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The Protection of Victoria Harbour in Hong Kong: An Analysis of Civic Engagement Strategies

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

Department of Politics and Public Administration The University of Hong Kong



2014

Declaration

We declare that this Capstone Project, entitled 'The Protection of Victoria Harbour in Hong Kong: An Analysis of Civic Engagement Strategies', represents our own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

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Abstract

Civic engagement is critical in improving harbour-related policies in many countries. In view of the rising civil societies and the increasing demands for more citizen participation in public policies, civic engagement is possibly one of the resolutions to legitimise the policy and reduce social resistance. Public participation in the policymaking process can facilitate the citizens to have deeper understanding about the policy while the government can gauge the public opinions to formulate better policies through effective interaction and collaboration in civic engagement exercises. Civic engagement conducted in an open and inclusive way can enhance trust and consensus building and hence enhances smoother policy implementation.

An analytical framework is developed for this project comprising definitions of civic engagement, reasons for conducting civic engagement, a spectrum of stakeholders involved in civic engagement, a perspective of civic engagement as a continuum, and criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of civic engagement. This framework fosters a comprehensive understanding of the many facets of civic engagement, which will structure and guide the later discussion of the civic engagement strategies adopted by the HKSAR government and the significance of public engagement in the protection of the Victoria Harbour.

Based on the analytical framework laid down in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 will provide an analysis of the changing socio-political environment in Hong Kong, the purposes of civic engagement, the established practices for public participation in policymaking, and the evaluation of the effectiveness of civic engagement in Hong Kong over three periods: during the colonial era, after the handover, and the present CY Leung government. In Chapter 4, there is a discussion of the mechanisms of the Harbourfront Enhancement Committee, the Harbourfront Commission, and the proposed new statutory Harbourfront Authority for the purpose of identifying and assessing the civic engagement strategies adopted in the protection of the Harbour over time, appreciating the reasons behind such an adoption, and evaluating their effectiveness in civic engagement. With reference to selected overseas experiences in Singapore, Rotterdam and New York City, some recommendations will be provided in Chapter 5, including institutionalising an established network of stakeholders, developing a framework for civic engagement in harbour policy, fostering sustainable development with consultation and mapping a long-term plan.



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Abbreviations

CCSG	Centre for Civil Society and Governance		
CFA	Court of Final Appeal		
CSO	Civil society organisations		
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment		
НА	Harbourfront Authority		
НС	Harbourfront Commission		
HEC	Harbourfront Enhancement Committee		
IAP2	International Association for Public Participation		
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation		
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development		
PM&E	Participatory monitoring and evaluation		
PPP	Public-private partnership		
SRO	Singapore River One		
TGMMH	Task Group on Management Model for the Harbourfront		
URA	Urban Redevelopment Authority		
WAVE	Waterfront Vision and Enhancement Strategy		



CHAPTER 1 OVERVIEW: THE PROTECTION OF VICTORIA HARBOUR IN HONG KONG

Focus, objectives and background of the project

This project focuses on civic engagement strategies adopted in public policies in relation to Victoria Harbour in Hong Kong. It studies and analyses civic engagement exercises conducted in relation to the development of Victoria Harbour, and evaluates its effectiveness to assess whether the civic engagement strategies can bring about the intended outcomes. Based on the evaluation, civic engagement strategies can be advanced in order to facilitate future policy formulation and implementation.

The objectives of this project are to analyse the role of civic engagement in the protection of Victoria Harbour, and understand the increasing importance of the public participation with a view to facilitating the government policy formulation and implementation effectively. Moreover, this project investigates how the engagement of citizens in Hong Kong prompted to save Victoria Harbour, a piece of valuable heritage of Hong Kong people, from being further reclaimed and polluted.

The project recognises that Hong Kong has been developing rapidly since colonial era. The flourishing development requires considerable land supply for economic activities and constructions of infrastructures. To this end, reclamation along the shoreline of Victoria Harbour has long been regarded as a solution to provide more usable lands for development.

In mid 90s, the community started to concern about the vast area of reclamation along the seashore of Victoria Harbour. Widespread controversies as well as debates relating to various concerns, such as environmental protection and heritage reservation, sparked off in the community, and led to the calling of harbor protection by civic society. In 1997, the Protection of the Harbour Ordinance, which was proposed by the Society for the Protection of the Harbour (SPH), was passed and later extended to whole area of Victoria Harbour. SPH further applied for judicial review on the Wan Chai Development Phase II, of which the proposal draft was finally reviewed as a result of the judgment of Court of Final Appeal (Hong Kong Year Book, 2003).

After the judicial review, Hong Kong government started to be aware of the importance of public participation in harbour policy. In the past, the colonial government did not pay much attention as well as efforts on consulting the general public. Neither harbourfront policies nor the harbour reclamation projects would engage the public extensively as only limited channels were set up to gauge public opinions.

In the context of growing public concerns together with the political oppositions to the top-down approach in consultation, especially after the massive 2003 rally, the general public demanded genuine public involvement in harbour policy.



Therefore, the government started to put much efforts into civic engagement, and extended it to other government policies. In recent years, civic engagement is adopted as a policy tool and gradually becomes one of the essential process included in many policies. The government has allocated lots of resources in developing means and channels to facilitate public participation, and has conducted researches to advance the strategies.

Hong Kong has been adopting civic engagement strategies in harbor policy for a long time. It is crucial to assess and evaluate whether its adoption helps achieve intended outcomes and facilitates government policy formulation and implementation effectively.

Research questions and associated propositions: theory & practice

In accordance with the focus and objectives of the project, a set of research questions are addressed:

- 1. Why should governments conduct civic engagement when developing policies, particularly controversial and contentious policies?
- 2. What strategies of civic engagement are available to governments?
- 3. What has the HKSAR government done and achieved in terms of civic engagement in relation to the protection of Victoria Harbour?
- 4. How might the actions and achievements of the HKSAR government in this regard be advanced and strengthened?

Civic engagement is critical in improving harbour-related policies in many countries. In view of the rising civil societies and the increasing demands for more citizen participation in public policies, civic engagement is possibly one of the resolutions to legitimise the policy and reduce social resistance. Public participation in the policymaking process can facilitate the citizens to have deeper understanding about the policy while the government can gauge the public opinions to formulate better policies through effective interaction and collaboration in civic engagement exercises. Civic engagement conducted in an open and inclusive way can enhance trust and consensus building and hence enhances smoother policy implementation.

Brief overview of the analytical framework

The analytical framework is based on ideas, concepts and literatures of various scholars or civil society organisations, such as Arnsetin's 'A ladder of citizen participation', IAP2's public participation spectrum and the OECD's three-fold definition. The framework is used to analyse the civic engagement strategies adopted in harbour-related policies in Hong Kong.

First, the framework appreciates that there are different definitions and core concepts of civic engagement based on literatures of various scholars, and propositions or principles adopted by civil society organisation. The different forms and degrees of engagement process in OECD's three-fold definition, Arnstein's eight-rung ladder of citizen participation in 'A ladder of citizen



participation' and IAP2's 'public participation spectrum' are discussed and compared.

Second, the framework addresses various strategies of civic engagement. A range of strategies discussed in various literatures are examined. By comparing Anstein's eight-rung ladder of citizen participation in "A ladder of citizen participation", IAP2's public participation spectrum, and the OECD's three-fold definition, the strongest and weakest form of strategies as well as the most advocated method of civic engagement that engages the citizens as partners are identified.

Third, the framework considers why civic engagement should be conducted. It examines the context and social pressure leading to the adoption of strategies, and various merits that civic engagement can bring to ensure effective governance and smoother implementation of policies.

Lastly, the framework comprises evaluative or assessing criteria for the effectiveness of civic engagement strategies, such as the participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E) which is advocated by World Bank.

Research methodology

The research methodology is based on documentary analysis of reports, papers and studies publicised by advisory bodies like Legislative Council, the Harbourfront Commission, other relevant departments or bureaus such as Planning Department, and meeting minutes of steering committee, like Harbourfront Enhancement Committee to analyse civic engagement strategies adopted in the development of Victoria Harbour.

Desktop research on harbour-related policies of Singapore, Rotterdam in Holland and New York City in the United States of America, is also conducted for oversea experiences. Similar to Victoria Harbour, the ports in these three cities or countries have economic significance and are facing the same constraint, i.e. limited land supply when developing. Hence, a number of papers and policy documents published by respective government departments are studied to learn their successful experiences.

This project mainly focuses on analysis of the civic engagement strategies adopted in policies in relation to Victoria Harbour, so it is important to study relevant consultation papers, reports and studies to study the mechanisms, practices and development of civic engagement in Hong Kong. The methodology adopted in this project is appropriate as these publications provide detailed information of the development of Victoria Harbour and civic engagement strategies adopted, which facilitates comprehensive analysis on the issue.

Chapter outline

This project consists of five chapters, with this chapter -- Chapter 1 -- being the introduction comprising the focus, objectives and background of the project, the



research questions and related propositions, an overview of the analytical framework, and the research methodology.

Chapter 2 establishes the analytical framework of the project. It comprises a review of relevant literature and studies of scholars or institutions on civic engagement to identify reasons, strategies, actors and evaluation methods concerning civic engagement. It structures and informs the empirical analysis in subsequent chapters, including assisting in determining whether the adoption of civic engagement can bring about desired policy outcomes.

Chapter 3 studies past civic engagement exercises in Hong Kong. It comprises the background and mechanisms of public participation during the colonial era, after the handover of Hong Kong, and during the present CY Leung government. Also, it examines the reasons for the adoption of civic engagement, the strategies and approaches adopted by the HKSAR government, and the policy outcomes after adoption.

Chapter 4 focuses on the civic engagement strategies of the Harbourfront Enhancement Committee, the Harbourfront Commission, and the proposed Harbourfront Authority. It examines the reasons for the adoption of civic engagement strategies, the membership of the institutions or committees, and the challenges associated with the development, along with an evaluation of the effectiveness of the strategies.

After analysing civic engagement exercises, Chapter 5 concludes the findings and looks into selected overseas experience for lessons that are appropriate to be implemented in Hong Kong, such as a framework for civic engagement and the planning of harbour developments. Recommendations are provided in this chapter.



CHAPTER 2 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

With the rising expectations of citizens in public service delivery, it is fundamental for governments around the world to maintain an open and inclusive policymaking process. More resources have been invested in promoting new public policies and explaining to the public the stance of the government by rolling out publicity campaigns before policy proposals are put forward to the legislature for discussion. Governments aim at connecting with their citizens through these publicity activities, so as to call on their support for facilitating smooth implementation of policies. Moreover, young people have become increasingly civic-spirited and vocal in making their views heard. They are also active in organising themselves to form civil society groups and utilising different media channels to express their opinions and recommendations for specific policy issues. In light of this background, civic engagement has become a prime task for the government to respond to these strong forces of civil society, which may be conducive or detrimental to the policymaking process and legitimacy of The increasing awareness of public perception of policies can governance. nurture partnership between governments and citizens and bring about better policies that can fulfill public needs.

Since civic engagement plays a pivotal role in the smooth implementation of policies, an analytical framework is established in this chapter, comprising definitions of civic engagement, reasons for conducting civic engagement, a spectrum of stakeholders involved in civic engagement, a perspective of civic engagement as a continuum, and criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of civic engagement. This framework fosters a comprehensive understanding of the many facets of civic engagement, which will structure and guide the later discussion of the civic engagement strategies adopted by the HKSAR government and the significance of public engagement in the protection of Victoria Harbour.

What is civic engagement?

Civic engagement is also commonly known as public engagement, which is characterised by an open and inclusive policymaking process. Different definitions have been suggested by scholars and organisations to give a better understanding of civic engagement. They illustrate the interactions between the government and the citizens in the policymaking process, the stakeholders involved and the degree of citizen involvement by dividing the engagement process into different stages and levels. To assess the degree of citizen involvement, it is crucial to analyse how proactive the role of the government is during the civic engagement process and whether the citizens are truly empowered by sharing the decision-making power.

Some concepts of civic engagement can be derived from the definitions offered by some scholars and organisations. Communication and interaction between the government and the citizens should be mutual. Both the government and the citizens have a proactive role to play in facilitating constructive discussion, which



will bring about joint ownership of policymaking process, from identification of policy problems to formulation of policy solutions. It can foster mutual understanding which will help the parties to resolve conflicts and learn to compromise. The ultimate goal is to include citizens as partners when defining problems, prioritising policy issues and deciding on the appropriate policy solution.

