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3 The rise of professionalism

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The previous chapter discussed the way heritage assets have been documented and protected in the first stages of the CHM approaches identified in the Pearl River Delta. This chapter focuses on aspects of their care in the last fifteen years. The nature of the pressure arising out of rapid economic growth on heritage assets will be examined, and the imperative of each city to establish a unique cultural identity in China’s latest transitional phase will be highlighted. How these localities within China have dealt with and are dealing with change and the maintenance of core cultural values is examined closely.

Key economic, political and social characteristics

The case study cities have changed their perspectives on heritage and its utilization since the enactment of initial heritage legislation and establishment of associated government authorities to administer it. In recent years, a number of events and activities have stimulated and prevented improvements in CHM in the case study cities. In particular, heritage and its management have been closely influenced by debates about the three cities’ respective cultural identity and how it is linked to economic development. As the heritage analyst Barbara Bender once commented, heritage is ‘never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate it and contest it. It is part of the way identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group or national state’ (Bender in Harvey, 2001: 336). Alternatively, UNESCO’s Regional Advisor for Culture in Asia and the Pacific, Richard Engelhardt, notes that ‘in this stormy world, we rely on our heritage to anchor us to the ethical values we have evolved and which we call our cultures’ (Engelhardt, 2004).

Hong Kong’s experience of being a part of the ‘motherland’ has been ambivalent at times. Hong Kong survived the challenge of the Asian economic downtown that occurred almost immediately after the handover from British to mainland Chinese control in 1997. Although the downturn has had a more direct impact on the lives of the populace, the handover
was a cause for concern in that it meant possible change to civil, social and economic freedoms with the implementation of the new Basic Law. The passing of colonial control has allowed some examination of cultural identity in retrospect and in present-day public life (du Cros, 2004). Meanwhile, Macau’s official line is that everyone is now ‘Macanese’ culturally, a special mixture of cultural groups that is unique to Macau. It is a mixture that has developed over a longer colonial period than that for Hong Kong, which still classifies non-Chinese born in Hong Kong as part of the expatriate population. ‘Macanese’ is a term that appears to be used differently depending on to whom one is speaking in Macau. However, schools in both cities are now apprehensive about the politically correct way to approach teaching colonial history. Guangzhou considers itself in competition with other Chinese cities on the mainland for resources, tourism and investment. Developing a unique cultural identity can help it ‘benchmark’ itself in this environment, and it has been included in policy more for economic rationalist reasons than for a great concern over cultural diversity or cultural heritage.

After the handover, Hong Kong began promoting an image of itself to outsiders as a progressive and predominantly Chinese cosmopolitan society (Culture and Heritage Commission, 2002). It is a myth or impression that the government and its advisory bodies are trying to present, not just to outsiders, but also to its own population in order for them to feel more secure about their identity and place in relation to mainland China. Although Hong Kong has a British colonial history, it could be argued that it is far from cosmopolitan, with over ninety-five per cent of the population being ethnic Chinese, many of whom do not speak another language besides Cantonese or Mandarin. Meanwhile, cities on the mainland itself, like Guangzhou, have no such qualms.

It could be argued that Hong Kong is incapable of establishing its own national myths as it has gone from being a colony of one country to being a semi-independent territory of another. However, any community can develop its myths or any self-governing territory its ‘national’ myth during the de-colonization process. In fact myth-making is often an important tool used by revolutionaries (e.g., maintaining social cohesion in Vietnam after the war).

Nevertheless, Hong Kong is earnestly seeking one to underpin its cultural identity. Cultural identity can be defined as a ‘snapshot of unfolding meanings relating to self-nomination or ascription by others... it relates nodal points in cultural meaning, most notably class, gender, race, ethnicity, nation and age’ (Barker in du Cros, 2004: 154). It can be expressed through symbols and discourses so that the national myths of city-states are not only established to support political and economic ideals, but also to be tools of cultural representation. These representations, when mixed with
loaded symbols, can evoke a passionate response from members of society as it clashes with some aspects of their cultural identity – one that is private and not based on the publicly fostered national myth.

In Hong Kong, the colonial period set the scene for current attitudes to cultural and heritage management. The end of British rule came officially at midnight on 30 June 1997. The colonial derived legislation has been shown in the previous chapter to have certain deficiencies. Alternatively, the market liberalization process and administrative reforms in China have had a major impact on CHM over a longer period. Its economy is on an accelerating trajectory to a full market economy, further boosted by China's accession into the World Trade Organization in December 2001.

Market liberalization comprises three major sub-processes: the correction of market disequilibria, the privatization of state-owned enterprises and services; and international trade liberalization (Kirkpatrick and Lee, 1997). Such liberalization necessarily requires massive restructuring away from a previously closed and tightly government-regulated economy. The economy of the People's Republic of China has already undergone a dramatic reform and growth since the liberalization process was initiated by Deng Xiao-Ping's 'Open Door' policy in 1978. A study by the World Bank in 1997 found that China's economic growth in the 1980s and early 1990s was the fastest in global economic history (Campanella et al., 2002). Its recent accession into the World Trade Organization (WTO) will further accelerate its growth and the liberalization process. Changes associated with both are considered likely to have an impact on China's stewardship of heritage assets.

In connection with this transformation, privatization of some cultural heritage government agencies and the impact of this on the training and careers of bureaucrats will be explored for Guangzhou. The creation of civil society in the West that has accompanied such economic change requires the production and availability of professionals who come from a university background (Freidson, 1994). However, China's Communist Party has been historically apprehensive of intellectual elites and the potential power they might wield. It is an interesting question as to how far university arts faculties on the mainland and even those established in earlier colonial times for Hong Kong and Macau will be allowed to go, to train heritage professionals to think critically in order to contribute more to the modern world than just their fields of technical expertise.

This section will examine whether opportunities for self-expression and activism in relation to the retention of heritage assets have opened up as a result of this process in the three cities, particularly in Guangzhou, a city that was one of the first to open up to global influences after the Cultural Revolution, and one that continues to court foreign exchange
Increased professionalism

The need for greater technical expertise and critical thinking in this phase is usually underpinned by mutually agreed sets of professional principles and ethics. This is a feature of many local approaches to CHM in Western countries. It marks the change towards a more heritage specific administration that can follow a proactive policy of heritage management with a long-term vision for conservation (the conservation perspective). Mature CHM is more than just trying to maintain the status quo and certainly not a reaction-based management system. Vision, leadership and long-term
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Planning should ensure that priorities are set to allow heritage assets to be enjoyed by future as well as by present generations. CH managers who are also heritage professionals with such a purpose should be able to follow a logical process to manage their duties. They can be employed in the public or private sector or even by non-governmental organizations. Heritage professionals could also become increasingly common in the private sector as consultants, whether they have worked previously in the public sector or not. NGOs that may employ heritage professionals for CHM-related work include indigenous, tourism or conservation organizations. What they all usually have in common is a concern with maintaining professional standards and ethics, along with some university-based training in a heritage-related discipline.

Opportunities for locally established professional training can affect how CH managers and other heritage professionals undertake their duties. Also, the influence of international and regional heritage IGOs and NGOs for professionals can be important in relation to what kind of principles they apply to heritage management projects. UNESCO and ICOMOS, the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM – established in Italy by UNESCO in the early 1960s) have an extensive influence on the development of CHM internationally. UNESCO's conventions and declarations have varying impact on government policies regarding heritage assets for sovereign states that are signatories. The use of ICOMOS- and ICOM-generated codes of conservation practice, establishment of university-level training and standards for professional practice and accountability can have implications for the kinds of CHM found in the case study cities. Some minor administrative restructuring and indications of greater sophistication in the undertaking of routine activities are also of interest in this context, such as inventorying heritage items and dealing with other government departments. All these factors will be analysed and compared in this section in order to define unique local characteristics. The notional model for CHM applied in this book has no set order for the appearance of sub-indicator activities and so a roughly chronological approach will be undertaken here when activities are not happening concurrently. It should also be remembered that it is likely that many such activities are still ongoing. In particular, many NGOs for heritage professionals are still debating what ethics to follow, and new charters or principles are added as the framework continues to evolve.

Training available for heritage professionals in the Pearl River Delta

The development of heritage-related professions (public and private) has been intermittent in the Pearl River Delta, and so many CH managers in
the area have received training overseas. There have been problems associated with the area's attitude to intellectuals or colonial policies that have had a direct or indirect impact on locally available tertiary courses in particular. In relation to the core heritage management disciplines of public archaeology, architectural conservation and public history, their integration within a university environment has not gone smoothly. There are clear political, historical, economic and cultural reasons for the current situation which will be explored briefly in relation to a number of key universities. This is a phase that all cities are still struggling with in some way.

