府順應四山居民的要求,由華民政務司協助重建該廟。1948 年,新天后廟落成開幕,正式由華人廟宇委員會接管,1998 年曾作大型維修,現在香火仍是十分鼎盛。1988 年亞細亞油庫被政府收回,土地售予長實集團,發展成今天的麗港城。</p> <p>天后原籍福建,名叫林默娘,林天生異品,在 13 歲時得方士傳授,有預知天氣能力,因此拯救了不少漁民的生命,因此在海邊的漁村常會找到天后廟。除天后外,此廟亦同時供奉關帝、太歲、觀音、財神、魯班、華光、孔子、金花娘娘及尉遲敬德多位神祇。</p>	<p>The CKL Tin Hau Temple was built by the government during the Daoguang period of the Qing Dynasty, and its original site is in Laguna City. In 1947, the government sold the land along the Kwun Tong Bay to the Asiatic Petroleum Company a low price to build an oil depot, and the Tin Hau Temple was forced to be demolished. Later, the government complied with the request of the Si Shan residents, and the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs assisted in rebuilding the temple. In 1948, the new Tin Hau Temple was completed and opened, and it was officially taken over for management by the Chinese Temple Committee. In 1998, a large-scale maintenance was carried out, and the incense is still very prosperous. In 1988, the Asiatic Petroleum Company was taken back by the government, and the land was sold to Cheung Kong Group, later developing it into Laguna City.</p> <p>Tin Hau was originally from Fujian, and her name was Lin Mo Niang. She was born uniquely, and was taught by a specialist at the age of 13. She has the ability to predict the weather, and thus saved the lives of many fishermen. Therefore, Tin Hau Temples are often found in fishing villages by the sea. In addition to Tin Hau, the temple also enshrines Guan Di, Tai Sui, Guanyin, God of Wealth, Lupan, Matsu God, Confucius, Gold Flower Goddess and Yuchi Gong.</p>
 	 