Lifestyle-Oriented Urban Collage, the Future of Hong Kong "Tong Lau"?
A Case Study of Tai Hang District

Izzy Yi Jian, The Education University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong SAR
Jiemei Luo, Harbin Institute of Technology, China
Wenxin Zeng, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong SAR
Wanchun Ye, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong SAR

Abstract

Emerging in mid-19th century Hong Kong, *Tong Lau* represents a unique architectural heritage blending Chinese traditions with colonial influences, characterised by ground-floor shops and upper-floor residences. Despite their historical significance, many *Tong Lau* face demolition due to intensive urbanisation. This research examines how Tai Hang District, a historic neighbourhood in Hong Kong, demonstrates an alternative approach to *Tong Lau* preservation through "urban collage." Adopting field surveys, this study reveals how traditional buildings integrate with contemporary uses, creating a dynamic landscape where old and new coexist. The research documents how bottom-up initiatives, particularly through creative business adaptations and community engagement, have enabled *Tong Lau* preservation whilst fostering neighbourhood vitality. This transformation manifests across physical adaptations, evolving business landscapes, community space creation, and cultural-digital interactions. The findings suggest that such organic, collage-like approaches offer viable alternatives for heritage preservation, demonstrating how historic urban fabric can be protected whilst remaining responsive to contemporary needs.

Keywords: Micro Regeneration, Lifestyle-Oriented Motivation, Cultural Sustainability

1. Introduction

Urban transformation in historic districts often manifests as a complex interplay of seemingly contradictory elements. These spaces embody what Hayllar & Griffin (2009) describe as inherent dualities, namely the convergence of old and new, traditional and modern, preservation and change. Such urban environments are not merely physical containers of architectural heritage but dynamic social spaces where daily life unfolds through countless interactions and activities.

As noted by Yau (2009), the conservation of built cultural heritage in heavily developed urban areas is fraught with challenges, particularly due to economic forces and land management policies that prioritize development over preservation. While the Hong Kong government has attempted to address these challenges through initiatives like the Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme, the effectiveness of such top-down approaches remains questionable, often leading to fragmentation and social costs (Hou & Wu, 2019). This dilemma has traditionally resulted in binary outcomes: either complete redevelopment or strict preservation. This study proposes an alternative framework of "urban collage" - a process where multiple layers of urban life coexist and interact, creating a rich mix of spatial and social experiences. Through this lens, we examine the transformation of Tai Hang, a historic neighbourhood in Hong Kong. Originally established as a working-class district defined by its *Tong Lau* architecture and local industries, Tai Hang presents a unique case of organic urban evolution. Unlike the wholesale regeneration seen in many Hong Kong districts, its transformation has been incremental and gradual, allowing for the preservation of both physical heritage and community bonds. This study explores how urban collage manifests across multiple dimensions: through physical building adaptations, evolving commercial landscapes, community-driven social spaces, and cultural-digital transformations. Through investigating these layers of urban collage in Tai Hang, this research argues that such an approach represents a viable alternative for heritage district evolution. The case demonstrates how historic urban fabric can be protected while remaining responsive to contemporary needs, offering valuable insights for other historic districts facing similar pressures of urban change.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Urban Regeneration, Place-Making and Community Development

Contemporary urban regeneration theory has evolved significantly beyond mere physical renewal to embrace a comprehensive approach to urban development. Carter et al. (2017) conceptualise urban regeneration as an integrated vision and action that seeks to resolve urban challenges while delivering lasting improvements across economic, physical, social, and environmental dimensions. This holistic understanding aligns with the assertion of Romanelli et al. (2022) that successful urban regeneration must support social capital and community engagement to promote sustainable development. Such a multifaceted approach recognises that urban spaces are complex ecosystems where physical infrastructure, social dynamics, and economic activities are inextricably linked.

Within this context, place-making emerges as a critical strategy for implementing comprehensive urban regeneration, offering practical mechanisms to bridge physical transformation with social and cultural objectives. Place-making transcends traditional urban design by actively engaging with the social fabric of communities. Friedmann (2010)

emphasises that effective place-making must be rooted in local knowledge and community values, enabling residents to maintain their connection to place while adapting to changing urban conditions. This perspective is reinforced by Heath et al. (2017), who highlight how place identity plays a crucial role in fostering community ties and enhancing the regeneration process. The integration of place-making principles into urban regeneration strategies creates what Zukin (2009) terms "authentic" urban spaces – areas that preserve their distinctive character while accommodating contemporary needs and aspirations.

