



未來  
土地發展

真實選項

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選項

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好誠實  
研究及  
公眾諮詢

2018 年5月

+77.7



# 真實 選項

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我們要土地公義

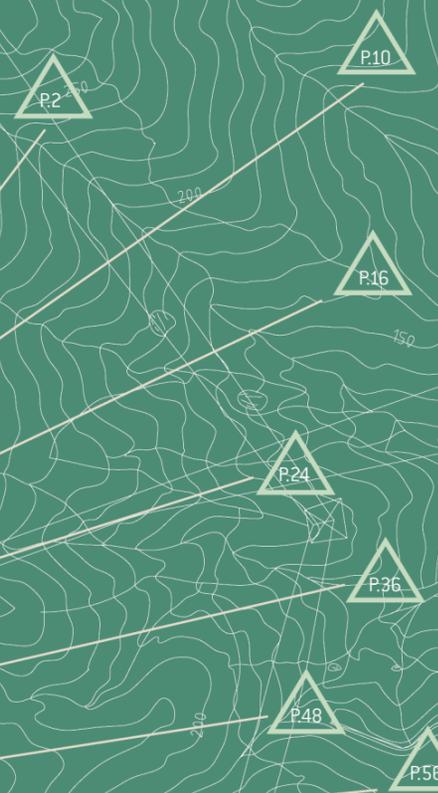
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## 第一章

香港地  
小人多

我們要  
土地公義

## 樓價貴、住屋細、城市擠， 誰是元兇？

政府說，一切源於土地供應不足，所以成立「土地供應專責小組」，開展為期五個月的公眾諮詢。小組成員、官員、政治公關、地產商聯手，忽然關心大家是否想「住大啲」、「住好啲」。在嚴峻的房屋問題面前，農地、海洋、郊野公園，都只好犧牲。

**然而，  
過去廿多年來，  
大型發展項目從未停歇，  
我們卻並未住得更好。**

「香港地少人多」、「增加供應就會令價格下跌」……世界從來不按教科書的簡單邏輯運作，真相靠自己尋找和分辨。

本土研究社團隊耗時數月，從地圖與檔案堆中，整理出這份小冊子。裡面有政府秘而不宣的數據、公關不希望你問的問題、地產商不想你發現的事實。

足夠七百萬人活得好好的土地資源，早已存在，只是被一群既得利益者牢牢控制在手裡。

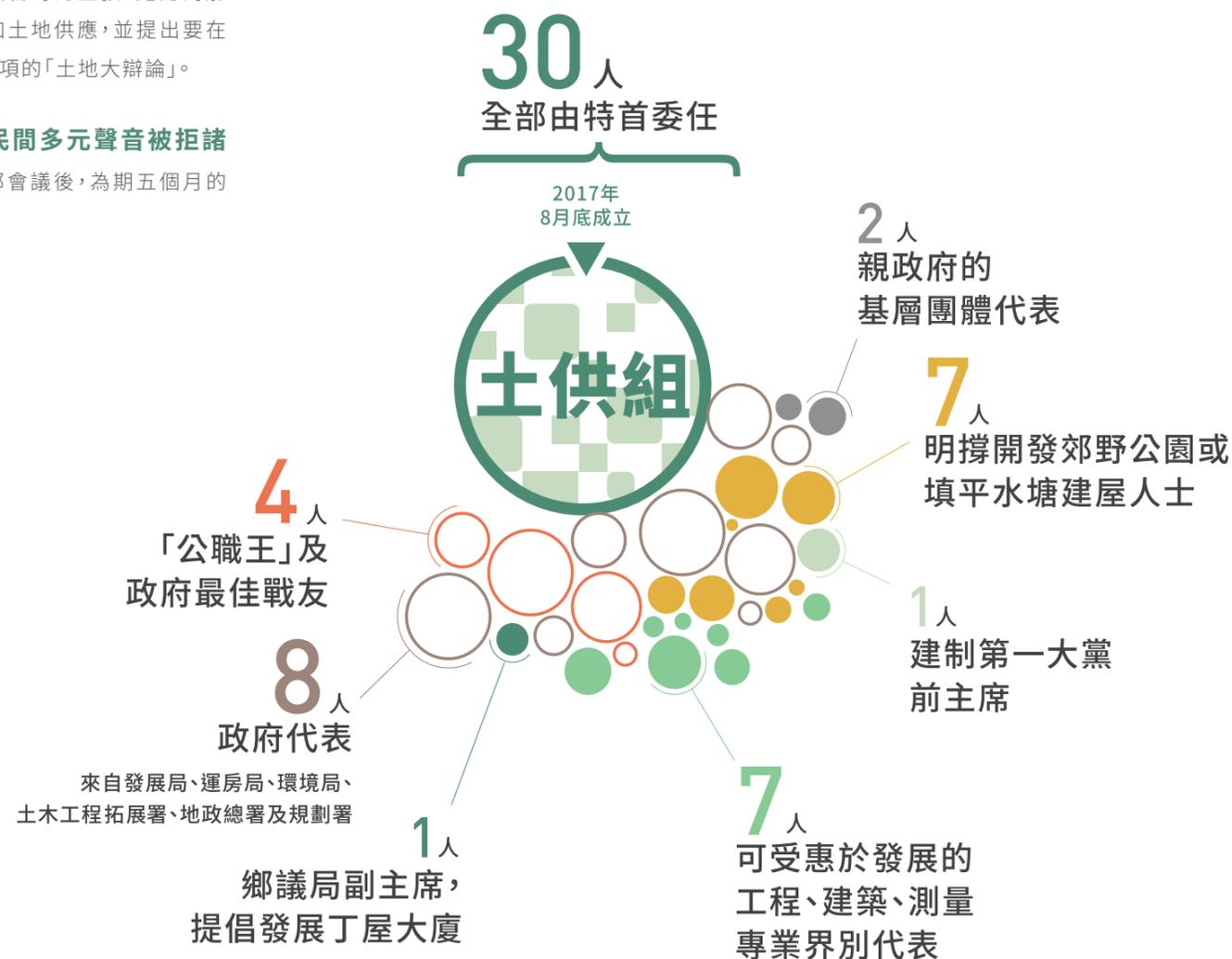
假諮詢背後，是數以萬億計的獲利機會。當地產商刮盡這城市的最後一桶金，便會遺留一個無山、無海、只有貧窮與剝削的石屎森林，由我們及下一代去承受。

香港欠的從不是  
土地供應，  
而是土地公義。

# 誰能加入土地供應專責小組？

目前負責推行諮詢的「土地供應專責小組」，源於去年林鄭月娥競選行政長官時的主張。她認為解決住屋問題的關鍵是增加土地供應，並提出要在社會上來一場有關發展選項的「土地大辯論」。

去年八月底，小組成立，**民間多元聲音被拒諸門外**。經過大半年的內部會議後，為期五個月的公眾諮詢最近開展。



# 鳥籠中的土地辯論

增加土地供應，是小組成立的大前題。**小組只能討論部份覓地的方式，不會處理百病叢生的房屋政策、或增加土地供應以外的其他發展方向。**

政府指專責小組的目標是「以全面、宏觀的態度去檢視土地供應的來源」，然而小組並沒就各類土地做詳細研究。發展局在每次開會前，就各土地供應選項整理資料供小組討論，但文件內容極具導向性，有關土地的資訊及數據亦不全面。

例如其中一個選項、發展粉嶺高爾夫球場用地，由於觸動到權貴利益，政府不斷拖延提交文件，小組被迫三度押後討論。佔地約2,700公頃的軍事用地，部份長期被閒置，但政府一句「無意改變有關土地用途」，該選項就連提上會議的機會都沒有。

## 小組成員早有立場



**黃遠輝：**  
沒有前設，  
政府立場不在  
小組考慮之列

2017.9.6  
小組剛成立



**黃遠輝：**  
成員普遍認同填海是  
建立土地儲備最合適  
且切實可行方法之一

2017.11.7  
小組僅討論了  
其中四個選項

小組另一目標為「推動公眾就不同選項的利弊和相對優次進行討論」，主席黃遠輝曾強調，成員意見不可凌駕於公眾討論之上，並經常聲稱對各選項沒有前設。

然而，去年十一月，小組僅召開第三次會議、討論了其中四個選項，黃遠輝便指「成員普遍認同填海是建立土地儲備最合適且切實可行方法之一」。

另一成員黃元山，近日亦不遺餘力、以其所屬智庫「團結香港基金」的名義，發佈各種鼓吹填海的宣傳片、民調及研究，令人懷疑小組能否持平地綜合民意撰寫諮詢報告。

有傳媒引述消息指，專責小組基本上被個別成員主導，公眾諮詢臨近開展前幾乎日日開會，但三十人當中只有六、七人出席。部份成員的話語權明顯過大。

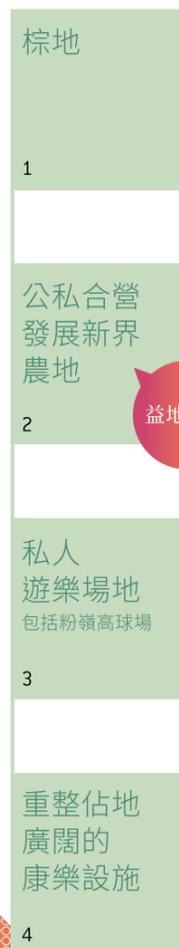
小組亦在開展公眾諮詢前，先約見各友好團體及政黨進行政治游說。**成員之一的民建聯創黨主席曾鈺成便在專訪中透露，部份民建聯區議員考慮到居民利益而反對政府的發展計劃，相信政府邀請他加入小組，是希望他擺平反對聲音。**

**按照曾鈺成的理解，林鄭月娥成立小組的目的，「是通過各種方式消除發展土地的障礙。」**

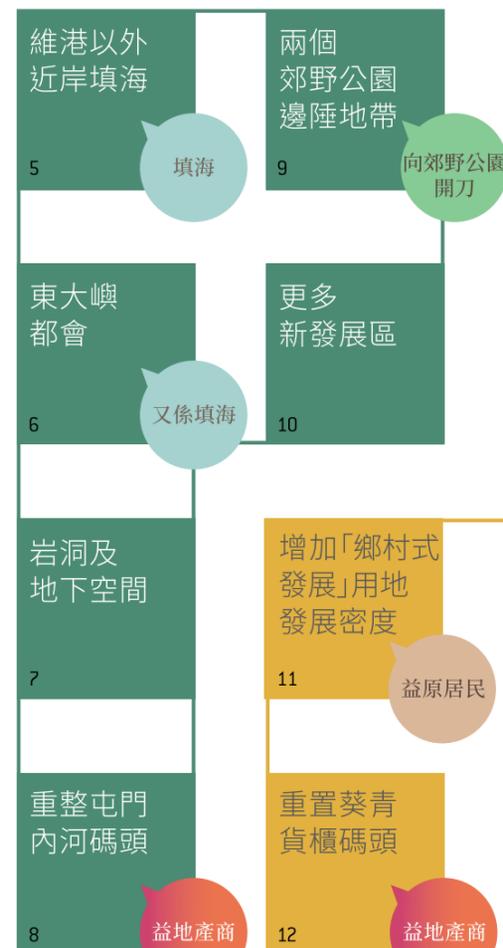
2018.4.23 《香港01》【土地大辯論·專訪】如何重塑土地利益格局？

# 十八選項大解構

## 短中期



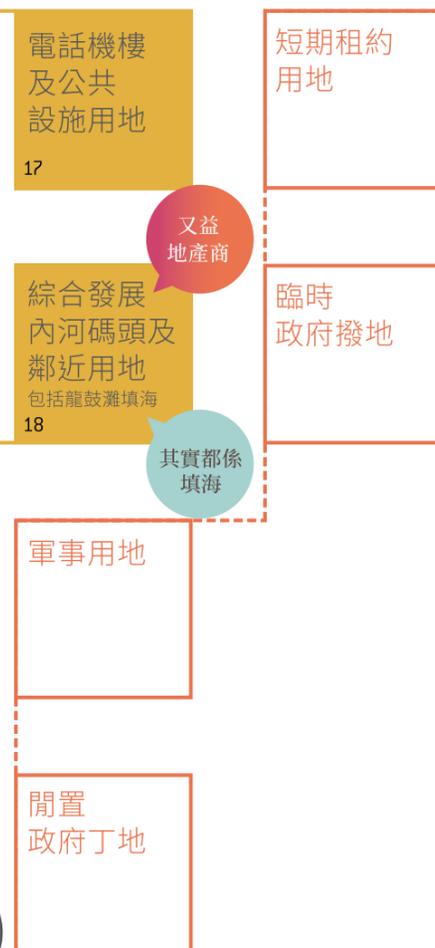
## 中長期



## 概念性建議



## 被消失的選項



### 曇花一現、純屬概念

對比去年十月小組初開始會議時，發展局文件列出15個土地供應來源；但公眾諮詢未開始，**小組單憑內部會議就替市民更改及否決部份選項**。軍事用地從沒討論過，短期租約及臨時政府撥地，就以「有持續檢討」為由不放在選項裡。鄉村式發展地帶(即丁屋地)包括不少閒置官地，可檢討並改劃作其他用途，但正式諮詢時不再提；選項竟變成考慮提高丁屋發展密度，讓鄉紳發大財！

### 扮多選項：等我變身先！

悄悄抽走幾個選項，當然要想辦法魚目混珠湊夠數。於是葵青貨櫃碼頭的重置或上蓋發展被分為兩個選項，內河碼頭的重置或綜合發展亦一開二，**明明是同一地點的不同使用方式。郊野公園及填海更各自「變身」為三、四個選項**，只是不同的選址而已。咁多分身，總有一個被你揀中。

### 雙重標準，公平咩？

政府及利益團體想推的選項，例如公私合營開發農地，即使沒有具體分佈的資料都說可行。**不想推的選項則一口咬定無法使用**，比如小組指新發展區以外的其他棕地都零碎、形狀不規則；直至我們發佈研究，找出總數逾700公頃的相連棕地群(詳見p.12)，主席黃遠輝才承認**並沒有何謂「零碎」的準則**，即是之前亂噏。

### 增加土地供應，邊個最高興？

新界農地很多，為何列出的選項指明是用地產商手上的農地儲備？而且指定要公私合營？該方式實質是用公帑補貼地產商牟取暴利(詳見p.30)。其他如發展貨櫃碼頭、內河碼頭等，**碼頭的營運者及土地持有人均是長和系、九倉、新鴻基地產商**，將大片碼頭用地改建私樓又賺好多筆。還未計承建商、顧問公司等周邊行業的利益，政府又有無誠實告訴你？

# 近千萬公帑 聘公關護航

為掩飾官商勾結、利益輸送的醜態，發展局斥資1,200萬元進行各項公眾活動，當中逾800萬合約由兩大公關公司承接，正是去年特首選舉時分別幫林鄭月娥的世聯顧問公司、及協助曾俊華而一舉成名的羅永聰團隊。政治公關無所謂忠誠，昔日曾俊華口中「錢買不到的團隊」，已袋穩支票，變節為他的對手服務。

**世聯顧問有限公司**  
A-World Consulting Ltd.

**麥黃小珍**  
(林鄭競選團隊公關一姐，  
過往曾參與多項政府諮詢工作)

**486萬元**  
負責公眾諮詢活動的整體策略、  
製作資料、分析收集到的公眾意見

**科域盈創(香港)有限公司**  
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**羅永聰**、柳宇澄、鍾振傑、盧勁業  
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## 操弄數據的假諮詢

世聯麥黃小珍往蹟更令人心驚，政府數年前舉行的《優化土地供應策略》諮詢亦是她的手筆。翻查當日報告，第一階段諮詢時，全港電話隨機抽樣調查有46.4%受訪市民反對填海、只有33.6%贊成；但政府又另外做「網上問卷、自行填寫問卷及面談訪問」，得出49.4%支持、42.5%反對的結果。

於是諮詢報告便稱市民意見分歧、贊成反對一半半。到第二階段諮詢更只能討論6個選址填海後的土地用途。儘管大批市民提交意見書反對填海，尤其以馬料水的反對最多，但諮詢報告竟以此作對比，表示欣澳、青衣西南及中部水域人工島選址的反對意見較少，選擇性扭曲民意。

