Cultural Heritage Policy, Civil Society and Identity in Hong Kong

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Abstract

This thesis investigates Hong Kong's social process of heritage in both colonial and postcolonial contexts through the analysis of the city's cultural heritage policy between 1976 and 2018.

This research has three objectives. Firstly, this thesis explores the emergence and development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy between 1976 and 2018. Secondly, it explores how different stakeholders from the local civil society have helped to establish and reshape the approach to cultural governance through various civil advocacies and heritage movements. It also identifies how heritage discourses of Hong Kong have been articulated and re-assembled alongside the city's social process of heritage. Thirdly, it illustrates how notions of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity have been formed and re-constructed through the rise of heritage movements and the making of local cultural heritage policy.

This thesis employs various significant events such as the enaction of the first local heritage legislation in 1976 and the movement to save the Central Star Ferry Pier in 2006 in the local history of cultural heritage policy as case studies under the analytical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Also, by conducting archival research, media research and in-depth interviews, this thesis argues that an economic-led approach to cultural heritage policy has been actively adopted in Hong Kong. However, this approach has been challenged by various stakeholders of the local civil society through the articulation of new social and cultural heritage values of Hong Kong, especially in the post-colonial period. Alongside this ever-changing process of local heritage, a cultural and social identity dilemma between localism and 'Chineseness' has emerged in postcolonial Hong Kong. Hong Kong is a unique example of the arrangement of 'One Country, Two Systems'. Therefore, this thesis hopes to contribute to the growing discussion of postcolonial heritage politics in the contemporary Asian context.

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List of Abbreviations

AAB	Antiquities and Advisory Board
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
AMO	Antiquities and Monuments Office
CBD	Central Business District
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CPS	Central Police Station Compound
CSGs	Civil Society Groups
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
HKSAR (SAR)	Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
HKTB	Hong Kong Tourism Board
ICHO	Intangible Cultural Heritage Office
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
KCR	Kowloon-Canton Railway
KMT	Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party)
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SCMP	*South China Morning Post*
SJS	St. James' Settlement
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URA	Urban Renewal Authority
VBH	Blue House Studio Cultural Heritage Education Programme

Chapter 1. Introduction: Heritage Policy in Hong Kong

1. Introduction

This thesis will identify and investigate Hong Kong's process of heritage in both colonial and post-colonial contexts through analysis of the city's cultural heritage policy between 1976 and 2018. This thesis argues that the evolution of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy has played a significant role in terms of the development of the local civil society and the articulation of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity.

On 16th June 2019, more than two million Hong Kong people (more than 25% of the local population) joined the largest protest in the history of Hong Kong. This protest aimed to stand against the extradition bill – allowing criminal suspects to be sent to mainland China – proposed by the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) government. I have lived in Hong Kong for around three decades. In the last few months, I have witnessed how a series of massive demonstrations following the protest have developed into increasingly violent clashes between the protesters and the police force.

As a graduate in Sociology, I understand that the debate of this highly controversial extradition bill is far beyond that of a technical legal issue; instead, it has indicated that the majority of Hong Kong people does not trust the political and legal system of mainland China. Fundamentally, it has revealed a significant social and political gap between Hong Kong and mainland China.

Furthermore, it is argued that a stronger expression of the city's social and cultural identity is identifiable alongside the debate. According to a longitudinal study

conducted by the University of Hong Kong since 1997[1], only 10.8% of the local population recognised themselves as 'Chinese', the lowest record since 1997 (The Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 2019). Meanwhile, more than 76.3% of interviewees identified themselves as 'Hong Konger' or 'Hong Konger in China'[2] which is the highest record since 1997. In the age group between 18 and 29 years old, only 2.7% of the interviewees identified themselves as 'Chinese', the lowest record since the handover of Hong Kong's sovereignty (The Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 2019).

The survey result has indicated that the younger the interviewees, the more negative their sentiments towards mainland China. The survey itself has also revealed a social and cultural identity dilemma for Hong Kong. While China is rising as a significant political and economic force in the world, the 'visibility of Chinese nationalism' is also increasing worldwide (Hughes, 2006, p.1). Chinese nationalism has been employed globally by the Chinese government to achieve 'certain goals in economic, unification and foreign policy' (Hughes, 2006, p.156). This Chinese nationalism in the global era has been considered a critical factor in maintaining China's international status and domestic political stability.

This thesis argues that it is difficult for the Chinese government to tolerate and allow Hong Kong and its people to construct a notion of identity, which is distinctive from mainland China politically, socially and culturally. I propose that this paradox of Hong Kong identity has helped to justify the importance and significance of this doctoral research.

The concept of heritage itself is highly associated with the assemblage and re-

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[1] Hong Kong was a British colony since 1842 and its sovereignty was handed to China from Britain on 1st July 1997.

[2] This round of survey was conducted in between 17th June 2019 and 20th June 2019, right after two massive protests against the extradition bill held on 9th June 2019 and 16th June 2019 respectively (The Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 2019).

assemblage of identity. Also, this thesis engages with the debate of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity through the analysis of the evolution of local cultural heritage policy in both colonial and post-colonial context.

Three major research questions have been set up for this thesis. First of all, how Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy has emerged and developed historically between 1976 and 2018. Secondly, how this evolution of the city's cultural heritage policy has been associated with various stakeholders from the local civil society, furthermore, how those main stakeholders interested in local heritage conservation have articulated different sets of cultural values alongside the process of heritage in Hong Kong. Thirdly, how to define the cultural and social identity that has been continuously constructed and reconstructed along with the ever-changing process of local cultural heritage policy over the last fifty years.

Following the previously mentioned research questions, three research aims have been set up for this thesis. It aims to identify and outline the historical development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy in both colonial and postcolonial context. Additionally, it also aims to understand and define the conceptualisations and dynamics of the local civil society through the lens of heritage studies. Finally, it identifies and analyses the emergence and changes of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity and highlights its connection to the historical development of local cultural heritage policy.

In order to fulfil the research aims, three research objectives have been established for this thesis. Systematic archival research has been conducted to blueprint the history of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy since 1976 when the first legislation related to local heritage selection and conservation was enacted. By adopting the case study research method under the framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA), this thesis will analyse how local civil society groups

have engaged in the formation and development of local cultural heritage policy through various heritage movements and civil advocacies in both colonial and postcolonial periods. Following the previous discussion, this thesis further explores the construction and reconstruction of Hong Kong's social and cultural identity from the perspective of heritage studies through systematic media research and in-depth interview research.

This introductory chapter consists of six sections. The second section provides a brief review of Hong Kong's history of heritage conservation, which serves as the historical background of this thesis. Section three outlines the main research objectives of this thesis. Section four demonstrates how these objectives could be achieved by employing the analytical framework of CDA through case study research. It also explains and justifies the sources of data and how the data has been collected, processed and analysed by conducting systematic archival and media research and in-depth interviews. Finally, section five describes the structure of this thesis and provides a chapter breakdown for the readers' reference.

2. A brief review of Hong Kong's history of heritage conservation

This section provides a summary of Hong Kong's history of heritage conservation to the readers as a basis for further discussion.

Hong Kong currently is an international financial centre and business hub of about 1106 km^2, which includes Hong Kong Island, the Kowloon Peninsula, the New Territories and more than 200 outlying islands. As of mid-2017, the total population of Hong Kong was 7.39 million, while the majority (92%) of its population are ethnic Chinese (HKSAR Government, 2018, The Facts).

Hong Kong was colonised by Britain in 1841 and was intended to be developed as

a commercial hub and military port to protect the political and economic benefits of the British Empire in the East Asia region. The colonial government started the process of urbanisation of Hong Kong and adopted British administrative and legal system since the beginning of the colonial period. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, Hong Kong had already developed into a major trading point in East Asia and a meeting point for both Chinese and Western culture. Therefore, both colonial and Chinese-style historic structures could be found throughout the city such as the former Hong Kong Club building built in 1897 and the Man Mo Temple built in 1847 which was the oldest Chinese temple constructed in the colonial era of Hong Kong.

However, as this thesis will further explain, cultural heritage was not on the colonial government's agenda until 1970. In the post-war era, most of the local Chinese population were migrants from mainland China. Many of them did not consider Hong Kong as their permanent home, but only a place to make a living (Lu, 2009; Lu, 2016). Therefore, as Lu suggested, the migrants did not have a strong sense of Hong Kong identity (Lu, 2009). During the 1950s and 1960s, Hong Kong has experienced a rapid process of industrialisation and urbanisation (Ho, 2018). New industrial towns, seaports and roads construction project were built to boost the economy further. However, alongside the strong economy, public services such as medical care, education and housing provided by the colonial government were significantly insufficient, and the living quality of the local Chinese population was poor. There was a rising dissatisfaction with the governance of the colonial government among the local Chinese population. Meanwhile, the breakout of the Cultural Revolution in mainland China in 1966 had also influenced some members of the local Chinese community, and a strong ideology of anti-colonialism was starting to emerge among local Leftist groups

especially (Mark, 2014; Yep, 2008; Yep, 2012).

In 1967, a labour dispute at an artificial flower factory located at Kowloon set in motion the events later known as the Riots of 1967 (Bickers & Yep, 2009; Cheung, 2009; Yep, 2008). The Leftist groups, supported and inspired by the ideology of Communist China, considered the Riots as a political opportunity to take a stand against the British colonial rule. The Riots affected almost all areas of the territory between May and December of 1967. Fifty-one people were killed during this period, and it was the most violent and severe political crisis in the colonial history of Hong Kong (Cheung, 2009). The Riots of 1967 have been described as a turning point of Hong Kong's post-war colonial history. The riots lasted around eight months and brought significant economic loss and political instability to Hong Kong. However, the violent riots also forced the British colonial government to review its approach to governance and attempt to regain the trust of the local Chinese population towards the colonial government and the long-term future of Hong Kong.

Therefore, a series of economic and social reforms were introduced in response to the riots not only to revitalise the economy of the colony but also to improve the social well-being of the local Chinese population (Mark, 2014; Cheung, 2009). The first heritage law of the territory, the *Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance* was enacted in 1976 in this particular historical context. The ordinance itself also provided a legal definition of what legal antiquities and monuments are, and it marked the first heritage selection and management framework of the colonial government.

After the Riots of 1967, in order to restore the confidence of the local Chinese population and investors, the colonial government had implemented new urban development projects to encourage the economic development of Hong Kong

further. The constructions of the new Cross-Harbour tunnel and Mass Transit Railway (MTR) started in the 1960s and 1970s; meanwhile, the CBD of Hong Kong including Central and Tsim Sha Tsui also experienced a rapid process of urbanisation (Ho, 2018). Several colonial buildings in the CBD had been removed such as the Hong Kong Club Building in Central and the former Kowloon Railway Station Building. In 1978, the campaign for preserving the old Kowloon Railway Station Building was organised by the Hong Kong Heritage Society, a small civil society group mainly led by foreigners and members of the Chinese elite. They were a small segment of the city's emerging civil society in the post-riot period. The campaign is understood as the first public heritage conservation campaign in Hong Kong's history.

Many colonial buildings in the CBD were replaced by new and modern structures to highlight the modernity and the economic success of the city. A developmentalism and commercial approach to urban development began to emerge in both 1980s and 1990s as mainland China executed its Reform and Openness Policy in 1979 which provided a new economic opportunity to Hong Kong (Ho, 2018). The negotiations between China and Britain regarding the future of Hong Kong started in this period as well. The Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed in 1984, ruling that Hong Kong would have to be returned to China in 1997. During the period between 1979 and 1997, Hong Kong experienced a significant political and social transformation before the handover, sparking new discussions and debates around the new heritage politics and the social and cultural identity of Hong Kong.

After the handover of the sovereignty of Hong Kong, the city has been established as a Special Administrative Region (SAR) under the arrangement of the 'One Country, Two Systems'. The SAR was to maintain the original British legal and

administrative systems. Citizens of the SAR enjoy a high degree of freedom and liberty, such as freedom of speech and assembly that mainlanders do not usually have. Therefore, politically, socially and culturally, Hong Kong is distinguishable from the rest of China. Thus, Hong Kong developed its own social and cultural identity, even in the post-colonial period.

Heritage is a dynamic and changeable concept. Although the government's cultural heritage policy was still economically led in the early postcolonial period, it had been challenged after a series of publicly engaged heritage movements in 2006 and 2007. The campaign to preserve the former Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier between 2006 and 2007 has been interpreted as a watershed moment in the history of Hong Kong's heritage policy (Henderson, 2008; Ku, 2012; Ng, Tang, Lee, & Leung, 2010). It was one of the most significant heritage campaigns in the city's post-colonial history. During the process of the movements to save the Piers, the notion of social identity has been once again put under the media and public spotlight. A nostalgic notion of social identity, emphasising the uniqueness of Hong Kong and its people and the political, social and cultural distinction of Hong Kong from the mainland, also emerged with the campaign led by civil society groups and social activists.

The campaign for the preservation of the former Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier (the Piers) urged the government to revise its cultural heritage policy approach to improve its relations with the civil society through new heritage preservation and management projects. The government introduced a heritage policy review in 2008 and carried out a series of new heritage policies, including a new partnership scheme with local civil society groups. One of the examples is the revitalising project of the Blue House Cluster operated by St. James' Settlement (SJS). Until 2019, five batches of 19 government-owned historical buildings have

been included in the scheme (HKSAR Government, 2019, p.7).

In 2014, a large-scale social movement, the 'Umbrella Movement' was formed. The movement aimed to fight against the Chinese central government's decision on the election of Chief Executive by universal suffrage in 2014. This decision has set a limit for the qualifications and numbers of the candidates to ensure all of them would be endorsed by the pro-Beijing nominating committee. It had later triggered the 'Umbrella Movement', and protesters occupied major roads on Hong Kong Island and Kowloon for 81 days.

Alongside the movement, a stronger awareness and sense of Hong Kong identity emerged (Cheng, 2016; Lowe & Yuk-Ha Tsang, 2018; Veg, 2017). New discussions and debates on Hong Kong's social and cultural identity have been raised among the public, especially the younger generation. The recent protests in June 2019 fighting against the extradition bill allowing suspects to be sent to mainland China may bring new political and social dynamics in terms of Hong Kong's relationship with the mainland. It may also affect the further direction and approach to the SAR government's cultural governance about the political, social and cultural identity of Hong Kong and its people.

The following section will further unpack the research objectives of this thesis in the previously established historical background of this research project.

3. Research aims and objectives of the thesis

This thesis has three main research objectives. This thesis is going to illustrate the historical process of Hong Kong's cultural heritage process between the 1970s and 2018 through systematic archival and media research. Also, it aims to identify and analyse how the concept of heritage has been assembled and understood differently by various stakeholders of the local civil society in both colonial and

post-colonial context by conducting case study research. It also aims to understand the articulation and re-articulation of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity through the lens of heritage studies.

The three main research objectives have been developed for this study which allows a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the conceptualisations of heritage values, heritage discourse and identity in the context of contemporary Hong Kong between 1976 and 2018.

3.1. Exploring Hong Kong's heritage discourses and its cultural heritage policy

The first objective of this thesis is to identify and analyse the heritage values articulated and heritage discourse assembled by different stakeholders of the local civil society in different critical moments of the history of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy between 1970 and 2018.

In order to achieve this objective, this thesis reviews several prominent concepts of the field of heritage studies such as heritage, heritage value and heritage discourse. Thus, in the literature review (chapter two), I recognise that heritage is not a 'thing', instead, it is a dynamic process which is susceptible to various political, social and cultural factors (Smith, 2006a; Smith, 2017). Furthermore, I argue that heritage is a highly social and cultural process associated with a series of negotiations of cultural and social heritage values as well as identification of cultural identity (Smith, 2017; Waterton & Watson, 2010; Waterton, 2010). People with different social and cultural backgrounds discuss and think about heritage in heterogeneous ways.

This thesis also engages with the concept of heritage values. I argue that heritage values are critical to how we define and characterise what heritage is. This thesis understands that heritage values are contingent but not objectively given while

they are also socially and culturally constructed (Manson, 2008, p.100). In other words, this thesis aims to understand how different sets of economic, social and cultural heritage values were being articulated and employed by various stakeholders of the local civil society through the process of heritage selection and conservation in Hong Kong.

Another important concept that this thesis addressing is heritage discourse. In this thesis, I suggest that a set of heritage values could be a part of a heritage discourse. In other words, the articulation of heritage values is an essential process of assembling a particular heritage discourse. However, I understand heritage discourse is a more abstract and complex concept than heritage values. I define that heritage discourse is how different individuals assemble and arrange their observations and understandings of heritage through their language and actions.

As Fairclough suggests, discourse is a 'practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning' (Fairclough, 1992, p.64). More importantly, discourse itself is also a process of negotiations of various social and power relations (Fairclough, 1993; Fairclough, 2003a; Smith, 2006a). Different heritage values and ideologies could also be articulated, along with this process. I argue that heritage value is a 'reference to the qualities and characteristics seen in things' (Manson, 2008, p.99) while discourse itself shall be an 'active part of social action' (Waterton, 2010, p.5) which can *do* something such as creating and constructing a version of reality (Wetherell, 2001, p.17). I propose that heritage values are indeed playing both instrumental and symbolic functions in contemporary society. However, heritage discourse itself is also an arrangement of various sets of heritage values and ideologies to construct the ways of understanding what heritage is.

3.2. Rethinking civil society in heritage studies

The second aim of this thesis is to investigate how various stakeholders of Hong Kong's civil society have engaged with the process of heritage discourse and the articulation of heritage values. Therefore, it is crucial for this thesis to explore the conceptualisation of civil society through the lens of heritage studies. Traditionally, the concept of civil society evolved from liberalism and communitarianism, which emphasise the freedom of individuals and is distinct from government and business sectors (Cohen & Arato, 1995; Seligman, 1992). Civil rights, political rights and social rights are all necessary conditions for developing a mature civil society (Cohen & Arato, 1995; Marshall, 1992; Seligman, 1992). However, this thesis suggests that the concept of civil society has not been well-developed and researched in the specific context of contemporary Hong Kong, especially from the perspective of heritage studies.