The implementation of this integrated approach requires effective mechanisms for community engagement and participation. Kagan and Duggan (2011) demonstrate how community art serves as a powerful tool for engagement, enabling diverse populations to actively participate in the regeneration process. This approach is particularly effective because it creates accessible platforms for dialogue and co-creation, allowing communities to express their needs and aspirations through creative means. Hurtado (2020) further emphasizes how participatory decision-making processes can address social inequality while ensuring regeneration efforts align with community interests. Such involvement builds social capital and ensures the sustainability of regeneration initiatives through genuine community ownership.

Heritage environments present unique opportunities and challenges for implementing these participatory approaches to urban regeneration. Gravagnuolo and Girard (2017) demonstrate how heritage-led urban regeneration can serve multiple objectives: preserving historical significance, fostering social cohesion, and stimulating economic development. This multifaceted approach transforms heritage assets from potential constraints into valuable resources for sustainable urban development. The success of such initiatives often depends on innovative strategies that respect historical authenticity while accommodating contemporary needs. Practical strategies for achieving this balance often emerge through creative placemaking interventions. Whybrow's (2020) framework of public art as a performative cultural entity provides a valuable approach for activating heritage spaces while maintaining their cultural significance. This concept is complemented by Stevens' (2007) notion of the "ludic city," which emphasises how designed interventions can create new opportunities for community engagement without compromising historical value. Such approaches demonstrate how careful curation of creative activities can enhance both the physical and social dimensions of heritage spaces, contributing to their sustainable regeneration while preserving their essential character.

2.2 Historical Context of "Tong Lau" and Development of Tai Hang District

Tong Lau, or "Chinese tenement buildings," emerged during Hong Kong's rapid urbanisation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a distinctive architectural response to the city's expansion (Chu, 2012). During the British colonial period, these buildings were developed to accommodate the increasing population, particularly waves of mainland migrants seeking economic opportunities. The architectural significance of *Tong Lau* lies in its unique hybrid design, which synthesizes Chinese spatial organization with Western construction techniques (Sedova, 2023). These buildings typically feature commercial spaces at street level with residential units above, maximizing land use in the densely populated urban environment. Their architectural elements, including distinctive balconies, tiled roofs, and decorative façades, exemplify the cultural fusion characteristic of colonial Hong Kong (Chu, 2012).

Tong Lau buildings played a crucial role in Hong Kong's socio-economic development beyond their architectural significance. They provided affordable housing solutions for working-class families and small business owners, creating what Medici et al. (2018) describe as "vertical communities." These buildings became incubators for local enterprises and social networks, supporting the economic mobility of immigrant families while maintaining traditional social structures. The mixed-use configuration not only addressed housing needs but also fostered vibrant street-level commerce, contributing to the development of close-knit urban communities.

The development of Tai Hang district, situated between Causeway Bay and Tin Hau in Hong Kong Island's Eastern District, exemplifies the evolution of *Tong Lau* within Hong Kong's urban landscape (Figure 1). Originally a fishing village, Tai Hang began its transformation in the late 19th century as Hong Kong expanded under British colonial influence. The district's development accelerated significantly after World War II, driven by an influx of mainland migrants that created unprecedented housing demands (Ng, 2002). This demographic shift catalysed the construction of numerous *Tong Lau* buildings, which became integral to the district's architectural and social fabric (Figure 2). The resulting urban landscape reflected a unique blend of Chinese and Western influences, characteristic of Hong Kong's colonial period development patterns.

Figure 1: Location and 3D Model of Tai Hang (Source: Author)

Figure 2: Traditional Chinese Tenement Building (*Tong Lau*) in Tai Hang District
(Source: Author)

Figure 3: Tai Hang Community Comparison
(Left: Historical photograph, Source: Chan, 2016; Right: Current state, Source: Author)

In recent decades, Tai Hang has undergone another transformation, emerging as a notable example of organic urban regeneration (Figure 3). The district has attracted creative industries and young entrepreneurs who have revitalised the ground-floor spaces of *Tong Lau* buildings, establishing lifestyle-oriented businesses such as cafes, craft shops, and bookstores. This new wave of development has created what can be described as a "lifestyle-oriented urban collage," where contemporary businesses coexist harmoniously with traditional shops (Lai, 2024). The district's cultural heritage, particularly the famous Tai Hang Fire Dragon Dance, has been actively preserved and promoted through initiatives such as art tours, city walks, and the establishment of a Fire Dragon Museum.