最終第二階段諮詢的6個填海選址，全都陸續進入研究及規劃程序。諮詢時很多市民希望填海後建屋，但按目前規劃，近500公頃的填海範圍只有極少部份興建公營房屋。(詳見P.27)

## 地產智庫大合唱

最受惠於土地開發的地產商，近日亦紛紛透過代言人力推個別發展選項。

前特首董建華成立的「團結香港基金」，理事會名單就包括新世界、恆基、信和、信德、瑞安、恆隆、世茂等集團高層。其副總幹事及政策研究院主管黃元山，同時是土地供應專責小組成員；在公眾諮詢開展前後，以誇大的土地需求估算作理據，多番發表**要求大規模填海**的研究報告及言論。

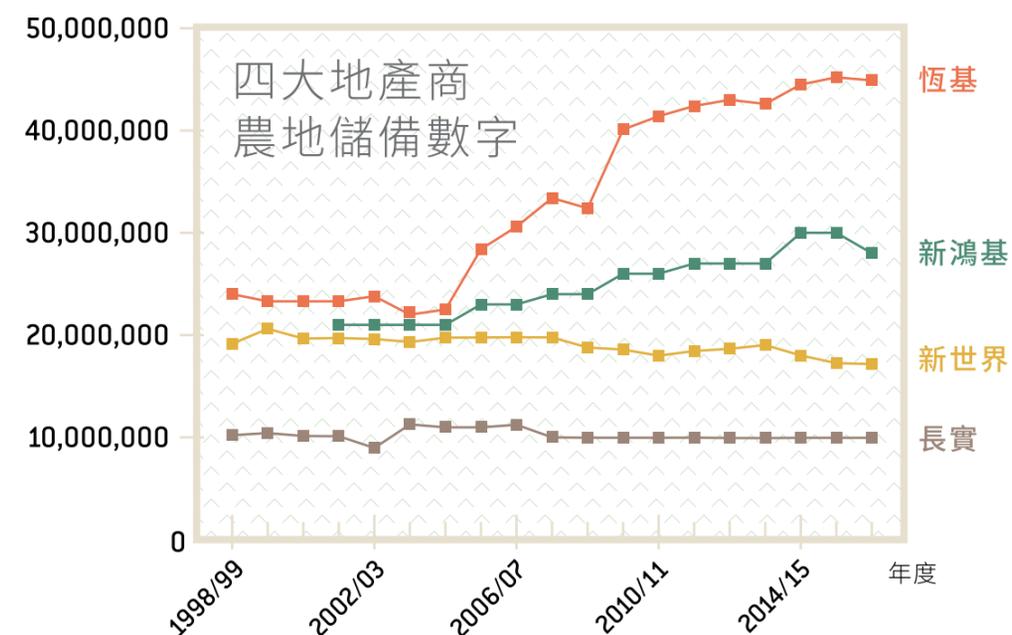
由**華人置業主席劉鳴煒擔任董事的「智經研究中心」**，亦在土地諮詢開展前發佈問卷設計偏頗的調查。即使如此，發展棕地仍然是獲最多受訪市民支持的選項，更有逾四成受訪者擔心公私合營發展農地會造成利益輸送。但劉鳴煒仍**力撐公私合營**，並指政府不應害怕爭議而放棄。

## 瓜分過萬億肥豬肉

目前四大地產商手持過千公頃農地儲備，假設以3.5倍地積比的中低密度發展成私人住宅，實用率八成、再以呎價15,000元賣出，收入便約4.5萬億元。

然而，為數不少的農地因位置偏遠或影響環境，受現行規劃限制無法改為住宅用地。新界大部份地契將於2047年到期，距今只剩二十多年。「公私合營」無非是幫助地產商趕搭尾班車，由政府牽頭掃除發展障礙，在大限之前，榨乾香港的最後財富。

農地土地面積  
平方呎



來源: 恆基、新世界、新鴻基和長實各中期報告/年報

金錢與權力交錯的政治角力，在正式諮詢之前已經悄然展開，市民千萬要關注事態發展和主動發聲，否則將來會埋怨自己縱容了新一波的社會剝削運動在香港落地生根和坐大。

—香港中文大學地理與資源管理學系客座教授 林超英  
2018.5.1 《草雲居》

## 第二章

好地地  
去邊搵四大「地產冰箱」：  
雪藏地巡禮

漫步城市間，不時會見到鐵絲網圍封的荒地，座落屋苑邊緣，多年未發展。道路旁、天橋邊，也常有大片爛地只用來做停車場和堆放雜物，不知業權誰屬。

香港無地？如果這些土地可以開放使用，多好。

2012年我們曾有位在任僅12日的發展局長麥齊光，他任內最大貢獻是公開了幾項重要土地數據：原來香港政府有二千多公頃未批租或撥用的土地，不少更適合作住宅發展。可惜，自此之後政府就不再更新數字，研究分析因而困難重重。

今次土地大辯論中，政府亦以一直有檢視土地用途為由，不將相關土地列入諮詢的十八選項中，市民難以了解土地狀況及表達意見，這些地亦未有計算為潛在供應來源。

政府一口咬定該類型土地分佈零散、沒有空置、或地形不適合發展。但我們以地圖工具逐塊地檢視，發現總計至少有1,066公頃土地具發展潛力，可於短中期內使用。

過千公頃是非常可觀的土地資源，足夠讓全部劏房戶上樓、每區都增建公園及綜合社區設施大樓。政府卻將它們冰封在雪櫃內秘而不宣，製造缺地恐慌。

# 雪藏地巡禮 1



咁黎㗎？

棕地泛指散落在新界農地的貨櫃場、倉庫及停車場等，通常未被管理及善用，衍生各種環境及規劃問題。

已被納入  
新發展區  
540 公頃

總面積  
1,300 公頃

雪藏中  
723 公頃  
相等於  
34 個太古城

解凍後  
可建 8 萬間公屋  
23 萬人  
即時上樓

政府話：

除了已被納入新發展區的棕地外，其餘棕地均分佈雜亂及零散，發展潛力有限。

睇真啲！

我們透過地圖工具搜索每個面積達2公頃以上的棕地群，發掘到總面積723公頃的棕地未被納入任何發展計劃。部份地塊面積更超過30公頃，極具發展潛力，絕非零散。

點用好？

目前的低密度屋邨如梅窩銀灣邨及長洲雅寧苑，分別佔地1.5及1.8公頃，各提供400個單位；故我們把2公頃定為適合作鄉村式公屋發展的門檻。

若把723公頃棕地當中的三份一用作房屋發展，預計可興建80,000個單位，讓23萬人居住，相當於官方公佈的劏房戶總數。其餘的三份一用作重置棕地作業，三份一進行環境修復後作農業用途，這個「三分棕地」的處理務實可行，亦平衡環境修復、住屋及棕地作業需要。

# 02 好地地 去搵

# 雪藏地巡禮 2

## 鄉村式發展地帶內官地

咁黎㗎？

「鄉村式發展」地帶是容許新界原居民男丁申建丁屋的範圍，總面積約3,380公頃，當中逾900公頃屬於政府土地，並未批租或撥用。

解凍後  
增建社區設施  
服務鄉郊居民

雪藏中  
108 塊  
約 34 公頃

總面積  
逾 900 公頃

政府話：

這些土地並非閒置及浪費，相當部份是丁屋間的空隙或通道、斜坡、零碎地塊，較完整的地塊亦因地形及基建限制未能發展。

睇真啲！

政府曾以面積少於0.05公頃（約5,380平方呎）作為土地零碎的標準。我們發現位於「鄉村式發展」地帶內、面積大於0.05公頃及非斜坡的閒置官地共有108塊，總面積達34公頃，當中更有6塊的面積超過1公頃。

點用好？

政府提出的未來土地需求當中有不少是作「政府、機構或社區用途」，五千多平方呎的地塊十分適合興建社區設施，支援鄉郊居民，以及重整棕地後興建的鄉村式公共屋邨。



# 雪藏地巡禮 3

## 短期租約

咁黎㗎？

因各種原因未在短期內落實發展計劃、或已預留作日後用的政府土地，在「過渡期」內可批出作臨時用途，如收費停車場或「非牟利」用途，或長遠發展前批給相關機構施工。由私人機構承租者，政府會以「短期租約」批租，租期一般不超過五年，現時政府約有5,400份短期租約。

解凍後

擺放組合式過渡性房屋，為劏房戶提供廉價選擇

雪藏中  
至少 **200** 公頃

總面積  
**2,460**  
公頃

政府話：

大多數短期租約是進行與永久發展相關的工程，出租是地盡其用。為免影響長遠用途，低密度發展無可避免。未預留作長遠發展的土地，都是因面積太小、環境及交通限制而遭閒置。

點用好？

有不少短期租約透過不斷續約，已租了逾廿年，等同擱置原有規劃；而且多以粗放式使用，如面積甚廣的收費停車場，若改為多層建築可容納更多泊位並釋出土地，或進行上蓋發展。而確實有未來發展計劃的地段，亦可擺放組合式過渡性房屋，不影響長遠用途，亦能快速提供相宜的居住單位。



睇真啲！

我們以面積10,000平方呎以上為標準，搜尋位於市區、新市鎮市中心及鄉郊而接近主要幹道的短期租約地段，發現總面積約**150公頃的收費停車場、及逾50公頃的其他短租地**，現作露天貯物、貨櫃場、私人園林等，部分更是空地，有潛力改作其他用途。

# 02

# 雪藏地巡禮 4

## 臨時政府撥地

咁黎㗎？

同屬「過渡期」土地，若由私人機構承租以「短期租約」處理，若撥給各政府部門使用，則為「臨時政府撥地」，目前約有4,000幅。

解凍後

每區增建公園、社區設施大樓

雪藏中  
至少 **109** 公頃

總面積  
**3,340**  
公頃

政府話：

臨時政府撥地主要是為政府項目（如興建道路或公路）而須撥出的工地，通常完工後約三份之二的土地面積會成為未來基礎設施的一部份。

點用好？

相關土地都是面積10,000平方呎以上，位於市區及新市鎮中心，或鄉郊而鄰近主要幹道，**交通方便，而且分佈遍及各區**。由於完工後釋出的土地可以長遠使用，**適合增設社區設施、臨時房屋及休憩用地**。

睇真啲！

目前約2,750公頃是用作施工區或工地，據政府的說法，即**三分之一（約900公頃）範圍有可能在完工後釋放出來作其他用途**。但現時政府公開資訊非常有限，我們只能透過地圖工具檢視部份地段，已發現**至少109公頃可更被善用的土地**，現為臨時辦公室、露天貯物或停車場，部分更是空地。

## 同場加映：市區及新市鎮閒置官地

**東涌：11.5公頃**

規劃用途包括住宅、休憩用地、政府、機構及社區用地，目前為空地

**將軍澳：7.6公頃**

規劃用途為休憩用地，目前為空地、部份作露天貯物

**西九龍：2.2公頃**

規劃用途為休憩用地，目前為空地

我們抽取東涌及將軍澳兩個落成多年的新市鎮，詳細檢視當中的政府土地，發現**合共有近20公頃的閒置官地，並未批租或撥用**，可見政府未用盡手上的土地就想再次大興土木。

除了臨時政府撥地外，亦有以永久形式撥地給政府部門發展，但部份持有土地的部門一直「備而不用」。例如在完工多年的西九龍填海區，我們發現有兩塊撥歸康文署的土地空置多年，面積達2.2公頃。相信檢討已永久撥出的用地狀況亦可提供為數不少的士地。

## 第三章

識得用  
好好用

醒目發展  
優次原則

社會資源有限，土地發展的成本效益，是公眾支持哪個選項的重要考慮。

然而，土地供應專責小組的諮詢文件中，卻沒提供具體數據給市民參考；對於各選項的造價、發展時間、難度等，只有含糊及相對性的描述。

由於諮詢被局限於討論各種類的土地來源，大部份選項既不涉及具體選址，也未定確切用途，市民更無從判斷，應該為了什麼社會目標、作出怎樣的取捨。

城市若是為居民生活福祉而發展，就不該是一場幾千公頃的「跑數」遊戲。每塊土地都不一樣，適合作不同用途，也須配合周邊環境和社區需求。

土地上有樹、有人，發展有代價。我們嘗試找過往或進行中的發展項目資料進行參照，列出部份選項的時間、金錢、環境及社會成本，為更真實的討論提供基礎。

## 時間成本



### 考慮因素

- 幾時需要這些土地？造地方式在時間上能否配合需求？
- 該造地/收地方式須經歷哪些程序？
- 該造地/收地方式是否牽涉難以控制的因素、有機會令工程延誤或擱置？

#### 郊野公園



由前期研究到完成第一階段造地工程，至少需時**15-18年**

- 須修訂法例或郊野公園邊界，公眾爭議大，過程會較長
- 須進行複雜的環境及生態影響評估
- 地盤平整及道路工程難度較高、需時較久

#### 填海



大規模填海預計需時**25-30年**，未能應付當下房屋需求

- 以東涌新市鎮擴展的130公頃填海為例，小規模填海由研究階段起計，可能要待**18年**才能讓居民遷入
- 由於中國多個沿海城市紛紛填海造地，填海物料**海砂近年短缺及供應不穩，會令工程延誤**，進一步拖慢土地供應

#### 棕地

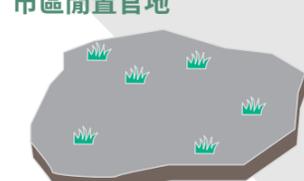


以包含190公頃棕地的洪水橋新發展區為例，由開展公眾諮詢至居民遷入，需時**12年**

- 若採用本土研究所發掘的棕地群、以相對**小規模發展**，免卻大型諮詢及規劃研究，只需通過區議會及城規會改劃用途。曾有**改劃個案最快半年已完成相關程序**<sup>1</sup>，較順利的個案一般亦可2-3年內完成

1. 有關個案為屯門中部及南部5幅土地改劃作公營房屋，過程參見2018年1月10日《明報》-甘文鋒：屯門改劃土地建屋突顯政府部門各自為政

#### 短期租約/臨時政府撥地/ 市區閒置官地



業權屬於政府，**合約一般3-5年，期滿即可收回使用**

- 位於市區或已有交通接駁的地方，**毋須額外時間營造基建**

## 金錢成本



### 考慮因素

- 造地成本，例如相關物料供應、技術難度、勞工成本等；
- 收地成本，如屬現有土地，須衡量業權複雜程度、安置原有居民及作業的補償費用；
- 基礎建設，接駁至該土地是否需要新建道路、供水及排污設施？

#### 綠化帶 / 郊野公園



以綠化帶改劃為公屋發展，土地平整及基礎設施成本，**平均每公頃4.3億元**<sup>2</sup>

- 綠化帶通常位於斜坡，基建工程成本較高
- 發展**郊野公園**因未有先例，難提供實際成本作參考。但郊野公園一般比綠化帶更地勢陡峭及交通不便，除**工地平整成本更高**外，也需要建更多接駁道路，加重成本

2. 以橫洲第一期公屋發展為例，該處由綠化帶改劃為住宅(甲類)用地，總面積5.6公頃，因涉及多個斜坡工程，平整土地和基建費用近24億元

#### 填海



**東大嶼都會人工島**位處海中心，技術難度及成本更高，並須興建多條跨海道路及鐵路接駁，估計造地成本1,220億、基建成本3,463億，**平均每公頃成本近4.7億元**<sup>3</sup>

- **近岸填海**：以東涌新市鎮擴展的130公頃填海為例，造地及基建成本**平均每公頃1.58億元**
- 填海物料海砂供應短缺，使用機製砂或從較遠地方採購，可令**成本增加三、四成**

3. 政府尚未就東大嶼都會工程進行詳細研究，項目估價由獨立管理顧問、民間土地資源小組成員任憲邦綜合近年多個填海、隧道及鐵路工程造價，並按建築物料的通脹率調整計算而成

#### 棕地



大部分棕地前身是農地，政府收地發展時，若採用最高的甲級農地特惠補償每平方呎1,200元，加上最高的棕地特惠津貼(有蓋工場)每平方呎215元，即棕地收購價約每呎1,415元，相等於**每公頃1.5億**