Heritage, civil society and identity are all key concepts that this thesis aims to engage with. This thesis recognises civil society is an element of the politics of heritage and the social process of heritage (Hsiao, Hui, & Peycam, 2017). Different stakeholders of the civil society shall play various roles in this social process of heritage. For example, non-governmental groups and individual activists which I define as members of civil society in this thesis could challenge the approach of cultural governance and even the legitimacy of the government alongside the social process of heritage. It could be achieved through various heritage movements and civil advocacies, while chapter two will demonstrate a more comprehensive discussion of the concepts of civil society in the context of heritage studies.

This thesis argues that the local civil society has played an essential role in the process of articulating local heritage and assembling heritage discourses in both

colonial and post-colonial period of Hong Kong. The development of Hong Kong's local civil society shall be traced back to the 1970s. Starting in the 1970s, the colonial government of Hong Kong launched a series of large-scale social welfare projects to improve the well-being of the local Chinese population in Hong Kong and allowed more freedom of speech and association (Nedilsky, 2014). I argue that the early versions of the heritage policy in Hong Kong, to a certain extent, was also a part of the 'new' social welfare campaign and urban redevelopment projects aimed at enriching entertainment for the public and promoting the economic development of Hong Kong.

Furthermore, this thesis also illustrates that a developmentalism and economical approach to cultural heritage policy was being articulated in Hong Kong's process of heritage. By analysing the government's cultural heritage policy, I argue that an authorised heritage discourse (AHD) highlighting the economic success and modernity of Hong Kong was being articulated. A more detailed discussion about this process of AHD is developed in the forthcoming chapters.

Several stakeholders of local civil society such as the Heritage Society, a non-governmental heritage conservation organisation, understood heritage values differently to that articulated by the government. As chapter two will show, the concept of heritage is usually developed from the ideologies of professionals and elites, who generally hold power to shape ways of thinking and talking about heritage (Roberts, 2017; Smith, 2006a; Smith, 2017). Based on the analysis of government and archival media data, chapter two and three show that local civil society groups mostly led the campaigns encouraging legal protection for specific colonial heritage sites (such as the former Kowloon Railway Station Building in the 1970s and the old Hong Kong Club Building in 1980). Among these were the Hong Kong Heritage Society as well as well-educated professionals and members of

social elites.

Research reveals that the local professionals and elites were the pillars of the rapid growth and development of Hong Kong's civil society between the 1970s and the 1980s. I argue that, alongside the process of heritage selection and making, new civil society groups were established by local professionals and social elites. A number of the local social elites had a significant motivation to request more political rights proactively from the colonial government and were also ready to challenge the heritage values articulated by the government.

Meanwhile, this thesis argues that the public has actively participated in the issue of local heritage conservation through several major civil advocacies and heritage movements, especially during the post-colonial period of Hong Kong. The case studies of the heritage movements to preserve the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier in 2006 and 2007 have been employed in chapter five and chapter six. By analysing the case studies, I suggest that new social and cultural heritage values were being articulated alongside these publicly engaged heritage movements which targeted to challenge the legitimacy of the dominating economic approach to Hong Kong's cultural governance and urban planning policy.

By employing the framework of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003a; Fairclough, 2013; Waterton, 2010), I propose that there is a complex and nuanced relationship between different stakeholders of local civil society, consisting of conflicts as well as collaborations. Similarly, heritage is understood throughout this thesis as a contested space. This contested space is 'about the present, and how certain interpretations of the past are used in and for the present' (Smith, 2017, p.16). In other words, various stakeholders understand and interpret the meanings of the heritage differently for proposes in the present and the future. Chapter five and chapter six will further investigate this issue.

3.3. Re-imaging Hong Kong identity through the lens of heritage studies

The third objective of this thesis is to examine the interrelationship between the process of heritage and Hong Kong's social and cultural identities. In the following chapters, I will identify the main features of the social and cultural identity of Hong Kong and its people across time.

Identity is a difficult term, and it is complicated to define what identity is (Lawler, 2015, p.1). The definition of identity, indeed, could be highly malleable and multidimensional. Lawler argues that identities should be considered as on-going processes while these processes are dynamic and changeable (Lawler, 2015). The process of making identity is usually based on people's experience and their particular historical and social contexts(Hall, 2004; Lawler, 2015).

In the context of heritage studies, identity is always a contested concept, and it is also highly political (Lawler, 2015; Macdonald, 2013; Stephens & Tiwari, 2015; Waterton, 2005). In many nations, heritage policy is commonly embedded with notions of national identity (Henderson, 2001). Hence, certain heritage could be deliberately excluded or included form the making process of national identity to serve the nation's various political, cultural and economic propose (Graham, 2000; Tunbridge, 1996). Also, there are always tensions between different layers of identity, such as the national identity and the local identity (Fung, 2004).

In the case of Hong Kong, it is important to recognise that the articulation of Hong Kong's identity is not a stable one. In the last five decades, the local of Hong Kong has dynamically reacted to various notions of their cultural identity imposed by different dominated political power, such as the former British colonial government and the central government of China.

From a British colony to a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic China (PRC), Hong Kong has experienced critical political and social changes. The

change of the city's sovereignty created a new space for the sociological imagination of the new post-colonial cultural and social identities of Hong Kong as the city has witnessed a relatively unique process of decolonisation compared to other former British colonies in Asia, such as Singapore.

Unlike other colonies, Hong Kong has not been 'de-colonised' as a nation, but 'returned' to China. This political fact has inevitably encouraged new discussions and debates on the 'Chineseness' of Hong Kong people in the context of post-colonial Hong Kong. Although Hong Kong is now legally part of China, the city still enjoys a high degree of political autonomy, and there is a considerable political and cultural distinction between the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong due to its 156-years of colonial history. Therefore, the context and definition of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity remain a contentious issue. It is sensible to argue that the identity of Hong Kong is a combination of both Chinese and colonial identity.

It is suggested that the concept of hybridity (Smith, 2008)shall be employed as a way to discuss the construction and reconstruction of Hong Kong's identity. As Fung suggests, Hong Kong people have devloped a dual and hybridised identity encompassing both Hong Kong and 'traditional' Chinese cultural characters (Fung, 2004). This thesis suggests that the cultural and social identity of Hong Kong has been constantly re-assembled along with the process of heritage.

'Hybridity encompasses partial identities, multiple roles, and pluralistic selves' (Smith, 2008, p.5). In the specific context of Hong Kong, this thesis argues that the British colonial government had attempted to create and justify a hybrid modern Hong Kong identity, which incorporated with both 'western' and traditional Chinese cultural elements.

It was achieved through the establishment of new cultural heritage policy during the colonial period. However, this process of constructing a 'dual' identity for Hong

Kong and its people was very dynamic or even a fragile one, to a certain extent. This dynamic process has been constantly engaged with the city's political and social changes in the last five decades.

However, this hybridisation of Hong Kong's identity is being challenged recently. The radical changes of Hong Kong's cultural and social structures in recent years have provided new opportunity to reshape the notion of Hong Kong's and its identity boundary (Castells, 1997; Zaretsky, 1994). There is an increasing intention among the public, especially the younger generation, to seek a unique and independent notion of the city's identity. This notion is often different from the national identity of PRC or the hybrid 'dual' identity emphasising both 'western' and traditional Chinese characters mentioned earlier in this section. This process of re-configuring Hong Kong's local identity is still an active on-going process (Fung, 2004).

Cultural heritage policy is one of the major arenas of this contested process of heritage re-making. Thus, this thesis has chosen to investigate how the identity of Hong Kong has been constructed and re-constructed continuously through the lens of cultural heritage policy studies.

Based on the review of associated literature, this thesis suggests that the meaning of heritage is continually recreated and reinterpreted to address the political and social needs and problems of the present. In other words, heritage is not 'discovered' from the past but made for the present and the future. However, heritage is not individually created, imagined and invented; it is also a part of a complex set of political and social performances and negotiations (Smith, 2017). In the context of Hong Kong, it means that the notion of Hong Kong identity has been created and re-created through the selection and conservation of both tangible and intangible heritage.

As discussed above, this thesis further argues that identity is not created based on historical inheritance but based on the meanings given by different social agents such as the government, the civil society groups and even individuals. Material objects and heritage sites provide both space and time for people to reflect on the meanings of heritage and to further legitimise their understandings of heritage. Hence, through an empirical analysis of archival data and in-depth interviews, this thesis will identify the related heritage discourses employed by different stakeholders and examine how the sense of Hong Kong's identity has been created and re-created through the process of heritage-making across different periods of time, especially in the post-colonial period between 1997 and 2018.This thesis establishes an analytical framework of critical heritage discourse analysis, based on related literature, archival data and a comprehensive investigation of the significant events in Hong Kong's history of cultural heritage policy over the last fifty years. A number of significant events from Hong Kong's contemporary history of heritage politics have been selected as case studies such as the enactment of the first law concerning local heritage selection and protection (*The Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance*) in 1976 and the and the movement for preserving the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier in 2006 and 2007. The selection of these case studies would be further explained and justified in section four of this chapter.

The second objective of this thesis is to examine how different stakeholders of the local civil society in Hong Kong have articulated different sets of heritage values and assembled various heritage discourses along with the historical development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy between 1970 and 2018.

Section three has illustrated the three main research aims and objectives of this research project. It has also established an analytical framework for this thesis.

The following section will focus on the research methodology applied for the thesis and the sources of the research data.

4. Research Methodology

This section explains the research methodology employed for this thesis. This research project takes up a policy-oriented focus, while case study research has been used as a primary research method under the analytical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 2003b; Waterton, 2010).

Regarding the ontological stance, critical realism is the chief ontological approach of this thesis as it employs CDA as a principal analytical framework. However, this thesis recognises that the critical realism approach itself is contested, and there is also a constant debate between the different academic approaches of critical realism and post-structuralism in the field of contemporary heritage studies. Hence, this thesis also utilises the theories of post-structuralism, such as the discourse theory in Foucauldian style to facilitate the discussion further. The following sub-section explains how concepts and theories of different ontological approaches shall be combined to give a more holistic analysis for this thesis.

This thesis has selected several important events of the historical development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy as case studies. By analysing how heritage values and heritage discourses were articulated through the process of heritage, this thesis demonstrates how different stakeholders of local civil society reacted and responded to the constant development of local cultural governance. This section also explains how the analytical framework of CDA combined with the post-structural theories is useful for analysing the articulation of heritage values and the assemblage of heritage discourses in the context of Hong Kong.

Additionally, this section illustrates the sources of data collected for this research

project. The data was gathered through archival research on governmental documents, media research on local newspapers and in-depth interviews with several interviewees who participated in certain heritage movements and civil advocacies.

As I have mentioned before, case study research has been employed as the primary research method. By doing this, this thesis can analyse how heritage values and heritage discourse have been articulated and assembled through various critical events of Hong Kong's heritage politics under the framework of critical heritage discourse analysis.

This part of the thesis also demonstrates how the data of this thesis has been collected through systematic archival research, media research and in-depth interviews. The archival research was conducted on both colonial and post-colonial governments' archival documents such as policy statement, official press release and minutes of Legislative Council meetings. Media research on major local Chinese and English newspapers and media coverage has also been conducted. It aims to help analyse how the articulation of different sets of heritage values has encouraged the construction and reconstruction of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity in both the colonial and post-colonial period.

4.1. Establishing the analytical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This thesis applies the framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a tool to examine the assemblage of heritage discourses and associated notions of Hong Kong's political and social identity between 1976 and 2018. The first stage of this study is to identify the heritage values and heritage discourses that have been articulated and assembled through different case studies of the selected events and critical moments in local heritage history.

By employing the analytical framework of CDA, this thesis, in large extents, ontologically is in favour of the critical realism approach. However, it does not imply that this thesis rejects the theoretical frameworks developed with the post-structuralist approach.

Within the context of heritage studies, there is always a theoretical debate between the approach of critical realism and post-structuralist. It is essential to recognise that the nature of heritage is contested, especially in the way of how we understand what heritage discourse is.

To a large extent, critical realism is an inquiry to the nature of things, such as agency, structure and relations. From the perspective of critical realism, heritage discourse tends to be understood as an object that could be analysed and link to the existing social reality. The critical realists also suggest that there is a material world which independently exists. Under the framework of CDA, discourse itself is not only an object but also a social mechanism that could be closely associated with social practice. Moreover, discourse is understood as a 'specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorisations that are produced, reproduced and transformed to give meanings to physical and social relations'(Hajer, 1993; Leipold, Feindt, Winkel, & Keller, 2019).

Under the framework of CDA, The definition of heritage discourse within this project is interpreted as the way people talk and write about the meanings and values of heritage (Smith, 2017; Waterton, 2010). Following the approach of critical realism, heritage discourse is understood as a set of cultural practices and performances which 'populates both popular and expert constructions of heritage' (Smith, 2006a, p.11). Heritage discourse is also perceived here as an arrangement and regulation of a range of values and understandings.

Like academic scholars in the field of heritage discourse research, such as Smith,

Waterton and Fairclough (Fairclough, 2003a; Fairclough, 2003b; Smith, 2006a; Smith, 2017; Waterton, 2010), this thesis employs the analytical framework of critical discourse analysis to investigate the politics of heritage discourses in the context of Hong Kong's heritage policy. Critical realists usually suggest that there is a material world which is independent of how we think, understand and talk about it. Therefore, heritage discourse is not something simply descriptive; it is also a 'thing' that can bring significant consequences to the material world, for example, shaping and re-shaping the approaches to heritage and associated heritage management policy (Smith, 2017; Waterton, 2010). Hence, critical discourse analysis is an approach to the study of language organised and arranged around specific social issues such as the selection and management of heritage.

CDA has been developed within various fields of social sciences, such as gender studies and research related to social class and ethnicity (Herriott & Firestone, 1983; Yin, 2009). CDA mainly involves studying how language is being used and organised around a specific issue such as heritage and identity. As Waterton suggests, CDA heavily focuses on social issues and problems as it aims to show how discourse figures in social problems or changes (Waterton, 2010, p.21). In other words, CDA attempts to understand sociological questions and issues through the lens of a systematic and empirical analysis of language in use and the specific arrangement of language.

Van Dijk argues that CDA requires the researchers to take a political and social position for the issue that they are working on. In other words, the research itself should have implications for social change (van Dijk, 2009). Also, Fairclough suggests that there is an 'explanatory critique' which allows researchers to identify social issues and problems 'with an attempt to solve it'. This approach of 'explanatory critique' was employed for this thesis (Fairclough, 2003a; Waterton,

2010, p.21). This thesis does not expect to solve the social problems related to local heritage conservation. Instead, it aims to provide an opportunity to identify and explain the central heritage values and heritage discourses articulated along with the process of heritage in the context of Hong Kong. Also, it aims to understand the power relations between different stakeholders surrounding the issue of heritage conservation in the context of Hong Kong. I argue that this approach is applicable for this research to analyse the development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy holistically and systematically to identify the characteristics of the city's cultural governance.

In doing this, inspired by Fairclough's model of social life, this thesis adopts the concepts of 'social structures', 'social practices' and 'social events' (Waterton, 2010, p.22-23). As I have suggested in the previous section, the nature of the heritage process is both social and political. It is also an essential part of human social life. Therefore, this thesis understands 'social events' as the events and the moments that have happened in the history of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. 'Social structures' are more abstract and durable, linked to the long-term transformation of society. 'Social practices' are the linkages between the 'social events' and 'social structure' (Waterton, 2010, p.22-23).

In this thesis, these linkages are the specific arrangements of language articulating various heritage values. These heritage values could be identified through the examinations of selected events and heritage movements in the history of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. It is also important to stress that CDA is mainly using language to interpret social contexts to connect the actual events and the structure of society. In order words, it aims to demonstrate a bigger picture of people's lives from various perspectives, while heritage policy is just one of these perspectives. Smith further explains that critical discourse analysis is mainly

'identifying and understanding how people organise themselves and act through particular discourses' (Smith, 2006b, p.15). It is also important to emphasise that discourse is just one of the many elements that are continually shaping people's social practice. Therefore, a critical analysis of discourse will help researchers understand how discourses can regulate, maintain or challenge social relations such as the social relations between the government and local civil society groups through the making process of Hong Kong's heritage policy (Waterton, 2010).

Furthermore, Smith also suggests that 'discourse may also work to bind collectives to particular internalised ideologies assumptions and practices' (Smith, 2006b, p.15) which are all core elements of understanding what collective identity is. Thus, this thesis also connects 'social practices' with people's collective actions and their cultural and social identities. By examining the heritage discourses carefully and critically, this thesis also reveals how heritage discourses could be playing a role in shaping Hong Kong people's political and social identities along with the structural change of Hong Kong society as a whole.

As previously discussed, the CDA is useful for this thesis to investigate how heritage and their social relations could be understood by analysing the language arrangements associated with them. CDA is a well-established tool to identify how heritage values and heritage discourses are being articulated through the political and social process of heritage. It is also important to understand that critical realism itself is a meta-theoretical position rather than an empirical programme. The framework of CDA is a kind of tool for conducting an empirical investigation to map out the ontological nature of social reality.

Besides, it is essential to pay attention to the possible limitations of the CDA and critical realism. Critical realists usually concern the nature of things, including cultural heritage. However, post-structuralism scholars in the field, such as Law,

Pendlebury and Harrison, argue that heritage itself is more than the role of material 'things'. Heritage does not exist independently but emerged along with the interactions between different people, objects, place and even social practices. Heritage is also a strategic assemblage of 'various people, institutions, apparatuses and the relations between them' (Harrison, 2013, p.35).

Harrison further criticises that the use of the AHD concept has not produced 'an account that adequately theorises the role of material things' (Harrison, 2013, p.112). In other words, Harrison suggests that there is a risk for us to oversee the limitations of CDA advocated by Smith such as moving 'beyond the reduction of discourse to text' and ignoring the 'affective qualities of heritage' (Harrison, 2013, p.112). He purposes that the process of heritage is not a collection of things, but a network connecting both individuals and societies that 'undertake to produce the past in the present' (Harrison, 2013, p.113). Pendlebury further suggests that the use of heritage discourse under the CDA framework may allow 'little recognition of external force' (Pendlebury, 2013, p.716), such as social movements and 'explicit tactical responses of AHD-formers to external pressures' (Pendlebury, 2013, p.716). In the context of this thesis, these external force could also be referred to as various heritage movements aimed to save *unofficially* recognised heritage sites and the tactical responses of local civil society groups to the authority's selection of *official* heritage values and discourses.