The evolution of Tai Hang demonstrates the complex interplay between preservation and renewal in Hong Kong's urban development. Community engagement has become increasingly crucial in shaping the district's development trajectory, with local stakeholders actively participating in planning processes (Yau & Chan, 2008). Environmental considerations have also gained prominence, with initiatives to integrate green spaces and enhance public areas becoming priority concerns for both residents and planners (Jian et al., 2024, Cheung, 2024). These developments reflect a broader shift towards more sustainable and community-oriented urban regeneration approaches, while maintaining the distinctive character that *Tong Lau* buildings and local traditions have imparted to the district.

2.3 Social Media Influence on Urban Spaces: Wanghong Urbanism

The emergence of social media platforms has fundamentally reshaped urban regeneration and place-making processes, particularly in heritage contexts. This digital transformation is exemplified by the phenomenon of "Wanghong" (internet-famous) Urbanism, where locations gain prominence through social media visibility, subsequently catalysing increased foot traffic and economic activity (Jian et al., 2021). Boy and Uitermark (2017) conceptualise this as an urbanisation process characterised by dynamic relationships among physical, digital, and social spaces, where urban development is increasingly mediated through digital narratives rather than solely shaped by physical interventions. This digital-spatial interface has particular significance for heritage contexts, where traditional urban fabric intersects with contemporary forms of social engagement and economic revitalisation, fundamentally altering how urban environments are perceived, experienced, and transformed.

The theoretical framework of Wang-hong Urbanism, as conceptualised by Jian et al. (2021), demonstrates the dynamic interactions between three interconnected spheres: physical space (characterised by urban regeneration), digital space (manifested as place in media), and social space (experienced as media in place). This tripartite relationship creates a complex ecosystem where urban transformation is simultaneously shaped by and shapes digital representations and social interactions. The framework illuminates how physical urban regeneration initiatives interact with digital media representations, while social space mediates this relationship through lived experiences and cultural practices. Digital communications technology, rather than replacing local community relations, has enhanced them by creating new forms of spatial interaction and place attachment (Zook and Graham, 2007). This digital-spatial dynamic manifests in how social media users function as active place-makers, creating and consuming spatial narratives through their digital practices, whilst simultaneously influencing physical urban development through their preferences and behaviours.
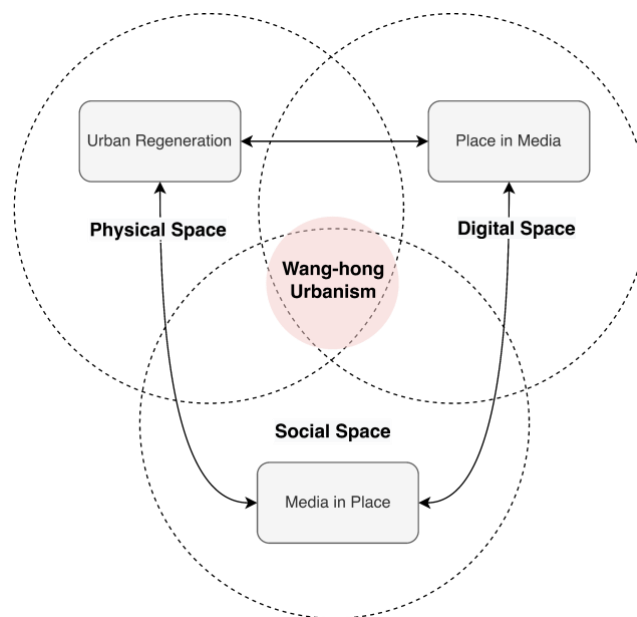

Figure 4: Conceptual Framework of Wang Hong Urbanism
(Source: Jian et al., 2022)

The manifestation of this theoretical framework can be observed through what Klausen (2017) terms a "culture of mediatisation," where the digital-spatial interface actively reshapes urban spaces through media narratives and technological affordances. Social media platforms, particularly image and video-sharing platforms such as Xiaohongshu, TikTok, and Instagram, serve as primary mediators in the relationship between physical and social spaces. While these platforms have potential for facilitating productive dialogue between urban stakeholders, the growing emphasis on creating "instagrammable" spaces reflects a fundamental shift in how physical spaces are conceived and developed. This transformation often prioritises visual appeal over functional urban planning, resulting in spaces designed primarily for digital consumption rather than community use (Jian et al., 2020, 2022).