- 棕地由於本身有作業運作中，一般**已經平整土地及有道路接駁**，基建工程將比填海或郊野公園簡單及便宜

#### 粉嶺高球場



面積達172公頃，目前只以\$1,000象徵式地價批予香港高爾夫球會。收回發展，**不須額外土地成本**，亦更有效率使用土地資源

- 若全面發展高球場會牽涉東江水管改道，估計成本3億元<sup>4</sup>，連同增建道路、排水及供水等**基建**，估計**平均每公頃成本為0.5億**<sup>5</sup>

4. 《香港01》訪問：〈搬東江水管有礙粉嶺高球場發展？前水務署工程師：其實唔難〉2018年2月20日

5. 綜合以往工程造價及建築物料通脹率調整，平均每公頃4,834萬元

## 環境成本



### 考慮因素

- 土地現時的生態價值；
- 土地用途是否與附近的環境協調？

## 社會成本



### 考慮因素

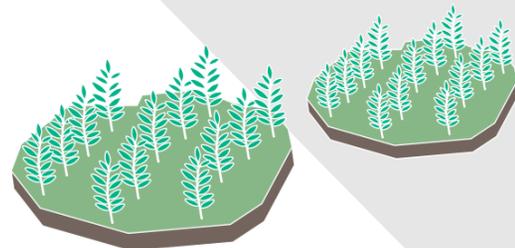
- 土地上原有多少居民或產業？
- 土地原本開放給公眾抑或只限私人使用？
- 發展後的受惠人數？是興建公營或私人房屋？

### 棕地



- 現時大部份棕地作業皆是無序發展，土地的生態價值已損毀
- 凍結及集中發展棕地可成為**去除現有污染的契機，整頓環境規劃**，讓土地與周遭環境及社區更協調

### 私人發展商農地儲備



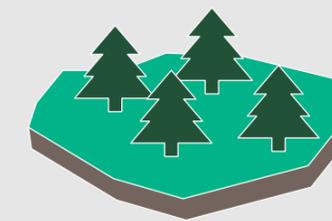
- 部份仍為活躍農地，生態價值較高，可生產食物及大面積復耕，提高糧食自給率
- 若政府以特惠政策讓發展商改劃農地建屋牟利，將促使他們進一步囤積農地，**破壞鄉郊及農業發展**

### 粉嶺高球場



- 目前**只限擁有會籍的2,600多位會員才能經常使用**
- 用作富豪階級的體育及社交場所
- 地皮廣闊，可以發展大型公共屋邨或居屋，受惠者眾

### 綠化帶 / 郊野公園



- 目前**開放予700萬市民作休閒和自然教育用途**，2016年有1,300萬人次使用
- 只能發展郊野公園邊陲地帶，成本極高，而地積比只容許低密度發展，受惠人數相當有限

## 方案整體的效益

由於每幅土地位置及現況不同，亦須配合鄰近環境的發展，我們也可按具體的發展方案比較其效益。

	東大嶼 都會人工島	將軍澳 藍塘新市鎮 <sup>7</sup>	洪水橋 新發展區
土地來源	中部水域填海	近岸填海	棕地佔發展面積的43%
總面積	1,000公頃	688公頃 (填海範圍212公頃)	714公頃 (發展用地441公頃)
人口	700,000人	350,000人	218,000人
預計造價	4,700億	800-1,000億	500億
平均每名人口的成本	67.1萬	25.7萬	22.9萬
預計落成日期	2040年代 落成時香港人口已 開始從高峰回落	2035年 可趕上人口增長高峰期	2024年 最快，能應付短中期需要
環境影響	在海中心進行大型填海， 對海洋生態及船舶航道 都有重大影響	不涉及天然海岸線， 生態影響較低，但有報導 指該海域有珊瑚群	可整頓現時無序發展的棕土， 對環境有正面影響

7. 由建築及城市設計公司Farrells提出的民間方案，詳情可參閱：[www.namtong.org](http://www.namtong.org)

除了可以量化比較的成本，也需考慮一些實在但無形的價值。土地連繫人的情感、記憶，承載社區生活和歷史文化，體現建築與地景之美。有些地方永遠在香港人心裡有位置，像昔日的中環天星碼頭，或今天的南生圍與橫水渡。真正沒有前設的諮詢，是否也應包含「不發展」的選項？

## 守護土地價值

香港中文大學地理與資源管理學系客座教授、民間土地資源小組成員  
林超英

經過幾十年地產商洗腦，不少香港人以為「發展」等於「地產」，把土地看成建屋的「麵粉」和發展的「材料」，視土地為矜貴商品，價錢以每呎計算。相對少人會在聽到「地」後，聯想到有生產力的農地、供人休憩的公園、調節氣候的綠化帶、怡人的風景、提供康樂功能的郊野等。其實「地」有多元社會功能，對市民的「價值」遠遠超出以金錢量度的「價錢」。

守護土地的價值，才能確保未來市民能與我們一樣享受到此刻土地的好處，這是可持續發展的根本。樓宇建設會永久毀掉土地的自然面貌和生態，多元社會價值如農業和康樂，也會永久消失。犧牲有利全港市民的土地價值、去成就少數人藉房地產買賣得到眼前利益，透支未來的土地資源，既不公平也違反可持續發展原則。

在有城市設計之前，人已在生活實踐中自然聚居、建立城鎮，摸索出城市的最佳發展方式。從現有城鎮的邊緣向外擴充，各種基礎設施齊備，建設成本較低，原區就業機會較高，減少居民交通成本，是一舉多得最高效率方案。

擴充城鎮範圍時，會觸碰多種已有規劃用途的土地，例如農地、鄉村發展區、政府機構用地、綠化帶、郊野公園和保育區等，這時就要研判理想的規劃佈局和對各幅土地的取捨。參考指標包括：開發所需時間、金錢成本、公眾整體得益、破壞的代價等；關鍵是不可為短期「利益」損害永久「價值」。大自然一經破壞，對人的價值便永久丟失，因此郊野公園和人工島基本上不應作為發展選項；棕地自然價值已失，是房屋發展的不二之選。

## 第四章

假發展  
食夾棍

誰偷走  
香港的土地？

民間提倡優先使用棕地、粉嶺高爾夫球場；土地供應專責小組成員卻稱，選項優次不用討論，增闢土地須多管齊下。

實際上我們見到，很多又快又可行的選項，在諮詢過程中備受冷落，甚至沒機會成為選項供市民討論；部份選項卻獲小組成員力推、權貴與鄉紳日日唱和。

*政府做事從來有優次。  
某些人的利益，竟被放在公眾利益前面。*

土地房屋發展可帶來鉅額收入，也是豐厚又方便的政治酬庸。

**一邊說要為劊房戶覓地建屋，  
一邊讓大部份土地建成天價私樓、縱容炒賣。香港居住環境為何變得「貴」、「細」、「擠」？  
讓我們翻開土地大辯論的前傳。**

# 房屋發展 重私輕公

在2006年至2016年期間，公營房屋單位總數平均每年只有0.72%的升幅。同期私樓單位總數的升幅則達1.31%，接近公營房屋升幅的一倍。公營房屋（包括公屋和居屋）比例亦連年下跌，2016年只佔房屋總量的43.4%，**房屋發展越來越向市民難以負擔的私人市場傾斜。**

## 公私營房屋六四比，只是空談？

政府2014年公佈《長遠房屋策略》，定下公私營房屋單位比例要達至六比四的目標。然而過去兩年，公營房屋的建造量遠低於目標，私樓達標率則接近九成。政府更預測未來四年私樓供應會比原定目標多逾三成，公營房屋供應卻嚴重落後。



政府聲稱土地短缺是公營房屋供應落後的主要原因，實情卻是未來多個新發展區裡，超過六成住宅地都用作私樓發展。

	HOS/PRH 公屋及居屋用地	私樓用地
元朗南	19公頃 (31.7%)	41公頃 (68.3%)
啟德	14公頃 (35.9%)	25公頃 (64.1%)
東涌新市鎮擴展	29公頃 (36.3%)	51公頃 (63.7%)
洪水橋	31.5公頃 (39.4%)	48.5公頃 (60.6%)
古洞北及粉嶺北	42.8公頃 (49.5%)	43.6公頃 (50.5%)
總計	136.3公頃 (39.5%)	209.1公頃 (60.5%)

## 公屋變豪宅 基層被驅離

自2001年起，更有多條公共屋邨在重建後變成私人屋苑，包括北角邨和黃竹坑邨兩個佔地甚廣的大型屋邨。前北角邨地皮所建的樓盤「海璇」呎價破六萬、單位售價過億元；屯門新發邨變成樓盤「瓏門」(V City)，四年前開售時實用呎價已破二萬，連帶令區內樓價租金水漲船高。元朗邨、何文田山谷道邨等，均在重建時有部份地皮改作興建私樓用。基層即使住到新界，落腳地都不斷遭地產商及投資客蠶食。



## 填海500公頃 只建極少量住宅

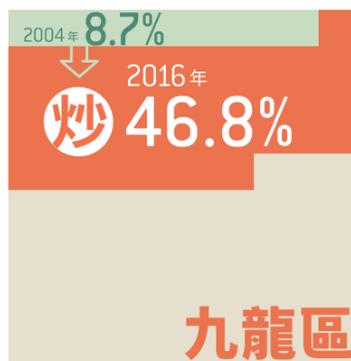
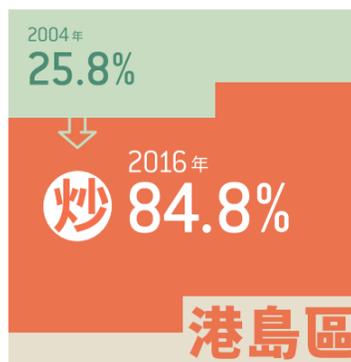
政府硬銷填海造地的選項，指責反對填海人士置割房居民於不顧。事實上政府選出五個在短中期實行的填海選址，只有馬料水一個可能撥部份地皮興建約6,000個公營房屋單位，小蠔灣則只建低密度豪宅，其他更非房屋用途，與改善居住問題無關。

選址	填海面積 (公頃)	土地用途	初步提供土地時間
欣澳	60-100	休閒、娛樂及旅遊中心	2026-2030年
龍鼓灘	220-250	特殊工業及整合棕地作業	2026-2030年
馬料水	60	高科技及知識型工業、11,000個房屋單位，當中約六成為公營房屋	2026-2030年
小蠔灣	60-80	數據中心、實驗室、高等院校及約3,500個低密度住宅	有待檢視
青衣西南	有待研究	有待研究	有待檢視

# 私樓單位 炒賣失控

資助房屋嚴重短缺，私樓市場卻缺乏有效措施，區分投資者和用家。尤其在一手小型住宅（400呎以下）市場，六成買家都並非自住。過去這類小單位能為一般市民提供上車機會，現在亦被炒賣或用作投資收租。

小型一手住宅單位作  
非自住用途 百分比



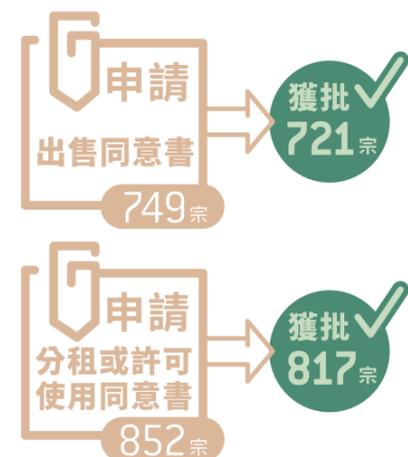
## 港人港地 中途夭折

上屆政府推出「港人港地」政策，在啟德預留兩幅地皮，賣地時加入條款，限制日後建成的住宅單位在未來三十年內、須得地政總署書面同意才可轉讓或出租，期望房屋能落到真正用家手上。

地皮發展成樓盤「啟德1號」，共提供1,793個私樓單位。然而今年二月、僅在入伙四個月後，85%的單位已獲地政總署批准轉售或分租，政府可說是自行放棄該計劃。

發展局長並對傳媒表示，本屆政府不打算再推出「港人港地」。

### 「啟德1號」轉售及分租申請



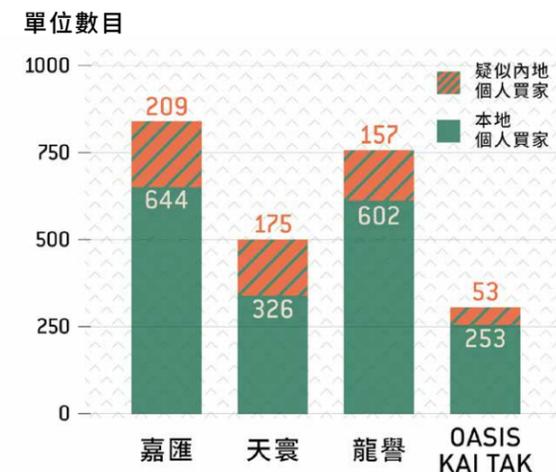
資料來源：地政總署，截至今年二月底數字

# 中資湧港 競搶房屋資源

除本地炒家外，香港樓市亦成為中國新富階級的資金避險地，變相為全國服務，消耗本地住宅供應。

啟德目前為市區最大片的新發展區，我們調查了四個位於啟德的樓盤，按買家姓氏拼音估計，在售出的2,457個單位中，疑似內地買家購入的單位佔總數24%，即每四個單位就有一個。部分樓盤的疑似內地買家更達33%。

## 啟德發展區 四大樓盤買家比例



## 本地優先 世界各地的做法

多個國家與地區都有政策限制境外人士購買住宅物業，優先照顧本地人的居住需要。現時港府只靠向非香港永久居民徵收樓價15%的買家印花稅，但觀乎近年數據，這措施明顯不足以遏止內地投資者。

**中國大陸** // 多個城市如北京和上海設「限購令」，限制非本地戶籍人士和境外人士需供社保滿五年，才可購買一個住宅物業。

**瑞士** // 1984年頒布法案，規定外國人須符合特定條件才能購買住宅，全國境內可供外國人購買的渡假屋更限於每年1,500間。

**倫敦** // 近日宣布推出「買房優先權計劃」(first dibs)，凡35萬英鎊以下的房產，在開售後的首三個月內，不可售予海外買家。

**澳洲** // 限制境外人士只可投資一手物業，不可購買二手樓。臨時居民和留學生須取得當地政府批准才可置業，並規定在離開澳洲兩年內出售，違者將被充公賣樓之利潤。

政府本有很多可用的政策手段，不需增加土地供應已能解決房屋問題，卻自行放棄平衡公私營房屋市場、打擊炒賣及保障市民住屋需要的各種措施，任由香港人困居於「貴」、「細」、「擠」的環境下，為大型填海、公私合營發展農地製造斷章取義的理據和民意支持。

# 官商合謀 萬畝良田變豪宅

今次諮詢政府及商界一致力推的選項，就是以「公私合營」方式發展地產商持有的1,000公頃新界農地。為此，政府特別讓地政總署增聘80人，專門處理大宗地契修訂、換地及補地價程序；之後亦打算加設專責委員會處理公私合營申請。

由於利潤豐厚，各地產商一向很積極將農地改劃為住宅用地，若該地段適合發展，早已改劃完成。有農地未被開發，大多是威脅到生態環境、交通無法負荷、或違反社區規劃佈局而不獲批准。

政府對自己手中的閒置官地視而不見，卻優惠地產商動用這些不宜發展的農地，行為相當有嫌疑。

## 如何借「公私合營」過橋？



## 結果



## 開刀目標 1 南生圍

港人至愛魚塘樂園

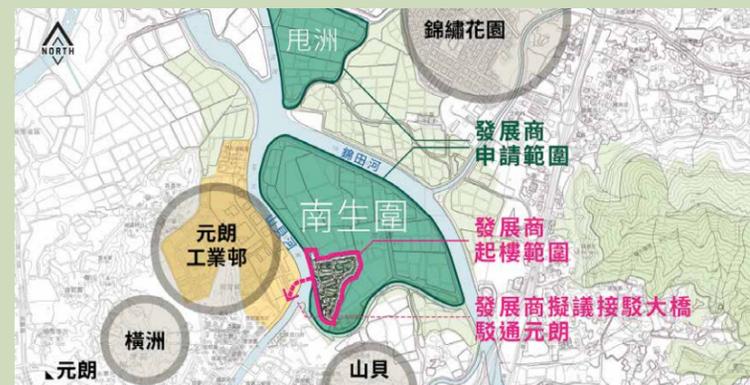


申請人：恆基地產及傅老榕家族

項目概況：連同鄰近的甩洲，總面積177公頃，近八成是濕地，亦包括82公頃政府官地；申請興建28座住宅大樓及140座洋房。

改劃經過：自1992年起提交類似申請，因帶來噪音、排污及交通負荷將破壞濕地生態，屢遭城規會駁回。發展商並建議在政府官地部份興建一條行車橋跨越山貝河，同遭公眾反對。