According to Cooper (2005), civic engagement refers to 'the participation of people together for deliberation and collective action within an array of interests, institutions and networks, developing civic identity, and involving people in governance processes'. This definition emphasises the role of the stakeholders and the development of a network of actors that can formulate policy alternatives. Yet, this definition is rather narrow in the sense that it only shows the initiative taken by the citizens in participating in the policymaking process without highlighting the role and response of the government. Whereas the Centre for Civil Society and Governance (CCSG) (2007) considered that civic engagement is 'an organised process where a government has taken the initiative to involve citizens in all stages of policy development, from identification of problems, to clarification of values and interests, development of policy alternatives, and prioritisation of proposals'. This definition stresses on the fact that citizens have to be involved throughout the decision-making process, meaning that civic engagement should include citizens' views even at the early stage of policy formulation. By pointing out that time is of the essence, it advocates that an early involvement of citizens can enhance their sense of ownership of policy problems and solutions and reduce the risk of compliance during the subsequent implementation process. It has also indicated that the government has an active role to play in listening to the citizens.

To give more weight to the important role of citizens, civic engagement can also be defined as 'an arrangement through which the state opens up its policymaking process and actively includes citizens as partners in making decisions' (Lee, Chan, Chan, Cheung & Lam, 2013). It shows that whether the government is prepared to involve the citizens or not, the strong forces of civil society have emerged and imposed influence on the policymaking process. Thus, the government has to address the needs of the citizens in a proactive manner and the citizens have to be regarded as partners in the policymaking process in order to ensure legitimate governance. Given the increasing influence of civil society in the political arena, it is understandable that the government is obliged to conduct civic engagement in order to reinforce public confidence. As such, maintaining an open and inclusive policymaking process is essential to improving policy performance as suggested by the paper published by the OECD (2009). Public engagement can be viewed as part of the open and inclusive policymaking process, which involves 'the government working with citizens, civil society organisations, businesses and other stakeholders to deliver concrete improvements in policy outcomes and the quality of public services' (OECD, 2009). This definition recognises the public as being comprised of stakeholders from different social sectors and their views have to be gauged to deliver better policies.



Why should civic engagement be conducted and who should be engaged?

Engaging with stakeholders

Civic engagement refers to the active involvement of citizens in public affairs (Lee and Thynne 2011); it is therefore especially important for governments to adopt civic engagement strategies that involve an array of stakeholders to gauge the knowledge and opinions from the civil society and to achieve openness and inclusiveness in policymaking. When the policy issue directly affects the costs and benefits of specific groups of stakeholders, their opinions have to be gauged through different channels. It also offers an opportunity for the government and the stakeholders to engage in dialogues to seek a common ground for further development in certain policy areas. However, who to involve is a complex question to ask. Participatory processes may be open to all or only include elite stakeholders. Fung (2006) categorises public participation selection mechanisms by the degree of inclusiveness, from a more exclusive with 'state' involvement to 'minipublics' and finally a more inclusive with 'public' involvement.

The stakeholders involved could vary greatly depending on the policy concerned, the stakeholders could include citizens, concern groups, business sectors and professional institutes.

The involvement of citizens could foster a collaborative and horizontal relationship with the government, to fulfill citizens' aspiration of democratic governance, to understand the rationale of the government and to build trust in the policymaking process.

Concern groups often have their agenda in mind, engaging them in the policymaking process can offer a timely opportunity for them to express their views and allow time to and buy-in their opinions and thereby minimising the risk of sifting the policy development by judicial review due to a lack of consensus.

Business sectors are often the source of finance for societal development, engagement of the business sectors helped to explore ways to channel private resources to finance the policy development through public-private partnership projects, to attract private investments that can revitalize the community and to apply business practices and concepts, such as branding and marketing, in public policy areas.

Professional institutes possess expert knowledge and are capable of appreciating the perspectives of professionals and analyse the technical feasibility, to provide innovative project design concepts and their experience of planning, design, construction, operation and management can also be leveraged on.

Given the rapid development of civil society organisations, the increasing awareness of citizens in the policymaking process and the complexity of social problems that cut across different policy areas, public participation becomes essential to ensuring effective governance and smooth implementation of policies. There are many merits in engaging the public at an early stage of policymaking



process. In fact, the inputs of citizens can help the government to formulate better policies, build mutual trust with the civil society and promote joint ownership of policy problems and solutions. These benefits can ensure compliance and reduce the risk of resistance when implementing new policies.

Formulating better policies

Civic engagement helps to maintain an open and inclusive policymaking process. Multiple channels will be set up to gauge public views and inputs from the public can inspire creativity in delivering public services. Head (2011) noted that stakeholder participation and the government's responsiveness to citizens' needs has modified the top-down approach in public administration in the sense that network-based arrangements and collaborations have been developed to facilitate implementation of public policies. Through sustained communication with stakeholders, the government will become more responsive to the changing social needs and the policy objectives can be clarified. With frequent interactions with the civil society, civil servants will be trained to become more sensitive in anticipating public reactions towards certain policy issues.

Building mutual trust

Civic engagement brings benefits to both the government and the citizens. By involving different sectors of society, the government can obtain a sound understanding of community needs and reduce compliance costs (Lee & Thynne, 2011). A detailed and comprehensive civic engagement exercise can allow potential conflicts and complexities to be resolved before the implementation of policies, which can minimise the subsequent administrative costs in dealing with controversies and legal disputes. If the government can maintain a sincere and open-ended dialogue with the citizens in the civic engagement process, it is likely that the civic engagement exercise will be successful (CCSG, 2007). Such process can heighten the level of trust as the government can demonstrate its genuine concern in taking citizens' views into consideration during the policymaking process. Laying a foundation of mutual trust can allow all parties to make compromise and reach consensus.

Participation of citizens in policymaking can also foster a collaborative relationship with the government. An open, transparent and inclusive civic engagement process is a significant characteristic of democratic governance. It can also improve the transparency and accountability of the administrative process and political system. Civic engagement emphasises constitutional liberties and representative government (Kim, 2011). Apart from winning trust, the government can also build up political capital to ensure effective governance.

Promoting ownership of policy problems and solutions

As citizens attain higher levels of education in modern society, they are eager to participate in defining and diagnosing policy problems, setting the agenda for discussion, formulating policy alternatives and voicing their preferred policy solutions. This process can allow them to better understand the opinions of different stakeholders in their discussion and the rationale of the government



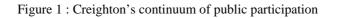
behind the public policies through various forms of interactions during civic engagement. By involving the citizens throughout the policymaking process, it can foster citizens' ownership of policy problems and solutions, which can encourage widespread behavioural change in the community. With a deeper understanding of the policy issues and stakeholders' contribution to devising the policy solutions, civic engagement can help to reinforce the legitimacy of governance. Moreover, a greater degree of public participation and increased integrity of governance processes can also enhance the legitimacy of public policies implemented.

Through gauging knowledge and expertise from citizens, civil society organisations and private sector, policymakers can benefit from being more capable of devising the most appropriate measures to tackle social problems. Besides, the establishment of the network of actors can allow the civil society to prosper. As suggested by Creighton (2005), public participation can remake civil society as a breeding ground for future political leaders. The elements of learning and deliberation in civic engagement can facilitate actors in civil society to influence one another and equip them with the necessary skills and help them develop the capacities that are conducive to reaching consensus. It is a learning process of appreciating and weighing different values and priorities.

Civic engagement as a continuum

Strategies adopted for promoting civic engagement may bear different degree of citizen involvement. Some scholars have attempted to categorise the various forms of civic engagement into different levels, so that civic engagement can be analysed as a continuum for better understanding of its merits and limitations.

Engagement with citizens can promote policy reform and different degree of citizen empowerment will affect the extent of how policies can be innovated and the democratic element of governance. Different stages can be categorised to assess the degree of citizen influence in public policymaking process. Creighton (2005) suggested that public participation is the process involving mutual communication between the citizens and the government, which allows the needs, values and concerns of the public being reflected in the policies implemented by the government. The goal is to introduce better policies for bringing about desired outcome. It has been emphasised that public participation can be illustrated as a continuum with different degree of engagement as depicted in Figure 1.





Source: Creighton, J. L. (2005) *The Public Participation Handbook: Making Better Decisions Through Citizen Involvement.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

At the stage of informing the public, it refers to the publicity activities conducted by the government in promoting public policies, such as television announcements in the public interest and publication of reports and minutes of meetings in relation to the policies. Listening to the public may involve issuing consultation papers and receiving feedback from the public, as well as holding district forums for open public discussion. Engaging in problem solving refers to more in-depth discussions with representatives from different social sectors joining a steering committee established for the purpose of facilitating the policymaking process. Small group interviews may also be held to gauge public views.

Apart from Creighton's modern interpretation of public participation, Arnstein (1969) has put forward one of the earliest propositions in relation to the role of citizens in policymaking process, which is 'A ladder of citizen participation'. It is a more elaborate hierarchy indicating different types of participation as well as non-participation. The elements are presented in Figure 2.



Figure 2: Arnstein's "A ladder of citizen participation"

Source: Arnstein, S. R. (1969) 'A ladder of citizen participation', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4): 216-224.

The first two rungs in the above diagram have been categorised as nonparticipation. They are not processes of genuine engagement with citizens, but the government only aims at educating the citizens the correct perspectives of viewing public policies. Such strategies may include publication of information leaflets and broadcasting of announcements and advertisements.

The subsequent three rungs are classified as tokenism, meaning that the citizens have been given a voice, however, there is no guarantee that the government will respond to the opinions by altering the status quo. Civic engagement may be conducted in the form of issuing public consultation documents, invitation of written feedback to the consultation document and organising district forums.

The last three rungs can be collectively referred to as citizen power. The sixth rung of partnership indicates that the relationship between the government and the citizens is more equal and negotiation has been made possible. At this level, stakeholders and citizens may be appointed as non-official members in steering



committees to contribute inputs and foster interactions with official members in the committee meetings on a regular basis. A certain degree of sustainability can be secured in this relationship and therefore it can guarantee more equal contribution, which is beneficial to constructive negotiation.

As for the last two rungs, namely delegated power and citizen control, the former indicates that citizens are able to become more dominant in the decision-making process and the latter demonstrates that citizens are demanding a certain degree of power or even control over public policy programmes. When citizens become dominant in the decision-making process, it means that polling may be conducted when choosing different policy solutions. Civic movements may also force the government to open up, so that voices of citizens can be included in the official decision-making procedures.

In the same vein, the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) advocated the 'public participation spectrum', which shares some characteristics with Arnstein's 'A ladder of citizen participation'. The five levels in the 'public participation spectrum' include inform, consult, involve, collaborate and empower. At the inform level, the government will provide the public with objective information to help them understand the policy problems by making the core facts available online and distributing publicity materials. At the consult level, the government will obtain feedback on the policy analysis and alternatives through submission of consultation documents from various civil society organisations and citizens. At the involve level, the government will work with the public to ensure better understanding of the issues and the public concerns are addressed. At the collaborate level, the government will work with the public as partners throughout the decision-making process including seeking alternatives and identifying preferred solutions by involving them in the official meetings and inviting organisations to delegate representatives to express their opinions, preferences and interests. At the empower level, the decision-making authority lies in the hands of the public and this can be realised by polling and voting.

Civic engagement can take many different forms. In order to facilitate the analysis, Arnstein's eight-rung ladder, IAP2's five-level public participation spectrum and OECD's three-fold definition of government-citizen relations are presented in Table 1 by way of graphical illustration.

	Arnstein	IAP2	OECD
	(1969)	(2000)	(2001)
Increasing level / stronger form of civic engagement	Citizen Control	Empower Act	
	Delegated Power		Active
	Partnership	Collaborate	Participation
	Placation	Involve	
	Consultation	Consult	Consultation
	Informing	Inform	Information
	Therapy		
In st ci	Manipulation		

Table 1: Comparison table showing the level of civic engagement for the theories advocated by Sherry R. Arnstein, International Association for Public Participation and OECD



As shown in Table 1, both the IAP2's public participation spectrum and the OECD's definition modeled from Arnstein's "A ladder of citizen participation". In Arnstein's eight-rung ladder, there is a level of non-participation, namely, 'therapy' and 'manipulation', which is absent in both IAP2's and OECD's definition.