**Guangzhou's tertiary sector**

The oldest university in Guangzhou is Zhongshan University, originally known as Guangdong University. It is also one of the oldest of its kind in China. It was founded in 1924 by Dr Sun Yat-sen (also known as Sun Zhongshan), the founder of modern China. It was renamed Zhongshan University in 1926 in commemoration of Dr Sun after his death. It is also known outside of China as Sun Yat Sen University.

The 1930s saw rapid developments in the university which in 1931 had five Schools (Arts, Law, Science, Agriculture, and Medicine). It established the Engineering School in 1934, together with the Graduate School which began to take in graduate students in 1935. During the Second World War, the university was forced to move from one place to another, to Luoding in Guangdong, to Chengjiang in Yunnan, and to Pingshi, Dongjiang, and Lianxian County in Guangdong. It was moved back to Shi Pai, Guangzhou in 1945 when the war was over.

In 1952, the university was restructured to conform to the nationwide plans for reorganizing schools and departments under the new Communist government. As a result, the Schools of Engineering, Agriculture, Medicine and the Teachers' College were separated from Zhongshan University, which was then made into a comprehensive university specializing in the liberal arts and sciences. In the same year it moved from Shipai to Kangleyuan, the present Guangzhou Southern Campus (Sun Yat Sen University, 2005).

In the province of Guangdong, the only institution involved in architectural conservation is the South China University of Technology. Its work in conservation began with the work of Lu Yuan Ding, who at the time was the Director of Architectural History within the Department of Architecture. His focus lay more on the typology of historic buildings and the building form. His student, Cheng Jian Jun, is now also heavily involved in conservation. Cheng's focus lies more on the materials and techniques in architectural conservation. Cheng does not conduct formal training on this subject. Like other professors who have an interest in conservation
matters, he conducts informal studio groups for students. The students can then participate in conservation projects under the guidance of such professors. Conservation projects are usually those tendered by the government authorities as contracts.  

Archaeology has been formally recognized by the tertiary sector for a while throughout China. It had been established as an undergraduate major at Beijing University in 1952 and then at another ten universities, including Zhongshan University. The latter conducted courses in archaeology within its history department. This reflected the discipline’s early obsession with confirming the details of historical documents with tangible evidence (Lu, 2002). Zhongshan University established a separate Department of Anthropology with a major in archaeology in 1981, one of the earliest departments outside of Beijing (Chiao, 1993). Tracey Lu (now at the Chinese University of Hong Kong) was taught in its Department of History and was one of their first archaeology students after the Cultural Revolution.  

**Hong Kong’s tertiary sector**

The Chinese University of Hong Kong first ran anthropology undergraduate courses in the Department of Sociology in 1973. They were initially taught by Barbara Ward from Cambridge University, who had been visiting Hong Kong for nearly 30 years before that to undertake field recording. The Department of Anthropology then became an independent unit in 1980 (Chiao, 1993). Archaeology started at this institution within the Anthropology Department with Tracey Lu in 2000, but not as a full independent degree. In the same year, Hilary du Cros started teaching courses on archaeology and on cultural tourism. These courses were given between 2000 and 2005 within the Department of Geography at the University of Hong Kong, which had also been the home of Solomon Bard’s field schools in the 1970s and Father Finn’s archaeological courses in the 1930s. The courses have had some impact on graduates that have taken archaeology courses offered at the Chinese University of Hong Kong or the University of Hong Kong, as some of them have subsequently been employed by the Antiquities and Monuments Office.  

Courses in Chinese history, languages and culture had been a feature of Hong Kong’s universities prior to the Second World War. The University of Hong Kong was the first to establish an Arts Faculty. A history of the university states that it was ‘the only institution in China with Medical, Engineering and Arts faculties in which the degrees were comparable to that obtainable in London’ (HKU pamphlet, 1913). The university originally hoped to become a key institution training civil servants for China, but this option was closed off in the 1920s. The vision was for an Oxbridge
equivalent, but with a heavy emphasis on producing graduates for the public service and professions (The Newspaper Ltd, 1933).9

The university was officially opened in 1911, but an Arts Faculty was not included until 1913 at the request of the Chinese community (Lugard, 1910). Even so, it originally covered economics, chemistry, physics, mathematics, history, and English and Chinese languages and literature (HKU pamphlet, 1913). Lugard’s vision for the university was also strictly secular and apolitical. Apparently, subjects like philosophy, political economy and abstract science were perceived to possess the potential to cause unrest amongst the indigenous populations of British imperial territories and they were therefore not offered in the university. This decision was probably also influenced by the fact that problems had occurred in India, which was at that time still a colonial possession (Chan and Cunich, 2002).Y

Between 1913 and 1966, the Chair for the Chinese Department was held by a mixture of Chinese and overseas scholars. From 1966 onwards, the Chair’s occupants included Professors Lo Hsiang-lin, Ma Meng, Ho Peng Yoke and Chiu Ling Yeong. Professor Lo was a graduate of a private Guangzhou University and he moved to Hong Kong in 1949 and was an influential member of the first Antiquities Advisory Board (School of Chinese, 2006, Chu Hai College, 2006). Before he died in May 1978, he was a vocal advocate on the Board for the preservation of both Western and Chinese historic buildings.11 Concern about such buildings and their history has also been shown by those in other Asian and Chinese Studies departments and centres in Hong Kong and Macau.12

The university established the School of Architecture in 1950. Architecture students were encouraged to document colonial architecture, and this had, for example, led to the production of a report on Murray House in 1967.13 When David Lung returned to Hong Kong after gaining a postgraduate degree in architecture from Oregon University in 1978, he was the first to set up courses on traditional Chinese architecture as the department turned its research focus towards Hong Kong.14

David Lung was also the first director of the Architecture Conservation Master’s and Graduate Diploma Programme initiated in 2000 by the department. This is the first course specifically on architectural conservation established in Hong Kong that draws on international best practice principles. Its purpose is to encourage graduates in heritage-related fields to upgrade their professional skills in a way that views CHM as a system. It offers more than practical experience in conservation planning by giving its students an intellectual framework within which to base their work. It has also established an informal network of students, alumni, lecturers and guest lecturers through which news about heritage management events, such as conferences and seminar can be disseminated. In 2005, this course
was complemented by a continuing education certificate programme focused specifically on CHM and offered through the university's School of Professional and Continuing Education (SPACE). This programme was designed to offer a lower-order graduate certificate course on CHM that could introduce graduates to general concepts and encourage them to then undertake more detailed studies as part of the Architectural Conservation Programme.

SPACE (in conjunction with the University of Sydney) and the Chinese University of Hong Kong are the only places where programmes in museum studies can be undertaken in Hong Kong. Even so, no detailed study of the conservation of movable cultural heritage is possible in Hong Kong and students still have to travel abroad for this specialization. The director of Hong Kong's Museum of History prefers this arrangement for his staff. The museum also shares expertise with personnel from museums on the mainland, particularly Guangzhou, in planning new museums.

**Macau’s tertiary sector**

The first tertiary institution in Macau was established in March 1981, originally as the privately owned University of East Asia (UEA). It was founded by Ricci Island West Limited. UEA started with several three-year undergraduate degree programmes. English was the main medium of instruction and most students came from Hong Kong. To meet the demand for local human resources during the transition period of Macau returning to China, the Government of Macau established the Macau Foundation to acquire and manage the university in 1988. Subsequent restructuring led to the establishment of the Faculties of Arts, Business Administration, Social Sciences, and Science and Technology. English has remained the main medium of instruction, in addition to Chinese and Portuguese.

In 1991, under a new University Charter, the university became the public University of Macau. The university was primarily aimed at attracting more local students to fulfill the needs associated with the transfer of sovereignty of 1999. The university offers undergraduate, master's, doctorate and 'Bacharelato' (higher diploma) programmes (University of Macau, 2005). Some of its academics, such as Cathryn Hope Clayton, have published studies on Macau's cultural heritage and identity (Clayton, 2002, 2003). Although a Macau Studies Research Centre exists in the university, there appear to be no formal undergraduate courses on archaeology, history or cultural studies that relate directly to Macau.

Macau has had little interest in developing university-level courses or a research programme on archaeology or architectural conservation, possibly because little local history has been taught in schools. This situation
was lamented in 1996 by Zheng Weiming, a lecturer in Chinese Studies at the University of Macau. He identified a broad range of themes for archaeological study in particular, including prehistoric tombs, the historic development of industries and some aspects of maritime history that could benefit from archaeological investigation but had been (and continue to be) ignored by the universities and the government (Zheng, 1996). In 1999 there was still no archaeology taught in Macau’s universities, although since then a vocational course has been set up by the Macao Museum of Art (Macao Daily, 30 June 1999).