最新進展：曾透過將500個單位撥作居屋利誘社會接受。去年政府提出「公私合營」構思後，改為發展1,000個首置上車盤。若政府牽頭增建道路，項目很可能獲批。



## 開刀目標 2 蕉徑

一級靚田、全港最多信譽農場所在



申請人：艇仔公司，與恆基地產關係密切

項目概況：約11.5公頃擬建270幢洋房及住客會所，另一項目約5公頃擬建國際學校及連接道路

改劃經過：2015年申請，兩個項目雖由不同公司提交，卻於同一日遞上城規會。去年底規劃署表明不支持該住宅項目，因會令優質農地永久受損，並影響區內交通、景觀及生態環境。

最新進展：政府今年初聲稱為附近的農業園擴建道路，但該路比農業園顧問報告建議的3.5米闊了一倍，變成雙線雙程路，疑為其他發展開路，更以工程為由收地趕走農夫。



# 首置單位： 以上車之名 幫發展項目上馬

為配合「公私合營」政策，政府還特地發明了「首置上車盤」概念，其主要土地來源就是改劃中的私人農地；規定地產商發展住宅項目時，須建一定數量、售價較低的首置單位。

## 七成半市民 無法負擔首置樓

不能被「上車盤」之名誤導，首置樓定價為居屋與私樓之間，以現時市況，呎價可能過萬元。

政府都擔心大家供不起，所以購買首置單位設入息下限，目前為單身者月入\$26,001及兩人以上家庭月入\$52,001。

據統計處2017年第四季調查，全港入息低於\$25,000的單人住戶及低於\$50,000的家庭住戶，佔住戶總數的73%。換言之，首置樓只服務收入中上的一小撮人。

首置單位呎價估算	\$10,000*
例子：400呎單位	400萬
九成按揭、25年期	月供\$15,523
家庭收入中位數	\$24,900 (供款佔收入：62.3%)
首置上車盤家庭 收入下限	\$52,000 (供款佔收入：29.8%)

無法負擔！



\*2017年430呎以下的居屋呎價介乎\$7,907-\$10,311，私人住宅則為\$11,297-\$14,730，此處取大約中間數一萬元作例子

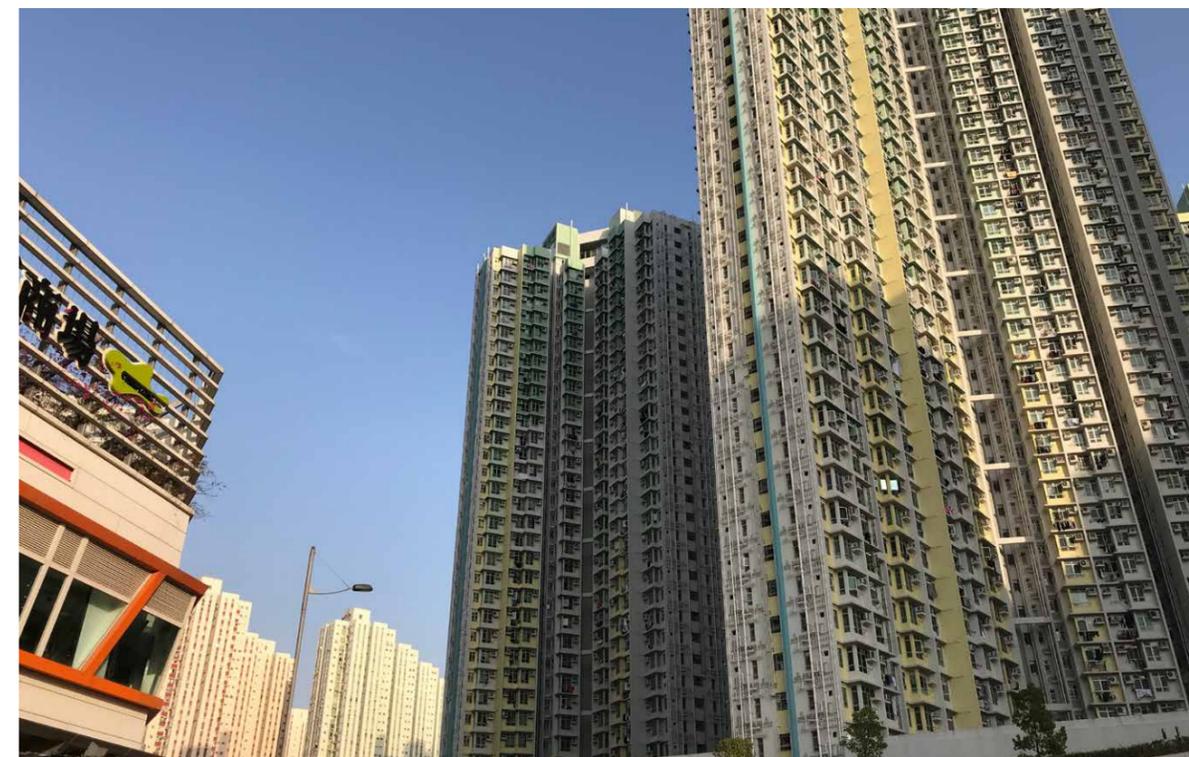
# 何不收地建公屋？

親政府人士為爭取公眾支持，近日放風稱「公私合營」除興建首置樓，也應加入居屋及公屋單位。

須留意個別人士意見不代表政府立場。據發展局提交予土地供應專責小組的文件，局方只稱會要求發展商興建「可負擔房屋」、「例如『港人首置上車盤』甚或是居屋單位」，可見是以首置樓為主，居屋的可能性甚低，更沒提公屋。

若政府想興建公營房屋，因其屬於「公共用途」，可引用《收回土地條例》把私人土地收回，自行興建，毋須讓利予地產商，以往新市鎮發展亦沿用這模式。發展局卻稱「在確立有關『公共用途』之前，政府並無理據及權力引用該條例收回私人土地」，明顯沒打算興建公營房屋。

發展局並指若由政府收地興建，「將未能利用私營機構的專長及多元性」。然而地產商看重利潤，若樓宇不能高價出售，便會削減成本。港英時代推出「私人參建居屋」，正因單位出現質素問題而終止。



# 無地？ 還是蝕讓太多土地？



在大埔蕉坑，政府更擬將官地送大禮，以多易少「換」給地產商。

發展商(又係)恆基地產計劃以A區1,948平方米土地，換取政府在B區的9,700平方米官地；事成後A區將由政府發展289個公營房屋單位，B區則建506個私樓單位。改劃申請已獲城規會批准。

恆地無論在A區或B區，掌握的地權都在四成以下；A區更有85%土地屬於政府，毋須換地亦能建公屋。

公私合營的發展模式一旦落實，不只會毀滅南生圍、蕉徑等風光如畫的新界土地，也將釋放大批囤地帶來數以萬億計利潤，讓地產商持續主宰土地發展，市民的居住空間和生活質素更難望改善。

# 熱錢流入才是 高樓價元兇

香港測量師學會會員、民間土地資源小組成員  
姚松炎

過去十年，香港樓價上升約2.5倍，持續成為全球最難負擔的城市。特首林鄭月娥雖然經常強調增加土地和房屋供應，也在一次訪問裡承認樓價上升另有主因，即使增加供應亦未必能扭轉樓價急升的局面。

多項本地及國際研究均指出，樓價上升的主因是長期負實質利率吸引熱錢流入。當過多銀根供應追逐短缺資源，預期價格上升，便會吸引投資者入市，推升樓價。Chow and Xie (2016)<sup>1</sup>就新加坡房屋市場的研究發現，樓價上升與資本流入有重大關聯；Yiu and Sahminan (2017)<sup>2</sup>及Cheung et al. (2017)<sup>3</sup>也發現熱錢流入導致亞洲五個經濟體的樓價上升。

由於負實質利率，熱錢流入香港的情況非常嚴重。據金管局2016年數據<sup>4</sup>，過去十年湧入香港的熱錢淨積累已超過一萬億港元；分析員估計單在2017年就有二千多億港元的熱錢來自中資<sup>5</sup>。

在房產市場，中資近年大舉高價投地，推高地價，已是不爭事實<sup>6</sup>。熱錢選擇流入香港，主要因為香港自2008年起持續出現負實質利率。而由於香港奉行聯繫匯率及開放型經濟制度，政府不能採用利率等工具調控資金流向，以致資產價格不斷上升。

香港以彈丸之地，鯨吞全球泛濫的熱錢，任意在港炒賣樓房。政府企圖透過增加供應來應付被熱錢炒貴的樓價，猶如抱薪救火！

1. Chow, Hwee Kwan and Xie, Taojun. [2016] Are House Prices Driven by Capital Flows? Evidence from Singapore. Journal of International Commerce, Economics and Policy. 7, (1), 1-21. Research Collection School Of Economics
2. Yiu, M.S. and Sahminan, S. [2017] Global Liquidity, Capital Inflows and Housing Prices in ASEAN Economies, International Real Estate Review 20(1), 105-126
3. Cheung, Y.W., Chow, K.K. and Yiu, M.S. [2017] Effects of Capital Flow on the Equity and Housing Markets in Hong Kong, Pacific Economic Review 22(3), 273-275.
4. HKMA [2016] Fund Flows <http://sgi.seleritycorp.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/FundFlowIndicators.png>
5. SCMP [2016] Capital Inflows Mainland Chinese Investors HK Bourse Hit 200 billion
6. 信報月刊(2017) 萬億資金泊港 伺機買地推高樓價，3月7日

## 第五章

估估下  
賭身家


沉迷基建  
倒錢落海

真正將土地用得其所，須有細緻的  
規劃研究，檢視現時土地短缺情況，  
來自哪區、需要哪類土地，配合具體政策，  
對準社區獨特需求而發展。

但政府在這場諮詢中提交的土地需求估算數字，卻完全經不起仔細推敲。所謂4,800公頃需求、1,200公頃短缺是怎樣計出來？翻查文件，發現漏洞百出。

過去數月，我們多次透過傳媒及立法會議員書面提問，要求政府解釋估算基礎、預計土地用途及政策依據，政府提供的資料都相當有限。近日發展局更指土地短缺遠超1,200公頃，但實數「唔重要」，具體需求數字也不會在諮詢期間發佈。

要市民憑空表達意見，並  
據此決定未來三十年的  
土地發展方式，實在相當  
兒戲。

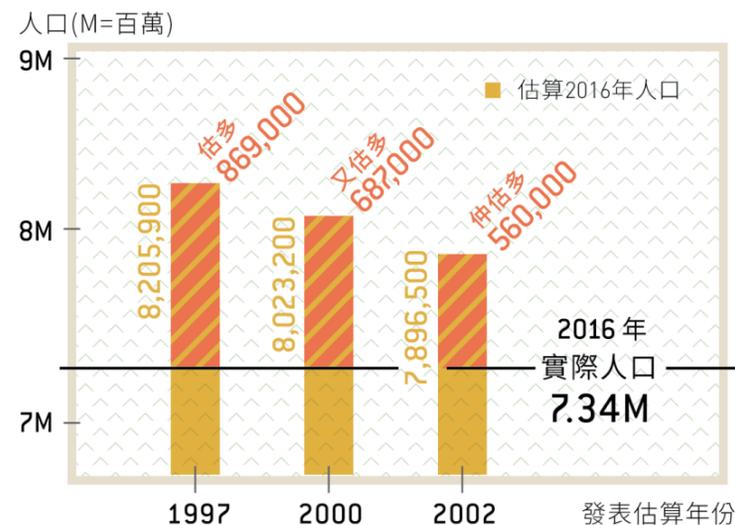
# 人口增長 年年高估

政府提出的土地需求，主要理據是對人口增長的估算；但從過往經驗可見，中長期的人口估算可與實況有很大偏差，而且每次都傾向高估。

以2000年發表的估算為例，只是預測十一年後的人口，都高估了53.8萬，**對十六年後的人口更高估近70萬**，相當於兩個大型新發展區的人口容量。

目前的土地供應諮詢，以三十年後的人口增長作為發展理據，可靠性成疑。

## 香港人口推算



十五年間將估算調低71.5萬人

距離2030尚有十二年，

唔知今次又估大幾多呢？

資料來源：政府統計處《香港人口推算》

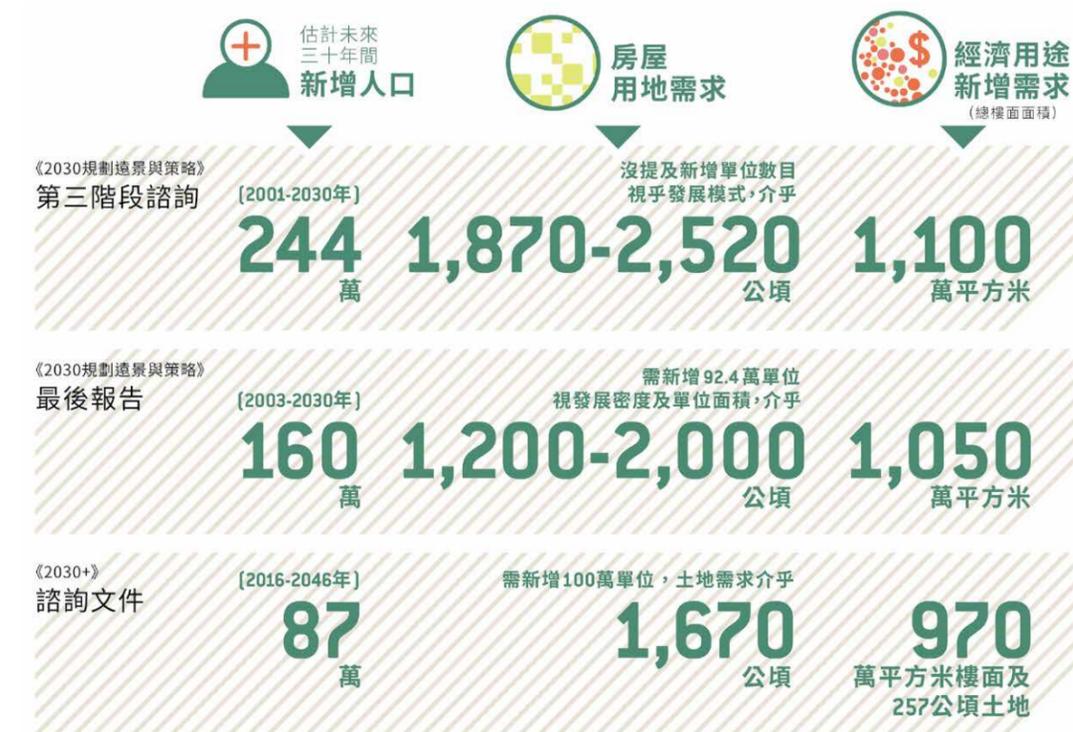
# 堆砌數字 盲搶土地

港英時代的「全港發展策略」大致是以十幾至二十年為規劃年期。2001年開展的《2030規劃遠景與策略》研究，是首次以三十年為期的長遠規劃。

當時政府曾在諮詢文件中，把2030年人口估算為920萬；被輿論抨擊為嚴重高估後，才在最終報告裡修正為840萬。目前土地供應專責小組則沿用《香港2030+：跨越2030年的規劃遠景與策略》和統計處估算，預計要到2046年，人口才會增至820萬。