Table 2 shows that as the level of civic engagement moves from the bottom towards the upper level, the level of engagement progresses from a weaker form of one-way engagement of 'informing' towards the next level of two-way engagement with 'consultation' and 'involve' or 'placation'. The strongest level of civic engagement is attained when civil society is being treated as partners, with a high degree of interaction, involving 'active participation', 'collaborate' or 'empower'.

	Arnstein (1969)	IAP2 (2000)	OECD (2001)
Partnership (Strong form)	Citizen Control Delegated Power	Empower	Active
	Partnership	Collaborate	Participation
Two-way	Placation	Involve	
(Medium)	Consultation	Consult	Consultation
One-way (Weak Form)	Informing	Inform	Information
Non participation	Therapy		
Non-participation	Manipulation		

Table 2 : Comparison table categorising the theories advocated by Sherry R. Arnstein, International Association for Public Participation and OECD into different forms of civic engagement

As illustrated in Table 2, the IAP2 shares the characteristics with Arstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' and also the spirit of OECD's civic engagement definition, therefore, in this project, we will adopt the definition proposed by the IAP2 to develop our analysis of the policy issues in relation to civic engagement.

Citizens should be treated as partners and that they should be involved or engaged not only at the beginning of the policymaking process, but throughout the whole process as well. The process is also far from static, instead, it is an on-going process with interaction and a feedback mechanism.

At the top level of citizen engagement is placing the decision-making power in the hands of the public or the government and the citizens reaching an agreement in order to find an appropriate policy solution after a comprehensive analysis of the pros and cons. We may question what motivates the government to open up and allow the public to interfere with the status quo. In the following section, we will take a look at the development of modern society and the evolving role of citizens in the policymaking process that lead to the government taking initiative to engage with the citizens.



Evaluating the effectiveness of civic engagement

Much has been discussed on the modes and forms of civic engagement. Researches show the importance of civil society organisations (CSOs) in contributing to building social consensus for long-term development and to promoting effective governance (World Bank 2003). Civic engagement helps to bridge the gap between the actions of the government and the expectations of the citizens. By allowing the civil society to participate in the process, their voices could be heard. Increasing civic engagement can be reflected from the public's increasing engagement in political activities such as voter turnout, the number of petitions, etc, are examples of indicators of increased civic engagement.

To conduct an evaluation, the first key question is the existence of civic engagement, there has to be a set of conditions or an "enabling environment" as summarised by the World Bank's ARVIN Framework, where ARVIN is the acronym for Association, Resources, Voice, Information and Negotiation. These elements are influenced by different dynamics, to name a few, these include accountability, representation, legitimacy and institutional relationships. (World Bank Social Development Note 2003)

Evaluation is a vital, yet often overlooked, component. Regardless of the result of the civic engagement exercise, evaluation, similar to an audit process, provides an opportunity for review and reflection whether the methods and efforts are suitably and effectively adopted and resources are suitably utilized which will offer insights for future implementation.

Measurement of civic engagement can be quantitative or qualitative, objective or subjective. For instance, the OECD Better Life Index (OECD) takes *voter turnout* and *consultation on rule-making* into account as the two civic engagement factors contributing to the well-being of people and the society; other quantitative or objective indicators include the number of people attended community meetings, civic events, petitions and protests. For some others, qualitative or subjective indicators are being considered, such as the level of collaboration among the CSOs in the policymaking process, opinions, thoughts and satisfaction of the community.

Similarly, methods for evaluating the effectiveness of civic engagement can be both quantitative and qualitative. Some tools for evaluating how the civic engagement activities are used include Cost-Benefit Analysis, SWOT Analysis, Values-based Analysis and Capacity Inventory Checklist (UNESCO).

There is also a shift from conventional Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) to Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation (PM&E). Conventionally, Monitoring and Evaluation are conducted and managed by the senior management or consultants outside the organisation, the role of stakeholders is limited to the provision of information and the result is measured by externally-defined quantitative indicators.



For the participatory monitoring and evaluation (PM&E) (World Bank PM&E) advocated by the World Bank, it recognises primary stakeholders as active participants rather than sources of information and the importance of building capacity and values the joint learning at various levels. Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation are managed by a much larger group of stakeholders. The results are more internally-defined with more qualitative judgements. These qualitative methods include the use of questionnaires, interviews and focus group meetings. PM&E can be understood as a process where various stakeholders engage in monitoring or evaluating a particular project and the focus is on the active engagement of primary stakeholders (World Bank PM&E).

Measuring and evaluating the effectiveness of civic engagement remains a challenge. Effective civic engagement should imply meaningful connections among the public, the government, the policy issues and the political system. Good communication is key to effective civic engagement (McCoy and Scully 2002). Civic engagement is a process to build trust, the way and methods how the civil society is engaged should be arranged in an honest and open condition. Two questions are key when evaluating the effectiveness of civic engagement in a policymaking process, whether the civil society is satisfied with the civic engagement process and whether the decision made by the government after an civic engagement exercise faces opposition or not (Hong Kong Democratic Foundation 2008).

There is no single best approach or indicator for measurement because local contexts are different and it is difficult to identify universal indicators that are consensual. However, whichever indicator is being chosen, it should be able to draw meaningful conclusions that enable comparison and benchmarking. People engage in civic engagement activities because they want their voices and opinions to be heard, ultimately, the engagement of the civil society in the policymaking process is to improve accountability and build trust among the public and the government. With mutual trust and mutual understanding, effective civic engagement is capable to reduce opposition and enhance the legitimacy of governance.

Concluding comments

Different scholars hold different views on the definition of civic engagement, one thing they share in common is that civic engagement is an essential element to an open and inclusive policymaking process. By involving the stakeholders, which vary depend on the policy issue, civic engagement enhances the legitimacy of governance, by formulating better policies through sustained mutual communication, building mutual trust and promoting the citizens' ownership of policy problems and solutions.

Civic engagement is a continued and ongoing process throughout the policymaking process. Arstein's "A ladder of citizen participation", IAP2's "public participation spectrum" and the OECD's definition share common characteristics. As the IAP2's spectrum is widely adopted nowadays, the analysis in this project is based on it. After implementation, evaluation of the civic



engagement activities adopted should not be overlooked as it is an important component to help review and for improvement in future.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 comprise further in-depth studies and analysis on civic engagement strategies in the context of Hong Kong, with a focus on the protection of Victoria Harbour. The conclusion in Chapter 5 recommends lessons for Hong Kong with reference to three overseas case studies of Singapore, Rotterdam and New York City experience.



CHAPTER 3 CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN HONG KONG

Introduction

Consistent with the comprehensive analytical framework on civic engagement in Chapter 2, this chapter analyses the changing socio-political environment in Hong Kong, the purposes of civic engagement, the established practices for public participation in policymaking, and the evaluation of the effectiveness of civic engagement in Hong Kong over three periods: during the colonial era, after the handover, and during the present CY Leung government.

Overview

Hong Kong was under British administration as a colony from 1841 to 1997 (Wikipedia, 2014). On 1 July 1997, the sovereignty over Hong Kong was transferred from the United Kingdom back to the People's Republic of China. Hong Kong becomes the Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China under the principle of 'one country, two systems'. Since then, the political and social environment in Hong Kong changes rapidly and drastically, from the strong protests against proposals to implement Article 23 of the Basic Law, reclamation, urban renewal and planning projects, scandals of the HKSAR government and top government officials to the strong demonstration against the proposal to introduce mandatory moral and national education into school curriculum. In view of the rapid and dynamic changes of the socio-political environment, public awareness of Hong Kong people has been increased significantly and civic society has been developed and growing rapidly. There are increasing expectations from citizens in Hong Kong for an open and inclusive process of policymaking in Hong Kong. Civic engagement has become a prime task for the HKSAR government in response to the dynamic changes in the environment, increasing expectations of citizens and strong forces of civil society.

Civic engagement is not something new to Hong Kong. During the colonial days, there were public consultations and participations for policy development in Hong Kong (CCSG, 2007). However, the Governor and top government officials dominated the process of policymaking. The public engagement programmes were planned which mainly aimed to endorse and legitimise the colonial government's proposals to avoid any detrimental impact to the policymaking process. After the handover in July 1997 to the present CY Leung government, the conventional public consultations no longer meet the rising expectations of Hong Kong people. The HKSAR government began to change its views on civic engagement in the early 2000s (Tso, 2011). There were intensive public engagement programmes for government policies and proposals. However, in view of the low legitimacy of the present CY government due to the recent political outcries, there were strong protests in every public consultation, forum and other public event. The public engagement programmes started to be questioned on its effectiveness in policymaking in Hong Kong.



Civic engagement in Hong Kong over time

In the context of Hong Kong, from a former British Colony to the Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, the extent of involvement of the citizens in the process of policymaking is directly related to the government and legislature structure and public awareness of Hong Kong citizens.

Civic engagement has different functions in the process of policymaking in Hong Kong during the colonial era, after the handover and during the present CY Leung government. Generally, civic engagement is important and significant in Hong Kong which has a quasi-democratic regime with no universal suffrage on the election of the Chief Executive of the HKSAR government. This can bring certain extent of legitimacy on the policymaking and decision-making process in Hong Kong (Cheung, 2011).

The colonial government first developed mechanisms for public participation in Hong Kong, including district bodies, statutory and advisory bodies and selected public consultation exercises. Such mechanisms have been retained and advanced after the handover of Hong Kong back to China (Cheung, 2011).

Colonial era

The process of policymaking in Hong Kong was executive-led which was led and dominated by the Governor and top government officials. It was a 'top-down' decision-making process. Since the colonial era, the colonial government began to involve the citizens to consider public opinion in the decision-making process. There were unofficial members, including business and professional elites, appointed by the colonial government to the Executive Council. Advisory Committees were allowed to express their views on government proposals and policies. However, as they were selected by the colonial government, they were expected to limit their views in an extent that would not be detrimental on proposals, policies or work of the colonial government. In view that public awareness and civil society were weak, public participation in the process of policymaking was 'heavily constrained' during the colonial era (CCSG, 2007).

However, during the mid to late 1980s, the political environment and legislative structure in Hong Kong began to change. For the political environment, there were continuous discussions in Hong Kong society on the transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China. The Tiananmen Square massacre on 4 June 1989 triggered one million people to demonstration (Lam and Tong, 2007). Form the legislative perspective, functional constituencies and geographical constituencies were introduced to the Legislative Council. With the introduction, as the legislative members were now elected by the public, public opinions were brought to the process of policymaking (Ma, 2007).

Public awareness of Hong Kong people began to develop and rise subsequent to the above events. The citizens started to demand an open and inclusive policymaking and more public participation in the decision-making process.



By the same token, the colonial government began to realise the need to involve the community in government proposals and policies and try to involve public opinion in the policymaking process in the early 1990s. The colonial government aimed to maintain pro-government and conservative forces in the relevant policymaking parties to avoid any detrimental impact to government proposals and policies and the work of the colonial government.

The colonial government first developed mechanisms for public participation in Hong Kong. Such mechanisms have been retained after the handover of Hong Kong back to China. The major mechanisms include district bodies, statutory and advisory bodies and selected public consultation exercises.

During the colonial period, district bodies, which included the two municipal councils and district boards, were the main mechanisms for public participation in Hong Kong. The municipal councils had advisory and executive power while the district boards were mainly advisory in nature. The municipal councils were later abolished while the district boards were remained and renamed as district councils. Most of the members of the district councils were elected, however, some members were appointed by the colonial government to introduce or maintain pro-government and conservative forces in the district councils.

During the colonial era, the extent of civic engagement was limited as selected groups were invited by the colonial government to "listen" to the proposals and policies (Brooke, 2014). The unofficial members, mainly the top business and professional figures, were appointed by the colonial government to the Executive Council, district bodies and statutory and advisory bodies with a view to endorse and legitimise the preferred options chosen by the colonial government.

After the handover of Hong Kong

After the handover, Hong Kong became the Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. The political and social environment in Hong Kong continued to change, in a rapid and drastic extent.

The mass demonstration on 1 July 2003 for the proposals to implement Article 23 of the Basic Law in 2003 drew the public attention to political issues and marked the development and rise of civil society. The public were no longer passive citizens and began to join protests and activities to protect and fight for their rights. There are increasing expectations from citizens in Hong Kong for an open and inclusive process of policymaking in Hong Kong.