In addition to universities, Macau has several other tertiary institutions that are publicly – or privately – funded. Most were established in the 1980s or 1990s. The Institute of European Studies offers a course on Macau’s history; and a graduate diploma in Cultural Tourism is offered in conjunction with the Institute For Tourism Studies. The most recent innovations for Macau in relation to CHM-related training and courses are the advent of a heritage management specialization offered by the Institute For Tourism Studies (IFT) Bachelor of Business Management programme.

Of the three cities, Macau has been the slowest to adopt a tertiary level CHM programme to cater to the interests and needs of its locally educated middle-class professionals who might have a concern with local heritage. That most professionals were trained in Portugal and employed in the civil service may explain this deficiency.

International organizations have recently taken a role in enhancing regional cooperation on capacity building and professional training by the staging of training seminars in connection with the network known as the Asian Academy for Heritage Management. The network is a UNESCO initiative, supported by most of the universities with heritage-related courses in the Asia-Pacific Region (IFT, 2005; UNESCO, 2004). Aside from this network, there are opportunities emerging in the future for Hong Kong and Macau universities to undertake more training and interaction with each other and those in mainland China with regard to training heritage professionals.

**Background and career paths of CH managers in the PRD**

Museums in Guangzhou appear to employ a number of heritage professionals. It is difficult to find out much about the early history of professionalism in this group as the first generation of museum curators after 1949 have all retired. In 1953, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) organized the Second National Archaeological Training Course for all lower-level cultural officials in China. It was held in Beijing with a class size of one hundred which included Mai Ying Hao and Au Ka-fat. Mai went on to on to become an archaeological curator at the Guangzhou
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Museum, and Au later became a private archaeological consultant in Hong Kong (much later after he emigrated there). Au had also obtained a degree from the History Department of the Huanan University of Education prior to attending the course (Au, 2004; Mai, 2004).

Many of the current generation of senior staff in Guangzhou, however, started work or study during the Cultural Revolution. Even so, most of them now have earned university degrees. Some have upgraded their skills or have encouraged younger staff to further their studies, for instance, by taking a museum major offered by Peking University. A Vice-Curator at the Guangzhou Museum of Art observed that the standard of heritage professionals in mainland China has been continually rising. She noted that her staff had taken a course on museology/history of art, which included management of collections, research, and techniques in setting up exhibitions.22

Generally speaking, Hong Kong's CH managers have usually spent some time in an overseas university. Exceptions are Louis Ng (current Executive Secretary of the AMO), Joseph Ting (Chief Curator at the Museum of History), and W.K. Chan (Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce and the Hong Kong Conservancy Association). These individuals gained all their under- and post-graduate degrees at either the University of Hong Kong or the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Many urban planners, architects and archaeologists currently working in Hong Kong have acquired their degrees, diplomas or more from overseas institutions. Not surprisingly, many of these qualifications obtained before 1997 were granted by British universities. York and London universities appear to be the favourites because they offer courses in specific heritage subjects, such as public archaeology, architectural conservation and museum-related studies.

In Macau, most of the original middle and senior management staff of the Culture Institute (now the Cultural Affairs Bureau) came from Portugal and were trained there. Only the few current staff, who were trained in Portugal, are familiar with the Portuguese language and how the system worked. This can be a problem for accessing previous records, if they are not also prepared in Chinese. Staff from the Cultural Affairs Bureau noted that this situation has discouraged the involvement of the local Chinese community in researching public history as most historical records need translation.23

Career paths in PRD heritage management

Career paths for CH managers in Guangzhou and Hong Kong usually involve some time working in museums for those with a background in history, anthropology or archaeology. The administrative reforms have allowed more acknowledgment of merit and expertise in the career paths
of museum professionals in Guangzhou and across China. The career path now has five ranks:

Rank 1: Requires at least a 'basic' university degree, minimum of one year's work before promotion
Rank 2: Assistant museum curator, three years' experience with some publications and exhibitions considered satisfactory before promotion
Rank 3: Middle management, five years' minimum experience with two major exhibitions and/or two excavations
Rank 4: Vice-researcher (like a lecturer) with five years' minimum experience
Rank 5: Curator (like a professor).

The original system had more emphasis on seniority and it used to require five years in each rank, before applications for promotion could be made. Now the emphasis is placed on work performance and achievement, which allows for gifted professionals to (theoretically) reduce the time before they can be promoted. Even so, the standard required to attain a promotion is rated by two criteria: work achievements and research findings. This is why most museum professionals achieve a middle management position, as ‘research findings’ (e.g. the publication of monographs and essays) to make the next grade are harder to obtain.

In Hong Kong, most CH managers seem to move from museum to museum, or to the AMO and back again, as their careers progress. There appears to be little in the way of a clear career path beyond becoming a 'senior curator'. Even so, hardly anyone has left to become a consultant, probably due to the still generous conditions that the civil service in Hong Kong provides for its staff. Architects and urban planners who have an interest in heritage are more likely to move straight into private practice from university. At present there are no practices that rely entirely on heritage conservation work. Those businesses with an interest in it support themselves on contemporary architectural design and urban planning projects. This situation is probably the result of the small size of Hong Kong's heritage industry and the general lack of requirement for such expertise by government and the private sector in contrast with cities such as London, Sydney and New York. The mainland has potentially a much larger private sector for such work, but it is currently being constrained by government policy against a private consulting industry developing for such projects.

**Internal restructuring of government agencies**

With so much CHM professional practice occurring within the government sector, it is worth exploring how it has developed in the PRD in
the last thirty years. The earliest restructuring after local legislation
was introduced occurred in the administration of duties within Macau.
Hong Kong's restructuring, as will be seen, followed later. The need for
increased professionalism was reflected in the Macau government's revamp
of the Standing Committee's role and resources in 1982. The Cultural
Property Bureau (later renamed the Cultural Heritage Department) within
the Culture Institute was to become the 'outlet through which conservation
policies in Macau could be implemented. It transforms conservation ideas
that were only conceptual in the past into accomplishable missions' (Macau
Heritage Net, 2005). By this, it means that heritage assets would be subject
to a conservation planning process (in the case of tangible heritage assets
such as buildings and archaeological sites) and priorities would be set. The
role of the Cultural Heritage Department was to implement Decree Law
no. 56/84/M and Decree no. 83/92/M.

In 1984, Article 1 of Decree no. 56/84/M, the Committee for the Defence
of the Architectural, Environmental and Cultural Heritage (Comissão de
Defesa do Património Arquitectónico, Paisagístico e Cultural) was created
to replace the Committee for the Defence of Macao's Urbanistic, Natural
and Cultural Heritage. Compared with the responsibilities of the previous
Committee, those stipulated now are much more precise:

(i) Issue opinions on the classification of sites
(ii) Issue opinions on the delimitation of classified complexes, sites and
areas
(iii) Issue opinions on adaptive reuse
(iv) Issue opinions on whether preferential rights should be exercised in
cases of alienation of sites
(v) Provide technical support for all works carried out on classified
sites, with the right to suspend any unauthorized work or authorized
work that is being carried out incorrectly or defectively
(vi) Issue opinions on any ordinance plans, urbanization projects pre-
pared by both private and public entities that may interfere with the
classified sites
(vii) Collaborate with other public and private entities to ensure that city
plans and ordinances take into consideration the cultural values
(viii) Issue opinions on the organization, methodology of inventory
(ix) Issue opinions on the promotion of the cultural and educational values
of the heritage, not forgetting its social and economic importance.

In addition to these administrative duties, CH professionals have en-
deavoured to keep in touch with the practice of others inside and outside
Macau. Opportunities for professional debate on CHM have been limited,
but not entirely missing. In the first conference of the Architects Association

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of Macau in 1987, one of the four agenda topics was conservation. It suggested that the government utilize tax incentives and transfer of development rights mechanisms to encourage private owners to cooperate with the government on conservation matters. The first conference on the culture of Macau, sponsored by the Cultural Institute (now the Cultural Affairs Bureau), was held in July 1988. Professional debate on the nature of heritage has also been productive. Macau has added new CH categories of heritage and made readjustments to its Classified List. In 1992, under the terms of Statutory Order no. 82/92/M, the category of 'Buildings of architectonic interest' was created. Buildings included in this category include any structure that 'through its original architectonic quality is representative of an important period of the evolution of the Territory'.

This period included some growth in the inventory actions of Macau's CH managers. The list was increased from 89 to 128 items, and protected areas were clearly delineated on maps, which are an integral part of Macau's legislation on heritage conservation. However, no further additions were possible without another decree being issued. This makes updating the list with new items very difficult and protracted.

Another major change came in 1992: an architectural works arm was added to the Cultural Institute, allowing it to carry out its own conservation works projects on buildings without requiring assistance from an outside department. The AMO in Hong Kong is still required to involve the Architectural Services department, administered by another ministry, in any public conservation works project.