Therefore, this thesis employs both critical realism and post-structuralist approaches, but in different scopes. In this thesis, the framework of CDA is applied to outline a holistic picture of the development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. In doing this, various social events are identified and selected as case studies to establish the historical context of the city's cultural heritage policy.

Meanwhile, this thesis also concerns how the 'external forces' (Pendlebury, 2013,

p.716), for example, various stakeholders of the local civil society have negotiated and even collaborated with the authority to change and challenge the *official* values and discourses of heritage. In doing this, this thesis employs both discourse theory and assemblage theory in post-structuralist approach in the case study.

In other words, the role of the post-structuralist theories and concepts in this thesis is to serve as a tool kit to investigate the dynamic relationships and interactions between various members of the civil society groups and the authority. These relationships are highly dynamic and changeable, while heritage should also be understood as a 'mental (discursive) and material entity' rather than just a collection of things (Harrison, 2013, p.113). In the section that follows, it will further demonstrate and explain how the case study has been employed as a primary research method under the holistic analytical framework of CDA.

4.2. Case study as a primary research method

The previous section has established a CDA analytical framework with an 'explanatory critique' approach. Following the previous discussion, this section explains why case study research was selected as the primary research method for this thesis under the framework of CDA. As I have discussed before, it is crucial to identify the 'social events' under the framework of CDA.

In the context of this thesis, I argue that these 'social events' are those critical events and moments related to the emergence and historical development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. For example, the campaign for preserving the former Kowloon Railway Station Building between 1975 and 1978 and the renovation of the Hong Kong Museum of History's permanent exhibition in the early 1990s.

I propose that those events shall be employed as case studies of this thesis to

explore and analyse the role of different stakeholders in the process of heritage. I further argue that selected case studies are all indicators of several significant moments of the history of local cultural heritage policy. For example, the campaign to preserve the former Kowloon Railway Station Building was one of the first civil advocacies to preserve local built heritage after the enactment of the *Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance* – the first-ever ordinance specified for local heritage conservation in 1976. On the other hand, the movements to save the Central Star Ferry and the Queen's Pier (the Piers) in 2006 and 2007 were significant heritage movements actively participated by the public and various stakeholders of the local civil society in the post-colonial political and social context of Hong Kong.

Yin's *Case Studies Research: Design and Methods* helps to justify the reason for choosing case study research as a primary research method for this thesis. He suggests that 'case study allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events' when 'the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident' (Yin, 2009, p.4).

As I have discussed previously, this thesis aims to provide a holistic analysis of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. Therefore, I suggest that the case study research method helps the researcher to identify the characteristics of real-life events which happened (Yin, 2009). Furthermore, heritage is a complicated and dynamic concept, and it is challenging to define heritage clearly and establish a boundary between heritage and other concepts.

As was pointed out in the previous section of this chapter, the concept of heritage is 'board and slippery'(Harrison, 2013, p.5). It is argued that there are changeable and interactive social relations between various stakeholders are being assembled as heritage.

In the specific context of the selected 'social events', case study research could

provide an in-depth understanding of real-life events and phenomenon. It also allows a detailed analysis of the 'interconnected webs of relationships' (Harrison, 2013, p.34) between heritage and different stakeholders of the local civil society. Chapter two will further discuss various theories and conceptualisations associated with contemporary heritage studies, such as heritage discourse theory and assemblage theory in details.

This research project is defined as 'multiple-case studies' research. The rationale of employing the method of multiple-case studies is that it is 'often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust' (Herriott & Firestone, 1983; Yin, 2009, p.53). In other words, it shall provide more extensive data and information to help the researchers to have a much more holistic understanding of the issue they are working on compared to the single case study research method. As this research covers the historical development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy for over five decades, there is a need for the researcher to select important events and moments in different periods of the history of local cultural heritage policy. The selected cases should be sufficiently significant to indicate and explain the development of local cultural governance at different specific points in the local history of heritage conservation. Section four provides a more detailed justification for the selection of the cases. The following sub-section will further discuss the sources of data and how the data was collected and processed for this research.

4.3. Data collection and analysis

This section introduces the various sources that have been used to collect data for this thesis. This study has selected several significant events in Hong Kong's history of heritage policy between 1976 and 2018 as case studies to demonstrate the change in the city's heritage discourses and politics.

As I have discussed in the previous sections, this thesis aims to explore the evolving process of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy and associated politics of heritage between 1976 and 2018. In order to facilitate the discussion and analysis of this research project, the history of Hong Kong's heritage policy has been divided into four different phases in this thesis:

1. The post-riots period between 1976 and 1979;
2. The transformation period of the process of decolonisation from 1980 to 1997;
3. The first decade of the then new-born Special Administrative Region from 1997 to 2007, during which period one of the largest public heritage campaigns in the history of Hong Kong – the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier movement – took place;
4. The current second decade of post-colonial Hong Kong from 2008 to 2018, which has witnessed the aftermath of the movements of the Piers and the 'Umbrella Movement' in 2014.

As Yin suggests, there are six primary sources of evidence and data when employing a case study research method (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Sources of evidence (Yin, 2009, p.53).

a. Documentation
b. Archival records
c. Interviews
d. Direct observations
e. Participant observation
f. Physical artefacts

In this research project, sources a, b and c have been employed to collect research

data. In this thesis, archival records also cover archival record from the media such as local newspapers and TV news reports. I define this research as historical research of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. As I have outlined in sub-section one, the history of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy has been divided into four different phases in this thesis. Based on the historical features of each phase, various sources and method of data collecting have also been employed accordingly.

Phase 1 and Phase 2 cover the years between 1976 and 1997. Both of them are critical parts of the development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. For example, the first law regarding the selection and management of local heritage came into effect in 1976 (the Phase 1) while Phase 2 was the political and social transformation period of colonial Hong Kong. The dominating economic approach to local cultural governance also emerged during Phase 1 and Phase 2, as the following chapter shall further explain. However, from the perspective of data collection and research methodology, the research on Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy in Phase 1 and Phase 2 is relatively historical and spanning over more than 20 years. Therefore, documentation and archival data are the primary sources of research data for both Phase 1 and Phase 2.

As Atkinson & Coffey argue, documents reconstruct social reality through 'particular uses of language' while it is also associated with 'distinct social occasions and organised activities' (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004, p.59-60). I further suggest that the main purpose of using archival documents is to outline the historical background and context of the associated events in Phase 1 and Phase 2. For example, the enaction of the *Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance* in 1976, the heritage movement to save the former Kowloon Railway Station building in the late 1970s and the demolition of old Hong Kong Club in 1981. Also, another main

purpose is to identify and analyse the language and wordings that have been used in such documents.

Before I further demonstrate how the archival data was processed, I will explain how the archival data was collected for Phase 1 and Phase 2. Phase 1 covers the British colonial period between 1976 and 1979 when the city was experiencing rapid political, social and economic changes. The primary source of data for this period is the archival collection of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) at the National Archive of the United Kingdom. The selected archival documents from the record series of *FCO 40: Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Hong Kong Departments: Registered Files, Hong Kong, British Honduras, British Indian Ocean Territories and Seychelles (HW and HK Series)*. It contains a series of colonial governmental papers of Hong Kong and the correspondence between the Hong Kong government and the FCO, especially the Hong Kong Department between 1965 and 1992 covering the whole historical period of Phase 1 and most of Phase 2. The record series of *FCO* 40 is a valuable and reliable source of historical data for this research project, particularly for the research of the first two Phases. For example, one of the selected case studies for Phase 1 is the movement to save the former Kowloon Railway Station Building from demolition between 1976 and 1978. The record series of *FCO 40* has provided the daily administrative papers of the Hong Kong government and meeting proceedings of the Executive Council of colonial Hong Kong (a core policy-making organ of the colonial government leading by the Governor of Hong Kong) regarding the issue. Furthermore, it also contains written personal correspondence between the Governor and the then Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in London such as letters sent by the Governor arguing that the railway station building should be demolished for the economic and social needs of Hong Kong people and the long-term stability of the

colonial government.

As Atkinson and Coffey observe, 'official documents and reports are often couched in language that differs from everyday language use'; therefore, in some occasions, it may be possible for the bureaucracy to 'deliberately confuse or mislead through their written language' (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004, p.60). Although the governmental archive is usually perceived as a reliable source of data, it is still vital for researchers to analyse the governmental documents with a critical stance. Furthermore, for the case of the former Kowloon Railway Station building, keywords such as 'railway station', 'Canton railway' and 'demolition' were used to search related documents (within the record series of *FCO 40*) (FCO, 1978a; FCO, 1978b) in the searching engine of the National Archive within the time frame between 1975 and 1978 while the former railway station building was demolished in 1978.

I divided the collected documents into three different categories: official records, personal correspondence and non-governmental documents. Firstly, official records include various types of official government documents such as administrative papers and council meetings minutes. Secondly, personal correspondence is defined as written communication between various officials of both colonial Hong Kong government and the FCO office in London. Finally, non-governmental documents are the written records produced by a non-governmental organisation. One of the examples is the petition letters sent to the Governor and the Queen by the Hong Kong Heritage Society – a local civil society group aimed to stop the demolition work of the station building. The petition suggested the former railway station building should be retained due to its unique cultural and social values to Hong Kong people (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1977; Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1978a; Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1978b).

By cross-referencing and analysing different categories of the archival data, I was able to identify how they understand and describe the values of the building in different ways. For example, in the letters and documents produced by the Hong Kong Society, the railway station building was described in a relatively emotional terms such as 'a symbol of Hong Kong people's sense of identity' and 'having historical/ emotional/ psychological significance to this community' (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1977, p.3-4). Meanwhile, the colonial Hong Kong government suggested that the removal of the station building was a 'rational' choice for the long-term economic and social development of colonial Hong Kong. Atkinson and Coffey argue that 'the distinctive uses of language' of various stakeholders displays 'the relationships between texts and the conventions of the *genre*' (2004, p.59). In this example, analysing the tone and usage of language in the documents produced by the colonial government and the local civil society groups such as the Hong Kong Heritage Society allows me to identify the different understanding and values that were articulated for the station building.

Furthermore, 'documents do not stand alone' (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004, p.66). It is essential to recognise that 'documents make sense because they have relationships with other documents' (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004, p.67). Thus, it also helps explains why this research project has to engage with a series of documents produced by different individuals and organisations from multiple sources.

Another example is the case of demolition of the former Hong Kong Club Building in 1981, which will be further discussed in chapter three. In the case of the old Hong Kong Club, besides governmental archival data, archival documents of the archive of the Hong Kong Club has been used for the case study research. These documents include the meeting proceedings of the annual general meetings and financial reports and the written correspondence between the Club and the then

Antiquities Advisory Board (The Hong Kong Club, 1978; The Hong Kong Club, 1979). The former has been used to identify the internal disagreements in terms of the redevelopment of the Club building in the 1980s while the latter has been employed as a major source of data to investigate the radical changes of the Club's attitudes towards the preservation of the building in both financial and political considerations. The arguments and evidence found in the internal archival documents of the Hong Kong Club were cross-referenced with the governmental records produced in the same period (from 1976 to 1981) to illustrate the process of the negotiation process between the Club and the government regarding the demolition of the former Hong Kong Club building. It is crucial to understand and analyse documents systematically as documents can usually refer to *other* documents. Different signs and messages may also be found in various texts; therefore, they have to be gathered and connected as a system to facilitate the analytical process of this research project.

The third phase concerns the period between 1997 and 2007, the first decade of post-colonial Hong Kong. Due to the political sensitivity of the associated records, almost all confidential government documents are still restricted and have not yet been made available to the public. Therefore, the then Legislative Council's meeting proceedings, discussion papers on the governments' heritage policy submitted to the Legislative Council, the annual Policy Address, meeting records of the Antiquities Advisory Board and the government's consultation paper on heritage policy review are important primary collected data for the investigation on the heritage policy in the early post-colonial period.

However, in addition to archival data, media research has been employed for this phase's investigation. This thesis perceives media research as another method to collect data related to the selected case studies, especially those that took place in

the recent post-colonial period. One of the examples is the movement to preserve the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier in 2006 and 2007 (Referring to chapter five). Media coverage has played a critical role in terms of understanding the concrete situation of the campaign. For example, media reports such as newspapers and TV reports have effectively what the activists have said and done on the sites and how the government have responded to the collective actions of the activists and the public through the campaign. As government archival data is not yet fully accessible, media research becomes an important source of data for this specific case study. The media research method is commonly employed in various psychological and sociological investigations. However, as the nature of this research is qualitative, the media research conducted here is not statistical and mainly achieved by the method of qualitative content analysis (Brennen, 2012; Wimmer, 2006). The reason for applying qualitative media research is the researcher aims to outline and understand what motivated heritage movements and how different stakeholders of local civil society responded to such heritage movements. It is difficult to answer these research questions through quantitative research. Under the CDA framework that I have established previously, qualitative content analysis is more 'holistic' and 'attempts to deal with messages and meanings in a cultural context rather than as isolated elements' (Yin, 2009, p.4). Thus, I suggest that qualitative media research is suitable for qualitative historical research.

Media research was mainly conducted on local newspapers; one of the main sources of data is the *South China Morning Post* (SCMP), a local English newspaper. SMCP was founded in 1903, and it also received the highest credibility scores among all paid newspapers in Hong Kong in a ten-year-long (2006 to 2016) tracking survey of the public evaluation on media credibility conducted by for

Centre for Communication and Public Opinion Survey of the Chinese University of Hong Kong[3] (The Centre for Communication and Public Opinion Survey, 2013, p.2-3). Therefore, I use it as a relatively reliable and credible source of research data.

I conducted this media research by searching the keywords such as 'Star Ferry Pier', 'Queen's Pier', 'heritage' and 'identity' in the online database of SCMP with a specific time frame, 2004 and 2008 (around two years before/after the movements to preserve the Piers). More than 200 news articles were identified to be associated with the movements to preserve the Piers. The next step was coding the language and wording used in the news articles. The wordings and sentences of the articles were divided into three different categories, including descriptions, arguments and comments. 'Description' means the factual information provided by the articles such as who participated in the movements and when, as well as what they have done during that time. 'Arguments' refers to the arguments of different stakeholders of the movements such as the government and the activists that had been reported and cited in the news articles which could help to analyse how they understood the heritage values of Hong Kong differently. Finally, 'comments' refers to the editorial comments and standpoints made for the movements to save the Piers. I further establish the relationships between those expressions and sentences and employ them to support my arguments raised in this chapter.

Besides conducting content analysis, another research method to collect and analyse data is in-depth interviews. The interview is a common research method

[3] This survey was conducted by the Centre for Communication and Public Opinion Survey of the Chinese University of Hong Kong between 2006 and 2016 (The Centre for Communication and Public Opinion Survey, 2013).

for social sciences (Yin, 2012a; Yin, 2012b) as it provides a 'mirror reflection of the reality that exists in the social world'. As Silverman further argues, the primary aim of conducting an interview is to 'generate data which give an authentic insight into people's experiences' (Silverman, 2001, p.87). Miller and Glassner explain the aim of conducting interview explicitly by suggesting it 'provides us with a means for exploring the points of view of our research subjects while granting these points of view the culturally honoured status of reality' (Miller & Glassner, 2004, p.127). Therefore, I suggest that this method is a suitable and useful method for the specific case study of the Blue House Cluster, which will also be discussed in chapter six. The heritage conservation project of the Blue House Cluster is still on-going, the data provided by the written archival document is limited; hence, to act as a supplement of the archival and media data reviewed, in-depth semi-structured interviews have been conducted to serve this purpose. These open-ended and semi-structured interviews are expected to provide the researchers with some 'insider' information and serve as an additional source of data of the research. It also allows the researcher to ask questions specifically designed for their research objectives and explore the subject further to collect more potentially useful data by holding a conversation with the interviewees effectively and strategically (Miller & Glassner, 2004; Yin, 2012a; Yin, 2012b).

In the case study of the Blue House Cluster, six in-depth interviews have been conducted. The interviewees include activists, professionals, residents and social workers who have all participated in the project of the Blue House Cluster over the last decade. They have offered valuable first-hand information about the detailed process of the project and how different stakeholders interact with each other to make and re-assemble different heritage discourses of the Blue House Cluster. The same interview guide has been used for the interviews to explain the aims of the

research and what subject matters would be covered in the interview.

A selection of questions such as 'What you have done during the campaign', 'What is your role in the campaign?' and 'Why did you participate the campaign?' was asked to all interviewees while other follow-up questions were asked depending on the responses given by the interviewees. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Transcripts were further used for coding and content analysis under the framework of CDA. I argue that the findings of the interviews have primarily assisted the discussion of the relationship between different stakeholders of the campaign and the 'locality' and the complex local identity of post-colonial Hong Kong. These interviews followed university guidance and codes for qualitative research after gaining ethical approval from the University of Leicester. All interviewees' names and associated personal data have been anonymised and kept confidential due to the potential political sensitivity of this research.

Table 1.2. Source of document and document collected for the research project.		
Document collected for the Specific 'Phase'	Document collected	Source of document
Phase 1 & 2	*FCO 40: Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Hong Kong Departments: Registered Files, Hong Kong, British Honduras, British Indian Ocean Territories and Seychelles (HW and HK Series)*, including: 1. the daily administrative papers of the Hong Kong government 2. meeting proceedings of the Executive Council of colonial Hong Kong 3. written personal correspondence between the Governor and the then Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in London 4. non-governmental documents produced by non-governmental organisations (NG0) such as: 4.1. the petition letters sent to the Governor and the Queen by the Hong Kong Heritage Society	the National Archive of the United Kingdom
Phase 1 & 2	archival documents of the archive of the Hong Kong Club, including: 1. the meeting proceedings of the annual general meetings 2. financial reports of the Club 3. the written correspondence between the Club and the then Antiquities Advisory Board	the archive of the Hong Kong Club
Phase 3 & 4	archival record of the Legislative Council, including:	the library of the Legislative

	1. Legislative Council's meeting proceedings 2. discussion papers on the governments' heritage policy submitted to the Legislative Council 3. the annual *Policy Address* 4. meeting records of the Antiquities Advisory Board 5. the government's consultation paper on heritage policy review	Council of Hong Kong
Phase 3 & 4	news report and archival record of the *SCMP*: 1. historical news reports published in the *SCMP*	the online archive of the *SCMP*

Section four has demonstrated how research data was collected and analysed under the CDA framework. It has justified that case study research is the primary research method for this research project as it allows the researcher has a more holistic and systematic understanding on the longitudinal and historical development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. Also, it explains the nature of the selected case studies for each Phase and the various research methods (such as archival research, media research and in-depth interviews) that have been used for this research.