In addition, there were various reclamation and urban planning projects in Hong Kong, such as Central and Wan Chai Reclamation and the demolition of the Queen's Pier. Due to rising of the identity politics and the intangible 'collective memory' in the post-colonial era, there are unexpected public outcries on the reclamation and urban planning such as the demolition of the Queen's Pier. The Secretary for Development at that time agreed that the reactions of the public had convinced the HKSAR government to consider public opinion on heritage conservation (Cheung, 2011).



In response to the strong reactions of the community, the HKSAR government was convinced to include public opinion on policy proposals and policies. Civic engagement was a tool used by the HKSAR government to formulate better policies as to maintain an open and inclusive policymaking process. With sustained communications with relevant stakeholders, the HKSAR government would become more responsive to the changing social needs and the policy objectives can be clarified. It also helped build mutual trust between the HKSAR government and the citizens. By involving different sectors of society, civic engagement exercise could allow potential conflicts and complexities to be resolved before the implementation of policies, which can minimise the subsequent administrative costs in dealing with controversies and legal disputes. Furthermore, it promoted ownership of policy problems and solutions. Civic engagement allowed the public to better understand the opinions of different stakeholders in their discussion and the rationale of the HKSAR government behind the public policies through various forms of interactions during civic engagement. By involving the citizens throughout the policymaking process, it can foster citizens' ownership of policy problems and solutions, which can encourage widespread behavioural change in the community. With a deeper understanding of the policy issues and stakeholders' contribution to devising the policy solutions, civic engagement can help to reinforce the legitimacy of governance.

Since then, the HKSAR government began to change its views on civic engagement (Tso, 2011). There were several projects on heritage conservation that change its decision after engaging the public. For example, the planning of the Central Police Station Compound, it was first planned to be redeveloped to a 160-m-high new structure, after the 6-month public consultation in view of the strong protests, the new structure was decided to reduced its height by removing the observation deck and modifying the structure (Cheung, 2011). Another example, the civic engagement adopted by the Central Kowloon Route in 2007 was successful which enhance a smoother implementation of the project after the challenges experienced by the HKSAR government in the Central and Wan Chai Reclamation.

Many statutory and advisory bodies, with both non-official and official members, provided a basis for public participation in the process of policymaking in Hong Kong. They could provide advices on policies and proposals to the government. In 2010, there were 435 bodies in total of which 191 were advisory boards and committee while the remaining 244 bodies were a range of parties such as non-departmental public bodies, appeal boards, regulatory boards and etc (Cheung, 2011). However, most of the bodies were dominated by business and professional elites that were appointed or co-opted by the government.

On the other hand, public consultation exercises had been first adopted by the colonial government and has been increasingly practiced by the HKSAR government after 1997 (Cheung, 2011). When policy proposals include public consultations, there is publication of a consultation document together with a publicity campaign, public announcements in print and electronic media, phone-in programmes, the publication and dissemination of leaflets and the organisation of public forums. However, the HKSAR government controls these programmes by



setting the agenda and policy options for consultation, controlling the timing and reviewing the public response selectively.

The role of established civic engagement strategies in the policymaking is not significant as the HKSAR government controls the appointment of the members and chooses to listen or not to their advices.

Present CY Leung government

The socio-political environment of Hong Kong keeps changing significantly. The present CY Leung government is facing a governance crisis in view of various political scandals since the administration under Mr Leung Chun Ying. The legitimacy and satisfaction of the present CY Leung government is relatively weak.

Ever since the administration of Mr Leung Chun Ying as the Chief Executive, there are numerous scandals of the HKSAR government, high government officials and political figures at community level, institution or personal level from illegal or unauthorised structures found at the house of Mr Leung Chun Ying, the allegedly fraudulently claim of housing allowance of the former Secretary for Development, Mr Mak Chai Kwong to conflict of interest and failure to make proper disclosure of an ownership of land in New Territories of the current Secretary for Development, Mr Chan Mo Po. These scandals severely damage the credibility of the HKSAR government and gradually create intense hostility between the HKSAR government and Hong Kong citizens.

In addition, the legitimacy of the present CY Leung government is weak as he was not elected by universal suffrage, but was only elected by 689 members of the Election Committee. In view of the above scandals and the controversial proposals such as the proposal to introduce mandatory moral and national education into school curriculum in 2013 and the planning study of the development of New Development Areas in North East New Territories, the public lost trust to the present CY government. In addition, recent public discussions on the controversial proposal of universal suffrage of the Chief Executive of the HKSAR government in 2017 create chaos in Hong Kong and lead to social instability. It is expected that consensus on the methods of nomination and election of the Chief Executive is very much difficult to reach consensus among the public with adverse opposing views.

To prevent social unrest, civic engagement plays a vital role in Hong Kong in the absence of the universal suffrage. This can bring and enhance certain extent of legitimacy in the policymaking and decision-making process in Hong Kong, which has a quasi-democratic regime.

As such, the HKSAR government under the administration of Mr Leung Chun Ying has implemented intensive pubic engagement programmes for government policies and proposals such as the planning of the development of the North East New Territories. The public engagement programmes will be implemented in line with planning studies to make sure timely inclusion of public opinion into the planning and design of policies.



In view of the loss of trust and legitimacy of the CY Leung government, there were strong protests in every public consultation, forum and other event in particular for the proposals on the expansion of landfill sites and the development of the North East New Territories. The public engagement program started to be considered to be ineffective and time-consuming in Hong Kong as it much hinders the policy development of Hong Kong as no consensus is reached.

Evaluating the effectiveness of civic engagement in Hong Kong

Generally, experiences of Hong Kong over the years on civic engagement show that public opinions may not be fairly represented. The HKSAR government collates public responses from consultations, however, such public inputs are rarely and fully publicized.

Colonial era

Civic engagement in colonial era was not designed to enhance public participation, as there was no genuine communications between the colonial government and the public. The community were passively engaged and did not know whether their views have been included or rejected, and on what grounds (Cheung, 2011). As such, it was expected that there would be few feedback to comments or queries on government proposals and policies and, at the same time, there would be very little or no amendment to government proposals and policies (Brooke, 2014). The civic engagement in colonial era was clearly unsatisfactory.

After the handover of Hong Kong

There are increasing public engagement programmes since the handover of Hong Kong in 1997. However, it was believed that the public were often only consulted after the HKSAR government has decided on its preferred options. In addition, the established mechanisms for public participation were still controlled and dominated by the HKSAR government, the business and professional elites, which are mainly pro-government and conservative. In addition, the impact of civic engagement still varies across different policy issues.

A successful civic engagement after the handover of Hong Kong is the public engagement programme adopted by the Central Kowloon Route in 2007 as it enhanced a smoother implementation of the project after the challenges experienced by the HKSAR government in the Central and Wan Chai Reclamation. Other civic engagements on heritage conservation were satisfactory, such as the planning of the Central Police Station Compound. The relevant authorities understand the concerns of the public on the height of the new structure through the 6-month consultation. They then decided on lowering the height to meet the requirements of the protesters. Finally, the new building could be built. Civic engagement provided a win-win solution to both relevant authorities and the protesters.



CY Leung government

In view of low legitimacy of the present CY Leung government, there were continuous strong protests in every public consultation, forum and other event in particular for the proposals on the development of the North East New Territories. As the hostility between the present CY Leung government and the public is intense, civic engagement in this controversial period seems to be ineffective. Due to the strong protests, there are significant disruptions to the public engagement events. The public discussions do not attain purposes of explaining the policies, understanding the concerns of different parties and reaching a consensus among the public. Nowadays, public engagement program in Hong Kong is said to be time-consuming in Hong Kong and hinders the policy development of Hong Kong as no consensus is reached.

Concluding comments

From a former British Colony to the Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, the socio-political environment in Hong Kong changes rapidly and drastically. At the same time, citizens in Hong Kong have becoming more educated. In view of the controversial pubic proposals, policies and scandals of the government and top government officials, public awareness of the public has been growing significantly. There are rising expectations of citizens in public services delivery and an open and inclusive policymaking process.

The conventional civic engagement strategies in the colonial government are no longer sufficient and appropriate in Hong Kong. Civic engagement cannot be a tool used by the HKSAR government to simply endorse and legitimise the government's preferred policies and proposals. Instead, it should be a tool to formulate better policies so as to maintain an open and inclusive policymaking process in Hong Kong. By involving different sectors of the society, civic engagement could allow potential conflicts and complexities to be resolved before implementations, which minimises subsequent administrative costs in dealing with public disputes and, at the same time, fosters citizens' ownership of policy problems and solutions.

Currently, the legitimacy of the present CY Leung government is weak as he was not elected by universal suffrage. To prevent social unrest, civic engagement plays a vital role in the Hong Kong in the absence of the universal suffrage with a view to bring and enhance certain extent of legitimacy on the policymaking and decision-making process in Hong Kong which has a quasi-democratic regime. However, there are significant disruptions to the public engagement events. Civic engagement in Hong Kong is said to be time-consuming in Hong Kong and hinders the policy development of Hong Kong as no consensus is reached.

In conclusion, as illustrated in Chapter 2, civic engagement plays a vital role in enhancing an open and inclusive decision-making process and incorporating public view in the policymaking in the absence of universal suffrage. However, civic engagement seems to be ineffective in the recent socio-political environment in Hong Kong. The HKSAR government should find solutions to restore the public's trust and strengthen its performance to prevent further governance crisis



and detrimental impact to Hong Kong. For civic engagement, the HKSAR government should develop a framework to include context, triggers and principles for effective civic engagement. No matter what the course for civic engagement in Hong Kong will be, communication is a helpful and essential tool for every aspect of public life.



CHAPTER 4PROTECTION OF VICTORIAHARBOUR:PUBLICENGAGEMENTSTRATEGIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Introduction

Victoria Harbour is an icon of Hong Kong, an intrinsic part of the city's instantly recognisable cityscape. For over a century, the Harbour had gone through successive cycles of reclamation which provided valuable land needed for the development of the city. But towards the end of the 20th century, the civic society started to advocate the need to preserve the Harbour. In 1997, the Protection of the Harbour Ordinance was enacted to impose a presumption against reclamation of Victoria Harbour (Public Engagement Digest, 2013).

In view of the rising public expectations, the HKSAR government has stepped up a series of bold moves to press ahead initiatives for the protection of Victoria Harbour, as well as for the enhancement of harbourfront which involved a great deal of civic engagement exercises that were unprecedented. In this chapter, by taking a close look at the mechanisms of the Harbourfront Enhancement Committee, the Harbourfront Commission, and the proposed new statutory Harbourfront Authority, it is possible to identify and assess the civic engagement strategies adopted in the protection of the Harbour over time, appreciate the reasons behind such an adoption, and evaluate their effectiveness in civic engagement.

Civic engagement in the protection of Victoria Harbour over time

Background

Victoria Harbour is the city's precious and natural asset. However, the Harbour had been successively reclaimed that there is only about half of the Harbour left. Meanwhile, Hong Kong encountered a rise in civic engagement which prompted the enactment of the Protection of Harbour Ordinance (Cap. 531) in 1997. This Ordinance is to protect and preserve Victoria Harbour by establishing a presumption against reclamation (Legco, 2009).

Despite the ordinance, the government continued to put forward a number of reclamation plans. Since 1998, 584 hectares of new reclamation were gazetted. Such plans sparked off strong community opposition that one of the CSOs, the SPH, applied for judicial review in mid-2003 to stop the reclamation plans. The court's ruling on the judicial review stipulated that any harbour reclamation in the future must pass three tests: a 'compelling overriding and present need', 'no viable alternatives' to reclamation, and 'minimum impairment' to the Harbour.

Subsequently, the government announced the suspension of all reclamation projects except for Central Phase III, while the Southeast Kowloon Development



Plan would be conducted under a 'no reclamation' principle. In January 2004, the government lost the appeal against the said ruling on the judicial review in the CFA. Upon the court's decision, CSOs urged the government to set up a single body consisting of representatives of various sectors to examine the development of Victoria Harbour. In the same year, the government stated that there would be no further reclamation in Victoria Harbour upon completion of the reclamation required for the Central-Wan Chai Bypass. Since then, the government has started taking huge steps to enhance and beautify the harbourfront (CCSG, 2007).