An awareness of the gaps in the CHM for Macau sometime in the early 1990s initiated the addition of a new public museum to the Institute's administrative structure. The planning for the Museum of Macau began in April 1995. It was a transition-era project initiated by the government prior to the 1999 handover, and it was also necessary to plug the gap caused by the demise of the Museu Luis de Camões in 1988 (see Box 3.1 below).

More resources have been allocated to CH managers in Macau since the last decree in 1992. Below is the current allocation of staff (as of February 2006) showing the ratio of professional to clerical and other positions in the Cultural Affairs Bureau, as compared with that before 1998. Despite the addition of parts of Macau to the World Heritage List as 'The Historic Centre of Macau' inscription in July 2005, and an increase in duties and responsibilities that this entails, resources have actually decreased for management since the handover. The only other restructuring change was a superficial one that occurred in May 2005, when the Institute was renamed the Cultural Affairs Bureau in English, although its Portuguese and Chinese names have remained unchanged.
Box 3.1
Museum of Macau: an example of early CH administration and adaptive reuse in Macau

The museum’s construction was initiated in September 1996, and it was opened on 18 April 1998. The design was ambitious, and it had its critics. An extensive survey had been made of all possible locations for the museum, including the Monte Fortress – a historic fortification built by the Jesuits in 1626, on the peak of Monte Hill, perched high above the city centre. It was selected by the government as the site for the new museum on the basis of its symbolic and historical location.

The museum building is an example of local Portuguese attitudes to adaptive reuse that included the removal of much of the original interior of the Monte Fortress. It can be accessed by an escalator from ground level to the third floor above the base of the fort. Its total area is 2,800 square metres, of which about 2,100 square metres is exhibition space. The administrative building, which already existed just outside the fortress, was joined to the museum by way of a tunnel, with escalators that pass under the walls. It contains the technical and administrative offices of the museum as well as the management and technician centre, security headquarters, and auditorium. In 1998, under Decree no. 31/98/M, the Museum of Macau was incorporated into the organizational structure of the Cultural Institute.

Hong Kong’s restructuring of CHM administration has occurred over a period of similar length to that of Macau. Staff appointment issues, however, were at the core of the problem with the government’s slowness in establishing the Antiquities and Monuments Office (AMO) in the first place. However, restructuring has been positive, in part, and led to AMO eventually gaining more staff and resources.

It began with an inter-departmental committee, with the Municipal Services Branch of Urban Services investigating a restructure for AMO in the late 1980s. There was a proposal by the AMO to upgrade the Executive Secretary from ‘curator’ to the rank of ‘chief curator’ in order to ‘improve the quality of an existing service and assume full responsibilities’. The Executive Secretary, according to an AMO report, ‘will oversee all its professional functions in relation to the search, identification, preservation and display of Hong Kong’s cultural heritage’.
Box 3.2
Comparison of staff allocation in the Cultural Affairs Bureau before and after 1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prior to 1998</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total 18 people</td>
<td>Total 14 people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6 Portuguese, 1 Brazilian, 11 Chinese)</td>
<td>(1 Portuguese, 13 Chinese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 architects</td>
<td>5 architects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 civil engineers</td>
<td>1 civil engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 conservator (mural restoration)</td>
<td>1 education, liberal arts background (major in Chinese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 researcher (art history background, previously a curator in Portugal)</td>
<td>3 draughtsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 secretary</td>
<td>1 secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 clerk</td>
<td>1 clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 chauffeur</td>
<td>1 chauffeur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 office assistant</td>
<td>1 office assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plus student interns year round</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A discussion paper on heritage management in Hong Kong was also tabled at a meeting of the Antiquities Advisory Board (AAB) in 1989. It resulted in AMO being split into three clear sub-sections that are still evident today: architecture, archaeology and education (which also handles AMO’s public relations functions). The AAB also reorganized its sub-committees in a similar way. The transition period prior to the handover also witnessed some changes as more staff were employed, although the number of professional staff has increased slowly.\textsuperscript{33} Low salaries for administrative staff and others without professional qualifications meant that more of these could be engaged than is common in most Western countries’ CHM administrations. Such a high number of non-professional staff is also common in Macau.

Training for professional staff, particularly the archaeologists, was a concern in this period. Neither the University of Hong Kong nor the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) were interested at the time in providing local courses, even inter-mural ones, to upgrade field techniques. In the meantime, the AMO organized a short course by itself in January 1991. Later, the AMO sent its staff (including architectural curators) to undertake studies in Britain.\textsuperscript{34} Eventually, the advent of the Architectural Conservation Programme and some CUHK courses in the last few years have allowed some members of the staff to gain or upgrade their skills locally.
Membership in international organizations and use of charters in conservation practice

Overseas links were established during the colonial and transition periods for Hong Kong and Macau and these links have continued into the postcolonial phase. However, the nature of these links has undergone some change of focus. The two cities have become less reliant on sourcing expertise or training from their colonial masters than they had once been. Since the mid-1990s, which marked the end of the transition period for both Hong Kong and Macau, a greater interest has developed in UNESCO programmes and its advice. The UNESCO Heritage Awards were one of the first initiatives to attract attention in the region, with the restoration of the Jewish synagogue Ohel Leah in the Mid Levels in Hong Kong winning an award. Although the conservation architectural consultants were sourced from Australia, the work was supervised by Hong Kong’s Architectural Services Department and the AMO.35

This international involvement can also be seen in how UNESCO was involved in the conference organized by the AMO, AAB and the Lord Wilson Heritage Trust on tourism and heritage in 1999. However, it was not until 2004 that UNESCO co-hosted a conference in Hong Kong. This conference was focused on ‘underwater heritage’, with the aim by UNESCO of promoting a recent initiative to protect such heritage in the region. It coincided with AMO’s growing interests in the protection and management of such heritage items, such as those affected by the development projects in Penny’s Bay (prior to the Disney theme park development). And AMO (on the advice of AAB) invited maritime archaeologists from the mainland and occasionally from the United Kingdom.

On the other hand, the application of key international charters of conservation principles seems to be more widespread. Interviews with heritage officials and academics in Guangzhou revealed that they were familiar with the 1964 ICOMOS Venice Charter. Some of the younger officials had only just heard of the China Principles when interviewed in late 2004.36 It is otherwise known as ‘Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China’. This document was devised as a collaborative project between the State Administration for Cultural Heritage (SACH), the Getty Conservation Institute in Los Angeles, and the Australian Heritage Commission (now itself restructured as part of Environment Australia). The Australian Heritage Commission was involved as the process of developing the China Principles has followed the Burra Charter – Australia’s regional version of the Venice Charter – rather than the Venice Charter itself, as a starting point.

The introduction to the China Principles notes that China’s socialist market economy presents new challenges for conservation and the underlying
values of heritage sites. It provides the first guidelines for heritage practice for Chinese heritage under the mainland system. That is, its definition of heritage significance follows that defined in the 1982 Relics Protection Act and it does not include any guidance on stakeholder consultation (Sullivan, 2001; Agnew and Demas, 2002). David Lung, who made some informal comments on the translation of the document, considers it a sound document but still untested in most of China. SACH has recognized the difficulties posed by getting local officials to take notice of the Principles and is seeking to give them more statutory weight (Agnew et al., 2005).

Stephen Chan from the Cultural Affairs Bureau had observed that Macau's policy on the use of charters can vary. He saw it as important to 'keep in line with the Venice Charter and the China Principles, but it is more important to handle projects on a case by case basis'. He followed the China Principles in cases involving Chinese structures 'because [they] don't want to Westernize the structures'. The usage of conservation principles in Hong Kong also varies. Some heritage professionals use the Principles, others use the Burra Charter, and some use nothing at all as there is no stated requirement for local studies. There is no one set of principles that seems to be widely endorsed. Many people interviewed stated they would like to see Hong Kong develop its own version, as Australia did. However, no one appears keen to undertake responsibility for initiating a process to do this, as it would be a difficult task to complete without the backing of an active local chapter or sub-chapter of ICOMOS.

Establishing a local sub-chapter of China ICOMOS for Hong Kong and Macau has been a difficult process in itself. Heritage professionals have recognized that the differences in the legal/administrative systems between the two SARs on the one hand, and the mainland on the other, would require some kind of separate body to be set up for the SAR professionals. They have liaised extensively about the issue with key China ICOMOS representatives in Beijing (who are also employed by SACH). Networking and other activities necessary for increasing the professionalism of CH managers has been hampered by the lack of such a peak interdisciplinary heritage non-governmental organization in the Pearl River Delta.