5. Thesis structure and chapters breakdown

The thesis includes seven chapters in total, including this introductory chapter explaining the aims, objectives and methodological design of this research project. Chapter two mainly serves as a literature review for this thesis. It explores and discusses several vital concepts in heritage studies associated with this research project through the lens of related literature. These concepts include heritage, heritage value and heritage discourse. It investigates how these concepts have emerged and developed in the particular post-colonial context of Hong Kong. It

also defines Hong Kong's civil society and illustrates the potential roles and contributions of various stakeholders of local civil society to the development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. Finally, chapter two ends with a discussion establishing a theoretical framework to analyse how the articulation of heritage values and heritage discourses can help the construction and reconstruction of the social and cultural identity of Hong Kong in both colonial and post-colonial context of Hong Kong.

Chapter three presents three case studies to explore and explains the emergence of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy in the 1970s. I argue that a Hong Kong's version of AHD was being assembled to stress the economic and social success of modern Hong Kong by examining the case study of the enaction of *the Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance* and the organisation of Hong Kong Festival in the 1970s. Following the previous discussion, chapter three concludes with a critical examination of the case study of the demolition of the former Kowloon Railway Station Building. It suggests that a particular set of heritage values emphasising the contribution of heritage to society in terms of economic development and urban renewal of Hong Kong were articulated. Also, a Hong Kong's version of AHD, highlighting Hong Kong as a modernised international business hub and an economical approach to cultural governance could be identified through the case study.

Chapter four focuses on the two case studies including the demolition of the former Hong Kong Club Building in the 1980s and the renovation of the new permanent exhibition of the Hong Kong Museum of History on the eve of the handover of Hong Kong in 1997. Through the case study of the former Hong Kong Club Building, I argue that an economical approach to local heritage selection and conservation had also been influential among local social elites such as the

members of the Hong Kong Club, a small but significant segment in local civil society. Furthermore, I argue that, by examining the case study of the Hong Kong Museum of History's permanent exhibition, a heritage discourse highlighting Hong Kong as a thriving business hub featuring both Chinese and Western culture was clearly and explicitly identified from the content and text of the exhibition. This chapter also proposes that a discussion of Hong Kong's social and cultural identity had also been promoted during this transitional period before the handover of Hong Kong's sovereignty.

Chapter five covers the first decade of post-colonial Hong Kong. It argues that the SAR government, to a certain extent, still adopted an economical approach to the cultural governance by emphasising the potential economic contribution of heritage to Hong Kong society. However, the case of the heritage movement to preserve the Central Star Piers and the Queen's Pier has helped to prove that this dominating economic approach to heritage selection and conservation was challenged by various stakeholders of local civil society such as the local civil society groups and individual activists. They fought against the economic-led cultural governance and urban renewal policy by articulating a new set of cultural and social heritage values of Hong Kong through the movement to save the Piers in 2006 and 2007. This chapter also argues that the movement to preserve the Piers had led the government to review its cultural heritage policy and a more active discussion of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity. Therefore, chapter five ends with a case study of the 'tradition making' process of Hong Kong-style mike tea culture to illustrate how intangible heritage could help to construct and reconstruct the city's post-colonial social and cultural identity.

Chapter six aims to explore how government-funded urban heritage renovation projects have been employed as a form of social resistance by various local civil

society groups to fight against the dominating economic approach to the governance of cultural heritage. The renovation project of the Blue House Cluster has been selected as a case study for this chapter to demonstrate that how heritage could be operated as a form of social resistance through the articulation of an alternative set of heritage values emphasising that heritage should be defined by people's everyday experiences and collective memory.

Chapter seven will conclude the thesis. It summarises how this study has answered the proposed research questions through systematic analysis and discussion of selected case studies. It also reflects the research and reviews the possible limitations of this project. Furthermore, chapter seven also outlines the potential knowledge gaps for further research in the field of Hong Kong heritage studies.

6. Conclusion

This chapter has served as an introduction to this research project. It has also demonstrated the principal aims and objectives of the thesis. More importantly, it established a clear analytical framework to analyse the various important issues related to heritage studies in both colonial and post-colonial context of Hong Kong. These issues include the historical development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage process and the interactions between heritage and the evolution of local civil society. Meanwhile, the creation and re-creation of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity alongside the process of local heritage is also another issue concerned by this thesis.

Also, this chapter has introduced the main research methods for this research project. A CDA analytical framework has been set up to facilitate the identification and discussion of the assemblage of heritage discourses and heritage values.

Within this framework, the case study method has been adopted as a significant research method as various important events in the history of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy have been selected as case studies. Archival research, media research and in-depth interview research have all been applied in order to collect necessary research data systematically and scientifically. It has also provided justifications of the choices of specific research methods.

Finally, this chapter has also offered a breakdown of the chapters and a brief review of the structure of this thesis, which shall provide the readers with a better understanding of the main arguments and discussions in this thesis. The following chapter will serve as a critical literature review to discuss the basic concepts related to heritage discourses and civil society in the particular context of Asian heritage studies. It also establishes a clear theoretical framework for the discussion of the interactions between the concepts of heritage and the development of Hong Kong's civil society.

To sum up, this doctoral research aims to define heritage as a continuous political and social process in the context of Hong Kong. It also establishes an analytical framework to illustrate how the local civil society was developed alongside the local social process of heritage. More importantly, this thesis highlights how the assemblage and re-assemblage of Hong Kong's social and cultural identity are associated with the evolution of the city's cultural heritage policy. By conducting this doctoral research, I argue that there has been a dilemma of identity in the context of Hong Kong as people in Hong Kong have started to reflect and question their political, cultural and social relations with the mainland. Recent large-scale social movements such as the Umbrella Movement in 2014 and the current Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement in 2019 has indicated that there is a growing sense of the uniqueness of Hong Kong's identity. The conflict between

Hong Kong's rising localism and Chinese nationalism is almost inevitable. In other words, it is difficult to predict and anticipate the future of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. However, this political and social uncertainty of Hong Kong shall also open up new space for research concerning the debates over heritage policy, civil society and identity in the contemporary Asian context.

Chapter 2. Heritage as an ever-changing process

1. Introduction

This chapter aims to understand and explore how heritage can be understood as an ever-changing political and social process by analysing discourses which are being assembled and employed along with the process.

In doing this, this chapter firstly investigates various definitions of heritage discourses by analysing associated literature. Furthermore, this chapter also explores how the concepts of heritage can be employed by different people and stakeholders with various social and cultural backgrounds. This thesis does not understand heritage as a frozen concept; instead, it is an ever-changing and dynamic process which consists of interactions between different stakeholders.

By analysing the dialogues between different related literature on the evolution of the heritage process and heritage discourse (both globally and locally), this chapter establishes a theoretical framework that can be applied to the unique colonial and post-colonial historical context of Hong Kong. This chapter also identifies gaps of knowledge in heritage studies (specifically in the context of Hong Kong) and elaborate on how this thesis contributes to the current literature on Hong Kong's heritage studies.

This chapter is divided into five sections. The second section explores the historical evolution of heritage discourse in the modern era. The ideas and concepts of heritage can be traditionally traced back to the political and cultural development of Europe since the nineteenth century. In the 1970s, through the establishment of international organisations such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and International Council on

Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the European conceptualization of notions associated with heritage have dominated international debates on heritage. Smith suggests that this specific set of ways of understanding and talking about heritage is a kind of 'authorised heritage discourse' (AHD) which naturalised the nineteenth-century European conceptualisation of heritage as international common sense and a 'standardised' practice (Smith, 2006a).

I agree with Smith that the AHD emerged in the modern European context and has significantly dominated the international discussion of heritage for decades. I also argue that the conceptualisation of heritage, including the notion of AHD and the articulation of heritage, are dynamic. The concept of heritage is contested, and there is always a debate on how heritage should be defined between various ontological stance. By analysing multiple works of literature, section two engages with reflective dialogue between various scholars to examine the multi-dimensional nature and definition of heritage in the contemporary world.

It is suggested that the diversified nature of the process of heritage provides various possibilities for stakeholders in societies with different political, social and cultural backgrounds to understand heritage differently and assemble their versions of heritage discourse. Hence, many different versions of AHD are constantly operating in various regions and countries due to their distinctive social and cultural contexts. Furthermore, it is also essential to address that there are also other different conceptualisations understandings of heritage which are far beyond than AHD.

Besides, I also argue that - although the assemblage of AHD and articulation of heritage values are generally dominated by social elites and professionals – dynamic interactions between different stakeholders of the society (such as the

collaboration between the government and the local community, and civic engagement in heritage movements) should still be accounted for.

Section three explores the concepts of heritage in the Asian context. Through the discussion in section three, I argue that due to the specific colonial and post-colonial history of Asia, countries and regions like Taiwan and Japan have developed their understanding of heritage and experienced a process of assembling AHD different from the dominating European version of AHD (Chiang, Huang, Huang, & Hsiao, 2017; Jinn-yun Hsu & Yen-hsing Hsu, 2013; Lin & Hsing, 2009; Smith, 2017; Yang, P. & Hirano, 2000). With the help of the concept of 'travelling theory', I argue that Asian heritage studies scholars have also offered their understandings and theoretical framework on the conceptualisation of heritage discourse along with the particular social and cultural context of each country/region. By analysing the evolution process of Japanese AHD, section three demonstrates that the assemblage of AHD could be heavily influenced by the specific region's cultural and ideological context. It also helps to justify that the European version of AHD is not necessarily suitable for the Asian context.

In addition to the Japanese example, the experience of Taiwan could be another useful Asian case to justify the 'flexibility' of AHD further. Taiwan has experienced decades of post-colonial democratisation and liberalisation since the end of WWII. Along with its process of democratisation, Taiwan has also witnessed a dramatic change in the assemblage and re-assemblage of AHD and associated heritage policy. Therefore, by discussing experiences of the assemblage of heritage discourses in Asian regions such as Taiwan, this study further supports the need to investigate the emergence and development of Hong Kong's own AHD. It also argues that Hong Kong's own AHD has been challenged by different counter

heritage discourses and heritage values constantly, while also absorbing various elements of them. At the same time, these counter heritage discourses and heritage values are assembled and re-articulated through civil society actions and citizen engagement in heritage movements.

Section four briefly examines the notion of civil society in the context of Hong Kong to argue that there is a strong inter-relationship between the evolution of Hong Kong's AHD and the development of local civil society. Furthermore, it also demonstrates how Hong Kong has attempted to develop its own social and cultural identities through the assemblage and re-assemblage of both tangible and intangible heritage discourses, especially in the recent post-colonial period. Section four also provides an analytical framework to identify how the decolonisation process of Hong Kong and the complex postcolonial relations between Hong Kong and mainland China promoted a unique heritage process and the construction and reconstruction of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity.

2. The evolution of heritage

2.1. Heritage in the modern world: a historical perspective

Heritage is a complex concept, and it can be used by a wide variety of people and groups with different interpretations across time and space (Harvey, 2001; Smith, 2017; Zhu, 2014). The previous section has demonstrated that heritage itself is a variable concept and an ever-changing, flexible process. However, if we look back at the history of heritage, although there are various definitions and conceptualizations of heritage, we will find a 'certain set of Western elite cultural values as being universally applicable' (Smith, 2006c, p.11) through the operation of international heritage politics such as the establishment of UNESCO and

international heritage conservation treaties – for example, *The Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (the Venice Charter) and *the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* (the Burra Charter). This particular understanding of the nature of heritage has been summarised by Smith as AHD (Smith, 2006c), where AHD itself is also a product of the historical evolution of the concept of heritage.

The concept of heritage is fairly modern. The emergence of the term can be traced back to nineteenth-century Europe (Bennett, 2013; Jokilehto, 2007; Walsh, 2002). In the nineteenth century, the industrial revolution and urbanisation successfully promoted the rise of modern ideas (Walsh, 2002). There was a radical change of social values in many major European countries including Britain, France and Germany (Bennett, 2013; Walsh, 2002).

There were also new desires for building a new modern national identity to legitimise the expansion of Empire and the formation of unified nations in various imperial European countries (Smith, 2006b). Smith further explains that material objects and places had been identified as 'old' and, 'as representative makers of national history, were infused with a sense of innate value and meaning' (Smith, 2017, p.17). Walsh argues that the institutionalisation of material historical monuments in major European countries was being employed as another tool to build up national solidarity and construct nationalist narratives in European Law (Walsh, 2002).

The enactment of European legislation such as the English *Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882* and the French *Comite historique* introduced in the 1830s (Murray, 1989; Schnapp, 1984) also helps further explain how material objects and places had been legitimized and authorized as something 'old' and valuable

for the nation and its people which should be protected and managed by the nation. Furthermore, the sense of protecting and conserving historical buildings and structures was also being institutionalised in the late nineteenth century. For example, in Britain, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Building (SPAB) was formed in 1887 which aimed to provide recommendations and educate the government on how to conserve and manage the historical buildings in a 'correct' and 'proper' way. Besides, Choay states that the legal protection on European historical buildings and monuments in the late nineteenth century was playing a kind of commemorative role in motivating certain social values and collective memory among the general public. The legalisations also aimed to construct new collective national identities for those emerging European nation-states and empires that were experiencing dramatic changes in terms of social ideologies and structures (Choay, 2001).

As Smith argues, the concept of heritage in nineteenth-century Europe was highly political and socially exclusive. She suggests that the mainstream understanding of heritage was closely tied into developing concepts of nationalism and the political strategies of the social and economic elite such as architects, art historian and archaeologists to maintain their dominating political and social status (Smith, 2006a; Smith, 2017). Smith also further argues that this process of conceptualizing heritage led to the development of AHD which usually understands heritage as a material part of 'supposedly fragile, finite and non-renewable past' (Smith, 2017, p.17).

Referring to works by Iamandi and Byrne, the concepts and principles of heritage conservation that were developed by the European social elite gained international popularity and were accepted as a kind of 'common sense' on

heritage identification, conservation and management (Byrne, 1991; Iamandi, 1997). Byrne also stresses that the enaction of international documents of heritage conservation is evidence to prove that there was a hegemonic understanding of conservation ethics being imposed worldwide and being naturalized as a 'global common sense', or AHD, in Smith's words (Byrne, 1991; Smith, 2017).

After WWII, AHD was becoming more and more influential and significant globally through the enaction of international documents concerning heritage conservation and the establishment of international heritage professional bodies such as UNESCO and ICOMOS (Smith, 2006a; Smith, 2017). One of the examples to support this argument is the enaction of the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter) of 1964 (Smith, 2017). This Charter was generally developed based on the heritage conservation principles endorsed in previous international legislations and charters such as the Athens Charter of 1931. As a result of the Venice Charter, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMS) was established in 1965 to works as an international professional institution for heritage conservation and management (Rao, 2010).

Another important example is the enaction of The Convention concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage of UNESCO in 1972. The Convention includes fundamental regulations and principles on the selection, protection and management of world cultural and natural heritage in a global context. The Convention provides definitions of what should be considered cultural heritage and natural heritage. Under the definitions of the Convention,

heritage shall be referred to monuments, groups of buildings, and sites with outstanding historical, aesthetic and scientific universal value.

Similarly to Smith's understanding of the Convention, I suggest that the keywords in the Convention are 'outstanding universal value' which indicates the Convention itself assumes that there is a 'proper' and 'qualified' version of world cultural heritage embedded in a specific set of values which are considered 'good' and 'positive' for the world and future generations (Smith, 2017). In addition, Pendlebury's discussion on the Convention suggests that various principles in the Convention were generally subsequent to the previous international conferences and charters such as the Venice Charter of 1964 (Pendlebury, 2009; Pendlebury, 2013). Both Byrne and Choay also argues that the European heritage conservation philosophy was significantly influential in terms of underwriting the convention and universalising European values on heritage conservation in a global context (Byrne, 1991; Choay, 2001).

As mentioned before, heritage itself is a highly contested concept. There is always a debate on how people understand what heritage is differently. For example, Pendlebury also stresses that the political nature of heritage holds enormous power in political conflicts and tensions over the ownership of heritage and the economic benefits that come with the development of heritage tourism at both local and international levels (Pendlebury, 2009).

Referring to the previous discussion, I suggest that it is true that AHD is still very influential for the current operation of the concepts of heritage and everyday practical management of heritage. However, as Pendlebury discusses in the *Conservation in the Age of Consensus*, the debates on definitions of heritage have significantly expanded and diversified in both local (British) and global context

over the last few decades (Pendlebury, 2009). Heritage is no longer just being understood as valuable 'old' objects and sites for the nation but also perceived as intangible experiences and memory of a specific group of people or a community. Therefore, the process of heritage should be understood as multi-dimensional, including cultural, social and political characteristics. The following sub-section will look 'beyond the discourse of heritage' to explore the concept of heritage from different ontological and theoretical perspectives.

2.2. Heritage as a dynamic process with multiple dimensions

The conceptualisation of heritage itself is a dynamic process with multiple dimensions. Since the 1980s, the concept of heritage in a broader social context has been carefully debated. As Apaydin suggests 'heritage is shaped, developed and even destroyed by humans' (Apaydin, 2018, p.2), I suggest that one of the core questions of the debate is how people define and understand their past through the process of heritage.

In the late 1980s, Hewison employed the phrase 'heritage industry' to argue that heritage was a structure imposed from above as a tool to engender middle-class nostalgia about Britain's former glory in a climate of decline (Hewison, 1987). He also believed that the use of heritage and associated sense of nostalgia in Britain at the time was a response to the 'rootedness' caused by deindustrialisation and internal migration. Furthermore, he argues that heritage itself has been employed to re-imagine the past as a utopia and justify people's annoyance on present social problems.

Lowenthal, in his *The Past is a Foreign Country*, states that heritage itself could be burdensome for the present, as the past allows people to make sense of their present life; but it also imposes powerful constraints to the way that the present

develops and various aspects of history are celebrated while some of them are neglected for the construction of the present (Lowenthal, 2013).