In heritage contexts, the implications of Wang-hong Urbanism are particularly profound and multifaceted. The fusion of offline and online business models, enabled by time-space convergence (Adams, 2009), has allowed historical districts to transcend physical limitations and reach broader audiences, driving economic revitalisation. Digital platforms have enhanced participatory planning and strengthened community voice in urban governance,

whilst becoming crucial tools for documenting local history and cultivating collective memory (Hood & Reid, 2018). However, this digital transformation presents complex challenges to social equity and heritage authenticity. The selective representation privileging particular aesthetics may inadvertently marginalise certain community groups, whilst the concentration of digital attention among select stakeholders can skew development priorities towards commercial interests rather than heritage preservation (Jian et al., 2021). This tension between digital visibility and authentic preservation raises critical questions about the future of heritage district development in an increasingly mediatised urban landscape.

3. Methodology

This research utilises field observation to examine the urban transformation of Tai Hang district. Between December 2023 and July 2024, the research team conducted five field surveys, documenting spatial patterns, architectural characteristics, and community activities within the neighbourhood. The surveys consisted of visual documentation through photography, observation of land use patterns, and documentation of daily community activities. This approach enabled the recording of both physical urban features and social dynamics, including business operations and public space utilisation. The collected data was analysed to understand patterns in urban development and community life, providing insights into the district's transformation.

4. Results and Discussions

Based on the field observations and collected data, the transformation of Tai Hang can be analysed through four distinct aspects: physical morphology and architectural heritage, changing business landscape, community life and social interactions, and environmental qualities. These aspects collectively demonstrate how the district has evolved while maintaining its distinctive character.

4.1 Physical Transformation and Spatial Adaptation of "Tong Lau"

The development of the Tai Hang District in Hong Kong reflects the broader socio-economic and urban transformation that the city has undergone over the past century. This district, known for its unique blend of traditional and modern elements, has experienced significant changes due to urbanisation, government policies, and community initiatives.

The field survey reveals that Tai Hang presents itself as an "urban collage," where new interventions are carefully inserted into the existing urban fabric like patches in a quilt. This collage effect manifests not only in the horizontal juxtaposition of old and new elements but also in the vertical layering of functions within individual buildings. While the original *Tong Lau* structures remain largely intact, new businesses and functions are "patched" into these historical containers, creating a three-dimensional mosaic of urban life.

At the urban scale, the district has largely retained its historical fabric, characterised by its network of narrow streets and preserved *Tong Lau* buildings. Most *Tong Lau* structures maintain their original three- to four-storey scale, contributing to a consistent streetscape that reflects the area's historical character. The district's unique street pattern, including Sun Chun Street and School Street, remains intact, fostering an intimate pedestrian environment that encourages street-level activities. At the building scale, this collage approach is particularly evident in how new functions are inserted into existing structures without

fundamentally altering their architectural integrity. Rather than undertaking wholesale renovations, building owners and businesses have adopted a more subtle approach, integrating contemporary elements while preserving the original spatial organisation and architectural features. These different approaches to architectural collage in Tai Hang can be observed in various forms, from spatial reorganisation to material applications (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Architectural Collage in Tai Hang: Left: Structural Preservation With Functional Adaptations; Right: Material-Based Interventions in Building Fabric (Source: Author)

Figure 6: No. 3 School Street Building Exterior and Details (Source: Author)

A notable example of this layered adaptation is No. 3 School Street, a 1930s building that exemplifies this collage-like transformation. While we were unable to access the interior of No. 3 School Street during our field surveys due to its private nature, media reports and published materials suggest that this 1930s building exemplifies the collage-like transformation of the district (Epoch News HK, 2023). According to these sources, while retaining its original granite walls with sympathetic red brick repairs, the building has been reimagined through careful insertions: a modern salon has been integrated into the ground

floor, a music hall inserted into the second floor, whilst the third floor maintains its residential function. This approach to adaptive reuse demonstrates how new programmes can be thoughtfully collaged into historical structures without compromising their essential character (Figure 6).