**Public-private sector relationships and professional ethics**

Each city has a different arrangement for the conduct of public–private sector relationships and this inevitably has an impact on the professional ethics exhibited. Since 2002, the public sector in Hong Kong has been under pressure to be more accountable to the public, with new political reforms introduced. Unfortunately for CHM, this initiative coincided with
revelations about corruption within the upper echelons of the Antiquities and Monuments Office. The Executive Secretary, the Senior Archaeological Curator and members of an archaeological consulting company were all arrested in an operation codenamed ‘Greendike’ in April 2002. This situation has created a tense working environment for those who remained in the AMO, until their colleagues went to trial in early 2005. Even so, all official proceedings, particularly the let of archaeological contracts, continued to be carefully scrutinized. For the first time, the AMO had to devise a system for undertaking such tasks that would be transparent and in line with other government practices of accountability. Other new measures were also instituted by the new Executive Secretary. The AMO has set out to streamline many of its administrative processes in answer to the ICAC review of procedures and new civil service requirements for greater transparency and accountability. However, there has never been an open debate about the nature of professional ethics in Hong Kong in regard to CHM, and there may not be for a while as the allegations have made this a sensitive topic.

Overall, the ICAC investigation may have contributed to AMO being passed over by the government in favour of the Tourism Commission as the facilitator of two major heritage development projects, namely the development of the declared historic buildings of the former Marine Police Headquarters Compound and the Central Police Station Complex. It certainly has not helped its profile with the rest of the government according to some heritage professionals, who deal with these agencies on a regular basis.

Problems have also occurred with locally born heritage consultants and professional ethics. Only limited support and guidance has been made available towards peer regulation from a small number of professional associations, which are formed by architects, planners and landscape architects. These associations count heritage management activities as of small concern to their members. Little support from the AMO, AAB or professional associations is given to consultants working in difficult situations, especially those projects where their professional views differ from that of their developer clients (who are often backed by other parts of the government). Locally born consultants may not be confident enough without the backing of a professional heritage NGO to cause ripples, which could become an emerging problem for increasing professionalism. A stronger overall CHM professional heritage association of the stature of ICOMOS or a sub-branch of ICOMOS is needed to promote professional ethics, codes and charters. That is, provided that such an organization can establish true autonomy from the public sector. Even so, the AMO has taken an active role in improving professionalism in both public and private sectors by adopting a new set of internal management measures,
and increasing professionalism has been identified as one of its major
targets over the next few years. This same issue barely comes up in
Macau, however, as there is no formal EIA system requiring independent
assessment of CH assets and because there is not much private heritage
practice of any kind.

Hong Kong academic Ka-ho Mok, who has studied professional
autonomy in China, notes that Chinese professionals have to balance
professional freedom with intellectual independence. Often they have
attempted to break the conventional order and go beyond the ‘approved’
boundaries (Mok, 2000). The authors of this volume have encountered a
few individuals similar to this description in Guangzhou. They usually
tend to be older, senior male academics, or they are retired senior officials
who were active in pre-Cultural Revolution times. They often have strong
opinions which they will offer very candidly in public about heritage and
use their age and seniority as a buffer against any reprisals. Some are affili­
ated with semi-independent research institutes that can undertake consulting
work for the government.

The type of consulting work undertaken in Guangzhou is generally in
the area of architectural conservation, urban heritage planning and archaeo­
logical salvage excavation or site clearance for (re)development. Many of
these semi-independent institutes and museums are still really public sector­
based, despite increasing privatization of danwei (work units). There is some
risk of placing professionalism under pressure with added temptation for
corruption (stealing from museums, artefacts for sale on the black market,
etc.) but privatization could eventually offer an attractive alternative to a
career path that rewards merit-based promotions over long service.

In Guangzhou, an understanding of the attitudes towards professional
ethics and treatment of CH managers was gained from talking to people
working in the Guangzhou Museum and the Guangzhou Museum of Art.
These two institutions differed greatly in approach to staff and collection
management. The former held staff directly responsible for the safety of
the collection and its security. There was a fire in 2003 and the museum
staff were penalized. They are unable to go on long holidays in case
something goes wrong. The curators are expected to take it in turns to be
caretakers at night. Much of this relates to a financial decision not to
employ a professional security company, which the Guangzhou Museum
of Art did. The official we interviewed at the Guangzhou Museum said
that she intended to take her turn to watch that night, which would make
for a very long working day. She would be there with a museum caretaker
and was worried that they would be no match for very determined thieves
or well-organised ones (possibly from overseas). Even though this museum
is considered a privatized danwei, it still has an in-house party secretary as
a representative of the Communist Party overseeing administration.
The rise of professionalism

Other issues for increasing professionalization in Guangzhou include the lack of staff with specialist conservation materials expertise and the difficulty with employing them as consultants. This is recognized as a problem by the Nanyue Kings Tomb Museum that is trying to conserve artefacts for the long term, but not so much by work units that are actively excavating. These specialist skills are not available or easily acquired in the Pearl River Delta. Some are only found in those professionals trained overseas and/or working in Hong Kong (e.g. metal conservation). Guangzhou officials have little opportunity to experience innovations in this area, because there is still little interaction with professionals from outside the PRD or regular use of conservation principles/charters. Even so, ICOM’s code of ethics for museum professionals has been filtered down to them by a central authority for museums in Beijing. For officials dealing with historic buildings, the greater use of a set of conservation principles that advocates following a set process in planning (which is also focused on intrinsic values) would strengthen the linkage between planning and the protection of a wider range of heritage assets. It is likely that any charter on the management of intangible heritage that follows international declarations by UNESCO and ICOMOS is not an immediate priority. There is an economic rationalist argument, however, related to tourism, that could be made for developing it specifically for China and the huge impacts domestic tourism is making on this category of heritage asset.

Refinement of inventory practices in line with international development

One of the indicators for increased professionalism involves measuring the amount of progress undertaken in refining some of the activities begun in earlier phases (see Table 1.3, earlier). One such example is the transforming and updating of hard copy for the site registers so that information can be more readily accessed on computer. Computerization in some countries has included a basic transformation to a simple database and then later upgrading it to a Geographical Information Systems relational database for greater efficiency. A certain level of professional expertise is expected in the updating of information and the creation of a database. Box 3.3 outlines how updating existing information on archaeological sites and historic buildings was conducted for Hong Kong and the efforts so far to eventually transfer this information to GIS.

The example in Box 3.3 indicates that, even with the best intentions, some projects related to this sub-indicator have undergone their share of problems, possibly because of the nature of the definition of heritage contained in the Ordinance and the culture of the public service system that administers it. Significantly, it reflects much of the uncertainty of the
Box 3.3
Refining inventories of tangible heritage assets: Hong Kong 1991 onwards

- 1991: AAB review the situation with existing records, particularly the 1982 survey of archaeological sites by retired museum curator, Brian Peacock. Debate whether results should be made public. AAB also reviews the floating cut-off date for the age of historic buildings and archaeological sites considered significant or able to be declared under the Ordinance.
- November 1995: AAB first discuss a territory-wide survey of historic buildings. A report has been commissioned to be produced by Dr Peter Drewet, Member of the British Institute of Field Archaeologists, on how to proceed for archaeological sites.
- Report by Drewet advises on strategy and noted that previous survey by Peacock was saved on computer disks that were not updated and eventually mislaid for several years.
- AAB recommends in June 1996 that the archaeological survey be reduced to eight months to be undertaken by eleven teams, each led by a principal investigator with not less than three years field experience and university training.
- October 1996: AMO advises AAB that team directors do not necessarily need specific university qualifications, just 'local heritage knowledge', and the ability to undertake some photogrammetry for computerization.
- AAB are also advised in October that the historic buildings survey should divide Hong Kong into four areas, and it still needs 'historic criteria'. Work for this survey will also use a new recording form. Team directors should be 'very experienced in conducting researches (sic) or very knowledgeable in local history, local architecture or related fields'. The survey is estimated to take two years and include only buildings built before 1950. Proposal to secure funds from the Hong Kong Jockey Club charitable fund.
- A progress report to AAB in May 1997 noted that the archaeological survey had been underway since September. However, some consultants are still being sought besides Dr Drewet, and Hong Kong and mainland consultants.
- Post-handover in September 1997, around 1,200 buildings documented. Proposal to engage two mainland teams to assist from Tsinghua University in Beijing and Shenzhen. Notes some trouble with villagers (not formally or informally contacted to take part)
and lack of standardization of terms between teams. Proposal is made to engage a computer consultant for data collected.

- November 1998: AAB memo notes that both surveys should be a starting point for a 'well structured conservation strategy'. However, a second season of archaeological survey appears to have been authorized and funded out of the money set aside for computer consultants. First season found twenty new sites and re-surveyed a hundred sites.

- December 1999: Heritage and Tourism conference paper by AMO staff on the archaeological survey project notes that 207 sites had been confirmed by its completion. There are close to 9,000 historic buildings confirmed in the historic buildings survey (less than one per cent have been fully declared and protected under the Ordinance).