Wright questions the then increasing 'museumification' of Britain in his *On Living in an Old Country* (Wright, 2009). He further argues that heritage has been employed by the government to generalise history and move the public attention away from contemporary social issues (Lowenthal, 2013). Both Wright and Hewison suggest that heritage is set of political and social norms employed by the nation to control its citizens. Following this discussion, while Wright and Hewison have addressed the political nature of heritage, I would argue that heritage should not just be understood as a structure constructed by elites. Civic engagement and people's everyday life are also important and influential elements for the heritage process.

Indeed, heritage is always embedded in strong political ideology, but it is not necessarily just driven by top-level politics. Samuel pinpoints that heritage itself could be understood as social movements and that heritage should be discussed and debated from various political and social standpoints (Gentry, 2014; Samuel, 1999). Heritage could be also connected to people's everyday life and civic engagement. New meanings could be created, different from the ones generated by the elite, as suggested by Waterton, and Ashworth and Graham (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Waterton, E., 2010).

Hewison and Wright agree that the 'past' and heritage are employed to uphold conservative social forces and distract the people from the present life (Hewison, 1987; Wright, 2009). However, I argue that the framework suggested by both Hewison and Wright has self-constrained the flexibility of heritage studies, as heritage is not necessary just associated with 'nostalgic' past imposed by the elite,

it can be also positively productive for the present and the future of members of different communities and social classes (Hewison, 1987; Wright, 2009).

Heritage is not simply equivalent to the past. Instead, it is an ever-changing process which is constantly 'recreated and reinterpreted to address the political and social needs of the present' (Smith, 2017, p.16). Therefore, this thesis supports the argument that heritage is created and shaped in the present for the current and future purposes of the people of both elite class and grassroots.

Interested parties and groups are willing to put heritage in a position that may be beneficial to them. On the other hand, it is also important not to only understand the process of heritage, but also its social dimension. Apaydin argues that heritage has 'a meaning in social and daily life' (Apaydin, 2018, p.492) which is also in line with Smith and Akagawa's discussion suggesting that the definition of heritage can be modified along with people's everyday life and experience (Apaydin, 2018; Smith, 2017). Waterton also argues that the relationship between heritage and its communities can be very dynamic and complex: the meanings constructed by local communities can be significantly different from the ones promoted by the authority (Waterton, Smith, & Campbell, 2006; Waterton & Watson, 2013).

In more recent international debates on heritage, the cultural nature of heritage received considerable emphasis. Work by Graham, Tunbridge & Ashworth, for example, has become more significant and influential (Ashworth & Graham, 2005; Tunbridge, 1996), focusing on the interactions between heritage and people's lived experiences. People engage with heritage through memories associated with both material and intangible heritage in their everyday life and memory associated with both material and intangible heritage. Each community can have their own understandings of heritage, while various meanings of heritage can be

embedded through this process. Different stakeholders are able to assemble their discourses of heritage to help to construct a sense of place.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett also argues that heritage is a form of meta-cultural production, a process in which meanings of the past are constantly reproduced (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). Hawke also suggests that heritage has a strong social relationship with people's daily life. He argues that members of grassroots level uphold 'meanings and values of heritage place' which are different from the national power (Hawke, 2012). Members of different social classes and local communities have developed various meanings, values and heritage discourses, along with their daily lived experience engaged with heritage. Therefore, I would further emphasise that different stakeholders of the society could also challenge AHD itself; it could absorb the counter heritage discourses suggested by those various stakeholders including both elite class and grassroots.

There is also a recent debate on the definitions of heritage in the field of critical heritage studies. This on-going debate chiefly focuses on how heritage should be defined and represented in the contemporary global context. As discussed earlier, to certain extents, the debate has focused on the articulation and use of heritage discourse. AHD is one of the key concepts to explain the assemblage of heritage values. It has successfully played the role of 'controlling the definition of heritage that receives official sanction and its management' (Pendlebury, 2013, p.716). However, various scholars of the field of critical heritage studies, especially those who come with a post-structuralism background, have criticised the inadequacy of the discourse theory of AHD.

AHD is a 'set of ideas that work to normalise a range of assumptions about the nature and meanings of heritage and to privilege particular practices' which are

usually proposed and endorsed by heritage professionals and government authority (Harrison, 2013, p.111). Harrison commented that the AHD has mostly concentrated on the *official* discourse of material objects rather than the practices and intangible relations between people and things (Harrison, 2013). Also, the heritage experts who have articulated and endorsed the AHD usually have a very little recognition of external forces that may help to reshape the heritage values or even the AHD (Pendlebury, 2013). These external forces could be the people's relationships with the 'objects, places and practices of heritage' (Harrison, 2013, p.113) and even civil advocacies and social movement associated with heritage selection and conservation (Harrison, 2013; Uysal, 2012; Van Wynsberghe, 2001).

Harrison further suggests scholars in the field of critical heritage studies should think 'beyond the discourse of heritage' (Harrison, 2013, p112). The knowledge and power effects of the discourse of heritage should also be included in the discourse studies. Besides, investigating the intangible connections between the people and the heritage are also vital within contemporary heritage studies. Both Harrison, Law and Pendlebury (Harrison, 2013; Law & Chen, 2019; Pendlebury, 2013) agree that heritage could be viewed as a 'becoming and an assemblage' (Law & Chen, 2019, p.277). It is argued that heritage could be perceived as a dynamic assemblage of different people, institutions and the relation between them(Harrison, 2013; Law & Chen, 2019).

The concept of *assemblage* could be traced back to the French philosophers Deleuze and Guattari (Müller & Schurr, 2016). Assemblage is defined as a 'mode of ordering heterogenous entities so that they work together for a certain time' (Müller, 2015, p.28). Harrison, de Landa and Bennet further explain that *assemblage* itself is mixed and the groupings of heterogeneous entities are the

outcomes of their particular histories and relationships with various parts of the assemblages. De Landa further demonstrates that there is a series of implications of an assemblage for the way of how the past and contemporary material-social relations should be investigated. The notion of assemblages is useful for outlining how people and things are both 'involved in complex, interconnected webs of relationship across time and space' (Harrison, 2013, p.34).

Following the discussion above, this thesis employs the concept of assemblage to identify the relationship between different stakeholders of the local civil society associated with heritage within the selected case study. It also further investigates how these relationships are being connected to articulate various sets of heritage value and heritage discourse in Hong Kong. For example, in chapter Six, by illustrating the case study of the Blue House Clusters, this thesis argues heritage itself could be perceived as a mean of social resistance. It has been achieved through the assemblage of networks and connections between local residents, members of local charity groups, heritage professionals and the authority. This case study will demonstrate how a web of social relations between various stakeholders of the local society has assembled as a heritage showing the people's resistance to the AHD and dominating heritage values endorsed by the government.

As discussed earlier, this study aims to identify Hong Kong's version of AHD and further explores how different stakeholders have challenged the AHD of Hong Kong through civic engagement and heritage movements during the colonial and post-colonial heritage process. Besides, this study also concerns how the process of modifying and changing AHD has helped the creation and re-creation of Hong Kong's social and cultural identity. Referring to the previous discussion of 'sense

of place', the process of heritage is always associated with the making and re-making of people's political, social and cultural identity as heritage can be a part of people's social practices, lived experience and their memory as well. Through the process of heritage, people can develop their own definitions, values and meanings of heritage. Zhang applies the West Lake of Hangzhou China which has been listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List as a case study to illustrate how local people of Hangzhou have engaged with the Lake and experience a process of remembering and affirming a sense of identity (Zhang, 2017). Heritage could serve as an agent for remembering and identity-making as the site 'gives both space and time to reflect and to mark that reflection as legitimate' (Smith, 2017, p.24). Therefore, I would like to argue further that the nature of heritage is not only material; it could be a process for people to self-reflect and connect with the site, mentally and emotionally.

This study argues that recognising the difference is a crucial process for identity-making. Taylor and Honneth suggest that recognition is important for people's emotional needs (Honneth, 2005; Taylor, 1994). Fraser further emphasises that recognition should also be understood in the spirit of pragmatism, suggesting that the recognition of difference and identity are related to various social and political issues, such as the struggle over power and resources, social inclusion and greater equality between different social classes along with the process of heritage policy negotiations (Fraser, 1998). Thus, the study also argues that AHD and associated heritage policy can be challenged through a process of engaging with heritage, and through a consequent self-recognition of identity. Young also summarises that 'identity politics' is also a means to 'cultivate mutual identification among those

similarly situated' and usually also an important part of 'claims for political inclusion and economic opportunity' (Young, 2000, p.106-107).

As I have illustrated in chapter one, one of the main goals of this thesis is to explore how civic engagement and heritage movements in Hong Kong have employed various heritage discourses to challenge AHD. This thesis argues that the motivations of these heritage movements and civic engagement can also be explained as claims for social inclusion, restorative justice and greater social equality in the process of negotiating heritage policy. Moreover, various heritage civic protests, civic advocacies and heritage movements, new conceptualisations of heritage discourses, and the national identity of Hong Kong have been constantly assembled and re-assembled in the last few decades, along with the city's dramatic political and social changes. Therefore, this thesis understands heritage as an ever-changing process which is legitimising different people's claim of recognitions, including the recognition of their heritage and identity for various present and future proposes (Macdonald, 2013).

As mentioned previously, this section has demonstrated how the conceptualisation of heritage has developed in the contemporary world since its emergence in nineteenth-century Europe. It has also analysed its multiple dimensions, such as the political and cultural dimensions of the process of heritage. Furthermore, this section has highlighted that AHD is a mutable concept depending on cultural and social contexts. The process of challenging and changing AHD is also a process of completing claims for recognitions of heritage and identity. Moreover, in the specific political and social context of Hong Kong, the various heritage movements and civic engagements could be identified as a part of the completing process for the recognition and greater social inequality in

terms of heritage management and urban planning. Also, memory and emotions associated with heritage are re-constructed and employed to facilitate the process of recognition of various social and cultural identities of Hong Kong and its people.

3. Revisiting AHD and its 'flexibility' in Asia

Section three aims to explore different versions of AHD in the contemporary Asian context, such as Japan and Taiwan, to demonstrate that AHD is a changeable and challengeable concept. This section employs the concept of the travelling theory developed by Edward Said to investigate the dynamic and flexibility of AHD in Asian cultural and social context. Said suggests that ideas and theories can travel 'from person to person from situation to situation, from one period to another'. (Said, 1983, p.226) By analysing the development of AHD in other Asian regions (e.g. Taiwan), this section suggests that the ideas and concepts of AHD have been modified and even re-defined as they move to a different time and places (Lloyd, 2015; Said, 1983). The previous section has explained that the modern conceptualisation of AHD emerged Hong Kong has also experienced a comparable evolution of AHD in its unique colonial and post-colonial context.

Furthermore, this section also explores how civil society has responded to AHD or even challenged it through civic engagement and various heritage movements in the contemporary political and social context of Taiwan. By doing this, this section further explores the implications of the Taiwanese experience in the case study of Hong Kong's heritage policy and AHD. It also aims to outline a theoretical framework for analysing how the local civil society of Hong Kong has interacted and engaged with the process of Hong Kong's AHD through civic engagement and the formation and reformation of heritage policy in the last four decades.

3.1. The flexibility and diversity of AHD: Asian versions of AHD

As previously discussed, the conceptualisation of AHD first emerged in the cultural and social context of the nineteenth century's Europe. It is argued that the international debate on heritage selection and management has been dominated by the European version of AHD, through the establishment of international organisations such as UNESCO and charters governing the technical issues of heritage management. However, AHD should still be understood as a flexible concept and theory that can acquire different features depending on social and cultural context.

Said suggests that theory and ideas could travel across time and space. In other words, theory can gain influence in a distinctive historical, social and cultural context from which it originated (Lloyd, 2015; Said, 1983). The ideas and concepts that are being circulated may take different forms whiles they can also be borrowed from each other depends on specific social and cultural context (Said, 1983). As discussed in the previous section, this thesis aims to explore the concept of heritage and AHD in the particular context of Hong Kong. Although the idea of AHD largely emerged in the 'western' context, there is still a possibility for the AHD to be modified and applied in another different cultural and social contexts such as the post-colonial Asian world.

Idea and theory can move from one environment to another. During this process, a theory could be changed and transformed by its new users and also put in a new position in a new time and place' (Said, 1983, p.227). The following section will explore how the 'western' conceptualisations of AHD have been emplaced and transplanted in the specific Asian contexts such as Japan and post-colonial Taiwan.

As Matsuda and Mengoni argue in their *Reconsidering Cultural Heritage in East Asia*, the process of heritage could be understood in relation to 'certain distinctive cultural and social aspects, such as Confucian values, Daoist philosophy, Buddhist religious practices, languages based on ideograms and the use of specific local resources and technologies' (Matsuda & Mengoni, 2016, p.2-3). Besides of various cultural and religious philosophies, colonialism is also a critical factor for the assemblage of AHD in Asian regions and countries. The different colonial and postcolonial experiences of previously colonised regions also encouraged distinctive processes of assembling different versions of AHD.

The emergence and development of Japanese AHD is one of the examples to illustrate how distinctive social and cultural philosophies can reshape different versions of AHD across counties and regions. While Europe was assembling AHD based on their philosophical understandings on heritage identification and conservation, Japan was also establishing their own early national heritage conservation legal framework in the nineteenth century. The Meiji government enacted *The Proclamation for the Protection of Antiques and Old Properties* in 1871 which was also the first Japanese law aimed at 'conducting surveys and registering and collecting in thirty-one specific categories' including both tangible and intangible ones, nation-wide (Kakiuchi, 2014; Pai, 2013). More than 200,000 items were registered under the law. This law was replaced by *The Ancient Shrines and Temples Preservation Law* in 1897 which aimed to select, assess, and possibly reject temples and shrines in Japan, while the government was able to provide central funding to repair the listed ancient temples and shrines according to the law (Kakiuchi, 2014).

More laws and regulations concerning national heritage conservation and management were enacted between 1919 and 1950 including *The Law for the preservation of Historic Sites, Place of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments* of 1919 and *The National Treasure Preservation Law* of 1929 (Akagawa, 2016; Kakiuchi, 2014). *The Law for the preservation of Historic Sites, Place of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments* of 1919 indicated that the government was not only concerned with the specific structure, but it also intended to protect both cultural and natural landscapes at a national level (Kakiuchi, 2014).

Building up national identity and encouraging the rise of nationalism were both leading motivations for the 19th-century Meiji government to create a new heritage policy agenda for the nation (Kakiuchi, 2014). However, unlike European countries, that perceived heritage as a tool for glorifying imperialism, the Meiji government attempted to protect Japanese culture and philosophy from the European expansionism and imperialism by identifying and conserving valuable national heritage. Although Japan was also experiencing a radical process of modernization in the late nineteenth century, the modernity that the Japanese government tried hard to achieve was mainly material rather than ideological and philosophical which can be perceived by looking at its heritage policy which is concerned with the religious and cultural connection between the people and the protected objects and landscapes. The unique philosophical context of Japan also helps explaining why Japan had not ratified the UNESCO *World Heritage Convention 1972* until 1992 despite of Japan's long history of heritage selection and conservation. As Akagawa argues, the main reason for Japan not joining the *Convention* was that its understanding of 'authenticity' was different from the interpretation under the *Convention*. In line with Inaba and Ito's arguments,

Akagawa further suggests that there is no word in Japanese or many other Asian languages that could convey the 'Western meaning of authenticity' while only the concepts of 'genuineness' and 'reliability' could be found in Japanese language (Akagawa, 2015, p.21).

The international debate on the concept of 'authenticity' motived new changes to the international heritage conservation standard. *The Nara Document on Authenticity*, adopted by the UNESCO in 1994, emphasised that all judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. The formation of the *Document* itself indicates that AHD should be understood as a variable concept, as the definitions of values of heritage are themselves a dynamic concept across cultures and historical periods (Akagawa, 2016; Akagawa, 2017). This active international discussion over the definition of 'authenticity' further supports one of the main theoretical arguments of this study: AHD is a changeable concept which could travel across time and space. Besides, there are always multiple versions of AHD depends on the distinctive cultural and social contexts of different regions. Also, there is a need to observe, understand and analyse the process of AHD based on the specific cultural and historical context of each region or country.

3.2. Challenging AHD: Colonialism, post-colonialism and heritage

Following the above discussion, this chapter argues that, besides the various social and cultural philosophies, the history of colonialism and postcolonialism has also played a relatively important role in the process of establishing AHD in the Asian context. As this thesis focuses on the colonial and postcolonial experiences in terms of the assemblage and re-assemblage of Hong Kong's AHD, it is important

for this sub-section to establish a theoretical framework to engage with the experiences of certain Asian regions such as Taiwan of re-assembling the AHD in the post-colonial context. This sub-section their implications for the case of Hong Kong. Moreover, this sub-section also suggests that collective civil engagement and associated heritage movements have also served as critical incentives for the changes and modifications of AHD along with the post-colonial experiences of the specific Asian regions and countries including Taiwan and Hong Kong.

As discussed in section two, colonialism is one of the very important elements constructing the political dimension of heritage. In many previously colonised Asian regions and countries, including Taiwan and Hong Kong, their early development of heritage policy and legalisations were mainly influenced by the politics and cultural ideology of their sovereign states (Japan and Britain). The change of sovereignty usually pushed the new postcolonial regime to challenge and change the previous heritage policy and associated AHD to reconstruct a new sense of cultural identity to legitimise the authority of the regime. However, I argue that in some areas of Asia, such as Taiwan and Hong Kong, the construction of the 'new version' of history and cultural identity through the process of heritage is not necessarily perceiving the colonial past as something 'dark' and negative. Instead, colonial heritage could serve as a vehicle to project a 'positive' colonial legacy to facilitate the construction of distinctive heritage discourses challenging the postcolonial regime's AHD. Also, this process is usually operated through various civic advocacies and heritage movements led by different individuals and groups of the local civil society.

3.2.1. A brief review of colonialism and postcolonialism

The emergence of the modern concept of colonialism should be traced back to the nineteenth century, when the British Empire was the largest empire in terms of population, economy and military power, with its vast distribution of colonies in Asia, Africa, America and Oceania (Harrison & Hughes, 2010). Other European empires such as Spain, Germany, France and the Netherlands also participated in the competition for new colonies, resources and the glory of their empires (Grove, 1995; Harrison & Hughes, 2010; Harrison, 2012). Colonialism is not only limited to these European empires: Japan also colonised Korea and Taiwan in the late nineteenth century after securing several victories against Imperial China (Akita, 2015; Yang, & Hirano, 2000).