**奇怪的是，無論估算未來三十年人口增長是多少，所需的房屋及經濟用地面積都相若！**

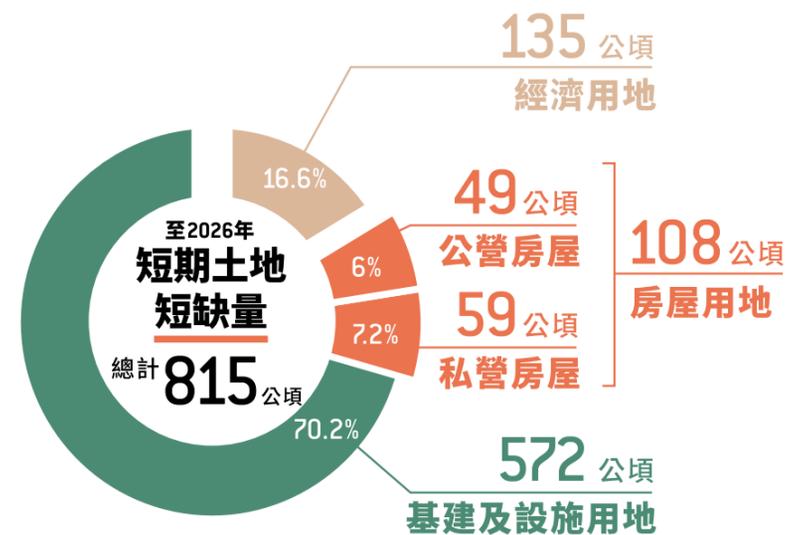
令人懷疑人口增長估算只是幌子，政府本身已另有盤算，然後再堆砌數字作為理據。



## 睇真啲， 土地需求來自……

政府強調覓地是為了改善房屋問題，但細看分項數據，官方經常掛在口邊、未來八年內出現的815公頃土地短缺量，當中只有6%來自公營房屋，大部份用地是為了興建各種不明的基建及設施。

即使計及私營房屋，至2026年的房屋用地總短缺量仍只是108公頃，若政府肯收回172公頃的粉嶺高爾夫球場，只需一個土地選項已能應付有餘。



資料來源：土地供應專責小組諮詢文件

## 未來八年房屋用地 短缺108公頃

粉嶺高爾夫球場  
172公頃

用十幾年都夠！

## 神秘的「主要特別設施」？

到底什麼「基建及設施」需要如此多土地？政府的需求估算基本上引用2016年發佈的《2030+》文件。資料顯示，該項目包括政府、機構或社區用地、休憩用地及運輸設施。然而，當中不足一半是與人口相關的社區配套，其他均是「主要特別設施」，但文件並無提及詳情，或解釋各項目的發展理據。

### 305公頃 康樂及休憩用地

起多九個迪士尼？

《2030+》本已按人口規劃了245公頃休憩用地，而且人均面積高於現有標準。但「主要特別設施」又再包括250公頃康樂及消閒設施，面積足足可以多建9個迪士尼樂園(28公頃)；另還有55公頃額外的區域休憩用地。難道2030年後的香港，梗有一個主題公園喺左近？

### 130公頃 污水處理廠

哪兒來的污水？

「主要特別設施」預留130公頃建污水處理廠。現時服務63萬人口的沙田污水處理廠只佔地28公頃，就算至2046年全港增加87萬人，也難以想像需要多建4間污水處理廠。而且近年政府已做了研究，擬將大型污水處理廠搬入岩洞以釋出土地，這百幾公頃分佈响邊？幾時用？為何不講清講楚？

### 90公頃 石礦場及岩石加工設施

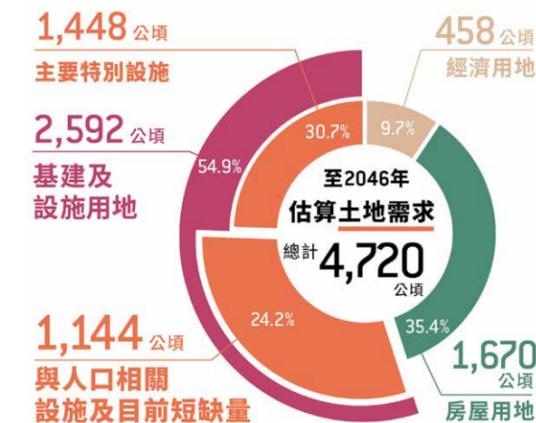
填海做石礦場？

政府經常將眾多土地需求簡化，忽略個別土地種類的特性，例如「主要特別設施」當中有90公頃為「石礦場及岩石加工設施」，但這類設施必須設於特定地點、並且是現有山坡上，不可能額外造地興建。

### 75公頃 靈灰安置所

葬到2103年！

以近年政府於屯門曾咀及柴灣歌連臣角興建的兩個靈灰安置所為例，平均每公頃可建63,431個骨灰位，75公頃的土地即可建476萬個骨灰位。但政府預計未來20年平均每年的火化宗數只是56,000宗，476萬個骨灰位足夠用85年！



資料來源：《2030+》綜合土地需求及供應分析

「主要特別設施」佔了1,448公頃土地需求，政府並已為其預留1,020公頃土地。若部份需求證實為不必要、或公眾不同意作此發展，只需當中有數百公頃撥回作房屋及經濟用途，已沒有土地短缺。

# 房屋需求 魔鬼在細節

政府聲稱直至2046年需要提供100萬個新住宅單位，換算為土地需求則是1,670公頃；由於已預留1,440公頃土地，整體短缺量為230公頃。

由100萬個住宅單位轉變成土地需求，牽涉到兩個重要變數：地積比及住宅單位平均面積。

## 大量興建豪宅獨立屋？

若以1,670公頃土地興建100萬單位，**平均住用地積比將低至3.6**，只可興建約十多層高的大廈。**洪水橋新發展區市中心住用地積比是5.5至6.5**。3.6的平均值意味將有不少住用地積比低至1的低密度住宅，一般只見於鄉郊地區，市區只在公共交通容量或環境受限的情況下才會採用，如山頂及淺水灣。

## 800呎一手樓，你買得起嗎？

政府並假設將來的私人住宅**單位平均建築面積為807平方呎**，以七成實用率計，人均居住面積都比現在多25%。據統計處調查，目前平均住戶人數為2.8，2026年後更進一步下降至2.7人。**興建如此大呎數單位，真的符合現實？抑或是一場造大估算的數字遊戲？**

## 重建後，消失的土地？

政府提出的100萬個房屋需求當中，逾三成來自舊區重建戶的安置需求。但**舊區重建後亦可釋出土地建屋，該報告卻假設重建後可提供的單位比重建前少**，以致需要額外土地。據過往經驗，重建後樓宇只會建得更密更高，此項假設與實況不符。

## 愚弄市民的低密度發展

政府經常在地積比及發展密度上做手腳，低估現有土地的發展潛力。例如選項之一的粉嶺高爾夫球場，面積達172公頃，相等於8個太古城（居民逾35,000人）；政府提出的規劃方案卻**把大部份住宅地撥作中低密度發展，然後聲稱即使全面收回高球場，也只能提供13,200個單位、居住37,000人。**

團結香港基金更聲稱市民需要「住大啲」，就將現有住宅用地4,200公頃加上官方估算未來需要的1,670公頃，再乘以160%，一下子得出香港未來需要8,320公頃房屋土地。然而，建造大量低密度及大呎數的住宅單位後，究竟誰買得起？提出這些主張的人士並不處理。

# 誠實啲計： 100萬房屋單位所需用地

## 100萬房屋單位所需用地

政府統計處推算平均家庭住戶人數：2.7人

私樓平均面積  
700平方呎  
X 400,000 單位\* = **2,601** 萬平方米

總樓面面積

公屋平均面積  
500平方呎  
X 600,000 單位\* = **2,787** 萬平方米

總樓面面積

以住用地積比5計算

總土地需求 = **1,078** 公頃

政府預期未來  
三十年土地供應：**1,440** 公頃

盈餘：**362** 公頃

\*按公私營房屋六四比計算

[資料提供：獨立管理顧問、民間土地資源小組成員任憲邦]

太古城

x 16

足足可以起多  
16個太古城！

## 經濟用地需求 重覆計算

目前土地供應諮詢的經濟用地需求同樣引用自《2030+》文件，當中將經濟用地需求分為兩類，分別為「市場主導」及「政策支持」的經濟用途。前者委託顧問公司ICF International作估算研究，後者是由各政府部門提出、估計在其職權範圍下的政策將會帶來的經濟用地需求。

然而ICF顧問報告表明市場主導及政策主導需求難以分開，故計算出的經濟用地需求已考慮到政策影響。例如「特殊工業」類，包括數據中心、現代物流、研發、檢測和認證等，均是政府鼓勵的產業。

政府既採用了ICF已結合市場及政策影響的需求數字，同時又要求政策局提出「有政策支持」的「其他經濟用途」需求，包括大量工業村及科學園用地，明顯與ICF顧問所提出的特殊工業類有重疊之嫌，可以剔除。

## GOVERNMENT LAND

NO UNLAWFUL OCCUPATION, DUMPING AND EXCAVATION  
OFFENDERS WILL BE PROSECUTED.

DISTRICT LANDS OFFICE, SHA TIN  
ENQUIRY TEL.: 2158 4700

### 政府土地

不准非法佔用，傾倒泥頭垃圾及挖掘，  
違者會被檢控。

● 食品批發市場 9公頃  
沙田地政處示 查詢電話：2158 4700

● 港口後勤設施 65公頃  
● 25公頃 商業

● 科學園 26公頃  
● 37公頃 工業

● 工業村 157公頃  
● 137公頃 特殊工業

● 183公頃 疑似重覆計算，  
可以剔除

沙田地政處示 查詢電話：2158 4700

25公頃 商業

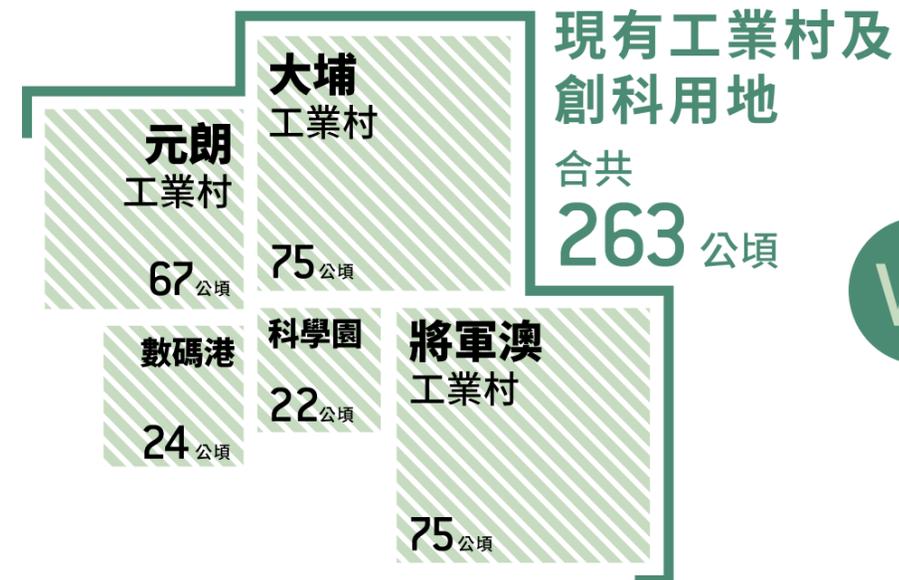
37公頃 工業

137公頃 特殊工業

《2030+》  
經濟用地  
需求估算  
總計 458  
公頃

政策支持的其他經濟用途 (各政策局提出)

市場主導經濟用地 (ICF顧問報告)



若真的將兩者提出的「工業」、「特殊工業」、「工業村」及「科學園」土地需求落實發展，面積將合共357公頃，**超過現時香港所有工業村及科學園、數碼港的面積總和。相當於說未來香港要多建近5個大埔工業村，或16個科學園。**

### 創建動物實驗之都？

政府不但在預留土地方面非常慷慨，今年預算案亦豪花500億元發展創新科技，包括興建落馬洲河套區港深創新及科技園，以及讓科技園公司興建科研基建和設施。然而有立法會議員發現，相關撥款將用來興建動物實驗室；食衛局數據亦顯示，2016年被用作實驗的動物數量比3年前大增81%，達18.8萬隻，期間約有1,700隻狗和1,300隻貓被用作動物實驗。

歐盟、印度、以色列、挪威及台灣已立法禁止進行化妝品產品的動物測試，香港的《動物（實驗管制）條例》卻多年沒修訂，監管寬鬆，難以執法。預留如此多的「特殊工業」用地，最終會否變成殘害動物的場所？政府必須交代詳細產業政策和規劃，才能釋除公眾疑慮。

## 空中樓閣的估算 將城市帶往何方？

「土地大辯論」開展前數星期，親政府人士及地產商代表便不斷吹奏，指香港欠缺土地遠超於《香港2030+》研究，尤以團結香港基金提出的9,080公頃需求最誇張。五月初，政府在壓力下正式跪低，派出不具名的發展局及規劃署發言人對傳媒「解畫」，指局方認同《2030+》估算過份保守、土地短缺遠超1,200公頃。

發展局稱會更新《2030+》數據，但不會在公眾諮詢期間發佈「以免造成混亂」。然而，沒有土地需求的具體數字，公眾又從何討論起？去年九月政府特地為土地供應專責小組成員開辦工作坊，講解《2030+》估算，以令之後的討論有共同基礎。不足一年政府又推翻《2030+》，未免太過兒戲。

政府認為《2030+》數字低估，因為沒包含市民對改善住屋空間的需求，及未有涵蓋安老、醫療及社福最新政策所帶來的土地需要。然而從前面數頁分析，已見到《2030+》對於房屋用地需求估算過高。安老、醫療及社福設施則包括在「政府、機構或社區」(G/IC)用地的343公頃土地需求內，該數據以古洞北新發展區人均G/IC用地3.5平方米作為計算基礎，亦比目前沙田的2.2平方米大增60%。《2030+》明言採用古洞北的比例是因其「能反映最新的標準與指引，同時亦能提供彈性及緩衝。」已預留空間承接新增需求。

必須強調，醫療及安老是高度以人為本的社福服務，須有詳細需求研究、確立服務模式、人才培訓等一連串配套規劃，再按社區獨特需要物色選址。觀塘的病人不可能到東大嶼人工島去看醫生，長者也不見得願意離開熟悉的社區和家人、入住郊野公園邊陲的安老院。目前「十年醫院發展計劃」只涵蓋到2026年，更長遠的第二期計劃最近才開展研究，我們並沒有資料參考，確保新造土地切合醫療服務所需。而安老業界爭取多年、要訂立按人口計算的安老設施規劃標準，政府目前仍未回應；致令老年人口不斷增加，資助服務單位卻無法同步增設，很多社福機構唯有自行以市值租金在私樓及商舖開展服務。欠缺政策及規劃標準，新開發土地完全沒保證能用在長者身上。

只求增加土地，不去建立為人民謀福祉的願景，訂立長遠規劃，調動各持份者的創意、想像力和經驗，同心去建設一個我們可以驕傲地傳承予我們子孫的香港，是不可能讓我們的城市持續發展的。

—香港中文大學地理與資源管理學系教授 伍美琴  
2018.4.18 《明報》我們不缺土地 缺的是策略規劃

## 第六章

# 一齊傾 一齊講

## 集結 民間力量

土地大辯論的諮詢範圍非常局限，收集意見方式亦不可靠。隨機抽樣電話民調之上，更會有街站問卷、上門家訪及網上意見收集等，為操作數據、扭曲民意留下了很大空間。

專責小組主席黃遠輝更指，選項只要獲過半數支持，便會視為可行方案向政府提交建議。另一邊廂，小組成員紛紛以智庫、專家、學者的名義發表「民間意見」；多場諮詢討論會，又只限受邀人士及團體參加。

增闢土地，到底是你我抉擇？抑或披上諮詢的外衣，暗中有選項勢在必行？

可否將今次土地大辯論，變成重新思考土地房屋政策、重建社會分配公義的契機？

為了終止土地霸權對環境的破壞、對市民生活空間的剝削，我們需要集結民間力量。

# 疑難排解篇

先等我們一齊重溫、破解  
「土地大辯論」的四大迷思！



**香港居住環境「貴、細、擠」，都係因為土地短缺，搵地起屋，刻不容緩！**



其實回歸以來，香港新起的**房屋數量遠遠多過家庭住戶增長！**由1998至2014年已經累計多出近26萬個單位。2017年全港房屋單位總數275萬，都比家庭住戶總數255萬多出20萬。