Harbourfront Enhancement Committee

In response to the community's aspirations for a common platform to discuss and put into action controls to protect the development of the harbourfront, the Harbourfront Enhancement Committee (HEC) was established in 2004. It drew together the community's efforts, and focused on consensus building amongst multi-stakeholders in creating a vibrant harbourfront for the enjoyment of the public (HEC, 2009).

HEC was to advise the government on planning, land uses and developments along the harbourfront. It aimed to safeguard public enjoyment of the Harbour through a balanced, effective and public participation approach in line with the principles of sustainable development. It devised and promulgated the Harbour Planning Principles and Harbour Planning Guidelines which have provided guidance for the planning and development of harbourfront areas. Moreover, 22 Action Areas were drawn up that set the agenda for action by relevant government departments to enhance the harbourfront (Legco, 2010).

HEC and its successor, the Harbourfront Commission (HC), have contributed to the planning of mega projects, for instance the new Central harbourfront, the West Kowloon Cultural District and Kai Tak. In particular to the Kai Tak Planning Review, HEC adopted a bottom-up, instead of the conventional top-down approach in civic engagement. This new mechanism was initiated by HEC and conducted by the Planning Department.

All along the tenure of HEC, an intensive collaborative and empowering approach in public engagement was adopted. Particularly in the development of Kai Tak, citizens were involved throughout the process as early as at the beginning. Moreover, citizens were engaged in making decisions in the three stages of the Review; the Envisioning Stage engaged the public 'in determining vision and key issues' which drew up the initial Outline Concept Plan. Followed by was the Realisation Stage. It engaged the public on the development of Outline Concept Plan which was used as the basis for the statutory Outline Zoning Plan. Last but not least, the Detailed Planning Stage. It focused on the development of a Preliminary Outline Development Plan.

About 60 briefings, 15 forums and workshops were held under the Review. More than a thousand people attended, and about 600 submissions were received. A Finalised Preliminary Outline Development Plan was made public in October 2006, and a draft Outline Zoning Plan largely based on the Preliminary Outline Development Plan was gazetted in November 2006 (CCSG, 2007).



Harbourfront Commission

Followed by was the establishment of HC. HEC concluded its six years' service with the replacement of HC in 2010. HC advocates, initiates and formulates initiatives to enhance the planning, design, development, management and operation of harburfront areas on both sides of Victoria Harbour under the 22 action areas. Four task forces have been set up, namely the Task Force on Harbourfront Developments on Hong Kong Island, Task Force on Kai Tak Harbourfront Development, Task Force on Harbourfront Developments in Kowloon, Tsuen Wan and Kwai Tsing, and Task Force on Water-land Interface. The task forces aim to propose short, medium and long-term enhancement options for the action areas and Victoria Harbour in general (Legco, 2013).

HC continues with its involving and collaborating approach in public engagement. By organising forums, exchange sessions and harbourfront-related events, it ensures citizens understand the issues and that public concerns are fully addressed. Moreover, through continuous overseeing of waterfront projects, public engagement has further extended to the empowering level with decision-making authority lies in the hands of private sectors and the community by way of Public Private Partnership (PPP).

To encourage ongoing community involvement, HC recommends a wider application of PPP in developing and managing the harbourfront. Such arrangement helps establish complementary relationships with the community that allows a vibrant and sustainable harbourfront to be realised. PPP also helps identify specific sites and projects for the participation of private sectors in harbourfront development.

As stated in HC's 2010-2011 annual report, the Hong Kong, Kai Tak, and Kowloon Task Forces worked closely with the government to explore the possibility of PPP in the development of waterfront sites. These Task Forces were briefed by private sector proponents on their development schemes and subsequently presented views to the Town Planning Board for consideration.

HC attached great importance to continuous public engagement so as to ensure that harbourfront developments do meet the needs and aspirations of citizens. During its first year of operation, HC conducted site visits for the committee members, harbourfront-related events with district councils, and exchange sessions with the Legislative Council's Subcommittee on Harbourfront Planning.

On the publicity front, HC supported a number of design competitions for harbourfront areas organised by various district councils. A 'Victoria Harbour Icon Design Competition' was launched in 2011, inviting the general public and students to create an icon for Victoria Harbour. Response from the public was overwhelming which received over 800 entries. The winning icon of the competition has become the official icon of the Harbour. It has been used on various harbourfront-related promotional items for marketing Victoria Harbour as a unique brand of Hong Kong. One of the entries has been selected as the official logo for HC (HC, 2011).



Harbourfront Authority

Still, HC's framework which relevant government departments develop and manage the harbourfront sites might not be able to fully meet the community's aspirations. Hence, HC has revisited the recommendations proposed by the Task Group on Management Model for the Harbourfront (TGMMH) to establish an independent statutory Harbourfront Authority (Legco, 2010).

According to TGMMH's report, the major challenge in harbourfront enhancement lied in the effective resolution of conflicts among government objectives and mandates. Another challenge was the incompatible land uses of harbourfront sites. Having studied a number of successful waterfront cities overseas, TGMMH observed one thing in common - they all have a single agency with dedicated resources and sole priority. In consideration of the above, TGMMH suggested that in the long run, the government should establish an independent and statutory authority for harbourfront planning, design, operation and management.

With the growing aspirations of having a dedicated body to fulfill the vision for the harbourfront and overcome the institutional constraints, the Legislative Council passed a non-binding motion in July 2011 for the establishment of a statutory body to coordinate and implement strategic harbourfront development. Thus, HC submitted a report to the government in October 2012, recommending a broad framework of the HA. In January 2013, the Chief Executive in his Policy Address welcomed HC's proposal of establishing HA, and undertook to collaborate with HC in conducting public consultations on the proposal for setting up of the authority. If the proposal was supported by the public, the government would take forward the legislative work and provide the financial support.

A range of possible approaches have been suggested in the consultation paper (Public Engagement Digest, 2013):

- 1. HA to have a governing board with broad-based representation to perform statutory governance and management functions;
- 2. Disband HC and HA to take on the advisory and advocacy roles;
- 3. Retain HC and with it to continue with the current advisory and advocacy roles;
- 4. HA to have an independent executive arm by hiring its own staff to plan, develop and manage the vested harbourfront sites, either on its own or in collaboration with others, and
- 5. HA to be served by a dedicated multi-disciplinary government office through internal deployment of experienced civil servants.

Phase I of the public consultation was launched in October 2013 and concluded in January 2014. Public views on the design and operation of the existing waterfront as well as their vision for the future Victoria Harbourfront were gauged. During the consultation, forums and workshops were arranged for sufficient communication with the community and actors involved. Public views received would be consolidated for a more concrete proposal in Phase II of the consultation,



by then a more focused deliberation of the detailed framework of the proposed Harbourfront Authority would be held.

Why should civic engagement be conducted and who should be engaged?

Background

The nature of governance in Hong Kong during the colonial days was once described as a 'consultative democracy'. Irrespective of its mode of consultation, the Planning Department was one of the government departments that conducted the most public consultations, attesting that public consultation in policymaking is not something new to Hong Kong.

However, decision-making was all along a top-down process. Particularly after the June Forth Incident, the colonial government wanted even more to retain the pro-government forces within political parties, in a bid to avoid adverse impacts to proposals introduced by the government. In terms of consultation work, most consultations were done in a conventional fashion; the Planning Department would only publish a consultation document explaining the plans and arrangements to the stakeholders, then invite the public to provide comments in written forms. At best, public forums were hosted to obtain feedback from the professionals and general public. As the government was only intended to inform the public of its policy but was never prepared to respond to opinions collected, there was neither interaction nor genuine communication between the government and the public (CCSG, 2007).

Since 1997, socio-political environment of Hong Kong has changed drastically. The new political forces rising from the elected legislators have opposed topdown approach in policymaking and consultation. Meanwhile, the mass media has played an increasingly significant role in galvanising civic engagement. By the same token, citizens have become more educated and well-informed that they have started to judge the government's performance more by its democratic and political achievement, urging the government to engage the public in policymaking to a wider extent, in particular with planning issues that involved land use (OECD, 2009).

In the planning history of Hong Kong, land resources have always been a main source of revenue for the government. Over the century, a substantial amount of land resources was extracted, provided Hong Kong with the valuable land for economic activities and development. However, towards the end of the 20th century, about half of Victoria Harbour has been reclaimed. A number of reclamation plans for Victoria Harbour sparked off strong community opposition and stimulated the growth of CSOs. The rise of CSOs and their public actions reflected the increasing community demands for more involvement in planning, and a bigger say in policymaking. In particular, vocal bodies such as SPH and the Citizen Envisioning @ Harbour emerged, marking their influence in shaping the public agenda and advocating public participation in harbour related issues.



Against such background, the vision to beautify Victoria Harbour and to transform the promenade to a more attractive, vibrant, accessible and sustainable world-class asset has become pronounced. In 1997, the Protection of the Harbour Ordinance (Cap. 531) was enacted. In 2003, the government lost the appeal against the ruling on the judicial review of the Protection of Harbour Ordinance in the CFA, prompted the CSOs to demand the government to set up a body consisting of representatives of various sectors to explore the development of Victoria Harbour.

Ever since more than half a million of Hong Kong people took to the street in 2003, demands from the civil society have profoundly increased. Much attention has been devoted to the conservation of Hong Kong's 'collective memory' and various environmental protection issues, all closely related to the economic and urban development of Hong Kong. Through protests and rallies, CSOs have gathered enough societal pressure to halt the West Kowloon Cultural District development, and to demand a say in public projects relating to the reclamation of Victoria Harbour.

Evidently, the traditional mode of public consultation and advisory system could no longer meet public expectation. It could not encapsulate the views of civil society which have been dynamic and changing (CCSG, 2007). And given that planning issues were more probable of stimulating controversies across the community, the government has begun to adopt a more involving and collaborating approach in consulting the public with planning issues. It was believed that by actively engaging the citizens at an early stage of policymaking process, the government could formulate better policies and reduce the risk of resistance during policy implementation.

Harbourfront Enhancement Committee

Hence, HEC was established in 2004, a bold move ever taken by the government. HEC aimed to advise the government on the planning, design and development issues including land use, transport and infrastructure, landscaping and other matters relating to the existing and new harbourfronts. Moreover, it was tasked to explore a sustainable framework to manage the harbourfront areas, including PPP (HEC, 2009).

(a) Membership. The setting up of HEC was a bold move by the government as it incorporated different voices into its policy deliberation framework. The board involved three types of members: representatives nominated by various environmental bodies, professional association and advocacy groups, unofficial members from a variety of backgrounds, and official members from the government. It was chaired by a senior engineering professor and Pro-Vice-Chancellor from The University of Hong Kong recommended by the CSOs. Such practice was well-received by the CSOs.

(b) Kai Tak Planning Review. As the formation of HEC suggested the incompetency in the participatory system in policymaking, unlike other advisory bodies, HEC was genuinely committed to public engagement (CCSG, 2007). This could be demonstrated through the civic engagement exercise conducted in



the Kai Tak Planning Review which was done in three separate stages: the Envisioning Stage, Realisation Stage, and Detailed Planning Stage:

The Envisioning Stage was conducted in 2004. It consisted of three public forums and a community workshop. The general public, commentators and collaborators were encouraged to present views through various channels including forums, charrettes and questionnaires, using letters, fax and emails. A large Kai Tak Forum was held to further collect views from the community. HEC then called in a Collaborators' Meeting that included representatives from the associations involved in town planning as well as the district councils so as to discuss about the groundwork for the Outline Concept Plans.

The Realisation Stage was held from November 2005 to January 2006. It consisted of a public forum, three district forums, and three topical forums. The public was invited to evaluate the Concept Plan and Master Plan against the principles and guidelines formulated by HEC. A second Kai Tak Forum was convened so as to initiate ideas for the preparation of the Preliminary Outline Development Plan. The consensus built formed the foundation for the government's preparation of the draft Outline Zoning Plan and the draft Recommended Outline Development Plan.

The Detailed Planning Stage was held from June to August 2006. This stage consisted of a public forum, three district forums, and four roving exhibitions. A draft Preliminary Outline Development Plan which was divided into six thematic areas was developed for further consultation. Discussions between officials and the district councils were also organised.