4.2 Changing Business Landscape

The business landscape of Tai Hang demonstrates another dimension of urban collage, where traditional and contemporary commercial activities are interwoven into the district's fabric. Field observations reveal a rich tapestry of businesses where long-established local trades persist alongside new lifestyle-oriented establishments.

This commercial collage is particularly evident in the ground floor spaces of *Tong Lau* buildings (Figure 7). Auto repair workshops continue to operate from their street-level locations, their mechanical activities spilling onto the narrow streets. Local florists and dai pai dong serve their longtime customers, maintaining the authentic working-class character that has long defined Tai Hang. These traditional businesses operate alongside newly established artisanal coffee shops, craft beer bars, and boutique design studios, which have been thoughtfully inserted into renovated *Tong Lau* spaces. For instance, along Sun Chun Street, traditional metal workshops and local grocery stores remain active, while adjacent spaces house contemporary fusion restaurants and lifestyle boutiques.

The evolution of the district's commercial character has been organic rather than wholesale. Unlike other regenerated areas in Hong Kong where traditional businesses have been completely displaced, Tai Hang maintains a delicate balance. Traditional establishments continue to serve the local community's daily needs, while new businesses attract visitors and younger residents, contributing to the area's economic vitality without overwhelming its original character. This gradual transformation has created a dynamic neighbourhood where auto mechanics work next door to third-wave coffee roasters, creating a unique urban experience that bridges different eras of Hong Kong's commercial culture.

Figure 7: Commercial Coexistence in Tai Hang: Left: A Recently Opened Café;
Right: Traditional Car Upholstery Workshop (Source: Author)

4.3 Community Engagement and Social Space Creation

In Tai Hang, social spaces emerge not through traditional urban planning but through organic community engagement and daily interactions. The narrow streets and alleyways, though not designed as formal public spaces, have evolved into vibrant social venues where community

life unfolds. These spaces function as an extension of both residential and commercial premises, creating informal gathering areas that foster social interaction.

The district's social spaces demonstrate a form of "lived collage," where different community activities overlap and coexist. Residents actively appropriate public space by placing personal furniture—chairs, stools, and even sofas—along the streets, effectively claiming these spaces as extensions of their private domains (Figure 8). This informal appropriation of public space creates a distinctive urban environment where the boundaries between private and public become blurred. During regular business hours, mechanics work on vehicles while neighbours chat on their personal seats nearby; elderly residents rest on their brought-out furniture while schoolchildren pass through; shop owners extend their displays onto the street while residents hang laundry above.

This organic creation and appropriation of social space is particularly evident during festivals and community events, when residents and business owners collaborate to temporarily transform the streets. Traditional celebrations, such as the Fire Dragon Dance during Mid-Autumn Festival, see the entire community participating in the transformation of everyday spaces into ceremonial grounds, demonstrating how deeply embedded cultural practices continue to shape the district's social landscape.
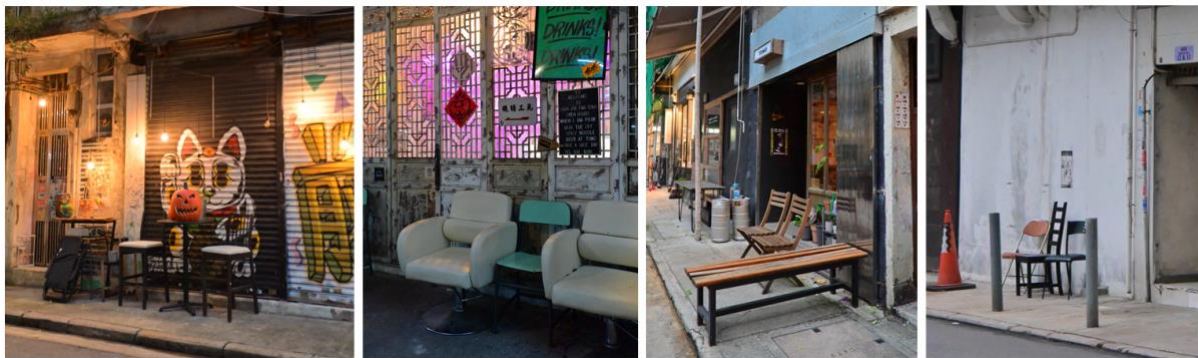