**香港周圍都係樓，只係太貴買唔起**，唯有住豆罎咁細的劏房仔啦。

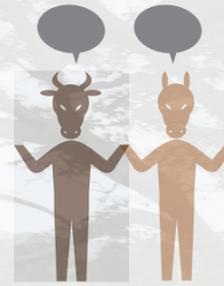


英國、新加坡、台灣、日本都有法定人均居住面積，規定各有不同。例如要求興建單位面積不可低於下限、懲罰出租不合標準單位的業主、或以現金津貼擠迫戶轉租較大單位等。標準最低的英國都有人均70呎，香港劏房戶人均只有47.8呎，細過懲教署囚倉人均48呎，迫過坐監。



有次《城市論壇》本土研究社質問小組主席黃遠輝，**敢唔敢應承立法保障人均居住面積**，搵地起屋之後優先照顧居住面積唔達標的市民，**黃遠輝唔敢答喎！都話搵地唔係為我哋㗎。**

香港已經好多屋！與其增加供應，  
不如立法保障人均居住面積？



**用「公私合營」發展農地，先可以短時間內增加房屋供應；如果由政府收地，地產商一定司法覆核，會拖好耐㗎！**



**如果塊地適合起屋，城規會已經批咗啦。**過唔到審批，係因為發展就會好影響個社區或者生態環境。就算發展商補地價，都係由政府貼公帑、幫佢將原本發展唔到的農地變成發達機會。



**由政府成立個公私合營委員會去監察返政府**，咁就無官商勾結？真係從前有三隻蝦，哈、哈、哈！



政府用《收回土地條例》收地，可以保證起公屋。**公私合營，起出來分分鐘變晒豪宅**，幾時起、邊度起，政府都話唔到事。天水圍規劃咁差，咪就係以前政府同誠哥公私合營搞出來囉！



司法覆核？以前政府收地起公屋已經勝訴過。2003年有農地投資者同政府打官司，終審法院仲講明政府毋須賠償佢期待土地升價十倍的「希望價值」。有案例在先，地產商要告，法庭都未必再受理喎。

運用《收回土地條例》，將適合發展的農地收回建屋，不只快靚正，仲可以打擊奸商囤地！



棕地其實無閒置、有工業運作緊，能用的棕地都已經劃入新發展區，其他好零碎、缺乏交通基建支援，用唔到來起屋。



本土研究社用地圖工具逐塊棕地睇，發現**根本好多都相連，加埋總共成723公頃未被納入發展計劃**。跟住有記者拎住份報告追問黃遠輝，佢先至承認「政府其實無指標去定義點為之零碎」，原來係是但噏、當秘笈！

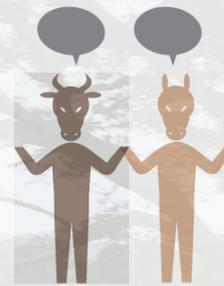


其實有成700幾公頃，可以拎三份二來重置整頓棕地作業、修復環境，**淨係用三份一來起樓，保守估計都起到八萬幾個單位**，一炮過讓全港劊房戶上樓。



既然話棕地有工業運作緊，肯定有車路出入，**交通基建配套點都好過用地產商的農地儲備啦！**點解開發農地政府就嗱嗱聲出錢幫手起基建，棕地就唔得？

重整新界棕地，環境改善，起到的房屋單位仲夠晒全港劊房戶上樓！



政府都想幫基層市民快啲上公屋，但私樓亦都有需求，所以以後公營房屋同私樓會用「六四比」發展，就最平衡了。



政府講的「六四比」是指單位數目。只要起一堆單位面積細、密度又勁高的公營房屋，就可以留返大大管靚地起私樓豪宅。將來幾個**新發展區分配給公營房屋的土地都唔夠四成**，這就叫「急市民所急」？



因為地產商唔鍾意有公屋喺佢啲豪宅旁邊，將來公私合營發展新界農地，政府話付錢起基建、換回地產商負責起的公營房屋，好可能是定價貴過居屋的「首置樓」，要兩人家庭月入5萬多元才買得起！



其實六成俾公營都好保守啦，**既然房屋問題咁嚴峻，應該八成起公屋居屋**，或者「公地公用」，唔好拎晒去賣俾發展商，政府無責任幫佢地搵地起豪宅啲！

真正「六四比」，應規定興建公營房屋的土地面積要達到六成；甚至「公地公用」減少賣地，優先照顧基層與居屋申請人的需要。

# 重新開始 好好規劃

停一停，諗一諗。

其實由政府主導的「土地大辯論」，一開始便只問如何增加土地供應。

沒有問的是，為何增加？為誰增加？是否只有增加土地供應一途？

讓香港人生活得更好的規劃，明明應有更廣闊的討論空間。

## Step 1

設定城市想像及  
整體方向

檢討現有規劃缺失  
全民共識未來願景  
正確估算未來需要



## Step 2

土地資源  
大盤點

全面開放土地資訊  
尋找低效使用及  
空置土地  
檢視現有土地分配方式



## Step 3

決定使用  
土地的優次

研究不同選項的  
具體成本  
評估環境及社會影響  
就發展原則凝聚  
民間共識



## Step 4

持續檢視及  
改良

社會經濟狀況變化  
生活質素及分配公義  
發展方案的成效或缺失  
完善社區參與及  
決策機制



# 集合我們的力量

政府近年的諮詢模式，往往將相似的反對意見，歸納成「一個」或「其中一種」意見，輕描淡寫地將諮詢結果變成支持發展的理據，拒絕接受社會大多數人的共識。

為了紀錄並反映真實民意，本土研究社將在未來數月與民間團體合作，開展民間版的土地諮詢，並以實在的研究成果支援各式社會行動。詳情請密切留意我們的facebook專頁公佈，亦歡迎有意合作的團體與我們聯絡。

Facebook: localresearch

Email: info@liber-research.com

民間土地諮詢網站: www.landfordaycharmsheung.hk

我們想要怎樣的都市，取決於我們  
想要成為怎樣的人、尋求怎樣的社會關係，  
珍惜與大自然的什麼關係，渴望怎樣的生活方式，  
持有怎樣的美學價值。

David Harvey, 2012  
Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution

# Part 1 - Land supply for more housing?

## What is to blame for the infamous pricey, tiny and cramped homes in Hong Kong?

The officials said there is only one thing to blame- the shortage of land supply. To tackle this, the “Task Force on Land Supply” was set up to conduct a five-month public consultation until September 2018. It is claimed that the public can choose from the various predetermined land supply options. The Task Force, government officials, the public relations firms, and property developers have joined hand in hand to lobby for public support on their preferred land supply options: for instance, reclamation, country parks, farmlands, etc., giving a false hope to Hong Kongers that we have to sacrifice (such as environment) in order to improve our deteriorating living standard.

*Nonetheless, in the past 20 years, we have completed numerous large infrastructural projects, yet our living quality has only deteriorated.*

There goes a popular saying: “Hong Kong is densely populated with scarce land resources”, “if we increase housing supply, then the housing price will come down”. Be that as it may, the reality usually operates under a different set of rules, which are camouflaged with the common rhetoric that are ostensibly true.

Liber Research Community spent several months in gathering information and conducting rigorous research. We finally completed this booklet to disclose the information you ought to know, but the government and property developers probably don’t want you to.

We already have all the land resources for the 7-million Hong Kongers, which is disproportionately controlled by a tiny fraction of the society who gain the most under the existing rules of land development.

Behind the façade of this seemingly open public consultation, there is a lucrative business underway. ***But this time it’s a bit different, because if things go according to the “script”, the scale of exploitation would be unprecedented-*** Hong Kong will be left with some barren rocks with damaged environment and an even more unequal society. Only those property mongols with vested interest would pocket all the windfall.

*The crux of the problem is land justice, not land supply.*

## Who’s in the Task Force on Land Supply

- 30 members- all appointed by the Chief Executive
- 8 representatives from Development Bureau, Transport and Housing Bureau, Environment Bureau, Civil Engineering and Development Department, Lands Department and Planning Department
- 7 holding a strong stance preferring a few land supply options, e.g. Country Parks and reclaiming the reservoirs
- 7 professionals from civil engineering, architecture and surveying sectors who could potentially benefit from developments
- 4 regularly appointed by the government to different advisory & statutory bodies
- 2 pro-government grassroots organisation representatives
- 1 former president of the largest pro-establishment political party
- 1 Vice-president of Heung Yee Kuk, a rural advisory body, who proposes relaxing development density on village lands

The Task Force was set up in late August 2017, but ***excluding key members from the civil society who are not on the same side with the government.*** Following numerous closed door meetings in the past 9 months or so, the 5-month public consultation is recently launched.

## An “open” discussion with pretexts

The terms of reference of the Task Force on Land Supply is to discuss how to enhance land supply. They are not empowered to advise on the rotting housing policy which is more relevant to the root of the housing crisis. ***The discussions were heavily guided by the discussion papers supplied by the Development Bureau*** just a few days before the meeting was held. The Task Force is tied up with limited options with strong pretexts.

## Task Force members are not impartial at all

Another objective of the Task Force is to “build consensus in the community and draw up a broad framework of recommendations on the overall land supply strategy with prioritisation of different land supply options for further consideration by the Government”. Stanley Wong, the Chairman, has

emphasised that even though different members may have different views, the discussions have to be objective and based on public interest, and therefore must be free of pretext and agenda.

However, ***only after 3 meetings and having discussed only 4 options, Wong already claimed that members of the Task Force generally agree that reclamation is one of the most feasible options among all.***

Jasper Tsang, who is one of the Task Force members, and also a founding member of DAB, has disclosed in an interview that he believed his appointment to the Task Force is serving the purpose of “taming” the opposition from his party as some DAB District Councillors vehemently oppose to certain land supply options.

***According to Jasper Tsang, the objective of Carrie Lam setting up the Task Force, “is to remove the barriers to development by whatever means”.***

2018.4.23 HK01 Interview

## The anatomy of the 18 land supply options

### Short-to-medium term options

- Developing brownfield sites
- Tapping into the private agricultural land reserve in the New Territories **(benefiting the property developer)**
- Alternative uses of sites under Private Recreational Leases
- Relocation or consolidation of land-extensive recreational facilities

### Medium-to-long term options

- Near-shore reclamation outside Victoria Harbour **(reclamation!)**
- Developing the East Lantau Metropolis **(reclamation, again!)**
- Developing caverns and underground space
- Developing the River Trade Terminal Site **(benefiting the property developers, again!)**
- Developing two pilot areas on the periphery of country parks **(Country Parks!)**
- More new development areas in the New Territories

### Conceptual options

- Increasing development density of “Village Type Development” zones (benefiting indigenous villagers)
- Relocation of Kwai Tsing Container Terminals **(benefiting the property developers, again!)**
- Topside development of Kwai Tsing Container Terminals **(benefiting the property developers, again!)**
- Developing more areas on the periphery of country parks **(Country Parks, again!)**
- Reclaiming part of Plover Cove Reservoir for new town development **(reclamation INSIDE a Country Park!)**
- Topside development of existing transport infrastructure (suggested by civil society, which cannot reap much profit for developers. Development potential being undermined by the Task Force)
- Utilising the development potential of public utilities sites
- Developing the River Trade Terminal site and its surroundings in the long term **(reclamation, and benefiting property developers, again!)**

### Options scrapped

- Military sites
- Vacant government land zoned as “Village Type Development”
- Short-term tenancy sites
- Temporary Government Land Allocation sites

### “Flash in the pan”

In early October 2017, the Development Bureau listed 15 land supply options. The Task Force has ruled out several options without going through rigorous studies, while important options like military sites were never discussed, and Short-term Tenancy and Temporary Government Land Allocation sites were removed from the list since they are “part of [government’s] continuous work on land use review”.

### Playing with “choices”

There is a political need to add some options back after scrapping “unpalatable” ones, that explains the “overlapping” choices among the 18 options: The Kwai Tsing Terminal option was split into two, same as the River Trade Terminal option. Country Parks and Reclamation were even split into three or four “separate” choices. It is more likely you would choose *their* preferred options when there are numerous “twins” or “quadruplets” of the original choice!

### Double standard

Without critical information on distribution, size and numbers of farmland in private developers’ hands, the Task Force has already drawn early conclusion on their development potential. For those “inconvenient” options, the government would adopt a completely different approach, for instance, brownfields are described as “scattered and in irregular shapes”, again without substantiation or research. After we have published a research report on the development potential of brownfield sites in March 2018, Task Force Chairman Stanley Wong finally admitted that there were no indicators to define how the sites could be considered scattered or contiguous.

### Developers get largest share of pie

Public-private Partnership (PPP) model is in effect a subsidy programme funded by taxpayers in order to let developers make exorbitant profits which would otherwise be impossible (See page 63) . Other options (e.g. developing the Kwai Tsing Container Terminals, River Trade Terminal site etc.) also involve developers’ interest. They would definitely grasp every opportunity to make a windfall if the sites are converted to private housing.

### Price tag of PR stunts: \$12 million

In order to cover up the inevitable collusion with businesses, the Development Bureau has spent \$12 million, out of taxpayers’ pocket, to engage PR firms to arrange for public engagement exercises, including \$8 million to engage two PR firms, one of them being engaged by Carrie Lam (*A-World Consulting Ltd.*) in her electioneering for the Chief Executive, and the other being engaged by Carrie Lam’s opponent, John Tsang (*Fevaworks Solutions (Hong Kong) Ltd*). It is interesting enough that the Tsang’s “loyal” team is now serving his former opponent.

### The PR firms’ track record of distorting public opinion

A-World Consulting Ltd. was responsible for drawing up PR plans for the “Enhancing Land Supply Strategy” Public Engagement Exercise in 2011-2013. During that time, a random telephone survey was conducted to inquire Hong Kongers’ attitude towards reclamation during Stage 1 of the Public Engagement Exercise which found out that 33.6% were for and 46.6% were against it. There was a separate “online survey, self-administered questionnaire and face-to-face interview” conducted by the government, which arrived at a slightly preferred result: 49.4% for and 42.5% against reclamation.

Then in Stage 2 of the Exercise, the scope of discussion was narrowed down to the land uses of 6 specific sites proposed for reclamation. At the end, all of the 6 proposed sites were “endorsed” and have now gone through feasibility studies and planning stages.

### Property developers and policy think-tanks: the unlikely partnership

Interestingly, property developers have good relations with some policy think tanks.

“Our Hong Kong Foundation”, which was set up by the former Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa, is one of it. Our Hong Kong Foundation’s Board of Governors includes top managements from developers such as Sun Hung Kai, Henderson Land, Sino Group, etc. Stephen Wong, The Deputy Executive Director and Head of Public Policy, is also a member of the Task Force on Land Supply. In recent months, the Foundation has published several research reports to support its claim on the acute shortage of land and huge land demand, and therefore the need to commence reclamation on a massive scale.

Recently, Bauhinia Foundation Research Centre, which is led by Lau Ming-wai, also the Vice-chairman of Chinese Estate Holdings Limited, published a report based on questionnaires with loaded questions leading the interviewees to agree with the PPP model.

### A trillion-dollar business

Currently, the four largest property developers own over 1,000 hectares of farmland in the New Territories. If they are developed into medium-to-low density private residential buildings with a plot ratio of 3.5, with a 80% saleable area and being sold at \$15,000 per sq. ft., that will translate to a revenue of \$4.5 trillion dollars.

It is important to note that majority of land leases in the New Territories would expire in 2047, which is just twenty-some years away, beyond which the land status would be uncertain. It is logical to say that this PPP model is tailor-made to remove the “obstacles” to development before it is too late.

## Part 2 - The neglected land

*The government did not give basic but critical information of the land supply options such as location, distribution and current conditions of the land resources concerned. By so doing, the government could easily neglect certain types of land resources and find excuses to dissuade the public from considering their development potential. By ploughing through maps and land registry, we have identified four main types of “neglected land”—in total over 1,000 hectares, deliberately neglected by the government to justify their preferred options.*

### “Neglected land” — (1) Brownfield sites

**Total Area: 1,300 hectares**

**Neglected: 723 hectares, equivalent to 34 Taikoo Shing in terms of area**

**[What is it?]** A “*brownfield site*” usually refers to the deserted agricultural land in the New Territories which has been converted to container yards, open storages or open car parks etc.