The Kai Tak Planning Review provided an open platform to channel and balance the diverse views. Though it took almost two years and plenty amount of resources, the exercise was able to consolidate different planning scenarios with no strong oppositions. As citizens' views in policymaking help stimulate innovation and suggest better alternatives, the intensive civic engagement in the Review surely helped the government formulate better policies and legitimise decisions. Moreover, the enhanced mutual trust established with the civil society greatly reduced the risk of resistance during the course of policy implementation. Hence, the government regarded the Review as a success of civic engagement in planning.

(c) Task Group on Management Model for the Harbourfront. One of the tasks of HEC was 'to explore the framework for the sustainable management of the harbourfront in line with the Harbour Planning Principles and Harbour Planning Guidelines, including PPP'. Hence, TGMMH was set up to draw on experiences from local and overseas waterfront examples, and gather views from relevant stakeholders (Legco, 2010).

TGMMH then released a report, recommending that an overarching non-statutory HC should be formed to replace HEC. It suggested that HC should adopt a wider application of PPP, engage in continuous community involvement to ensure its operations were transparent, and should have the ability to continuously review



and improve arrangements so as to achieve a truly sustainable management model for the harbourfront.

In practical terms, embodiment of PPP in the harbourfront management implied that the commercial, social enterprise and other non-governmental organisations would be involved throughout the planning and development process. Such community engagement provides elements that the public sector lack, including capital, expertise, innovation, variety, management skills and flexibility. In addition, by adopting PPP, the delivery of projects would be more financially sustainable.

Harbourfront Commission

HC was thus established in 2010. It places high emphasis on the transparency of work to facilitate and encourage public involvement in harbourfront affairs. Meetings are generally open to public and documents such as agendas and records of meetings are publicly accessible through HC's website. To improve arrangements as far as possible, it conducted site visits and harbourfront-related events with relevant district councils, and had exchange sessions with the Legislative Council's Subcommittee on Harbourfront Planning. In 2013, HC organised a symposium on harbourfront development 'Unleashing the Potential of the Waterfront' with an aim to bring together leaders and experts from renowned waterfront cities to share experiences in implementing waterfront projects and creating vibrant waterfronts (HC, 2013).

As with the HEC, members of HC are broadly representative that it reflected aspirations for the balanced use of the Harbour. The board is comprised of 20 non-official members and senior government officials, continuing HEC's tradition of having both individual and organisation non-official members. The non-official members come from professional groups, civic and environmental institutions and the business sector. The chairperson is a non-official member and the Secretary for Development is the vice-chairperson.

Proposal for the establishment of the Harbourfront Authority

As recommended by TGMMH, HC is exploring the possibility of establishing an independent statutory authority. As discussed in the previous chapter, early involvement of citizens in public engagement can enhance their sense of ownership of policy solutions. In the case of a proposal for HA which involves ample financial commitment and the bestowing of valuable public resources, the general public must be fully aware of the background, process and challenges in harbourfront development. Therefore, first and foremost, the government should enhance public awareness on the subject and develop consensus on a common aspiration for the harbourfront. After which should a detailed framework of HA be discussed. Thus, a two-staged public engagement exercise is adopted for the consultation of the establishment of HA (Public Engagement Digest, 2013).

To ensure citizens truly understand the issue, the consultation paper highlighted some challenges encountered by HC and HEC throughout the years which required the public to take into account when presenting their views.



One of the challenges is the time consumed. It usually takes five years or more for the government to plan and develop a promenade. The time span is longer if there are competitions for resources, may it be among recreational facilities or within public works. Therefore, the public should consider whether there be a dedicated funding free from internal competition so as to better meet public demands.

Another challenge is creativity. The government has its own division of labour in developing and managing harbourfront areas. However, creative design is lacking under the existing arrangements given the systemic constraints. The public should note that a dedicated body responsible for design, construction and management could better promote creativity of the harbourfront.

Furthermore, the Pleasure Grounds Regulation (Cap. 132BC) has been effective in managing district-based passive open space. However, the regulation might not be able to unleash the potentials for the promenade which is such a large-scale project. A dedicated agency could better cater the need for a more versatile management.

Evaluating the effectiveness of civic engagement in the protection of Victoria Harbour

Harbourfront Enhancement Committee

The Kai Tak Planning Review was unprecedented as it attempted both inclusive representation in the composition of the committee members, and extensive engagement of the public in consultation (CCSG, 2007). The government, stakeholders, and the community worked out the planning issues openly without agendas decided in advance. Moreover, the government treated citizens as partners and was genuinely committed to a transparent process.

Having devoted substantial amount of time and resources to the civic engagement exercise, the three-staged consultation channeled a great variety of views into a final set of proposals that were acceptable to the stakeholders at large. At the first stage, different views were articulated before they were brought to the second stage for examination and incorporation into the three different Outline Concept Plans. Several broad planning themes came into view as a result of extensive exchanges; some remained in the Outline Zoning Plan while other suggestions that no longer received strong support after two years of consultation were dropped.

Nonetheless, the Outline Zoning Plan on Kai Tak as well as the public engagement exercises did not provoke as major controversy in the community. It is proved that the series of public engagement exercises conducted by HEC provided valuable planning, land use and design inputs for the Kai Tak Development. It was also instrumental in bringing to fruition a number of quickwin projects for early public enjoyment. This unprecedented engagement process gave rise to new perspectives for policy consultation and promoted enhanced



interaction between the government, civil society groups, and the community (Legco, 2011).

Harbourfront Commission

Since establishment, HC has worked with the public collaboratively as partners. It has produced constructive discussions among stakeholders through an open and transparent process and offered advice to over 80 public and private harbourfront projects. Under the tenure of the former HEC and HC, a number of quick-win harbourfront enhancement projects are processes, namely the Kwun Tong Promenade Stage 1, Hung Hom Waterfront Promenade, the advance promenades at the new Central harbourfront and Quarry Bay harbourfront.

Since good communication is key to effective civic engagement, HC is being informed of all harbourfront projects and developments initiated by the government that it invites non-government project proponents to consult HC on relevant projects and proposals. This process has been essential to HC's effective coordination and monitoring of the harbourfront development and management. In reverse, to ensure HC's views are adequately reflected, project proponents do seek advice of HC at the early stages of the implementation of the projects.

There are still many constraints in the enhancement of harbourfront sites. To ensure that the civil society acknowledges the challenges ahead, and that decision made in the end would not face strong oppositions, HC is dedicated to exploring the possibility of the establishment of HA by truly engaging the public in an transparent and open condition.

Concluding comments

In view of society's growing aspirations for democratic governance, the government has taken a series of unprecedented moves at civic engagement in the protection of Victoria Harbour. With the rise in public expectations, it has become necessary for the government to adopt an all-encompassing approach in public participation with a view to incorporating public opinions and demands into policymaking.

HEC and HC have attempted both inclusive representation and extensive engagement of CSOs and the community in consultation. Leveraging on an open platform, the different stakeholders have been able to work out the planning issues together, while the energy of the increasingly vibrant civil society could be channeled through deliberations. Moreover, the amount of resources devoted, time spent, as well as the involvement of both governmental and nongovernmental stakeholders have demonstrated the government's commitment towards genuine civic engagement.

Over the decade, with the continuous support from the government, HEC and HC have accorded strenuous efforts to the protection of Victoria Harbour as well as the enhancement of the harbourfront. They have contributed to the establishment of a common ground and brought forward new norms and practices in civic engagement. Looking ahead, should HC embrace the open and honest spirit in



conducting the consultation for the establishment of the new statutory HA, no matter what the outcome would be, the decisions made should be genuinely reflecting the public's aspirations of the future development of Victoria Harbour.



CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

Introduction

In face of the rising civil society and public demands for more public participation, influence and involvement in policymaking process, Hong Kong government has stepped up moves to adopt civic engagement strategies in various policies. The public expectations together with the political opposition against the government's top-down approach on consultation contribute to the demand for a more accountable, transparent, and responsive government. As a result, civic engagement has been increasingly adopting in many policies, especially in those related to the development of Victoria Harbour. With effective civic engagement exercise in place, the government would be able to understand the needs of general public and reflect their opinions in the policies to gain legitimacy in policy outcomes and ensure governance.

Overall observations

With reference to analysis on civic engagement strategies adopted in Hong Kong and in harbourfront related policies in Chapter 3 and 4 respectively, a number of observations are made. The observations help identify the most appropriate strategies to be conducted in the context of Hong Kong. Also, it helps figure out the criteria of a good civic engagement exercise that can advance the strategies for better policy outcome.

Genuine government commitment to a transparent and open engagement process is critical to success

Civic engagement is adopted with a view to enhance legitimacy of polices and smooth implementation. The conventional approach is considered to be passive and top-down as consultations are often designed with agenda and opinions are not truly reflected in the ultimate policy. Therefore, the general public, civil groups and the media frequently pay much attention on government's policies and performance. This entirely attributes to the lack of trust between the general public and the government.

The demands for establishing a body comprising representatives of various sectors to develop Victoria Harbour after the failures osn judicial reviews of the Protection of Harbour Ordinance was an instance that civic groups distrusted the governments. They requested more non-government members to be involved in formulating harbour related policies.

In the Kai Tak Planning Review, the government adopted the new interactive three-stage strategies to engage the pubic and took into account the opinions received. The interactive communication with the citizens in forums, briefings and workshops enhanced trust and consensus building. Although some key concerns were not addressed in the final plan and several unexpected developments were included, the ultimate plan did not arouse strong opposition.



Nowadays, the civic engagement exercises in Hong Kong are said to be timeconsuming and hinders the development of policies since no consensus is reached among the community. A sincere and open-ended dialogue with citizens in the engagement process can help the government to win trust as well as build public consensus to formulate better policies. Civic engagement can also promote ownership of problems and solutions through various interactions between the government and civil society that enhance legitimacy of the public policies and hence ensure governance.

Treat citizens as partners

Civic engagement should treat citizens as partners, who should be involved or engaged not only at the beginning of the policymaking process, but also throughout the whole process. Early involvement of citizens in public engagement can enhance their sense of ownership of policy solutions and reduce the risk of compliance during the implementation process

The early involvement of various stakeholders from the beginning Envisioning Stage in determining vision and key issues to the final Realisation Stage in planning Kai Tak site was regarded as a success model of planning in partnership with the community. The interactive two-way engagement process ensures the citizens to have better understanding of the issues while the government can gauze opinions and ideas resulting in better policies.

An on-going public engagement process from planning to implementation of policy can ensure the resulting harbourfront development do meet the needs and aspirations of the citizens. A genuine civic engagement should involve more interactive dialogues, and form partnership with stakeholders, empowering them to have influence and power on policy decision.

Engage an array of Stakeholders

An open and inclusive policymaking process should involve an array of stakeholders with a view to gauze opinions and knowledge from the society. The boards of both HEC and HC comprised a wide range of stakeholders and its members, as nominated by environmental and professional bodies, not by government, come from various backgrounds, including professional institutes, harbour planning and development concern groups, the business sector and independent personalities.

The engagement exercise conducted in Kai Tak comprised 3 stages and involved 60 briefings, 15 forums and workshops, in which numerous stakeholders are engaged to exchange their views. Different planning scenarios were consolidated during engagement to help formulate better policy.

By involving different sectors of society, the government can obtain a sound understanding of community needs and reduce compliance costs. The involvement of various stakeholders also helps facilitate consensus building and gain legitimacy in policy outcome.



Evaluation is necessary

For the harbour related policies, there is no evaluation to assess the effectiveness of civic engagement strategies. Without assessment, it is difficult to determine whether the existing strategies are effective and help achieve intended outcomes, and whether there is a need to advance the strategies for better engagement results.

Since there is no standard system nor procedure for evaluation of the effectiveness of civic engagement strategies, the assessment is mostly based on the public response and social action after the strategies implemented. The government normally modify their consultation methods or mechanisms depending on the previous result of consultation. If the implementation of particular project does not arouse strong social opposition after consultation, such consultation and its strategies are regarded as success.

The conventional mode of consultation are considered not open and transparent. The general public often only consulted after the government has decided on its preferred options and people do not know whether their views have been incorporated or rejected, and on what grounds. Hence, a three-stage interactive engagement mechanism, which consists of various channels to gauge public views, was adopted to enhance the engagement outcomes.