Figure 8: Residents' Furniture in Public Space: Informal Appropriation of Street Space in Tai Hang (Source: Author)

4.4 Cultural-Digital Transformation and Heritage Branding

The cultural landscape of Tai Hang is experiencing a new form of collage, where traditional heritage elements merge with digital-age expressions and contemporary branding. While maintaining its historical essence, the district has become increasingly visible on social media platforms and tourism applications, creating a layered narrative that combines physical and digital presence.

Traditional cultural elements, such as the Fire Dragon Dance, have gained renewed significance through digital documentation and social media sharing. Local events and festivals are no longer just community celebrations but have become cultural attractions that draw visitors seeking authentic urban experiences. These heritage elements are being reinterpreted and branded in ways that appeal to both tradition-minded locals and experience-seeking tourists.

This cultural-digital transformation is particularly evident in how new businesses incorporate local heritage into their branding. Cafés and restaurants often reference the district's

industrial past or traditional crafts in their interior design and marketing narratives. Digital platforms and food blogs frequently highlight the contrast between traditional Dai Pai Dong and contemporary dining establishments, turning this juxtaposition into a distinctive feature of Tai Hang's identity.

5. Conclusions

The urban transformation of Tai Hang exemplifies a sophisticated form of urban collage that operates across multiple dimensions. What makes this district particularly fascinating is how its spaces have evolved into what could be seen as "urban stages" where daily life unfolds as a form of spontaneous social performance. Drawing from Huizinga's (1938) concept of "magic circle", these streets and alleyways function beyond their physical dimensions, creating temporary realms where residents craft their own social reality through informal space appropriation and community engagement.

Unlike many regenerated districts in Hong Kong, Tai Hang's evolution demonstrates how gradual, organic transformation can preserve community character while accommodating contemporary urban needs. As Kolb and Kolb (2010) suggest, the success of such spaces lies in enabling users to engage through desire rather than prescribed rules. The success lies not in prescriptive design but in providing the community with opportunities to shape their environment. The informal street furniture, collaborative festivals, and fluid public-private boundaries all serve as "tools" through which residents actively participate in place-making.

Most significantly, this bottom-up approach to urban collage presents an alternative model for *Tong Lau* preservation. Rather than facing demolition or rigid conservation, these historic buildings find new life through adaptive reuse while maintaining their original architectural integrity. The layering of old and new, traditional and contemporary uses demonstrates how *Tong Lau* can be protected through active engagement rather than passive preservation. This organic transformation not only safeguards the physical heritage but also sustains community vitality, offering a viable pathway for heritage conservation that balances preservation needs with community development. The success of Tai Hang suggests that urban collage, when implemented thoughtfully and gradually, can serve as an effective strategy for protecting historic urban fabric while fostering sustainable neighbourhood evolution.

References

Adams, P. C. (2009). *Geographies of media and communication*. John Wiley & Sons.

Boy, J. D., & Uitermark, J. (2017). Reassembling the city through Instagram. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 42(4), 612-624.

Boy, J. D., & Uitermark, J. (2020). Lifestyle enclaves in the Instagram city? *Social Media+ Society*, 6(3), 2056305120940698.

Carter, A., & Roberts, P. (2017). Strategy and partnership in urban regeneration. In P. Roberts, H. Sykes, & R. Granger (Eds.), *Urban regeneration* (2nd ed., pp. 44-67). Sage.

Chan, B. (2016, July 1). Hong Kong's 'next SoHo', Tai Hang, throttled by rent rises as restaurants and shops shut. *South China Morning Post*.

Cheung, T., Fong, K. H., & Xiang, Y. T. (2024). The impact of urbanization on youth mental health in Hong Kong. *Current Opinion in Psychiatry*, 37(3), 172-176.