**[What the Government Claims]** Given their scattered distribution, brownfield sites out of the planned New Development Areas (NDAs) have limited development potential.

**[The Truth Is...]** With the assistance of map tools, we have identified in total 723 hectares of “brownfield clusters” (all > 2 hectares each) which are out of any planned NDAs. Some “brownfield

clusters” are each larger than 30 hectares, which have great development potential and are not scattered.

**What if the neglected brownfields are released for development: 80,000 Public Rental Housing Units will be provided, which can house 230,000 residents.**

### “Neglected land” — (2) Government land within “Village Type Development” zone (“V” zone)

**Total Area: 900 hectares**

**Neglected: At least 108 parcels, or 34 hectares**

**[What is it?]** “*V” zones* are land primarily intended for development of small houses by indigenous male villagers (so called “Ding”) in the New Territories.

**[What the Government Claims]** A considerable portion involves empty space or passageways between existing small houses, slopes, and other fragmented or irregular land parcels. Their development potential is confined by factors such as topography, area, existing infrastructural constraints, etc..

**[The Truth Is...]** There are 108 pieces of “V” zone land which are larger than 5,380 sq. ft. each but are in idle, their total area amounts to 34 hectares. Six parcels are with area of over 1 hectare each.

**What if the neglected V zones are released for development: more community facilities for the rural population.**

### “Neglected land” — (3) Short-term Tenancy (STT) sites

**Total Area: 2,460 hectares**

**Neglected: At least 200 hectares**

**[What is it?]** The Government may grant *Short-term Tenancy (STT)* sites for temporary use of vacant government land that has no intended use in the near future. Temporary uses include fee-paying car parks, or as construction sites for relevant parties before its long term development.

**[What the Government Claims]** Most of the STT sites are granted for works related to the parcels’ long term development. Land with no long-term development is left idling as they are too small, or restricted by other environment or traffic factors.

**[The Truth Is...]** Among the STT sites in the urban areas, new town centres and rural areas close to major roads each with an area of 0.1 hectare, there are about 150 hectares currently used as fee-

charging car parks and over 50 hectares of other short-term leases used as open storage, container yards, private gardens, etc. These sites have the potential to be used for other purposes, not to mention some of them are idling.

**What if the neglected STT sites are released for development: transitional housing e.g. container homes as an affordable alternative for sub-divided units residents.**

**“Neglected land” — (4) Temporary Government Land Allocation (TGLA) sites**

**Total Area: 3,340 hectares**

**Neglected: At least 109 hectares**

**[What is it?]** “Temporary government land allocation” (TGLA) is also a kind of transitional land use arrangement, except that the tenant involved is not private entity but government agent.

**[What the Government Claims]** TGLA sites are mainly allocated for government projects (such as roads or highways) as construction sites. Usually about two-thirds of the area of this kind will eventually become part of the future facilities.

**[The Truth Is...]** The government has so far released only very limited information on TGLA sites, such that we can only examine part of these lots through map tool. Yet we have already identified about 109 hectares of land that could have better use. Some of them are now being used as makeshift office, temporary housing open storage, car parks, while others are idling.

**What if the neglected TGLA sites are released for development: more parks and community facilities building for every district.**

## Part 3 - What are the sensible considerations of a development?

*Land resources are not just about hard data such as land areas, that a target is set to pursue. Each piece of land is different, and may be suitable for different types of uses.*

*There are trees and people on the land, while development takes cost. Since the government do not provide information for consideration, we have summarised them as follow:*

### Time cost

Country Parks	Reclamation	Brownfields	Short-term Tenancy sites / Temporary Government Land Allocation sites / Urban idling government land
			
From preliminary survey to completion of first phase of site formation, it takes at least <b>15-18 years</b>	It takes an estimated <b>25-30 years</b> to complete large-scale reclamation, and is unable to meet current housing demands.	Take the example of <b>Hung Shui Kiu New Development Area</b> , which consists of 190 hectares of brownfields, it will take <b>12 years</b> from public consultation to residents moving in. If a relatively <b>small scale development</b> model (vis-a-vis the current New Town Development model) is adopted, all it takes could just be <b>2-3 years</b> for rezoning approvals from District Councils and the Town Planning Board.	The ownership belongs to the Government and the <b>land can be resumed once the tenancy has expired</b> .
<b>Amendments of the Country Park Ordinance or modification of country park boundary is required.</b>	Smaller scale reclamation like Tung Chung New Town Extension will take <b>18 years</b> before residents can finally move into the new town.	They are located at urban areas or places with transport access. There is <b>no need to spend time building additional infrastructure</b> .	
More difficulties at site formation and road works.	The supply of reclamation materials has become unstable in recent years. This may also postpone the project.		

### Pecuniary Cost

Greenbelt / Country Park	Reclamation	Brownfields	Fanling Golf Course
			
Involve <b>rezoning greenbelts</b> to public housing. Cost in site formation and infrastructure is <b>\$430 million per hectare</b> on average.	<b>East Lantau Metropolis Artificial Island (ELM)</b> : Located at the central waters, reclaiming the island involves higher cost as multiple cross-harbour roads and railways must be built to connect the island to the rest of the territory. It is estimated that the cost in reclaiming new land will be <b>\$122 billion</b> , while roads and infrastructure will cost <b>\$346.3 billion</b> . The average cost of development <b>per hectare is nearly \$470 million</b> .	Most of the brownfields were previously agricultural land. Assuming the Government will offer the highest amount of Agricultural Land Zone “A” ex-gratia compensation rate, plus the highest brownfield ex-gratia allowance (covered workshop), the total resumption cost is calculated as <b>\$150 million per hectare</b> .	The golf course is only leased to the Hong Kong Golf Club at a nominal cost of \$1,000. It will <b>incur no additional cost at all</b> to resume the land when the lease expires in 2020.
<b>Country parks</b> are usually located at more sloppy locations with even less road access, these two options will involve <b>higher cost of site formation</b> and road construction.	<b>Near-shore Reclamation</b> : The Tung Chung New Town Extension will involve creating new land and infrastructure, at a cost of <b>\$159 million per hectare on average</b> .	Usually there are industry operations on the brownfields, which means <b>site formation and road access should not be a concern</b> .	The Dongjiang water pipe underneath will need to be detoured to accommodate this change, incurring another \$300 million. Along with the cost such as roads construction and <b>infrastructure, the estimated cost is \$50 million per hectare</b> .
	Shortage of marine sand may increase the cost of reclamation further by 30 to 40%.		

### Environmental cost

Brownfields	Agricultural land reserve of private developers
	
Developing brownfields will <b>provide an opportunity to remediate the existing pollution and rectify environment planning</b> . This will make the land more compatible with the environment and community.	Part of them are active and arable agricultural land which has higher ecological value and are still producing food.
	Should the government allow rezoning or offer ex-gratia compensation, the developers will be induced to hoard more agricultural land. This will further <b>damage the rural environment</b> .
<b>Social cost</b>	
<b>Fanling Golf Course</b> 	<b>Country Parks</b> 
Currently <b>only 2,600 members can use the facility often</b>	They are <b>now opened to 7 million Hong Kongers for leisure and nature education purposes free of charge</b> . In 2016, attendance of country parks amounted to 13 million.
The land is huge and is suitable for developing large-scale public housing estate, benefiting the general public.	Should developments are allowed in the country parks, its plot ratio can only allow low-density development, which means very few people can benefit from the development.

## Safeguarding land value

Lam Chiu-ying,

Adjunct Professor, Department of Geography and Resource Management, CUHK and member of Citizens Task Force on Land Resources

After decades of brainwashing by developers, many people in Hong Kong believe that “development” and “real estate” are synonyms. There goes a saying that land is the “flour” / “raw material” for baking “bread” / “flats”. As such, land is conceived as a precious commodity that pricing is calculated per sq.ft. Fewer people will associate “land” to agriculture with productivity, park for leisure, greenbelt for regulating the climate, pleasant scenery, or countryside which provides recreation etc. In fact, “land” is **performing diverse social functions**, such that its “**value**” for citizens has far exceeded its “**price**” which is measured in monetary terms.

Safeguarding the value of land is the only way to ensure that our future generations can enjoy the benefits of land as we do at this very moment. This is the basis of sustainable future. Buildings construction will permanently destroy the natural landscape and ecology of land, while diversified values such as agriculture and recreation will disappear permanently. Buildings construction also means that land value for all Hong Kong citizens will be sacrificed but a few can pocket a one-time monetary revenue through real estate trading. This is not fair and is a violation of the principle of sustainable development.

Before we have town planning, human beings have in life practice populated in due course. They established cities and towns and have ferreted out the best city development model already. **Expanding outward from the fringes of an existing town is the most efficient course of action with multiple merits. Various infrastructures are available, meaning a lower construction cost. People have better chance to find a job in the same district and they can spend less in transport.**

The expansion of the scope of town will inevitably involve those land which has been planned for various land use. This encompasses agricultural land, village development area, government institution sites, greenbelt, country parks and conservation area etc. Here we must judge and balance the ideal planning layout and the impact on various land. The parameters for consideration include time needed for development, monetary cost, overall benefits to the public, the price of damages etc. The crux is short-term “profit” must not be reaped at the expenses of permanent “value”. **Once the nature is sabotaged, its value for human being will vanish for good. Therefore, country parks and artificial islands should not be accepted as development options. Brownfields have already lost its natural value. So, they are the best choice for housing development.**

## Part 4 - Re-evaluating the development mode

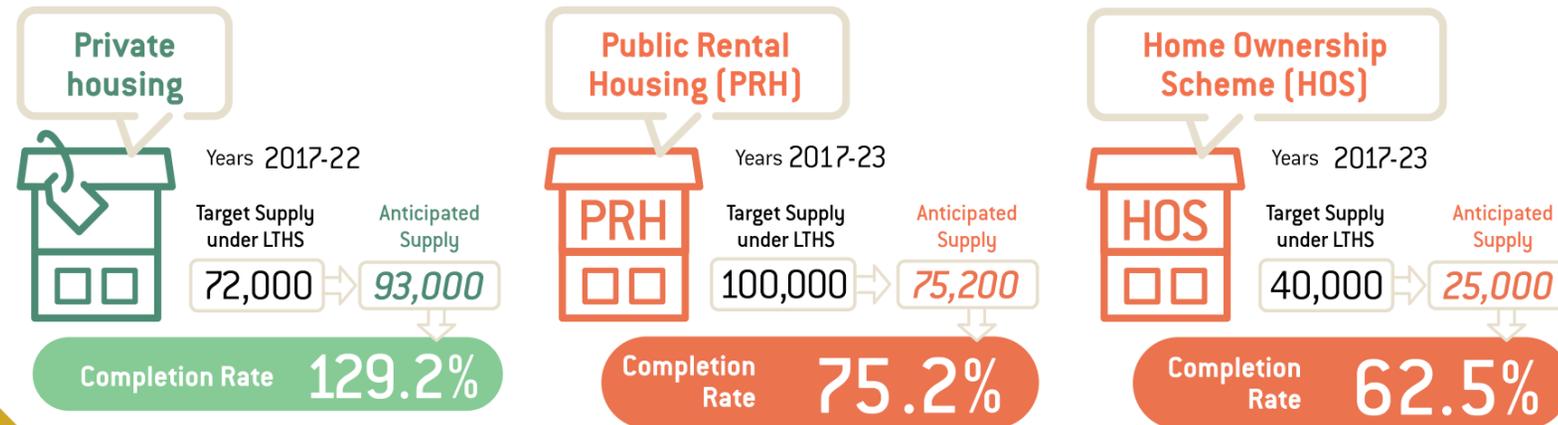
It is always important to ask the question: “Development for whom?” The current development mode shall never solve the “pricey, tiny and cramped” housing condition that the government has vowed to solve. The real agenda behind is to satisfy the interests of the developers.

### Housing development: prioritising private housing over public

Between 2006 and 2016, the flat production of public housing only rose by 0.72% per year, while that of private housing rose by 1.31% per year, almost two times of the increase in public housing supply. The overall ratio of public housing (including Public Rental Housing (PRH) and Home Ownership Scheme (HOS) flats) among all housing stocks has also been gradually decreasing to 43.4% in 2016. **It is obvious that the housing development trend is tilted to the unaffordable private market.**

### 60:40 ratio for public-to-private housing - just a theory?

The government published the “Long Term Housing Strategy” (LTHS) in 2014 setting out ratio of public/private flat production at 60:40. However, in the past two years, **flat production in the public sector was far below the target**, while that of the counterparts in private market achieved nearly 90% of the target. The government also foresees that in the coming years, total flat production of private housing would surpass the target by 30% but public housing flat production would still lag behind, **just 75.2% for Public Rental Housing and 62.5% for Home Ownership Scheme flats.**



The government blames the acute public housing shortage on the land supply shortage, but is unwilling to reveal that fact that **60% of new land to be formed in the NDAs in the coming years will be channeled to private housing developments**, while turning a blind eye to the public housing waiting list which is getting longer every day.

	Land reserved for public rental housing and HOS flats, in hectares (percentage)	Land reserved for private developments, in hectares (percentage)
Yuen Long South	19 (31.7%)	41 (68.3%)
Kai Tak	14 (35.9%)	25 (64.1%)
Tung Chung New Town Extension	29 (36.3%)	51 (63.7%)
Hung Shui Kiu	31.5 (39.4%)	48.5 (60.6%)
Kwu Tung North and Fanling North	42.8 (49.5%)	43.6 (50.5%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>136.3 (39.5%)</b>	<b>209.1 (60.5%)</b>

### Reclamation not for soothing housing crisis

The government describes the environmentalists opposing reclamation as being selfish because they are ignorant to the needs of people who are living in substandard housing. But we should be mindful that production of land does not automatically translates to better housing. The five near-shore reclamation sites, namely Sunny Bay, Lung Kwu Tan, Ma Liu Shui, Siu Ho Wan and Tsing Yi Southwest, would involve a **site area of nearly 500 hectares in total, but only providing few thousand public rental housing flats**. The absolute majority of reclaimed land has nothing to do with housing: leisure, entertainment, tourism development, “special industries”, “advanced technology and knowledge-based industries”, data centres, laboratories, etc.

### Speculation in private property market getting out of hand

While the supply of subsidised housing is far below the target, there is also lack of effective measures to separate speculators / investors and genuine users in private property market. Particularly for first-hand small-sized private units (400 sq. ft. or below), **60% of the flats are non-owner occupied**. Such types of units were at least affordable housing choices in the past, but now encroached by speculation or investment.

### “Hong Kong property for Hong Kong residents” - a nominal policy trying to curb investment

Hong Kong property market is serving not only the local speculators but also the super-riches from Mainland China. This is just sacrificing the local flat supply for investors.

We have found that among the four new property developments in **Kai Tak** which is now the largest development in the urban area, 24% out of the total 2,457 units have been suspected to be bought by mainlanders based on the buyers’ English surnames. It is therefore **suspected that 1 in every 4 units were bought by mainlanders**. For some newer developments, units which have been suspected to be bought by mainlanders even amount to about 33%.

### Public-private Partnership for luxurious development casting a death spell to farmlands

In the current consultation, one of the most preferred land supply options of the government is tapping into the 1,000+ hectares of private agricultural land reserve in the New Territories held by property developers.