Some indicators are adopted by civil society organisations for measuring civic engagement as discussed in Chapter 2, such as the OECD Better Life Index. The other methods for measuring effectiveness includes Cost-Benefit Analysis and PM & E. It is essential to figure out the appropriate evaluation methods for assessing the effectiveness of civic engagement, so that the government can enhance its civic engagement strategies based on the evaluation, and enhance policy outcomes.

In sum, civic engagement is increasingly adopted in policies for development of harbourfront for desired outcome, particular in those contentious and controversial policies. To achieve the benefits of civic engagement, genuine government commitment to a transparent and open engagement process is critical. The government should treat the stakeholders as partners by empowering them to make decision, and involve the stakeholders early and on an on-going basis. After adoption, it is necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of the strategies for improvement.

Challenges Ahead

A number of challenges are being faced in the planning and development along the Victoria Harbour. Some of the challenges relate to the management of the harbourfront facilities, such as promenade and waterfront parks, while some are problems encountered when constructing promenade.

Many of the harbourfront areas have been developed and occupied by both private and public facilities which hinders the development of an uninterrupted promenade along both sides of Victoria Harbour. The government has been



looking into various solutions such as relocation of some incompatible public facilities to non-harbourfront sites and imposing lease conditions on private site development.

Another challenge is that the planning and development of a promenade usually takes five years or more due to competition for resources among recreational facilities and public work projects, but the situation can be enhanced if there is dedicated funding allocated for development of harbourfront.

Also, creative design may not be easily pursued under existing arrangement as the government has its own division of labour in developing and managing harbourfront sites. A dedicated and integrated body responsible for design, construction and management can improve the issue by promoting creativity in designing the harbourfront.

The Pleasure Ground Regulation (Cap. 132BC) might not be able to unleash the potentials for larger-scale waterfront parks and promenade in prominent locations. In this regard, a suitable and flexible management rules tailor-made by a dedicated agency would be better to fulfil the potential.

In face of the above challenges, it is proposed to establish an independent statutory authority, having its own executives and dedicated funding, for harbourfront planning, designing, operation and management. The consultation of its establishment is still ongoing and would be completed at second quarter in 2014.

Recommendations

On the basis of conclusions and challenges being faced by the Hong Kong government, some overseas experience in Singapore, Rotterdam and New York City is relevant in offering ideas on how to improve consultation and conduct civic engagement activities. Details of the case studies are provided in Appendix I.

Highlights of the selected overseas experience

The public engagement activities involved in the revitalisation of Singapore River can provide insights for Hong Kong in refining its strategic plan for the long-term development of Victoria Harbour. The Singapore government has altered its topdown management style by facilitating the establishment of the Singapore River One (SRO) with the involvement of different stakeholders. It has successfully transformed the areas along Singapore River and identified three attraction points by way of place management, namely Boat Quay, Clarke Quay and Robertson Quay. Similarly, the establishment of the HC aims at adopting a collaborative approach in urban planning along the Victoria Harbour and encouraging publicprivate partnership projects through inviting representatives from civil society to be the non-official members of the HC. It can be seen that delegating an institution to conduct strategic planning and facilitate collaborations among stakeholders is essential to bringing about a consultation process that can truly reflect public opinions and fulfill their aspirations. Having an agency which is



charged with duties to develop designated public spaces can help to clearly identify the degree and scope of development, communicate with the relevant stakeholders in a sustainable manner and realise common goals and objectives. Thus, the role of the SRO in revamping the areas along Singapore River can offer some inspirations for Hong Kong in exploring whether establishing the HA is a policy solution to achieve equally impressive outcome in place management for public enjoyment.

The Port of Rotterdam is of great importance to the Dutch economy which contributes to a strategic added value of about €22 billion and employs about 145,000 people (Eramus Universiteit Rotterdam).

Similar to Hong Kong, the Port of Rotterdam faces the lack of sufficient land in meeting the rising demand for port facilities and it has been expanded four times since 1950s. The Port Authority resolved the resources constraint problem by land reclamation (Massvlakte 2) to create a total surface area of 2,000 hectares along the western side of Rotterdam port area in the North Sea. The €2.9-billion development project, Maasvlakte 2, is chosen as one of the case studies because it stressed the importance in considering environmental measures and it incorporated 'sustainability' into the design, construction, layout, transport and dialogue of the project. It is a collaboration project comprising the stakeholders of the Rotterdam region and the Dutch Government, In addition to holding meetings, the Authority also showed its commitment to engage the civil society by delineating the interactions among the stakeholders up to 2033 in its Vision and Trust Agreement Framework which was ratified in 2008. The transparent and proactive approach in engaging an open dialogue with the stakeholders is worth studying. (Port Vision 2030)

New York City is the most populous city in the United States (The City of New York. 2014) and is the world's largest financial centre (Long Finance. 2014). There are four container terminals in the Port of New York and New Jersey, whose combined volume makes it the largest on the East Coast (World Shipping Council 2014). The port also consists of cruise terminals with ferry services for sightseeing, ferry slips and sightseeing boats in the port. Landfilling began in the colonial era and continued well into the 20th century and new land has been created throughout the port. Similar to the Victoria Harbour, the port of the New York and New Jersey is a busy container port and cruise terminals, and is facing the problem of insufficient land supply for development. Hong Kong can learn the successful experiences of New York City, especially its extensive public engagement exercise in formulating long-term plan on future development of harbourfront area.

Some recommendations can be derived from the overseas experiences in Singapore, Rotterdam and New York City. The unique features of each case study can be compared and elaborated as follows.

Institutionalising an established network of stakeholders

One of the merits of Singapore's approach is institutionalising the integration of stakeholders as a single led and responsible organisation for coordinating inter-



agency efforts on the development of waterfront. Yet, it seems that only stakeholders from the private sector are involved without considering the inputs of NGOs and other civil society organisations.

Singapore River One (SRO) was established to enhance the vibrancy and diversity of the three quays. SRO is a not-for-profit, private sector-led organisation and also a joint venture between the business operators and property owners and the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA). It is a public-private partnership project that embraces the participation of stakeholders. There are 500 property owners, 700 businesses and 10,000 residents in the area. The stakeholders forming the SRO were originally members of the former Singapore River One Task Group, which was a voluntary working group to provide new ideas and solutions to refine the business plans for the development of the quays. The establishment of the SRO is an unconventional arrangement compared to the traditional top-down approach adopted by the URA.

In the context of Hong Kong, the government may consider institutionalising an established network of stakeholders, including NGSs and other civic society, who are concerned with the development along the shoreline of Victoria Harbour. It is also possible to explore whether such network of actors can be integrated with a new or existing government department in order to allow regular and sustainable interactions between the government, private sector and civil society. For instance, the government may consider to adopt such arrangement in the proposing Harbourfront Authority so that opinions and ideas from various stakeholders can be well gauged resulting in better policies.

Develop a framework for civic engagement in harbour policy

Civic engagement has been increasingly adopting as a necessary tool in public policies related to Victoria Harbour to enhance legitimacy of policies. Yet, there is still no framework nor standard procedures for civic engagement exercise at present. Hence, it is necessary to devise a framework with detailed procedures for conducting civic engagement which on one hand can enhance consistency of every civic engagement exercises in different aspect, on the other hand it can ensure certain importance steps to be included resulting in desired policy outcomes.

The civic engagement exercise in Kai Tak case is considered to be a successful example. With reference to the mechanisms of such case, similar civic engagement exercises in line with Harbour Planning Principles and Harbour Planning Guideline can be devised. A framework can be formulated with desired engagement requirements, such as evaluation for assessing the effectiveness of the strategies, as well as civic engagement code comprising standard operating procedures for the engagement process and performance guidelines. The framework can also be designed with certain good features of effective engagement exercise, like early involvement of public in policymaking and engagement of various stakeholders.

With a standardised framework in place across different policy arenas, the government can ensure the engagement processes are in compliance with pre-



established procedures and increase the opportunity to achieve intended outcomes. By adding certain agreed procedures or standards into framework, it also serves as a government commitment to general public which can gain more support and enhance smoother policy implementation.

Sustainable development with consultation

Sustainability is significant in the development of Victoria Harbour. One of its vision is to enhance Victoria Harbour and its waterfront areas to become sustainable world-class asset. HEC also aimed to develop the various aspects of the harbour in line with the principles of sustainability. Task Group on Management Model for the Harbourfront had explored a framework for the sustainable management of the harbourfront.

The Port of Rotterdam Authority upholds its commitment to protecting the environment and sustainability development by conducting one of the most comprehensive Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). It strives to strike a balance among the optimum use of space, sustainable accessibility and air quality and climate. Along with the EIA, the Authority has also taken into account the interests of different parties through stakeholders' participation.

In USA, the engagement process of WAVE sets up a wide variety of channels to involve public, such as meetings, forum and websites, in order to gauge more opinions and comments. The Department of City Planning also interacts with various government agencies, independent groups, and members of the public to gauge their ideas and recommendations. Moreover, an extensive outreach campaign is conducted to solicit input from waterfront enthusiasts, waterfront property owners, community boards, recreational boaters, and other interested members of the public.

In the development of Victoria Harbour, the government or relevant departments can implement a number of measures, guidelines and policies for sustainability, ensuring the development of harbourfront area to be in line with the government's vision and principle of sustainability. More channels are better to set up to extensively collect public opinions about the future development of Victoria Harbour to ensure that the current polices, like land use, are compatible with the future development.

Long-term plan

Formulation of a long-term plan is important to the development of Victoria Harbour. In light of the public engagement result on long-term plan, the government can identifies long-term vision and initiatives, and formulate existing policies which can be compatible with the future development. In the examples cited in Singapore, the Netherlands and the United States of America, the authority recognised the importance of developing a long-term plan.

Singapore's SRO announced the Five-year Business Plan for providing a strategic vision for the management and marketing of the Singapore River. The public participation process can be improved if there is widespread participation of



ordinary citizens that allows free-flowing and open-ended interactions instead of being confined to certain actors giving their opinions in a designed setting.

In the Netherlands, the Port of Rotterdam published a vision plan every 10 years – the Port Plan 2010 in 1993, the Plan 2020 in 2004 and the recent Port Plan 2030 in 2011 (Massvlakte 2) laid out the long-term approach to the development of the area. The Port Plan publication is a collaborative effort of The Port of Rotterdam Authority, the Municipality of Rotterdam, various government departments, institutions such as the CPB Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis, environmental organisations such as the DCMR Environmental Agency Rijnmond and companies or users. The aforesaid stakeholders and the local residents were engaged to discuss the future development of the port and industrial area of Rotterdam at eleven meetings in March and April 2011. The various stakeholders were engaged in dialogues for exchange of views, the Port Authority could also tap in the specialised knowledge from the stakeholders.

Similarly in New York, a ten-year vision for the future of the city's 520 miles of shoreline titled 'Vision 2010' was released in March 2011. It is a culmination of a year-long, participatory planning process involving multiple agencies and organisations and input from New Yorkers in every borough. The various engagement platforms and channels allow the stakeholders to deeply understand the proposal and truly reflect, discuss and exchange their views. The City has built up success in opening up miles of shoreline to the public that had been inaccessible for decades, and supporting expansion of the maritime industry. *Vision 2020* has set the stage for expanded use of waterfront for parks, housing and economic development, and waterways for transportation, recreation and natural habitats.

For the development of Victoria Harbour, the HC could make reference to the above overseas experience to engage the stakeholders in the development of a future development plan for Victoria Harbour. The early involvement of the stakeholders could bring about the benefits of civic engagement as discussed earlier. With the input of the stakeholders, the risk of implementation resistance can be greatly reduced as the stakeholders have a greater sense of ownership of the plan.

Limitations of the project

This project focuses on analysis of civic engagement strategies in relation to harbourfront issue, so the findings and recommendations resulting from the abovementioned analysis may not be applicable to other policy arenas in Hong Kong. Also, some recommendations are drawn from overseas experiences, where have similar backgrounds and are facing the same constraints in development of harbour area. Indeed, the analysis and overseas experiences may not be entirely appropriate to apply in Hong Kong, but the government can take reference to such experiences and analysis, and adjust in accordance with the context of Hong Kong to advance the strategies and enhance the effectiveness of civic engagement.