Chu, C. L. (2012). Between typologies and representation: The tong lau and the discourse of the "Chinese house" in colonial Hong Kong. *Colonial frames, nationalist histories: Imperial legacies, architecture, and modernity*.

De Gregorio Hurtado, S. (2021). Role of integrated urban regeneration in reducing urban poverty. *No Poverty*, 847-857.

De Medici, S., Riganti, P., & Viola, S. (2018). Circular economy and the role of universities in urban regeneration: The case of Ortigia, Syracuse. *Sustainability*, 10(11), 4305.

Friedmann, J. (2010). Place and place-making in cities: A global perspective. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 11(2), 149-165.

Gravagnuolo, A., & Girard, L. F. (2017). Multicriteria tools for the implementation of historic urban landscape. *Quality Innovation Prosperity*, 21(1), 186-201.

Hayllar, B., & Griffin, T. (2009). Urban tourist precincts as sites of play. In *Enhancing the city: New perspectives for tourism and leisure* (pp. 65-81). Springer.

Heath, S. C., Rabinovich, A., & Barreto, M. (2017). Putting identity into the community: Exploring the social dynamics of urban regeneration. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 47(7), 855-866.

Hood, C., & Reid, P. (2018). Social media as a vehicle for user engagement with local history: A case study in the North East of Scotland. *Journal of Documentation*, 74(4), 741-762.

Hou, H., & Wu, H. (2020). A case study of facilities management for heritage building revitalisation. *Facilities*, 38(3/4), 201-217.

Jian, I. Y., Chan, E. H., Xu, Y., & Owusu, E. K. (2021). Inclusive public open space for all: Spatial justice with health considerations. *Habitat International*, 118, 102457.

Jian, I. Y., Luo, J., & Chan, E. H. (2020). Spatial justice in public open space planning: Accessibility and inclusivity. *Habitat International*, 97, 102122.

Jian, I. Y., Villani, C., Münster, M. B., & Siu, K. W. M. (2022). "There are more Instagrammers than coffee beans": Retracing wang-hong urbanism in Hong Kong. In *15th Conference of the International Forum on Urbanism-IFOU*.2022.

Jian, I. Y., Mo, K. H., Chen, P., Ye, W., Siu, K. W. M., & Chan, E. H. (2024). Navigating between private and public: Understanding publicness of public open spaces in private developments in Hong Kong. *Journal of Urban Management*.

Kagan, C., & Duggan, K. (2011). Creating community cohesion: The power of using innovative methods to facilitate engagement and genuine partnership. *Social Policy and Society*, 10(3), 393-404.

Klausen, M. (2017). The urban exploration imaginary: Mediatization, commodification, and affect. *Space and Culture*, 20(4), 372-384.

Lai, C. M. T., & Cole, A. (2024). International perception and local pride in smart city development: The case of Hong Kong. *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and-National Studies of Southeast Asia*, 1-20.

Ng, M. K. (2002). Property-led urban renewal in Hong Kong: Any place for the community? *Sustainable Development*, 10(3), 140-146.

Romanelli, M., Ferrara, M., Metallo, C., Reina, R., Varriale, L., Ventura, M., & Buonocore, F. (2022). Advancing urban regeneration projects for sustainable development and intellectual capital. In *23rd European Conference on Knowledge Management Vol 2. Academic Conferences and Publishing Limited*.

Sedova, A., & Celani, A. (2023). Urban regeneration: What are the architectural trends? *E3S Web of Conferences*, 457, 03016.

Stevens, Q. (2007). *The ludic city: Exploring the potential of public spaces*. Routledge.

Whybrow, N. (2020). *Performance and the contemporary city: An interdisciplinary reader*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Yau, Y. (2009). Multi-criteria decision making for urban built heritage conservation: Application of the analytic hierarchy process. *Journal of Building Appraisal*, 4, 191-205.

Yau, Y., & Ling Chan, H. (2008). To rehabilitate or redevelop? A study of the decision criteria for urban regeneration projects. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 1(3), 272-291.

Zook, M. A., & Graham, M. (2007). The creative reconstruction of the Internet: Google and the privatization of cyberspace and DigiPlace. *Geoforum*, 38(6), 1322-1343.

Zukin, S. (2009). *Naked city: The death and life of authentic urban places*. Oxford University Press.

Contact email: izzyjian@eduhk.hk