The term 'colonialism' usually comes with negative connotations as it refers to powerful nations overpowering weaker ones and extending their sovereignty on other nations' territories. Colonialism also refers to the unequal power relations between the ruling class and people of the colony (Harrison & Hughes, 2010). In most cases in Asia, colonialism imposed by European empires did not include mass migration of population and direct administration. The colony was usually ruled by a small group of administrators authorised by the Empire who also controlled the labour and resources of the colony (Harrison & Hughes, 2010). Some small colonies were not sources of labour and natural resources but were instead crucial trading ports in the global trading network of the Empire. Hong Kong and Singapore are examples of those ports, both of which have developed successful international trading centres contributing significantly for the political and economic agendas of the British Empire between the nineteenth and

twentieth century (Abbas, 2000; Du Cros, 2004; Harrison & Hughes, 2010; Kong, 2003).

After the Second World War, the world witnessed an active and intensive period of decolonisation, especially in Asia and Africa (Anderson, 2005; Harrison & Hughes, 2010). Several colonies gained their independent status through military resistance while some of them became independent without active violent resistance, such as Burma, Malaysia and Singapore. This wave of decolonization shook the global leading role of major European powers, Britain especially, as it lost most of its Asian and African colonies mainly between the 1950s and the 1970s, with the exception of Hong Kong as its sovereignty had not been handed over to China from Britain until 1997 (Harrison & Hughes, 2010).

As a response to this wave of decolonisation, the term 'postcolonialism' emerged in the second half of the twentieth century. One of the most influential works of post-colonialism is *Orientalism* (Said, 2003). Said proposes an anthropological and cultural understanding of the power relation between the so-called West and East. He argues that the irrational and romantic images of the East are a socially and culturally constructed product of the West and demonstrated their inaccuracy in various forms of literature, science and history (Said, 2003). These inaccurate and unreliable images and stereotypes are internalised in Western culture and help legitimise the imperial ambitions of the West and the colonisation of the so-called 'East' (Said, 2003).On the other hand, in Ashcroft *et al.*'s *The Empire Writes Back*, the term 'postcolonial' has been employed to 'cover all culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day' (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 2002, p.2)

The work of Said has outlined postcolonialism as a distinct field of study which includes contributions from cultural studies, literature studies and political studies. In addition, their work has also opened space for analysing the contemporary postcolonial world critically with a cultural perspective. The conceptualisation of postcolonialism has been further culturally theorised in the 1990s, the relationship between identity, representation and post-colonialism has become one the major concerns of the postcolonial studies. Hall and Trucker argue that postcolonialism 'represents both a reflective body of Western through that seek to reconsider and interrogate the terms by which the duality of coloniser and colonised' (Hall & Tucker, 2004, p.2) from both cultural and social perspectives. One of the features of postcolonialism identified by Ashcroft *et al.* is its strong influence on the displacement, making and remarking of 'place' and 'identity' of postcolonial societies (Ashcroft et al., 2002; Hall & Tucker, 2004). During the process of re-making colonial history and identity, the selection and construction of heritage have played a very important role.

I suggest that heritage itself could serve as a critical agent to fulfil political, social and cultural needs of contemporary postcolonial societies. For example, Harrison argues that the selection of heritage is always being employed to justify the notion of nationalism which is also a common reason for conflicts between nations on the ownerships of the heritage and it is embedded political and social meanings (Harrison, 2008; Harrison & Hughes, 2010). On top of Harrison's discussion, by employing postcolonial South Korea as a case study, Podoler suggests that the re-making of colonial history and heritage is also very important for the construction of people's collective memory which is also a 'socially articulated and socially maintained "reality of a past"' (Podoler, 2011, p.13). The negative and 'dark'

Japanese colonial history has been used for making and legitimatizing South Korea's nationalism and its people's patriotism by the authority since the end of Japanese colonial rule. However, I also observe that the colonial past could also be used in a more 'positive' and sophisticated manner through the conservation of colonial heritage. Henderson argues that British colonial heritage in contemporary Malaysia and Singapore is no longer a symbol of negative colonial history. Instead, many colonial heritage sites have been conserved as tourist attractions, while the British colonial legacy has also been used to rebrand the former colonies as vibrant and international trading points to attract global business and tourists (Henderson, 2005; Henderson, 2004).

Similarly, discussing post-colonial Hong Kong, Du Cros argues that the British colonial history and legacy have been intentionally used by the local authority to market and rebrand the city as a cultural tourism destination featuring Hong Kong's 'integration of East/West elements' and its 'cosmopolitanism' (Du Cros, 2004, p.166). Meanwhile, local governments in Taiwan are also applying Japanese colonial legacy to attract Japanese tourists who are one of the major sources of foreign tourism of the island (Chen, H. & Hoskin, 2017; Chiang, 2012). As Henderson suggested, the relationship between the former colonial power and former colonies is not necessarily a 'subservience' one while the process of constructing and re-constructing post-colonial heritage could also be used strategically to serve various current and future political, social and economic agendas of the former colonies' authorities and their people.

Therefore, I suggest that, by analysing the process of heritage of post-colonial Asia, this thesis shows how it is possible to understand the contemporary postcolonial world from a critical and cultural perspective through the lens of heritage studies.

3.2.2. Heritage and civic engagement in post-colonial Taiwan: Experience and its implications for Hong Kong

As I have discussed above, AHD is always a changeable and challengeable concept. Colonial history could be re-arranged and reconstructed through the process of heritage and the re-assemblage of AHD. This process of challenging and changing AHD could also be identified as a 'consequence of civil society action and the cause of further citizen's engagement in heritage movements' in postcolonial regions such as Taiwan (Hsiao, Hui, & Peycam, 2017, p.11). It has also effectively summarised one of the main arguments of this thesis which is that AHD could be challenged and modified through civic engagement and heritage movements. I suggest that by analysing the process of the formation of heritage policy and AHD of both colonial and postcolonial Hong Kong, this thesis demonstrates how Hong Kong's AHD has been assembled and re-assembled through collective civic engagement and heritage movements over the last four decades. However, before this thesis further elaborates the detailed discussion on the case of Hong Kong, this sub-section will explore the post-colonial experience of re-assembling Taiwan's AHD, a neighbouring region of Hong Kong, also undergoing a dynamic transformation of heritage policy due to the political liberalisation and the growing consciousness of 'Taiwanization'. By briefly analysing the case of Taiwan, this sub-section aims to explore the possible implications for the example of Hong Kong and further justify the uniqueness and significance of Hong Kong's colonial and post-colonial process of AHD in the Asian context.

The evolution of heritage policy is also a reflection of the changes in a county or region's AHD. The development of Taiwanese heritage policy has experienced the Japanese colonial period, an early China-centred authoritarian period (since the

end of the WWII) and the current Taiwan-centred democratisation period. The revisions of heritage policy in different periods have also indicated the dramatic political and social changes of Taiwanese society. The formation of heritage policy of Taiwan could be traced back to the Japanese colonial period, as Japan enacted the *Preservation Act of Historic Sites, Resort and Natural Heritage* in 1922 (Chiang et al., 2017; Tien, 2010; Yang, P. & Hirano, 2000). Several sites located in Taiwan were also listed and protected legally under Japanese legislation. However, the Japanese colonial rule ended in 1945 right after the end of WWII, and the KMT government retreated to Taiwan from mainland China after the Chinese civil war in 1949. The Japanese legislation was replaced by the *Preservation Act of Antiques* which was firstly enacted in mainland China by the KMT government of Republic of China (ROC) (Chen, K., 2008; Chiang et al., 2017).

The AHD and cultural heritage policy of Taiwan were then shifted to be China-centred, emphasising the legitimacy of the KMT government and the 'authenticity' of Chinese culture representing by the KMT regime. Furthermore, the KMT government launched the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement[4] in 1966 as a response to mainland China's Cultural Revolution in 1966 to further legitimatize the dominating position of the KMT regime and demonstrate the 'cultural superiority' over Communist China. However, Taiwanese society also experienced rapid industrialisation and urbanisation between 1960s and 1970s. In addition, the KMT regime lost its official representation as 'China' at the United Nations to the PRC in 1971. These dramatic political and social changes encouraged an

[4] The Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement (*Zhonghua Wenhua Fuxing Yundong;* 中華文化復興運動), author's translation.

emerging nostalgia for Taiwanese local history and culture among the urban elite while also questioning the legitimacy of KMT government (Chiang et al., 2017).

In the late 1970s, the heritage movement for preserving the site of the Lin An Tai Old House became one of the heritage movements motivated by various members of the local civil society such as heritage professionals and local social elites in post-WWII Taiwan (Chiang et al., 2017; Jinn-yun Hsu & Yen-hsing Hsu, 2013). This movement encouraged the then KMT government to revise its heritage policy and enacted the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Act* in 1982. However, the AHD at the time was still heavily focused on the 'the significance of the historical connection to Chinese civilisation' and the cultural legitimacy of the KMT government (Chiang et al., 2017; Jinn-yun Hsu & Yen-hsing Hsu, 2013).

Taiwanese AHD experienced a structural and significant change between the 1980s and the 1990s as various types of social movements such as student-led movements and environmental movements started to challenge the legitimacy of the KMT government and its policy. The end of the 'Period of Mobilization for the Suppression of Communist Rebellion' in 1991 also indicated the start of the process of political liberalisation and 'Taiwanization'. This process of 'Taiwanization' could also be identified through the massive and rapid development of local community museums and heritage sites in the 1990s which De Jong and Rowland call 'memory tactics' (De Jong & Rowlands, 2007). The local civil society and the local government kept promoting the 'locality' of Taiwan by establishing local museum and heritage sites, while also 'strategically rebuilding the sense and identity of a place the present needs' (Chiang et al., 2017, p.239). This trend of revising the history and AHD of postcolonial Taiwan has also brought extensive effects to the reform of Taiwanese heritage policy in the 2000s. As

Chiang, Huang, Huang and Hsiao argue, there have been various heritage movements to encourage the reform of the Taiwanese heritage policy since the 2000s (Chiang et al., 2017). In 2005, a series of amendments were included in the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Act*. One of the most significant changes was that the mission of the *Act* was no longer promoting 'Chinese culture'. Instead, the new mission is to 'preserve and enhance cultural heritage, enrich the spiritual life of the citizenry, and promote the multi-cultural environment of the Republic of China' (Chiang et al., 2017, p.240).

The change of the mission indicates that the heritage approach of the government is now moving to be locally centred and concerning the cultural diversity of Taiwan rather than the previous pan-Chinese nationalism (Chiang et al., 2017; Jinn-yun Hsu & Yen-hsing Hsu, 2013; Varutti, 2013). This symbolic change also shows that Taiwan has gone through a decade long process of liberalisation and democratisation along with the change of AHD. Furthermore, it is also a process of emergence of Taiwanese civil society. Referring to what I have discussed previously, by comparing the experience of post-colonial Taiwan and Hong Kong, I would like to suggest that both the cases of Taiwan and Hong Kong are able to demonstrate how civil society can challenge and modify AHD. The process of AHD is not a strict top-down model. It can also be a process of collaboration between the government, experts and civil society.

Furthermore, different members and stakeholders may employ the concept of heritage differently in this process for various political, social and cultural purposes. What this thesis would like to emphasise is the process of making and re-making AHD should not just be understood as a top-down set of power relations. It should be analysed as a multi-dimensional and interactive process

through which civil society can construct its distinctive versions of heritage discourses to challenge existing AHD and motivate the change of AHD.

I suggest that, like the experience of Taiwan, Hong Kong also experienced rapid industrialization and urbanization in the 1970s which also encouraged the emergence of local civil society and a new awareness of the formation of Hong Kong identity especially after the years of political instability caused by the riots and the Cultural Revolution in mainland China between the 1960s and the 1970s. The voices and actions of civil society are becoming more and more influential along with the development of Hong Kong's heritage policy and AHD, especially in the era of post-colonial rule since 1997. It is one of the very critical differences between the cases of Taiwan and Hong Kong as the previous one has undergone a relatively long post-colonial process, whereas the sovereignty of Hong Kong was only handed over to China from Britain about two decades ago (in 1997).

Furthermore, unlike Taiwan, the decolonisation of Hong Kong was not a result of war and violent conflicts. It was the result of a sophisticated and diplomatic negotiation between China and Britain. Therefore, before the handover of Hong Kong, Britain, the then colonial government and the local civil society had more than a decade to prepare. The then colonial government was able to re-assemble and re-arrange the city's AHD through the change in urban planning and heritage policy. In addition, I would also argue that this selection of heritage is also a process of constructing a 'positive' colonial legacy of the British colonial rule and a distinctive social and cultural identity of Hong Kong which was different from mainland China. The exploration of Hong Kong's heritage discourses and identity has also been extended to the current post-colonial period and is still in process actively.

Distinctive from the Taiwanese case, the discussion on Hong Kong's heritage and associated identity is still active and fresh. Taiwan, on the other hand, has already experienced decades of political liberalisation and discussion on the reform of heritage policy and the re-assemblage of AHD. It also further justifies the importance of this study which aims to outline how the AHD of colonial and post-colonial Hong Kong has been changed, modified or even challenged through the civic engagement, heritage movements and the collaboration between the government and civil society groups over the last four decades.

4. Exploring Heritage and civil society

The previous example of Taiwan has demonstrated that civic participation could play as an incentive for the change of AHD and the transformation of the process of heritage. This section aims to further explore the conceptualisation of civil society in the context of heritage studies to underpin the theoretical framework for the forthcoming discussion on the inter-relationship between heritage and civil society in colonial and recent postcolonial Hong Kong.

This section firstly introduces the emergence of the concept of civil society and how this concept could be employed in the field of heritage studies. It also further discusses how the conceptualisation of civil society could be applied in the context of Hong Kong by establishing a theoretical framework to classify different groups of stakeholders along with the heritage process in Hong Kong and identify their respective features. I will conclude with a brief discussion on how the interactions between the government and different stakeholders of civil society have encouraged the construction and reconstruction of the notion of Hong Kong's AHD and heritage policy in the last four decades.

4.1. Heritage and civil society: an introduction

This section aims to outline the basic concept of civil society in the context of heritage studies. The concept of civil society evolved from traditional liberalism and communitarianism, emphasising the freedom of individuals, and which is also distinct from government and business sectors (Cohen & Arato, 1995; Seligman, 1992). Civil rights, political rights and social rights are all important conditions for the development of a mature civil society (Cohen & Arato, 1995; Marshall, 1992; Seligman, 1992). Furthermore, civil society could also be understood as a ' web of autonomous associations, independent of the state, citizens' who are gathering together 'in matters of common concern' and attempting to affect the making of public policy (Taylor, 2006, p.88). However, I suggest that the 'distance from the state' is just one of many dimensions of the complex conceptualisation of civil society. Shils argues that civil society should also be defined as a dynamic relationship between the state and civility (Shils, 1991). Shils summarises civil society in three different components: a complex of autonomous institutions, a distinctive set of institutions which safeguard the separation of the state and civil society and the ties between them, and widespread patterns of refined or civil manners (Shils, 1991). Therefore, I argue that similarly to the conceptualisation of heritage, civil society is not just emphasising the autonomy of citizens and civil society groups and their distance from state institutions. It should also be an on-going process consisting of a web of interactive relations between different stakeholders in civil society. Those relations could be identified as conflicts, resistances, but could also be adaptions and collaborations. Various stakeholders of civil society are playing different roles through the process of heritage.

By analysing the recent postcolonial heritage movements in Macau, a former Portuguese colony and now a Special Administrative Region of China, Tam states that the stakeholders of civil society alongside heritage movements should be categorized into five different categories: public sector, private sector, third sector, international and local professionals, and citizens (Tam, 2018, p.9). Here, I apply Tam's classification to the specific social context of Hong Kong (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. The stakeholders of civil society alongside heritage movements

Stakeholders	Features and examples
Public sector	Government authorities who are responsible for the making and execution of heritage and urban renewal policy such as the Development Bureau, Urban Renewal Authority and the Antiquities and Monuments Office.
Private sector	Landowners and real estate developers who own the historic structures and heritage sites.
Third sector	Established Non-government Organizations (NGOs) who participated or even mobilised the heritage movements for various social purposes such as the Hong Kong Heritage Society and St. James Settlement.
International and local professionals	International and local professionals include academics and architects who are sitting in the associated advisory broad or motiving various heritage movements.
Citizens	Members of the public who concern the local issues related to heritage selection and conservation and have participated local heritage movements.

(adapted from Tam, 2018, p.9)

The classification of different stakeholders helps this thesis to explore and analyse, in a more systematic and analytical way, the relationship between different stakeholders and the process of civic engagement and heritage movements. However, there is always flexibility in categorising various stakeholders of local civil society. Specifically, the notion of heritage can be different from individual to individual, as a specific person or group may change their definition of heritage and strategy throughout the process. The nature of the relations between different stakeholders could also be modified constantly. Therefore, this thesis does not perceive the aforementioned classification system as a frozen concept, but instead, this analytical framework should also be considered a dynamic one, adaptable across time and space.

In the forthcoming discussion of this thesis, this classification system will be employed to identify the main features of different categorised groups of stakeholders along with the process of heritage and assemblage of Hong Kong's AHD. As I have discussed in chapter one, this thesis has selected several case studies among Hong Kong's heritage movements and associated civic engagement over the last four decades. This framework of categorisation will provide readers with the tools to better understand the major features of the stakeholders associated with those case studies.

4.2. Heritage and civil society in Hong Kong at a glance

In the context of Hong Kong, the emergence of civil society can be traced back to the 1970s (CIVICUS Civil Society Index Team, 2006; Nedilsky, 2014). Starting in the 1970s, the colonial government launched a series of large-scale social welfare projects to improve the well-being of the local Chinese population in Hong Kong and allowed more freedom of speech and association (Nedilsky, 2014). I argue that the early versions of the heritage policy in Hong Kong, to a certain extent, were also a part of the 'new' social welfare campaign and urban redevelopment projects, aimed at enriching entertainment for the public and promoting the economic development of Hong Kong. However, both the government and local civil society groups constantly changed and modified their heritage discourse along with the development process of local heritage policy. In order to further explore this, as I have suggested in chapter one, this thesis aims to establish an analytical framework of critical heritage analysis, based on related literature, archival data, and a comprehensive investigation of the major events in the history of Hong Kong's heritage policy over the last fifty years.