This project is mostly based on the information available on internet. No firsthand information is collected through interviews or surveys. Desktop research on



studies of scholars, reports and papers publicised by advisory bodies or steering committees, such as LegCo paper, meeting minutes and consultation papers, are conducted to get relevant information for analysis. These publications can provide wide array of detailed information about the civic engagement exercises in relation to Victoria Harbour, which enables comprehensive analysis, so it is appropriate to conduct desktop research.

Besides, the information in this project is from secondary-source and the development of Victoria Harbour is still ongoing, i.e. the consultation on establishment of Harbourfront Authority, so the information in this project may not be up-to date. Strenuous efforts have been made in order to get the latest information. Analysis in this project focuses on information available up to August 2014.

Concluding comments

Hong Kong government has put a lot of efforts on involving citizens in policies related to Victoria Harbour and conducting various studies as well as researches to advance the civic engagement strategies. From the establishment of HEC to HC to the proposing HA, the government is obviously exploring the most appropriate and effective approach in adopting civic engagement. Kai Tak is a successful experience, but some shortcomings still need to be addressed.

Genuine government commitment to an open and inclusive engagement process is critical to success. With commitment between the government and citizens, collaborative relationship with trust and support can be fostered, and hence legitimacy and policy outcome can be enhanced. As a result, the most appropriate and effective strategies would be formulated.

In view of the social and political context of Hong Kong, there is a tendency to adopt a more intensified approach to civic engagement against controversial policy problems. Accordingly, it is time that the Hong Kong government commits to an open, transparent and inclusive engagement process, and collaborate with the citizens genuinely in order to save Victoria Harbour, a piece of valuable heritage of Hong Kong people, from being further reclaimed and polluted.



Appendix ISELECTEDOVERSEASEXPERIENCEANDLESSONSFORHONGKONG

Overseas Experience (1) - Singapore

Background

Singapore is known for its one-party rule and paternalistic style of governance. The People's Action Party (PAP) has been the ruling party since 1959 and it has won a majority of seats in the general elections of the Parliament of Singapore since 1966. The administrative leaders believe that strong political leadership is vital to the prosperous economic development and social stability in Singapore. Elitist ideology can be reflected in state-driven public policies. Civil rights such as freedom of speech, assembly and association are strongly curtailed (Lee, Chan, Chan, Cheung & Lam, 2013). The political discussion in the community is constrained by OB (out-of-bounds) markers, which is a term used by government officials to indicate issues that are deemed too sensitive for public discussion (Leong, 2000).

However, in the general election held in 2011, despite the fact that the PAP has won 81 out of 87 elected seats, the national vote share of the PAP was only 60.14%, which was the lowest share since 1965. According to the Department of Statistics in Singapore, the GDP growth rates are 9.1% in the first quarter of 2011; 0.9% in the second quarter of 2011 and 5.9% in the third quarter of 2011 (Department of Statistics Singapore, 2012). Against this background, it can be seen that even though Singapore has maintained impressive economic growth, some of the citizens still aspire to have checks and balances in the Parliament. Responding to the general election results in 2011, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong also recognised that 'many Singaporeans wish for the government to adopt a different style and approach' (BBC News, 2011).

Civic engagement activities

The characteristics of state-driven governance and strong political leadership can also be reflected in the development of Singapore River. The development is mainly undertaken by the Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA). The URA was established in 1967 and became an independent statutory body in 1974. It is governed by the Urban Redevelopment Authority Act and it is under the Ministry of National Development. The Chairman and other board members are appointed by the Minister of National Development. The URA related its scope of work to the involvement of community with recognition of the value of heritage and local identity. Some of its areas of work are connecting with the community, planning for long-term sustainability, guiding and shaping design plans to create a city with a distinctive identity, facilitating development and business needs, protecting our identity through our built heritage and promoting architectural and urban design and planning excellence. The mission of the URA is to strive to create a vibrant and sustainable city of distinction by planning and facilitating Singapore's



physical development in partnership with the community. Attention should be draw to the focus on partnership with the citizens. The mission of the URA is to bring about public participation in how Singapore should be shaped through urban planning.

The URA is charged with the duties of revitalising the Singapore River and the Marina Bay project. As early as 1977, the Ministry of Environment started to clean up the Singapore River, which was rather polluted at that time (Singapore River, 2013). By 1983, the water quality has improved significantly and the URA has taken up the responsibility to turn the Singapore River into a mixed-use activity corridor. Three development zones have been identified, namely Boat Quay, Clarke Qay and Robertson Quay.

In August 2012, Singapore River One (SRO) was established to enhance the vibrancy and diversity of the three quays. SRO is a not-for-profit, private sectorled organisation and also a joint venture between the business operators and property owners and the URA. It is a public-private partnership project that embraces the participation of stakeholders. There are 500 property owners, 700 businesses and 10,000 residents in the area. The stakeholders forming the SRO were originally members of the former Singapore River One Task Group, which was a voluntary working group to provide new ideas and solutions to refine the business plans for the development of the quays. The establishment of the SRO is an unconventional arrangement compared to the traditional top-down approach adopted by the URA. Place management is considered a key element in revamping the quays. According to the Chairman of SRO, Boat Quay can promote history and attract business crowds; Clark Quay can attract visitors and young people; and Robertson Quay can be shaped as a family-friendly destination. The five-year business plan was published by the SRO after 18 months of consultation with the URA. Over 150 face-to-face interview, three surveys generating more than 90 responses and six stakeholder forums with a total of 200 stakeholders consulted.

Overseas Experience (2) - Rotterdam, the Netherlands

Background

The Dutch economy ranked sixth in the euro-zone. In 2013, it recorded a GDP of US693.3 billion (Central Intelligence Agency). The Port of Rotterdam, located at the strategic location of Rhine-Meuse-Scheldt delta on the North Sea in the Netherlands, is the 'Gateway' to Europe. Rotterdam is the largest port in Europe and also topped as the world's busiest port for decades (Wikipedia), it contributes to a strategic added value of about €22 billion and employs about 145,000 people (Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam).

Similar to Hong Kong, the Port of Rotterdam also faces resources constraints, i.e. the lack of sufficient land. With the growing demand for port facilities, the Port of Rotterdam expanded four times with the construction of the Botlek in the 1950s, Europoort in the 1960s, the Maasvlakte in the 1970s and the recent Maasvlakte 2 in 2013. The construction of Maasvlakte 2, a €2.9-billion development project, commenced in September 2008. It expanded along the western side of Rotterdam



port area in the North Sea, with a total surface area of 2,000 hectares created mainly by spraying on sand off the coast, i.e. by land reclamation (Port of Rotterdam and Massvlakte 2). 'Sustainable' is a keyword in the Maasvlakte 2 development project. The Port Authority incorporates 'sustainability' into the design, construction, layout, transport and dialogue in the project.

Civic engagement activities

In terms of civic engagement, the Port Authority adopted a transparent and proactive approach by engaging an open dialogue with the various stakeholders. The Vision and Trust Agreement Framework was ratified in 2008 to delineate the interactions among stakeholders up to 2033. The Port Authority and the stakeholders also meet at least once per year to oversee issues such as sustainability, quality of life and innovation.

Massvalakte 2 is part of the Rotterdam Mainport Development Project (PMR). The PMR is a collaboration project comprising the Rotterdam urban region, the municipality of Rotterdam, the Province of Zuid-Holland, the Port of Rotterdam Authority and three ministries of the Dutch Government (Massvlakte 2) including the Infrastructure and the Environment, the Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Innovation, and Finance, responsible for overseeing three projects: the construction of Maasvlakte 2, the development of the existing Rotterdam area (BRG) and the development of the 750 hectares of new nature and recreation areas.

The Port of Rotterdam development project was quoted as an example of 'best practice' in considering environmental measures. The planning process started in early 1990s and it has taken over two decades to realise the plan.

Overseas Experience (3) - New York City, the United States of America

Background

New York City is the most populous city in the United States (The City of New York. 2014) and is the world's largest financial centre (Long Finance. 2014). The Port of New York and New Jersey is the port district of the New York-Newark metropolitan area. It includes the system of navigable waterways in the estuary along 650 miles of shoreline in the vicinity of New York City and northeastern New Jersey.

There are four container terminals in the port, whose combined volume makes it the largest on the East Coast (World Shipping Council 2014). The port also consists of cruise terminals with ferry services for sightseeing, ferry slips and sightseeing boats in the port.

Channelisation and landfilling began in the colonial era and continued well into the 20th century. New land has been created throughout the port, including large swaths that are now Battery Park City, Ellis Island, Liberty State Park, Flushing Meadows–Corona Park, and the Meadowlands Sports Complex.



New York City has been striving to waterfront development and planning, and has achieved great success to transform New York's waterfront from a place of parking lots, rotting piers and abandoned industrial sites, to a piece of land suitable for industrial, commercial and residential development. The success is entirely resulted from the mutual efforts paid by New York's government and New Yorkers.

The government's focus on waterfront policy began in the 1990s. The 1992 Comprehensive Water Front Plan provides a framework and guidance for land use along the waterfront, and including regulatory changes for balancing public access, natural resources and development of economy. Also, the relevant department had also conducted various studies and formulated plans in relation to various aspects of waterfront, such as water quality, economic growth, environmental sustainability and public enjoyment, and are published on internet for public information and comments. To plan for the future, New York City had launched Waterfront Vision and Enhancement Strategy (WAVES) in April 2010.

The Waterfront Vision and Enhancement Strategy (WAVE) (New York City Economic Development Corporation 2014) is a comprehensive, sustainable and long-term strategy, including planning and implementation, for improving waterfront and waterways in New York City. The planning process of Vision 2020 took a year long and was participated by various stakeholders, social groups and citizens. It comprises two components, namely, the Vision 2020: a New York City Comprehensive Waterfront Plan and the New York City Waterfront Action Agenda.

Civic engagement activities

The Vision 2020: New York City Comprehensive Waterfront Plan is a plan with long-term goals of waterfront development for the next decade. The Department of City Planning partnered with Mayor's Office to formulate Vision 2020, which sets up goals and identifies issues for the waterfront development. Vision 2020 includes recommendations for all five boroughs. There are three phases in the planning process:

Phase 1: Identify Goals and Issues

Base on survey result conducted on waterfront condition, the Department of City Planning identified a wide range of goals to address issues in the plan. The goals were then presented for comments from the public.

Phase 2: Identify Opportunities and Priorities

The goals identified in Phase 1 would be advanced at this phase. A workshop in each borough focuses on regional waterfront goals and two additional meetings for the whole city waterfront matters were held to identify opportunities and priorities. Ideas, suggestions and comments were gauged during the meetings.



Phase 3: Identify Recommendations

The comments and information from various channels such as workshops held in Phase 2, discussion with partnering city agencies, online and emails were reviewed in order to draft recommendations, which were posted on line and presented in a public meeting for further comments.

Whereas the New York City Waterfront Action Agenda is the implementation component transforming the goals established in Vision 2020 into a three-year initiative for implementation. Its planning process involves hundreds of citizens and government partners as well as partnership with city agencies.

The New York City adopts various forms of civic engagement in planning its waterfront development. It not only keeps the community and stakeholders informed of the progress throughout the process, but also adopts a more involved two-way engagement of consultation, such as meetings and discussions. Furthermore, a higher degree of interaction is also adopted by developing partnership with city agencies to hold discussion. With the multiple forms of engagement strategies adopted on an on-going basis, the genuine needs and opinions of New Yorkers could be reflected in the plans.

The Waterfront Vision and Enhancement Strategy reflects the enormous input and active engagement of various actors in the society, such as New York City Council, Waterfront Management Advisory Board, multiple City agencies, State and Federal resource agencies, and thousands of New Yorkers.

The whole planning process involves thousands of New Yorkers through various platforms, such as internet, forum and meetings, in order to actively inform, consult and collaborate with the citizens to gauze their opinions.

The New York City Council amended local law, requiring the Department of City Planning to produce a Comprehensive Waterfront Plan. The plan would also be required to update every 10 years.

The Waterfront Management Advisory Board consists of twelve mayoral appointees of different backgrounds, including real estate and hospitality businesses, transportation companies, labor unions, maritime industry, and environmental and civic organisations. It is chaired by Deputy Mayor for Economic Development. The board members are engaged in the forum to advance goal and initiatives.

Apart from abovementioned actors, WAVE is also the result of multi-agency efforts led by the Mayor's Office, Department of City Planning, and the New York City Economic Development Corporation to ensure the compliance of requirements for waterfront planning.



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