- 2004: PCCW telecommunications company engaged to computerize survey documentation for AMO. As it is constrained by civil service regulations, only HK consultants approved by the government could be engaged, whether they have set up site registers on computer before or not.

- At the time of writing, AMO is still perfecting a GIS database for its inventory of tangible heritage assets. Researchers and others who require site information are still given paper files.

time – when Hong Kong was caught between two masters in the transition from British to Chinese sovereignty. This is evident in the composition of the survey teams, which included British, mainland and Hong Kong professionals in order to cover all contingencies. Problems for the actual computerization and establishment of a best practice GIS database also show strong evidence of local factors (e.g. government guidelines on tendering).

In Macau, after the handover, the Cultural Affairs Bureau re-assessed in 2000 the conservation status of tangible cultural heritage. As part of this initiative, a group of mainland archaeologists were invited to survey areas for new archaeological sites. The emphasis was placed on Chinese sites outside the colonial period and on non-urban areas. The CAB has medium-term and long-term plans to include more investment in the GIS system and in the internet, so that the cultural heritage of Macau will become more widely known throughout the world. Again, this seems to be closely linked with tourism initiatives as has been the case in the past, which is a form of transparency, although it does little to aid awareness amongst the local Chinese population, some of whom do not use computers.
The Cultural Heritage Department of the CAB has carried out surveys of the buildings and sites, setting up computerized files of maps, detailed plans, rigorous drawings of each monument and other documents relating to the conservation projects. All of the twelve items first included in the World Heritage nomination proposal have dedicated information files that are constantly updated and reviewed. In 2005, CAB was encouraged by UNESCO to include more items in the proposal, which may not be quite as well documented but could be covered at a later date if funding is not lacking (see Box 3.2, above, on staff resource allocations).

Recognition of the linkage between urban planning, land use and CHM

Guangzhou and Macau are the best cities in which to see this sub-indicator operating effectively. First, an examination is warranted in how CHM policy is now connected to urban planning policy since the key turning point of the discovery in 1995 of the Nanyue Palace. The palace archaeological site is located in the centre of Guangzhou (see Plate 3.2 and Box 3.4 below).

Plate 3.2 The Nanyue Palace Site excavation in Guangzhou was still in progress when the authors visited it in early 2005. The site is massive and also includes a Qing dynasty shipyard. (Hilary du Cros)
Box 3.4
The Nanyue Palace archaeological site’s role in integrating CHM into urban planning in Guangzhou

- A tomb for one of the Nanyue kings had already been discovered in the early 1980s, so local archaeologists knew that the old city was archaeologically sensitive. One Han official had worked out and written down where the palace was 18 years after the palace and city had burned down. Guangzhou archaeologists were aware of such historic details and ordered monitoring of any construction.

- In June 1995 construction workers, watched by archaeologists from one of the public archaeology institutes, drilled holes into the site they had acquired from the government for constructing a long-distance communications building for a China/Hong Kong/Macau joint venture development (Ma and Chan, 2004).\(^{54}\)

- When the ‘Pan Yu’ stones were discovered and publicized by the archaeologists, the developers became ‘very aggressive’. Guangzhou Cultural Bureau (GCB) was ‘so shocked’ at what was going on that they went immediately to the Provincial Administration and reported it.

- The GCB and the Mayor Li Ziliu then appealed directly to Beijing, and officials from the State Administration for Cultural Heritage (SACH) arrived to have a look at stone tablets and other remains located in the preliminary excavations.\(^{55}\)

- In 1996, SACH listed it as being one of ‘the ten most important archaeological finds for 1995’ for the whole of China.\(^{56}\)

- In 1998, it was designated as a national-level site, which included later phases of occupation associated with the garden and shipyard (the earlier discovery of the Nanyue Tomb is part of a separate listing).\(^{57}\)

- It became known as the Museum of the Palace of the Nanyue Kingdom in 1999.

Part of the site is still under the Telecommunications Bureau’s earlier buildings in one section (not demolished yet).

- More money is required to pay compensation to the Telecommunications Bureau when they get around to demolishing the aging 1960s buildings to excavate more of the site.

- Despite the fame it has enjoyed, the Telecommunications Bureau still disagrees with them about whether this is the best use of ‘taxpayers’ money’.\(^{58}\)

- However, as a result of the discovery, archaeological assessment has become more commonplace prior to any development in the old city area, with work occurring at a more intensive level than just monitoring.
The palace site required a payment of 500 million yuan from the municipal government as compensation for the developers to give up their project site. The municipal government also paid another 100 million yuan to cover the costs of excavation. In regard to this palace site, the mayor was quoted as saying, 'what Guangzhou lacks is not high-rise buildings, but culture'. This support from the mayor's office assisted the heritage authorities in fighting pro-development government authorities. Officials at the Guangzhou Culture Bureau (GCB) now view the site as one of their best heritage assets, and one which gives them prestige and power within the local administration.59

Overall, the GCB defines its role, since the palace discovery, as managerial rather than proactive. For instance, when they get referrals from the municipal planning department they act by seeking advice from experts about the sites and assist in facilitating resolutions to any disputes. Feng Yong Qu from the Guangzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology observed, during interviews, that Guangzhou has 'a fast pace of development, with around 3,000 sites under construction in any one day. Development pressure still dictates the strategy for urban archaeology, although increasingly developers are expected to pay.' The developers have to check for archaeological sensitivity of certain areas in the city with officials. The government has drawn up a plan of ‘hot spots’ in the city and a government enforcement team is supposed to check construction sites for relics during soil removal.

Much of this work is regarded as rescue archaeology and, as seen by Feng and his colleagues, considered ‘passive work’ whereas research archaeology that keeps remains in situ is seen as ‘active work’. He was regretful that he was not asked to do much active work by the authorities.60 Zhang from the GCB has observed that the ‘overall problem for Guangzhou’s heritage conservation is that the Central Business District has not moved much in the last 2,000 years’. China’s booming economy is pushing up real-estate prices and putting increasing pressure on much of its tangible heritage, such as historic buildings, vernacular architecture and archaeological remains.61

Macau’s real-estate industry began to boom in the late 1960s. In 1969, thirty-two buildings, totalling 140 storeys and amounting to MOP$4.4 million, were completed. In 1970, fifty-two buildings, totalling 243 storeys and amounting to MOP$7.1 million, were completed. The increase in the monetary value of newly completed floor space between 1969 and 1970 was over 60 per cent.62

Macau, however, is the only one of the case study cities to have introduced fiscal incentives for conservation and adaptive reuse. These measures were incorporated within 1984 Decree no. 56/84/M and comprise:
Figure 3.1 The location of places mentioned for Guangzhou.
1 Exemption from urban property tax for those designated buildings that undergo those conservation works that meet approval and which costs more than 50,000 patacas.

2 Reduce taxes paid by industrial or commercial establishments by half if they carry out conservation works that meet approval and which costs more than 50,000 patacas.

3 The sum spent on the conservation and recuperation of classified buildings may be deducted, for a period of ten years, from the complementary tax to be paid by the party who have borne this expense. If complementary taxes do not apply to the party involved, the amount can be deducted from his/her income tax, for a period of five years.

4 Classified buildings are exempt from Conveyance Tax and Succession and Donations Duty.

5 Import of materials and equipment for the conservation of classified buildings is exempt from any taxes.

The process is now administered by the CAB. The parties that are to benefit from the incentives first make an application accompanied by sufficient proof as defined by the Bureau. At their request, the CAB will, within fifteen days, issue a document certifying the state of conservation of the building involved.63

In Hong Kong, the linkages between urban planning, environmental impact assessment and CHM are governed more by policy than legislation. From 1999 onwards, the AMO has been under pressure to deal with the growing number of Environment Impact Assessment referrals and assessments. The inclusion of heritage assessment as part of the implementation of the 1997 Environmental Assessment Ordinance was seen as a step forward by many CH professionals.

Prior to the enactment of EIA legislation, the AMO oversaw whatever work was required under a loose system of referrals of planned projects on mainly public land. Some of this work was conducted by consultants with varying degrees of accreditation in their specialist fields. One of the largest of these projects was that for the Hong Kong International Airport in the early 1990s. Even then it was recognised that professional expertise was required in the private sector to undertake the assessment and site-clearance work. The later legislation was formulated by the Environmental Protection Agency after some consultation with the AMO and the AAB in the mid-1990s. Its enactment forced the AMO to update its list of non-statutory graded buildings and address problems that had developed since the early days of the initial legislation with definitions of what might be considered heritage.
Is more integration through implementing recent urban renewal procedures evident?