As the previous discussion on AHD suggested, the concept of heritage is usually developed from the ideologies of professionals and elites, who generally hold power to shape ways of thinking and talking about heritage (Roberts, 2017; Smith, 2006a; Smith, 2017). Inspired by Zhu's discussion on heritage and civic engagement, I further suggest that the interaction between different segments of civil society could be identified as a process of 'resistance and adaptation' (Zhu, 2018).

Civil society may construct their own distinctive version of heritage discourse to challenge the AHD endorsed by the authority. At the same time, civil society could also choose to adapt or push the authority to include their discourses into the AHD. In other words, the relationship between civil society and the authority is not necessarily conflictual but could be a strategic collaboration for both parties. Furthermore, following the discussion in chapter one, some of the early heritage movements in colonial Hong Kong, such as the movement of preserving the former Kowloon Railway Station Building in the 1970s, and the old Hong Kong Club Building in 1980, were led by early local civil society groups, mostly formed by both non-Chinese and Chinese elites. Although social elites such as experts and professionals from different sectors are a small segment of civil society, they usually play a very important and significant role in the process of reshaping the discourse of a city's heritage (Roberts, 2017).

In the case of Hong Kong, an example of these civil society groups (formed by social elites and well-educated professionals) was the Hong Kong Heritage Society, the organisation behind the movement for preserving the former Kowloon Railway Station Building in the 1970s. The case of the former Kowloon Station Building (chapter three) and the Hong Kong Club Building (chapter four) will be

further examined to demonstrate how local social elites initiated the early heritage movement in the context of colonial Hong Kong.

Local professionals and members of the elite were also the pillars of the rapid growth and development of Hong Kong's civil society between the 1970s and the 1980s. Along with the process of heritage selection and making, new civil society groups were established by local professionals and social elites (Ku, Agnes S., 2004; Nedilsky, 2014). It also indicates that the majority of the local social elite at the time had a significant motivation to proactively request more political rights from the colonial government and were also ready to challenge the government's heritage and urban planning policy. However, my analysis of post-colonial government and archival media data, presented in chapter five and chapter six, proposes that, after the handover of Hong Kong in 1997, issues of local heritage protection and conservation have been actively 'popularised', especially between 2006 and 2007. It was achieved through continuous and active campaigns as the participants of the movements were no longer limited to the social elite, but they also included members of the public and received frequent coverage from mainstream media. The social movements aimed at preserving certain colonial heritage sites, such as the Central Star Ferry Pier in 2006 and the Queen's Pier in 2007, are both related examples (Henderson, 2008; Ku, Agnes Shuk-mei, 2012; Ng, Tang, Lee, & Leung, 2010; Yang, Y., 2007). By analysing the heritage discourses assembled and employed by the post-colonial government and civil society groups, I suggest that the dynamics of local heritage politics has been changed in post-colonial Hong Kong. Additionally, the fact that debates around heritage in the early post-colonial period were more popular among the public, to a certain extent, is also a reflection of the people's dissatisfaction with the post-colonial

administration and a need for more political rights. Some of the participants were also ready to challenge the legitimacy and authority of the government directly through protest, hunger strikes and even occupying heritage sites to stop demolition work (Ku, Agnes Shuk-mei, 2012).

Although tensions have always been present between the government and civil society groups, especially regarding issues of local heritage conservation, it is not the aim of this analysis to portray the relationship between the government and civil society groups as a binary opposition. Instead, by employing the framework of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003; Fairclough, 2013; Waterton, E., 2010), I propose that there is a far more complex and nuanced relationship between them, consisting of conflicts as well as adaptation and collaborations.

Similarly, to what Smith argues, heritage is understood throughout this thesis as a contested space 'about the present, and how certain interpretations of the past are used in and for the present' (Smith, 2017, p.16).

Although different heritage discourses may compete, there are still opportunities for them to be re-assembled, re-arranged and integrated into new and alternative discourses. In chapter six, the case of Blue House Cluster is employed to argue that the government and civil society can collaborate with each other through heritage preservation projects while civil society groups can also access new administrative resources and encourage the articulation of new social and cultural values of local heritage alongside this process. In other words, it may be possible for the government and local civil society groups to work together in order to assemble new heritage discourses and heritage values for the heritage site through partnership. New social and cultural identity is usually constructed and

re-constructed during the 'resistance and adaptation' process of heritage (Zhu, 2018) in both the colonial and post-colonial period of Hong Kong.

5. Conclusion

This chapter firstly discussed the evolution of modern concepts of heritage, especially the development of AHD. It demonstrated that AHD itself is not a frozen concept but is rather challengeable across time and space. Section two has also introduced heritage as a process with multiple dimensions including political, cultural and political aspects. This chapter also explored the flexibility and diversity of AHD in the specific contemporary context of Asian regions such as Japan and Taiwan. By employing the heritage policymaking experience of postcolonial Taiwan, this chapter argued that colonialism and postcolonialism are also influential factors in the transformation of AHD in postcolonial Asia, including Taiwan and Hong Kong. Section three has also revealed the close connection between the process of heritage and the emergence of civil society in Taiwan. The Taiwanese case was vital in analysing the process of Hong Kong's AHD, by giving insight into the dynamics between the authority and different stakeholders of local civil society.

Referring to the previous discussion, section four shifted the focus to the case of Hong Kong. Section four also briefly introduced the emergence of the concept of civil society and discussed how it could be employed in the field of heritage studies. It established a classification system to identify different stakeholders associated with the civil society along with the process of heritage in the specific context of Hong Kong. Furthermore, it demonstrated the emergence of Hong Kong's civil engagement associated with heritage conservation since the 1970s, which also

helps to establish a historical and theoretical framework for the forthcoming discussions on the process of AHD and development of civil society in colonial and postcolonial Hong Kong.

The following chapter three will explore the political and social background of the emergence of Hong Kong's heritage policy in the 1970s. It will also discuss how local civil society groups such as the Hong Kong Heritage Society were developed alongside the establishment of the colonial government's cultural heritage policy. Furthermore, chapter three will further investigate how an AHD highlighting economic values of local heritage could be identified through examining the newly established policy approach to cultural governance in the 1970s. Finally, chapter three will explore how the discussion related to the social and cultural identity was raised among the stakeholders of the local heritage society alongside the social process of heritage in the 1970s.

Chapter 3. Colonial anachronism and modern aspirations: The establishment of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy in the 1970s

1. Introduction

As I have suggested in chapter one and chapter two, heritage is a dynamic, cultural and political process. The assemblage of heritage discourses keeps changing across time and space. Chapter two investigated recent academic debates and discussions on heritage discourses and their interaction with the conceptualisations of civil society in both the global and Asian contexts. Based on the previous discussion, I argue that changes in heritage discourse should be understood and analysed through both global and local perspectives. The local, historical and social factors should always be considered and observed as crucial elements of heritage discourses.

Therefore, this chapter aims to discuss the emergence and development of colonial Hong Kong's AHD by analysing the establishment of the city's early cultural heritage policy in the 1970s. In addition, this chapter also argues that the concept of heritage is not only cultural but also highly political in Hong Kong's historical and social context. The selection of heritage is a process of constructing new heritage values with political implications. I further argue that this 'politicisation' of local heritage emerged in the 1970s as one of the consequences of the Riots of 1967 to help maintain the long-term political and economic stability of the colony. Furthermore, this chapter also proposes that an economical approach to cultural governance affiliated with the ideology of developmentalism could be identified alongside the 'politicisation' of local cultural heritage. Therefore, I suggest that the definition of heritage is the result of a series of both overt and implicit negotiations sparked by the rivalry between divergent political

interests and different understandings of what heritage discourse is in the colonial context of Hong Kong.

Section two offers an account of Hong Kong's historical development of heritage policy and the political nature of local heritage issues in the 1970s. I argue that the establishment of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy in the 1970s, to a great extent, was the result of years of political instability caused by the violent Riots of 1967. I argue that the Riots of 1967 was a watershed of post-war Hong Kong history; the Riot was motivated by local leftists who were ideologically influenced and supported by Communist China as the Cultural Revolution was reaching its climax. Resentment towards the colonial government's neglect of local social service and the hostility towards the British colonial rule caused the start of the Riot. I suggest that the Riot revealed the gap between the local Chinese population and the colonial government. It motivated the colonial government to review its approach which resulted in a series of political and social reforms aimed at improving the living standards of the majority of the local Chinese population and rebranding the city's image as a modern and economically progressive city.

This rebranding of colonial Hong Kong's image also aimed to celebrate the economic achievements of the city and its people. An economic-led approach to cultural heritage governance could be identified at this time. Through the careful selection of heritage, the colonial government aimed to reposition the colony as a modern metropolis with a huge economic success, significantly different from its counterparts in mainland China both politically and culturally.

Section three discusses how Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy framework was being established in the 1970s. It was achieved through the enaction of new legislation in relation to local cultural heritage conservation and the opening of

the Festival of Hong Kong in the post-Riot era. In this section, I also argue that a Hong Kong version of AHD was being articulated alongside this social process of heritage in the late-1970s. This newly established AHD was highlighting Hong Kong's post-war economic achievements and the modernity of the colony at this stage.

Section four engages with the case study of the former railway station building. By analysing this case study, I argue that the various stakeholders of the local civil society such as the Hong Kong Heritage Society at the time attempted to assemble an alternative set of heritage discourses and heritage values of Hong Kong alongside the movement to save the railway station building from demolition. However, the movement failed to gain considerable support from the general public, particularly the majority of the local Chinese population.

The newly established cultural heritage policy of Hong Kong was a part of the city's rebranding at this time, in addition to representing Hong Kong as a modern metropolis. The colonial government was also aiming to change its image into a government serving the people of Hong Kong, rather than being labelled as a colonial anachronism after the leftist riots in 1967. In this particular historical context, Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy was one of the crucial aspects of the social reform launched by the colonial government, led by Crawford Murray MacLehose, the first Hong Kong Governor to be appointed in the 'post-Riots' era.

By analysing a number of archival documents, section four aims to reconstruct the major events of the movement to save the railway station building. It targets to explore how the local civil society groups such as the Hong Kong Heritage Society had articulated new heritage values and heritage discourses alongside the

movement to help preserve the former Kowloon Railway Station while it was also one of the first heritage movements in Hong Kong's colonial history.

In the early 1970s, the government introduced a mega cultural complex project plan, which included a new cultural centre and various museums at the site of the former Kowloon Railway Station. The station building was planned to be demolished in order to release valuable urban land for the new project. However, local civil society groups, including the Hong Kong Heritage Society proposed an alternative set of heritage values and heritage discourse which were different from the AHD assembled by the colonial government. In contrast to the AHD focusing on the economic achievements of the city, the groups positioned the station building as a cultural and social symbol of Hong Kong's history and a part of people's memory and should therefore not be removed.

Through this case study, section four further explores the political implications of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy in the 1970s. I suggest that, at the time, the cultural heritage policy was not only a local and cultural issue but also a diplomatic matter which affected the stability of the colonial government and the benefit of the British government in the coming negotiations on the future of Hong Kong with China.

Section five serves as a conclusion. It concludes that after a series of political and social reform following the Riots of 1967, the life of the local Chinese population did improve and cultivate a new local class of professionals who had an emotional sense of belonging to Hong Kong and perceived the city as their permanent home. They encouraged the emergence of the local civil society and developed an understanding of local heritage and Hong Kong identity different from the ones put forward by the colonial government. Furthermore, the movement to preserve

the railway station building itself had not just attempted to challenge the AHD suggested by the authority. It had also articulated a new notion of Hong Kong identity, which emphasised emotional attachment to the city and the cultural and social distinction between mainland China and Hong Kong. This notion of Hong Kong identity has been adopted and popularized among various heritage movements during the post-colonial period, which will be further discussed in chapter four and chapter five.

To sum up, this chapter provides an overview of the historical background of early heritage policy in Hong Kong and also creates a foundation for further discussion on post-colonial heritage discourses and the political implications of heritage movements in the specific context of colonial Hong Kong.

2. The Political and Social Context of Hong Kong from the late 1960s to the 1970s

The establishment of AHD is highly social and political (Smith, 2006). By analysing associated literature and archival data, this section provides an overview of the political and social context of colonial Hong Kong in the 1970s arguing that this period of political and social transformation caused the emergence of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy framework and also the establishment of Hong Kong's AHD.

Hong Kong experienced rapid economic development and industrialisation in the 1960s; meanwhile, the influx of post-war Chinese immigrants placed substantial pressure on the city's under-developed social welfare system (Mark, 2014; Yep, 2008). Most of the Chinese population was not able to access sufficient social services, such as education and medical care, and the resentment towards the

British colonial government increased significantly (Yep, 2008). On the other hand, the Cultural Revolution in Communist China, starting in 1966, and the strong ideology of Chinese nationalism were also very influential among the local Chinese population who had suffered from the colonial government's insufficient social welfare service and labour protection. The violent Riot of 1967, initiated by local leftists, brought fundamental changes to the colonial administration. The colonial government responded to the Riot and to the Cultural Revolution by rolling out social reforms including the establishment of a new cultural heritage framework to improve the quality of life of the local Chinese population and to counteract the ideological influence of Communist China (Mark, 2014; Yep, 2008; Yep & Lui, 2010). More importantly, this section also argues that the colonial government aimed to restore the confidence of the local population in the administration and the long-term future of Hong Kong by carrying out a series of social reforms in the 'post-Riots' era. In doing this, this section provides the historical background for the subsequent discussion of the colonial government's new approach to cultural policy in the 1970s.

2.1. The Watershed: The Riot of 1967

The Riot of 1967 was a turning point for colonial Hong Kong. The colonial government shifted its policy approach to regain the people's trust towards the government and secure the future of the colony after the riot. The riot itself had anti-colonial objectives, and it was sparked by an industrial dispute in May 1967. In April 1967, the workers of an artificial flower factory initiated a process of negotiations, demanding a better working environment and higher wages (Yep, 2008). However, after several rounds of negotiations, the workers and their employers failed to achieve a deal. The pro-Communist union intervened in the

dispute and started a large-scale demonstration on the streets of Hong Kong. The demonstration soon turned into a riot, as the demonstrators brutally clashed with the police. The riot came to represent an ideological struggle between the 'Leftists', inspired by the Cultural Revolution which had just started in mainland China in 1966, and the colonial government. The riot was led by a pro-Communist's organisation called 'Committee of All Circle for the Struggle against Persecution by the British Authorities in Hong Kong'. The local left-wing organised several days of strikes, protests and intermittent bomb attacks on the streets (Mark, 2014; Yep, 2008; Yep, 2012).

The riot is considered to be the most serious political crisis for the post-war colonial government in the Cold War period, during which Hong Kong acted as a site of ideological rivalry between communist China and British colonialism (Yep, 2008). The riot finally ended in December 1967. Yep reported that 1,500 bombs were placed on the streets and more than 250 of them exploded. Fifty-one people died, and more than 800 people were injured according to a post-riot report released by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in 1968, a year after the riot (Yep, 2008). This severe and violent riot challenged the authority of the colonial government and was a turning point for the post-war colonial history of Hong Kong.

2.2. The Aftermath of the Riot of 1967: New Government, New Approach

The riot revealed the long-term tensions between the colonial administration and the local Chinese population as the majority of them had suffered from the lack of proper public social services and welfare. A report about the long-term future of Hong Kong in the 'post-riot' era also acknowledged that the British government 'left Hong Kong to grapple alone (without significant financial assistance) in the

post-war years with the tremendous problems posed by the influx of refugees from China' (FCO, 1970a; cited in Mark, 2014, p.326) which was seen as 'showing a lack of concern for Hong Kong interests and for her special problems' (FCO, 1970a; cited in Mark, 2014, p.326). The influx of post-war immigrants from mainland China caused huge pressure on the colony's underdeveloped urban infrastructure and social welfare system. In 1972's Policy Address, the government described the inadequacy and poor housing conditions as 'one of the major sources of friction and unhappiness between the government and population…' (Hong Kong Government, 1972, p.2-3). The dissatisfaction of the local population towards the colonial government and the significant social inequality were contributing factors in the riot against colonial governance.

The riot persuaded the colonial government to change its ruling policy approaches towards Hong Kong. David Trench, the Hong Kong Governor during the Riots of 1967 (in the office between 15th April 1964 and 19th October 1971), commented that 'Hong Kong socially, politically and economically is pre-eminently a community that depends on confidence' (FCO, 1970b; cited in Yep & Lui, 2010, p.252). Furthermore, he also warned that 'a loss of confidence could only too easily be generated by the successful exploitation of social and administrative problems by the Communists, or an erosion of our [British] export market by overseas interests' (FCO, 1970b; cited in Yep & Lui, 2010, p.252).

Another report dated 17th February 1971 by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) also suggested that 'an important element in the Hong Kong situation was the confidence felt by the mass of the people there that the Hong Kong government were willing and able to protect the interests of the inhabitants of the Colony' (FCO, 1971b; cited in Yep & Lui, 2010, p252). Therefore, it was clear that

one of the main tasks of the 'post-riot' colonial government was to improve the living quality of the local Chinese population and to re-establish their confidence in the colonial government and prevent Hong Kong from being influenced by communist China socially, politically and economically.

Furthermore, Crawford Murray MacLehose (in the office between 19th November 1971 and 8th May 1982), the first Hong Kong Governor to be appointed after the Riot of 1967 also emphasised: 'I pushed very hard to achieve quick expansion of social service and housing' (*The Guardian*, 2000, p.26) as 'it was also a necessary response to the riots of the Cultural Revolution, which had underlined the wide gap between colonial anachronism and modern aspirations' (*The Guardian*, 2000, p.26). This statement further justifies the argument suggesting that one of the main tasks of the colonial government in the post-riot era was to stop people in Hong Kong being affected by the Cultural Revolution and the affiliated ideology of Communist China.