It is because the farmlands are so ecologically fragile with limited road access, or the proposed residential developments are simply incompatible with the surrounding environment, that the applications were rejected in the past. **They are simply not developable by today’s standard, unless they change the rules of the game.**

### Public-private Partnership - how to make big and easy money

- Developers snapped remote farmlands in the New Territories at dirt cheap prices years ago, as low as a single digit for a sq. ft.
- After getting hold of a sizeable number of land lots, developers apply to the Town Planning Board (TPB) to rezone the farmlands into residential uses.
- After considering ecological impact, traffic impacts and other negative impacts to the neighbourhood by the proposed development, the application was rejected.
- The developer repeat step 3, while at the same time expropriating farmers and destroy the fragile ecology on site, in a hope to increase the likelihood of getting the application approved. [At present, only half of the 220 pending rezoning applications of farmland to residential uses have been processed, there are still 110 farmland conversion proposals due to be scrutinized by the TPB]
- Here it comes the saviour: the new Public-private Partnership Scheme!**
  - [Government]** Improving road access by building infrastructure, out of everybody’s pocket;
  - [Developers]** Promising to build a “certain number” of “affordable” housing in return.
- Considering the “public interest” looked after by the proposed rezoning, TPB may approve the development that was otherwise impossible. At the end of the day,
  - [Developers]** Could cash in the investment by selling the luxurious apartment at whopping prices;
  - [Government]** Might have increased housing supply for only those who could afford. The proposed “Starter Homes” the government get in turn from the developers have to be sold at a small discount price that is pegged with skyrocketing market prices, which are still unlikely to be affordable to the majority;
  - [Farmland]** The productive farmland once nourished Hong Kong people by its fresh produce are gone forever;

**[The public]** With better road access, the development potential of the nearby farmlands are unlocked, followed by increasing land and housing prices in the neighbourhood driven by investment, it is in turn that the public at large who suffers the most.

### Government: avoiding land resumption for public housing at all cost

According to the *Lands Resumption Ordinance (Cap. 124)*, or the *LRQ*, it is justified to resume private land in the name of public interest. It is self-explanatory to say that building public housing is for public interest, so if we are to develop those farmland, **it is absurd to provide leeway for developers to realise their speculation**, while there is a better alternative to build on their land to provide public housing. There has been numerous precedent of resuming private land for public housing to look upon from our experience of developing new towns, but the government chose to ignore them and claimed that they have no justification and power to invoke the *LRQ* to resume private land before the relevant “public purpose” is established.

## Influx of hot money: the real culprit behind skyrocketing property prices

Edward Yiu Chung-yim, member of the Hong Kong Institute of Surveyors and member of Citizens Task Force on Land Resources

In the last decade, Hong Kong property prices have soared by 250%. The persistent ascension has made the city the world's most unaffordable place in terms of housing costs. Although the Chief Executive Carrie Lam reiterated enhancing land and property supply, she admitted in an interview that home prices are escalating due to some other main reasons. That is the reason why a surge in supply may not necessarily rein in the red-hot property market.

A host of local and international studies point out that mounting home prices are ascending mostly because of influx of hot money, which is spurred by a long stretch of negative real interest rate. As overwhelming money supply is leading to competition of scarce resources, home buyers will tend to rush into the market since people expect home prices to climb further. Chow and Xie [2016][1] discovered in a study on Singapore's property market a close relationship between home prices elevation and capital inflow; Yiu and Sahminan [2017][2] and Cheung et al. [2017][3] also concluded that influx of hot money is resulting in home prices lifting in five Asian economies.

Due to negative real interest rate, hot money is flowing into Hong Kong feverishly. According to Hong Kong Monetary Authority's 2016 statistics[4], over the last decade, over HK\$1,000 billion of hot money have cumulatively entered the territory. Analysts estimate that hot money from China flowing into Hong Kong in 2017 amounted to over HK\$200 billion[5].

It is a hard fact that in recent years Mainland Chinese capital are flooding Hong Kong. The hot money is used to bid Hong Kong land at an exorbitant level, effectively shooting up land price[6]. Hot money chose to flow into Hong Kong mainly because Hong Kong has continued its negative real interest rates since 2008. As Hong Kong adopts Linked Exchange Rate System and is an open economy, the Government cannot utilise tools such as interest rates to regulate capital flow, making asset prices swell constantly.

The tiny place of Hong Kong is now swamped with hot money from all over the world. These money can speculate in Hong Kong property at liberty. The Government's attempt to curb rising home prices through increasing supply, therefore, is like adding fuel to the fire.

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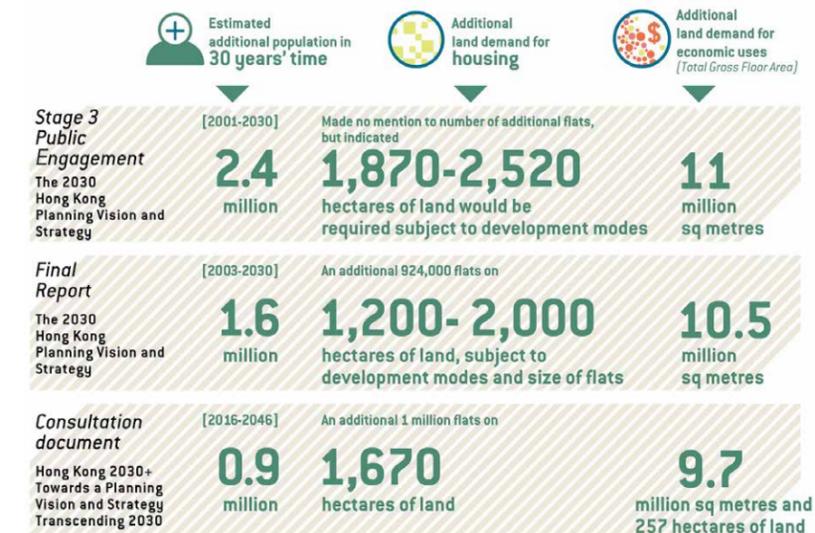
## Part 5 - Gambling by wild “guestimation”

### From figures padding to land grabbing

The government justifies its ambitious figure on land demand by population forecasts. Yet, previous projections of medium- to long-term population growth were hardly accurate. For instance, a forecast in 2000 has overestimated the growth in 11 years and 16 years by 538,000 and 700,000 respectively, where the latter is equal the capacity of two NDAs.

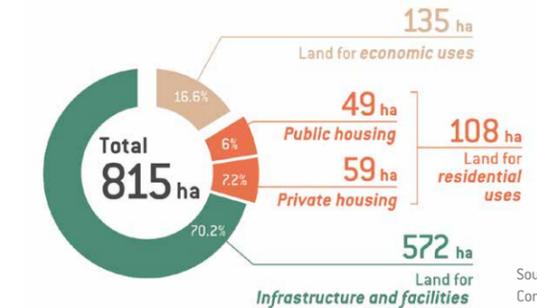
In 2001, the Hong Kong 2030 Planning Vision and Strategy (The 2030 Study) estimated that there will be 9.2 million residents by 2030, which was tuned down to 8.4 million and then 8.2 million after widespread criticisms. This puts the accuracy of long-term population estimation in doubt, including the current “HK2030+” Strategy (The 2030+ Study) which put the estimated population by 2046 at 8.22 million.

As to the *2030 Study*, it is interesting to note that no matter how different the projection figures in different planning studies are, the projected land demand figures changed little. How “flexible” the projected population figures can be in order to justify the development proposals already in government's mind?



### Anatomizing land demand figures

#### Estimated overall shortfall of land up to 2026



Source: Taskforce and Land Supply Consultation Document

The government emphasised the need to enhance land supply with a view to tackle housing crisis. But one would become suspicious after looking into the shortage figures. Among the 815 hectares shortfall of land supply in the coming 8 years, **only 6% would go to public housing**, majority of the remaining shortfall goes to infrastructure and facilities.

Even factoring in private housing, there will only be 108 hectares of shortfall related to housing needs. **It is already sufficient to resume the 172-hectares Fanling Golf Course upon its expiry of lease in 2020 to satisfy the housing needs.**

### The inexplicable “Major Special Facilities”

The largest portion of the proposed supply and estimated shortfall are contributed by “Government, Institution & Community, Open Space and Transportation Facilities”, whereas less than half is allocated to population-related facilities, and the remaining goes to “Major Special Facilities”. The government gives no details beyond the above to justify the estimation, and this further invite questions such as the following:

#### 305 hectares: 9 more Disneylands?

There needs to be an additional 245 hectares of “Open Space” for Hong Kong, according to the 2030+ Study. At the same time, another 250 hectares land is reserved for “Recreation & leisure facilities” under “Special Facilities”, in which we can build 9 more Disneylands (28 hectares each).

#### 130 hectares: the sewage from nowhere

130 hectares of land was reserved for Sewage Treatment Works. Currently the Sha Tin Treatment Works, which occupies 28 hectares of land, serves 630,000 living in new towns. With the projected additional 870,000 population by 2046 in Hong Kong, it is hard to imagine why we need to build 4 additional sewage treatment plants.

### 75 hectares of columbarium: reserving niches up to the year of 2103?

75 hectares of land would be enough to provide 4.76 million niches according to the density of two existing columbaria in Tuen Mun and Cape Collinson (63,431 niches per hectare). The average number of cremation in the next 20 years is estimated at 56,000 per year, we can surely rest in peace as this thoughtful government has already reserved a place for Hong Kongers passing away in the next 85 years!

### Hong Kong as the animal testing hub?

The government is extremely generous in allocating land for innovation and technology: 320 hectares reserved for “special industries”, industrial estates and science park, total area exceeding all existing related facilities combined (263 hectares). In the 2018-2019 Budget, the government proposed to earmark \$50 million for developing innovation technology, including funding for infrastructure and facilities for the Hong Kong Science and Technology Parks Corporation.

However, a Legislative Council member found out that **the relevant funding would be used to set up animal testing labs**. According to the Food and Health Bureau, **there are 188,000 animals being used in testing, including cats and dogs, an 81% increase from 2013**. Is it possible that the land would end up in the hands of animal laboratories? The government should come clean and disclose the breakdown of the land demand.

### Housing needs are being overestimated

#### Land supply reliance on rural low density

The 2030+ Study claims that a million new residential units should be provided by 2046. When converting the demands into land area, **the paper assumes an average residential plot ratio of 3.6, much lower than the average residential plot ratio for Hung Shui Kiu New Development Area of 5.5 to 6.5**.

#### Can you afford a \$8-million flat?

The government assumes that the average size of private residential units will be 807 sq. ft. in the future. However, according to a study by C&SD, it is forecasted that the figure will further drop to 2.7 after 2026, further boosting demand on small-sized flats, not to mention medium-sized flats will be less affordable to small families.

#### Manipulating figures to fool the public

When drawing up development plans, the government has been seen to manipulating plot ratios and building density in order to exaggerate land demand. One example is the 172-hectares Fanling Golf Course. It was claimed that even the “Full Development Option” can only provide 13,200 flats for 37,000 residents (Golf course being 8 times of the size of Taikoo Shing, 35,000+ residents).

### How much land do we actually need for a million housing units?



\*Contingent on 60:40 ratio between public and private housing

Source of information: Tom Yam, Independent Management Consultant, member of Citizens Task Force on Land Resources

### A demand projection that is built on sand

Prior to the public consultation, some pro-government think tanks and property developers claimed that the “actual” land shortage is well over 1,200 hectares. Our Hong Kong Foundation even claimed that the shortage is 9,080 hectares. **After series of “bombardment”, an anonymous government official yielded and agreed that the 1,200 hectares shortage projection base on the 2030+ Study was too “conservative”,** and that we will need much more than that.

To avoid “confusion”, the Development Bureau said they **won’t release the “true” figure during the consultation period. So what is the point for the current exercise?** Such an unconscientious act of discarding a commissioned consultancy study for political convenience is not a responsible act.

The government has defended the decision by saying that the 2030+ Study did not take into account of the additional land demand arising from “people’s wishes to live better”, as well as elderly care, health care and social services. However, the latter three have been taken into account in the original report. And more importantly, social service expansion requires careful planning (such as specific facilities targeting a specific need of a neighbourhood) but we have yet to see any relevant policies or strategies that will be implemented in the years to come to justify the padding of land demand figures. It is a legitimate concern whether the additional land created would really help those people in need.

## Part 6 - Debunking the myths for the “big debate” on land

**Myth #1: Pricey, tiny, cramped? Let’s increase land supply! This is the only way to increase housing supply and hence a better living environment for all.**

**Debunked #1:** There were 2.75 million residential flats in Hong Kong in 2017, which has exceeded the total number of domestic households by 200,000. Hence, **we don’t have a shortage of housing supply, but an uneven distribution of land and housing resources**. For instance, the average living space per person living in sub-divided flats was just a mere 48 sq. ft. This is partly contributed by the fact that we do not have a legislation on average living space. It is obvious: increasing land supply does not guarantee a larger living space!

**Myth #2: Building on agricultural land via a Public-private Partnership (PPP) model is a fast track to increasing housing supply in short-term. It is more preferable than land resumption by the government, which might invite judicial reviews.**

**Debunked #2:** **By definition, the PPP model must involve a certain degree of cherry-picking and hence collusion.** This will not change no matter how “independent” agencies overlooking the PPP mechanism are designed. It will also probably involve relaxation of existing town planning mechanisms, for the benefits of developers and speculators.

**There is an obvious alternative of invoking the Lands Resumption Ordinance (LRO) (Cap. 124) to take back the land from developers’ hands and using it to build public rental housing,** otherwise they would most likely be turned into private development which will be sold for astronomical prices. There were precedent judicial reviews challenging the invocation of the LRO to resume private land for public purposes, but they were being denied or turned down by the courts.

**Myth #3: Brownfield sites are not idle. They are home to many existing operations that are essential to our city, like port back-up facilities. All brownfield sites that can be developed have already been included in existing development programmes, and we cannot do much to the remaining brownfield sites, as they are scattered or lack of road access.**

**Debunked #3:** Using map tools, Liber Research Community has identified **723 hectares of brownfield sites that are neglected by existing development programmes. They are neither scattered, remote or without road access.** Using just one-third of them, the government can provide 84,000 medium-to-low density public rental housing units for rehousing all of the current sub-divided flat residents; the remaining two-third can be restored to greenfield, or be used to relocate existing brownfield operations systematically.

Brownfields is an obvious alternative to develop agricultural land in developers’ hands by PPP, since there are already road networks (hence they were turned into brownfields), while we have to invest for road networks if we go for the latter.

**Myth #4: There are a huge demand in both public and private housing sector. A balance is struck at a public/private split of 60:40.**

**Debunked #4: The public/private split of 60:40 is actually meaning the split of housing units, NOT the split of site area.** It is not hard to imagine: size of a public rental housing unit is likely to be smaller than their private counterparts. As a result, **land allocated to public housing is less than 40%, is this the so-called “firm commitment” to tackle housing crisis?** We must also clarify what “public housing” means in the current context, because it seems that the government is trying to blur its definition by including “starter homes” (built and sold by private developers), which are out-of-touch with the needy (eligible applicants must have a minimum monthly household income of \$52,000).

We must resist “privatisation of public land”, and set the a clear and definite rule on land allocation, for instance, a site area split of 60:40 to ensure the resources end up in the hands of the needies, but not only the rich.

### Back to square one- what is a good planning?

A million-dollar question: why is the government only talking about land supply, but not why and for whom? Indeed, what we need is a good planning, but not a hasty planning with agenda and pretext:

#### Step 1 : Set out the city vision and holistic direction

- review the existing policy
- set out the vision of city development
- make accurate forecast on demand

#### Step 2: Stock-take land resources

- release all land information to public
- locate all the under-utilised sites
- review the current land allocation mechanism

**Step 3: Set out priority in land development**

- study the development cost of various options
- assess the environmental and social impacts
- seek consensus in the principles of identifying land supply options

**Step 4: Constantly review and improve development strategies**

- assess the need of society
- emphasise living quality and distributive justice
- review the pros and cons of development options
- improve community engagement and decision-making mechanism

*“.....the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from the question of what kind of people we want to be, what kinds of social relations we seek, what relations to nature we cherish, what style of life we desire, what aesthetic values we hold.”*

*David Harvey, (2012).*

Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution

## Gathering our strength

In recent years, there is a trend of decimating objections to government proposals in public engagement exercises. The objections, irregardless of the number received, are often “summarised” or “nullified” into a single submission, in order to strike a “balance” between it and the supportive opinions.

To counter this over-manipulative practice, Liber Research Community will work hand in hand with the civil society to initiate our own version of public engagement exercise, which will truly reflect our thinking and concerns towards the land and housing problems. For details, please subscribe to our facebook page, or contact us by the following means:

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編著：本土研究社

設計：Making on Loft

出版：本土研究社(香港)有限公司

出版日期：2018年5月

圖書分類：香港專題 / 社會科學

ISBN 978-988-14095-4-6



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