Meanwhile, heritage conservation advocates in Hong Kong have hoped that the transformation in 2000 of the Land Development Corporation (LDC) into the Urban Renewal Authority (URA) under its own ordinance would mean a new era of integration of CHM within urban planning. The LDC had briefly flirted with adaptive reuse and urban renewal in a few projects, including that of the Western Market building in Sheung Wan. Some heritage professionals interviewed had great hopes of the URA, believing that its establishment might represent a key turning-point in the greater integration of urban planning and CHM. In the six years that it has been operating, the URA has experienced some lessons on a number of heritage and planning issues, not least of which is how to deal with community pressure groups, as will be seen in the next chapter. However, it has been partially hamstrung by a government requirement that it is revenue-generating in its redevelopment efforts.

One final key player in the administration of urban planning that has a bearing on CHM in Hong Kong is the Town Planning Board. It meets more frequently, and has more power than the AAB to influence the conservation of historic buildings. Interviewees note that there have been instances where building projects have come before the TPB for consideration before the AAB is even aware of them. This has serious implications for the long-term planning and the ability of much CHM in Hong Kong to be truly proactive instead of reactive. The TPB has now opened its meetings to the public, which could have some interesting consequences for heritage advocates, although it is yet to allow formal public consultation on its planning applications. From July 2005 onwards, the meeting minutes have appeared on its website (Town Planning Board, 2006). The AAB has also been under pressure by the media to do the same, and to defend or improve the kind of professional expertise it has access to in making its decisions. Macau is slowly implementing a similar program of renewal, but with some of its own unique features to avoid the problems with owner/tenant compensation that Hong Kong has suffered. Whether these will be more successful, however, is difficult to ascertain at this stage. In any event, they cannot be any worse than some of the stories regarding this issue in mainland China that have been published in both mainland and Hong Kong newspapers, where dissatisfaction has been intense.
Implications for understanding the impact of global and local factors

The case study cities are still working their way through the sub-indicators in this phase. Part of the problem may be that they mostly operate independently from the rest of China for the most part – even Guangzhou – and have to rely on local resources. More than this, there is the problem that heritage professionals administer their duties as officials or act as independent private practitioners in urban environments under intense development pressure from the booming economy in each city and are at risk of having decisions and ethics questioned. While CH managers and other professionals are struggling to deal with these pressures, it is difficult for them to stop and evaluate how well they are performing and where further professional training may be useful.

In order to understand the impact of global and local factors on the development of heritage professions in the PRD, it is necessary to explore the availability of local versus overseas professional training as a first step in this section. This is not originally a sub-indicator in the notional model, but should probably become one as a way of understanding how professional expertise in CHM and ethics are shaped in any one place.

Inevitably, the kind of educational backgrounds most current CH managers have will have an impact on their work. For instance, until fairly recently, Hong Kong’s secondary school curriculum did not include much discussion on local history and culture (Poon and Wong 2005, 2004), nor did Macau’s. It was a problem that various authorities, such as the Lord Wilson Heritage Trust in Hong Kong, have worked hard to change. It would also explain why more specialist heritage courses have not been set up at the various universities. Accordingly, the universities have their own unique priorities for the development of locally focused heritage courses, as a result of their historical and cultural contexts (as discussed earlier). That fact, combined with the social, cultural and historical underpinnings of some of the universities providing most of the local training, has put differing emphases on the importance of local culture and its management for future generations. While the various government administrations are encouraging their employees to develop their professional expertise, there are still limited resources or opportunities to do this locally.

In interviews, CH managers and others were asked about what sets of conservation principles they used and what they thought of CHM as a term. This line of questioning revealed much about their backgrounds and aspirations in terms of engaging with international best practice. Guangzhou and Macau officials had applied the Venice Charter more often than others. However, this may change as the China Principles become more widely known and refined over time. Hong Kong had a slight preference for the
Burra Charter over these other two sets of principles, but many practitioners also expressed a desire for a locally derived charter that recognized local legislation over that of the mainland as a point of reference. Many of those interviewed liked to use the term 'cultural heritage management' to describe what they were involved in, but did not use it commonly, preferring the terms 'cultural relic conservation' (Guangzhou) or 'heritage conservation' (the other cities) instead.

The computerization of heritage asset inventories could be used as an example to understand the influence of local and global factors on refining established tools of heritage management (as per Table 1.3). Macau, with the smallest heritage inventory (in terms of the number of tangible assets) and most IT expertise, was ahead of the other two cities in this regard. Despite a greater overall budget for heritage spending, Hong Kong has had difficulties in systematically dealing with this aspect of heritage management. It is hoped that when it has a system in place, it could move on to making much of its inventory publicly available through online internet access, as is the case in Australia, the United States and Macau. Beijing may be the only city in China closest to having a similar system, but it may be many years before this is seen as a priority anywhere else in the country, given the massive demands placed on government financial resources just to retain and conserve heritage items.

Creating and building linkages between urban planning and CHM in the Pearl River Delta appears to require an advocate actively campaigning for the concept of heritage conservation. In the case of Guangzhou, it was the city's mayor and SACH - a mixture of state and local advocates that raised the awareness of retaining ancient urban archaeological sites. Such sites were eventually viewed by others as giving Guangzhou's continuous history a tangible marker. Even so, the huge financial payout to another government department and to private developers meant that a plan for predicting and identifying areas of archaeological sensitivity was a necessity. Guangzhou is the only city out of the three to have developed such a plan that requires regular pre-development testing and monitoring of construction projects located inside the city's 'hot spots'.

Meanwhile, in Macau, more overt linkages between CHM, tourism development and urban planning have been developed earlier than those evident in Hong Kong. Some anecdotal evidence suggests that not everything appears as it does on the surface. While some Hong Kong authorities sometimes envy the substantial amount of political will supporting pro-heritage conservation in Macau, Macau authorities covet what they perceive as being the broader community support that Hong Kong has received for its efforts. It is likely that both cities are still in a state of flux regarding measures implemented by government authorities towards maintaining such linkages between departments. How these activities are
going to be undertaken and how the support of the private sector and the rest of the community is being sought will be discussed in the next chapter, in relation to the ongoing debate about the importance of nurturing economic versus social capital.

Notes

1 Notes from a CHM research workshop in Macau, June 2004.
2 Such upheavals in the operation of the older universities on the mainland are not uncommon, although most suffered their greatest disruptions during the Cultural Revolution.
3 Interview with Ho Yin Lee of the Department of Architecture, University of Hong Kong, June 2005.
4 However, she is not directly involved in CHM other than to teach courses in archaeology or analyse plant remains from several major excavations, since she moved to Hong Kong in 2000. She is a specialist in the origins of agriculture in China, completing her doctorate on Chinese agricultural practices at Australian National University in Canberra in the late 1990s. She is one of the few archaeologists in the PRD that has achieved the tricofa of working and studying on the mainland, Hong Kong and overseas.
5 The university was also a participant in an information organization of anthropologists known as the South China Research Circle. It began after the Conference on the Study of Regional Society of Southern China in 1980 in order to promote an interdisciplinary and cross-border approach. It has over the years supported academic activities, and gathering and the exchange of information, particularly as China re-opened to outside influences. One special area of interest has been clan organization in Hong Kong's New Territories, although studies reach from Guangdong down to Vietnam (Cheung, 2004).
6 Cultural tourism is also offered as part of a Master's programme by the School of Hotel and Tourism Management at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University. This course has a stronger marketing focus than the University of Hong Kong's one but does include some CHM concepts.
7 At the time of writing, it is unlikely that the archaeology course will continue to be taught, because of du Cros's relocation to Macau, as the other professionally trained locally based archaeologists are all employed full-time in the private sector as consultants.
8 Observations by Hilary du Cros and information gathered from interview with Tracey Lu, July 2004.
9 A certain amount of paternalism is evident in this statement by Sir Cecil Clementi, Governor of Hong Kong and Chancellor of the University, in his address to the Royal Empire Society in London towards the end of 1935, 'the University of Hong Kong should become during the course of the 20th century a famous seat of Chinese learning, to which men throughout the 18 provinces would look ... as Englishmen look at Oxford and Cambridge ... for authoritative guidance in the study of their language, their literature, their history, their archaeology, their folklore, their religious beliefs, and the whole fabric of their civilization' (Clementi in School of Chinese Studies, 2006).
10 The university still lacks a sense of political consciousness as can be seen in the nature of the student societies on campus. Some recent postgraduates seeking to
engage more with post-modernist theories of cultural heritage studies have gone overseas.


12 The Centre for Asian Studies is one of the earliest multidisciplinary cultural research centres in Hong Kong and was established in 1967 at the University of Hong Kong. Its latest research includes social and oral history projects about the development of Hong Kong (Centre for Asian Studies, 2004). Scholars from the University of Macau and the Inter-University of Macau have also undertaken some research (e.g. Zheng, 1996; Clayton, 2003).


14 Interview with David Lung, April 2004.

15 Other relevant training for CHM has been provided by the Centre for Urban Planning and Environmental Management (CUPEM) at the University of Hong Kong, which was established in 1980. It has produced graduates with interest in stakeholder consultation as part of their community planning courses. They have found employment in public and private sectors and have become involved in advocacy work with non-governmental organizations concerned with heritage, such as the Conservancy Association.

16 Interview with Joseph Ting, July 2004.

17 Four-year programmes have been proposed for Hong Kong universities, also starting 2007.

18 A Master’s programme in Public History was set up in late 2005 by the Inter-University of Macau that includes some heritage-related subjects. The Inter-University is a privately funded university that charges student fees.

19 This might be the result of a pre-handover increase in cross-border cultural exchanges, such as conferences and exhibitions held in the previous year (see Macao Daily, 30 July, 14 September, 26 November, 17 December, 1998).

20 The Institute For Tourism Studies in Macao, with the support of the European Union, has also established the Macao–Europe Centre for Advanced Tourism Studies (M-ECATS) in May 1999. This centre monitors trends in tourism and hospitality, and designs courses answering to the changing needs of the industry. The centre offers courses in ‘Sustainable Tourism Planning and Development’ and ‘Heritage Tourism’. There is also a Higher Diploma in Cultural Tourism programme, which has the aim of ‘producing diploma graduates who are culturally aware and equipped with skills to work in areas such as festivals and events, travel and tour agencies, guiding, museums, cultural heritage... in addition to other cultural tourism initiatives’ (IEEM brochure, 2005). Cultural tourism is only just beginning to be taught at the university level in Hong Kong and Macau.

21 Feng Yongqu, editor, Special Issue Number 3 of the Guangzhou Research Institute on Heritage and Archeology: A Collection of Works on Fifty Years of Archeological Work in Guangzhou (Guangzhou shi wenwukaoguyanjiusuo zhuankan zhi san: Guangzhou wenwu kaoguji - Guangzhou kaogu wushinian wenxuan), Guangzhou Publishing House (Guangzhou chubanshe), n.d.

22 It was one of the courses offered by Hong Kong museums to build linkages with the mainland.

23 Interview with Stephan Chan, January 2006.

24 Some museums as well as institutes, which are still all public-sector institutions, are responsible for archaeological excavations. Museums are the repositories for material afterwards, so this is logical.

Sullivan (2001) notes that Chinese officials took a healthy interest in the private heritage industry in Australia when they visited. They seemed 'impressed by the quality and dedication of people working in the industry [and] the wide use of the Burra Charter by private practitioners, their adherence to it in debating heritage issues with their clients, and the mutual support provided by Australia ICOMOS' (Sullivan, 2001: 17). Instituting the China Principles and encouraging their adoption widely by all levels of the administration may be the first step in instituting a private industry in China, as the first practitioners of it will inevitably come from its ranks.

Illustrated Chronicle of Macao (Aomen quan jili), Shanghai People's Publishing House (Shanghai renmin chubanshe), 1999: 286.

Illustrated Chronicle of Macao (Aomen quan jili), Shanghai People's Publishing House (Shanghai renmin chubanshe), 1999: 293.

Interview with Stephan Chan, February 2006.

Macao's cultural heritage is currently protected by the two main protective measures of: 'The Basic Law of the Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China', Decree Law no. 56/84/M and Decree no. 83/92/M relating to the 'Defence of the Architectural, Environmental and Cultural Heritage', and Decree no. 7/91/M relating to 'General Regulations for Urban Construction'.

The background to this request was that by 1987, the AMO comprised nine posts and was looking for this upgrade and another 15 positions to deal with an increasing workload, much of which was coming from site clearance and development-approval work (AMO report March 1988). During this period and up until 1989, the AMO was in constant conflict with certain archaeologists in the community, their pressure groups and the Antiquities Advisory Board for change (Memo by Alex Yip, Executive Secretary after Solomon Bard).

AMO report to the Department Establishment Committee, Municipal Services, March 1988.

AAB and AMO records between 1987 and 1998.

AMO report on heritage management to AAB March 1991.

 Needless to say, the principles used were those of the Burra Charter.

Interview conducted at Guangzhou Cultural Bureau, December 2004 of a panel of senior officials from the Bureau, local museums and the Guangzhou Cultural Heritage and Archaeology Research Centre.

Interview with David Lung, 12 April 2004.

This comment indicates that a regional version of the Venice Charter might ultimately be more popular than the Venice Charter, in that Chinese CH managers may feel a greater sense of ownership and local applicability.

Hilary du Cros's observations and interviews with David Lung and Pamela Rumball Rogers, 12 April and 18 May 2004, respectively.

Interview with David Lung, 12 April 2004 and 16 March, 2005.


Ng has a doctorate in History from the Chinese University of Hong Kong and was transferred to the AMO from the Museum of History.

Interview with Pamela Rumball Rogers, 18 May 2004.

Interview with David Lung, 12 April 2004.

See 'Decades for Police HQ's Greenery to Recover', City Section 1, SCMP, 3 January 2005.
46 Interview with Louis Ng, 25 May 2004.
47 At the time of writing the Institute For Tourism Studies (IFT) has just been directed by the Minister for Social and Cultural Affairs to investigate the significance and impacts of a redevelopment proposal for a Western-style building. IFT was advised to hire consultants with advice from UNESCO to undertake what is basically a study of local heritage significance and that the consultants need to come from outside of Macau. The CAB has not been given a major role in monitoring the study for no stated reason, but will provide some informal advice. It is likely that any private practice in Macau is still a long way off, should government clients continue to follow this kind of strategy, possibly because they consider Macau a very 'closed' community.
48 Interviews conducted with heritage authorities in Guangzhou, 2004–2005 and those interviewed for other projects (see du Cros, 2006).
49 Interview with Guangzhou officials on 20 January 2005. The museum cannot afford to insure collection pieces and staff have gone to jail if any are stolen possibly because more senior officials cannot discount the possibility of it being an 'inside job'. Pay scales for staff are lower than those for officials still in fully publicly funded positions and they often have to find their own funding. No doubt all this can add to temptation to steal for some less professional staff.
50 Interview with Chen Ying, Vice-Curator, Guangzhou Museum of Art, 20 January 2005.
51 Although it was not openly stated in the interviews, it is likely that some officials in Guangzhou who were interviewed do not have formal heritage skills and are more likely to have only had some brief training in archaeology or general heritage administration. Exceptions to this might include museum curators who require history, fine arts and other skills in order to mount exhibitions.
52 This is relevant to the next chapter's discussion of stakeholders and inclusiveness. It is interesting that at no time did the AAB think of involving the community directly in the project in any way.
54 Information also gathered from an interview with Guangzhou Cultural Bureau officials on 7 December 2004.
55 Ibid.
56 Retired archaeologist Mai Ying Hao, Honorary Director, Guangzhou Museum remembers that after the SACH visit in 1995, the mayor received more respect from gainsayers about his view on heritage conservation – particularly as they compared it favourably with stone architectural ruins in Ancient Rome, stating that it was the first of its kind found in China.
57 Criteria for this include its age, link to Linguan civilization and extensive nature (they are still looking for more of it). The municipal government thinks it is significant as it reflects an early start to the economic history of the region.
58 Interview with Mai on 8 December 2004.
59 Ibid.
60 Interview with Feng on 7 December 2004.
61 Interview with J.J. Zhang on 7 December 2004. Zhang had only just been transferred into the post of Assistant Director at the Guangzhou Cultural Bureau, but had been involved in other aspects of heritage management, including planning for the Historic and Culturally Famous Cities Bureau in Guangzhou.
62 Illustrated Chronicle of Macao (Aomen quan jili), Shanghai People's Publishing House (Shanghai renmin chubanshe), 1999: 130.
However, some building owners are still not interested. A Portuguese-style house behind the Portuguese Military School has been deliberately neglected by its owner rather than renovated in the hope that the CAB will allow its removal. In May 2006, its condition had become so parlous that the government was forced to put up emergency scaffolding on the street-facing façade as a safety measure, and reroute traffic after a series of thunderstorms were causing its masonry to crumble.

When the author du Cros first visited the AMO on arriving in 1999, the people she spoke to all seemed to be buried under paperwork for the EIA process, and reacting to heritage site preservation issues that flared up like ‘bushfires’ rather than trying to anticipate where problems might occur. Lack of computerization of resources and other problems with the system made this reaction less efficient than expected, given the number of staff and number of assets being managed.

At the time of writing, the decision to retain or demolish the Central Market on Hong Kong Island had just been put before the AAB and the SCMP noted that it made the decision ‘behind closed doors’ and attacked it for this lack of transparency yet again (SCMP, 18 May 2006).

Stephen Chan, interviewed in February 2006.