In MacLehose's review of his first year of governorship in Hong Kong, he stated that 'Hong Kong is the home of over 4 million who have to a greater or lesser extent rejected China, a large proportion have not fully accepted Hong Kong' (FCO, 1971a; cited in Yep & Lui, 2010, p.253). As Yep and Lui pinpoint, the population of Hong Kong in 1970 was around 4 million, and the majority were Chinese immigrants who moved from mainland China during and after the war (Yep & Lui, 2010). The outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in 1966 and political instability in mainland China also encouraged a new wave of immigration. Therefore, Lu observes that, in the period of the 1970s, many immigrants still had active social and cultural connections with mainland China and considered Hong Kong just a home away from home and 'a place to make a living'. (Lu, 2009, p.259). Thus, one

of the many challenges faced by the colonial government was to shape Hong Kong and its people to be distinguishable from their counterparts in mainland China, culturally and ideologically. In other words, the administration aimed to rebrand Hong Kong as 'an entity to which they belong and the place they wish to live in' instead of as a temporary shelter (FCO, 1971a; cited in Yep & Lui, 2010, p.253).

The colonial government attempted to achieve this by rolling out a series of radical social reforms. It included the introduction of six years of compulsory education in 1971 and the implementation of a massive 'Ten-year Housing Programme' in 1972 to provide public housing for more than 1.8 million locals within a decade. Also, the introduction of the first-ever public social welfare allowance system was introduced to improve the quality of life of the Chinese population and secure their trust in the colonial administration and their attachment to Hong Kong (Yep, 2008; Yep & Lui, 2010).

As MacLehose stated in his Policy Address 1976, the government at the time aimed to complete the safety net of the society and 'make sure it has no holes' (The Legislative Council, 1976, Address by the H.E. the Governor). Furthermore, he also recalled that the colonial government had to fill the gap between the 'colonial anachronism' and 'modern aspirations' in the post-riot era of Hong Kong *(The Guardian*, 2000, p.26).

I argue that the government needed to consolidate its ruling power and authority by abandoning colonial authoritarianism and focusing, instead, on rebranding Hong Kong as a successfully modernised city. A process which would be beneficial for both the Hong Kong people and the long-term stability of the colonial government. This process was also a long-term preparation for the British withdrawal from Hong Kong, as the British government had recognised that Hong

Kong 'will eventually be returned to China' (FCO, 1970d; cited in Mark, 2014, p.325). Therefore, the economic success of Hong Kong could ensure its status as the most important source of Communist China's foreign exchange in the 'post-Cultural Revolution' era. In addition, the successful modernization of Hong Kong would be also important for Britain to 'prolong confidence' in the people of Hong Kong in order to 'gain all possible time for conditions to emerge in China in which a favourable negotiation would be possible' (FCO, 1971a; cited in Yep & Lui, 2010, p.253). Thus, I further argue that the establishment of new cultural heritage policy in the 1970s was also a part of this process of modernising Hong Kong and also aimed to reposition Hong Kong culturally and socially, in view of the forth-coming Sino-British negotiations on the future of Hong Kong.

3. Creating New Cultural Heritage Policy in the 1970s

As previously mentioned, the colonial government introduced a series of new social reforms as a response to the Riot and as a tool to maintain its long-term stable governance in the 1970s. Cultural heritage policy was one of the main areas of Hong Kong's social reform in the 1970s. I propose that the establishment of new cultural heritage policy was an essential part of Hong Kong's modernisation which would be beneficial for the British government's long-term political and economic interests in Hong Kong. The new policy approach to heritage raised new discussions around Hong Kong's heritage and the rebranding of Hong Kong's image and its people. As discussed in the previous chapters, heritage does not refer to something 'old', and it should be interpreted as a constant process being operated for present and future purposes. Therefore, heritage itself is a cultural and political process which plays a critical role in creating new notions of cities

and nations (Smith, 2017). I understand that the selection of heritage is also a process of making a 'desirable' history and notions of a place.

For example, like Hong Kong, Singapore was a former British colony in East Asia while the majority of the country's population was Chinese. As Lily Kong demonstrates, concepts of heritage have been applied in different ways in the construction of the Singaporean national identity between the 1960s and the twenty-first century (Kong, 2003). Yeoh and Kong argue that, in the early period of independent Singapore (Singapore gained independence from Malaysia in 1965), the main-stream ideology of this new-born nation was dominated by 'a demolish-and-rebuild philosophy to excise urban slums and rural *kampungs*…'as the newly-born Singaporean government wished to release valuable land as resources for economic development to push Singapore to be a modern nation (Yeoh & Kong, 2012, p.128). Also, for Devan, Singapore was a product of 'forgetting', as the past of the nation was forgotten and remembered selectively to make sure that there would be no 'obsolete or retrogressive' landscape to stop the construction of a young and modernised nation (Devan, 1999, p.22).

This desire for economic modernity and 'forgetting' colonial history could also be observed in Hong Kong in the 1970s. The colonial government's attempts to rebrand Hong Kong were also based on a version of modernity that featured rapid urban development and significant improvement of people's daily life after the Riot of 1967.

As Ku and Ho suggest, an ideology of developmentalism was being articulated among the colonial government and the public to reconstruct Hong Kong as a modernised city featuring its economic achievements in the 1970s. The massive infrastructure projects such as the Cross-Harbour Tunnel which connected

Kowloon and Hong Kong Island (construction started in 1969, and was completed in 1972) and the first stage of Mass Transit Railway (MTR) (construction started in 1975, and was completed in 1979) indicated the colonial government's ambitions to push forward the rapid modernization of Hong Kong in the 1970s.

Furthermore, the FCO paper dated 9th February 1970 suggested that 'Hong Kong is a special case in the political evolution of our [British] colonial territories' and the British government 'can not attempt to bring it to any form of independent status since this would be quite unacceptable to the Chinese' (FCO, 1970d; cited in Mark, 2014, p.325). Therefore, politically, it was impossible for the colonial government to promote a national identity narrative for Hong Kong. Besides, the Riot of 1967 emphasised the strong cultural and political influence of Communist China on Hong Kong, and it was clear that the PRC government would not accept Hong Kong as an independent nation in the future (Yep, 2008).

In addition, the British government, at the time, knew that Hong Kong would eventually be returned to China (Yep, 2008). Thus, the British government had decided to consider 'the possibility of negotiating with them [the Chinese government] new arrangements for Hong Kong' in the 1970s (FCO, 1970d; cited in Mark, 2014, p.325). On another hand, in the early 1970s, the Cultural Revolution had just reached its climax, meaning that there was always a potential threat coming from the anti-colonial ideology promoted by then Communist China (which was still influential among local Chinese people and continued to cause political instability in Hong Kong). All these complicated local and international dynamics made the formation of cultural heritage policy in Hong Kong a very delicate and complicated issue for the colonial government. The following section discusses how a Hong Kong version AHD emphasising that the values of

developmentalism and the city's economic achievements were being assembled through the formation of new cultural heritage policy framework in the 1970s.

3.1. New cultural heritage legislation: Assembling AHD for Hong Kong

As I have explored in the previous chapters, heritage discourse is understood as how people think, write and talk about heritage and it also indicates a range of values and understandings which define what heritage is (Smith, 2017). Meanwhile, Smith defines an AHD as a set of values and practices regulating the selection, conservation and management of heritage endorsed by government officials and heritage experts (Smith, 2006). An AHD could be identified through analysing government policy statements, laws and regulations associated with the selection and management of heritage. In the context of colonial Hong Kong, *The Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance of 1976* is an example of this.

I argue that the enaction of *The Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance of 1976*, the first legislation relevant to heritage selection and protection in colonial Hong Kong (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1982; Hong Kong Legislative Council, 1971) was a fundamental piece of the establishment of the city's new cultural heritage policy in the 1970s[5]. I further suggest the enaction of this law helped to legitimise the government's developmentalism approach to the city's cultural governance in the late 1970s. *The Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance of 1976* was approved by the Legislative Council in 1976, based on the *Antiquities and Monuments Bill of 1971* proposed by the administration. The *Bill* was also read in both Council meetings dated on 3rd and 17th Nov 1972 at the Legislative Council.

[5] Until 2019, this legislation is still the only local legislation which directly governs and regulates the selection and management of local heritage in Hong Kong.

Under this legislation, a statutory body, the Antiquities Advisory Board ('the Board')—responsible for providing recommendations to the administration for the selection and listing of monuments—was created in 1976. Meanwhile, an administrative office, the Antiquities and Monuments Office, was established to provide secretarial and executive support to the Board and deal with the management of local antiquities and monuments. The members of the Board were appointed by the government and membership consisted of academics, architects, heritage experts and government officials. The values of historic structures or sites would be evaluated and discussed by the Board. The Board would provide recommendations to the government who would have the right to declare the proposed structure or site as a legal monument. However, the term of reference of the Board only allows its members to provide non-legally binding advice to the government to decide which proposed sites or objects should be listed as legal monuments. Therefore, technically, the decisions of the Board could be ultimately overridden by the Governor. During the 1970s, the Governor decided to override the Board's recommendations twice: one was for the former Kowloon Railway Station which will be discussed in the following section; the other for the former Hong Kong Club Building which will be the main case study discussed in chapter four.

The *Ordinance* also stipulates that only objects and sites established or formed before the year 1800 could be eligible for listing as legally protected heritage 'by default'. As Hong Kong was not officially a British colony until 1842, no colonial buildings and sites could be protected as 'antiquity' unless it had been declared as a 'monument' by the government under the *Ordinance*.

In terms of the rationales of enacting the *Ordinance*, the Secretary for Home Affairs, Donald Collin Cumyn Luddingtion, stated that the purpose of the legislation was 'to establish control over archaeological discoveries in Hong Kong and to ensure that the items of particular historical interest are preserved for the enjoyment of the community…' during the Council meeting dated on 3rd Nov 1971 (Hong Kong Legislative Council, 1971, p.181). He further explained that this ordinance could 'ensure that necessary developments are not held up for the preservation of antiquities of minor importance' (Hong Kong Legislative Council, 1971, p.181).

As mentioned in section two, Hong Kong was experiencing rapid economic and social development in the 1970s (Lu, 2009). There were 'modern aspirations' in 1970s Hong Kong promoted by Governor MacLehose (*The Guardian*, 2000, p.26). The re-arrangement of CBD urban space reflected the city's desire for 'material' modernity. Pre-WWII buildings were being replaced by new modern office buildings, hotels and shopping complexes to 'maximise' the value of the land. The CBD was continuously expanded from the mid-1960s, and new land was created through reclamation and urban re-redevelopment (Lu, 2009; Ng, Tang, Lee, & Leung, 2010). Furthermore, there was also a political and social need for the colonial government to modernise Hong Kong as a successful, innovative city, to rebuild the local population's confidence in their future after the Riots of 1967, and to increase the bargaining power of Britain in its future negotiations with the Chinese government (Mark, 2014; Yep, 2008).

Within this specific political and social context, it is sensible to suggest that encouraging the urban development of Hong Kong was one of the prioritised tasks for the colonial government. Thus, I further argue that the administration attempted to establish a legal mechanism to endorse and legitimise the

government's selection of 'valuable heritage' and its decisions of removing 'undesirable' historical structures especially for those located at major urban areas through the enaction of the law.

Furthermore, among the first two batches of declared legal monuments (announced in 1978 and 1979 respectively) under the *Ordinance*, many of them were sites created in Neolithic era or period of ancient China, such as the Neolithic Rock Carving at Big Wave Bay (discovered in 1970 and declared the first-ever legal monument of the colony in 1978 according to the *Ordinance*) , the Rock Carving at Shek Pik (discovered in 1938, declared as a monument in 1979) and the Tung Chung Fort (built in the 12th Century and declared as a monument in 1979) (Kenworthy Teather & Shing Chow, 2003; Lu, 2009). Also, the monuments declared in 1978 and 1979 were all located at the non-urban areas in New Territories and Lantau Island where had less commercial and property values comparing with the core urban areas on Hong Kong Island or in Kowloon such as Central and Tsim Sha Tsui.

As I have suggested previously, Since the end of the Riots of 1967, Hong Kong had been experiencing a rapid process of industrialisation and urbanisation. Under the government's 'Ten-years Housing Programme', new towns such as Sha Tin and Tuen Mun were being developed in the 1970s to improve the housing condition of more than 1.8 million local Chinese population (Ho, 2018, p.190-191). Meanwhile, the new Cross-Harbour Tunnel connecting the core urban areas of Hong Kong Island and Kowloon was also opened in 1972 (Ho, 2018). Therefore, I argue that there was a strong desire to make Hong Kong a modern and economically successful city among the colonial government and the public. In addition, Ho comments that the colonial government was willing to use new and modern

buildings in major urban areas such as Central to 'create a modern atmosphere for the city' (Ho, 2018, p.156). As Rabushka commented in 1979, 'the purpose of Hong Kong is to make money' (Rabushka, 1979, p.5), and the city was 'just one big bazaar' (Rabushka, 1979, p.27). Thus, within this specific social context, it is sensible to argue that the ideology of developmentalism and the desire to modernity were influential to the city's administration and its people in the post-riots 1970s.

I suggest this specific political and social context also helps to explain that primary rationale behind making the new heritage law is to ensure that necessary urban development plans would not be delayed by heritage of 'minor importance' (Hong Kong Legislative Council, 1971, p.181). Therefore, it demonstrates that the government aimed to establish a clear legal framework to justify its selection of local heritage through the enaction of the law. In other words, the law could be employed as a political tool to ensure that colonial historical structures built in urban locations with high economic and commercial potentials would not be 'easily' declared as legal monuments to slow down the rapid process of urban development in the core business areas such as Central and Tsim Sha Tsui.

Therefore, although new legislation had been enacted, it did not change the colonial government's developmentalism approach to urban planning and the nature of colonial governance in Hong Kong. Also, under the *Ordinance,* the power of the advisory body was limited (Lu, 2009), and the Government could rule against the decisions of the advisory body depending on its political needs and agenda. Meanwhile, it is also clear that an emerging Hong Kong version of AHD was able to be identified alongside the enaction of the new heritage law. This version of AHD was highlighting that local cultural heritage policy itself should

play a role as a 'motivator' for the city's urban development rather than an 'obstruction'. In addition, this version of AHD was also suggesting that Hong Kong should be developed as a modern city featured with its economic achievements.

This specific version of AHD had been further developed and expanded through different pieces of the city's cultural heritage policy. The following sub-section illustrates how the promotion of the 'Festival of Hong Kong' had further enhanced the assembly of this Hong Kong version of AHD.

3.2. 'Festival of Hong Kong' for Hong Kong People

Besides of the establishment of new heritage law, another key piece of the colonial government's new cultural heritage policy in the 'post-riot era' was the promotion of the 'Festival of Hong Kong' ('the Festival'). This example aims to further explore how the then colonial government employed cultural heritage policy as a tool to rebrand and emphasize Hong Kong as a modern city featuring both cultural characters of 'traditional' Chinese and western culture in order to help to advocate the unique civil pride of the people of Hong Kong, in the late 1970s.

The colonial government-funded and organised a large-scale exhibition and fair called 'Festival of Hong Kong' in 1969, 1971 and 1973. A detailed event programme released by the government in 1969 showed that the first festival in 1969 featured a variety of events including a photographic exhibition, Round-the-Island Walkathon, funfair, and variety shows. Many of these events featured 'traditional' Chinese elements such as Cantonese opera, lion and dragon dancing, and martial arts performances. The combination of both Western and Eastern culture and social achievements was the focus of the Festival (The Steering Committee of the Festival of Hong Kong, 1969). In the *Report to His Excellency the Governor by the Steering Committee of the Festival of Hong Kong on the 1969*

Festival and its Future, the steering committee confirmed that the Festival was popular among the public. The Report further emphasised: 'the fact that the Festival was designed especially for the people of Hong Kong and not intended as a tourist attraction' (The Steering Committee of the Festival of Hong Kong, 1970, p.2).

The Festival's success is comparable to the renowned 'Festival of Britain' held across the UK in 1951. The 'Festival of Britain' aimed to display the post-WWII recovery, to show Britain's achievements, and to increase national pride (Atkinson, 2012). 'The Festival of Hong Kong' served similar purposes as it tried to promote a new identity and the civic pride of Hong Kong through the Festival.

The political instability caused by the Riot of 1967 led to the colonial government to stop, or at least to slow-down, the influence of Communist China's nationalist philosophy on Hong Kong and its people. Thus, it evoked a new cultural approach for the government to construct a new notion of Hong Kong identity and a new sense of belonging, with no strong attachments to either Communist China or Britain, but civic pride for being a part of Hong Kong. As the then Governor MacLehose suggested, 'there is also a need to secure the active confidence of the population' while 'we [the colonial government] cannot aim at national loyalty, but civic pride might be a useful substitute' (FCO, 1971a; cited in Yep & Lui, 2010, p.253). With this concept of Hong Kong's unique 'civic pride', the construction of Hong Kong's identity further emerges as one of the core points of the government's heritage policy approach in the 1970s. What I would like to stress here is both the colonial government and other stakeholders had different interpretations of what Hong Kong identity was and what elements of the notion of modern Hong Kong were. In the following section, a discussion on the following

case study of the heritage movement for the former Kowloon Railway Station Building (taking place in the 1970s) aims to reveal how heritage values of Hong Kong heritage (and the related Hong Kong identity) were assembled by the colonial government and the emerging civil society in 1970s Hong Kong. The case study will also shed light on the complicated power dynamics between different interest parties around the issue of Hong Kong's cultural heritage preservation in the 1970s.

In short, the example of the 'Festival of Hong Kong' has demonstrated that, beside motivating and legitimizing the colony's urban development, promoting Hong Kong's modernity and the unique pride of Hong Kong people were also core elements of the Hong Kong version AHD articulating alongside the formation of the local cultural heritage policy.

4. Removing an 'Anachronism': The Case Study of the Former Kowloon Railway Station

Besides introducing the new heritage law and organising the Festival of Hong Kong, another core piece of the 1970s' cultural policy was the construction of the massive Cultural Complex in Kowloon. The Complex consisted of two grand theatres (named as Hong Kong Cultural Centre) with a maximum capacity of 3,500 people, an art museum and a space museum at the site of the former Kowloon Railway Station ('the Station') (Urban Council, 1974)[6].

This case study of the Station investigates one of the first heritage movements in Hong Kong and how the government and other stakeholders understood the

[6] The whole construction project of the cultural complex and museums was entirely completed in 1989. The Hong Kong Space Museum and the Hong Kong Art Museum were opened to public in 1980 and 1991 respectively. The Hong Kong Cultural Centre was opened in 1989.

values of heritage and the context of Hong Kong identity differently. Furthermore, it also demonstrates how the emerging local civil society attempted to challenge the government's AHD by mobilising a heritage movement and articulation of cultural and social heritage values of Hong Kong. Meanwhile, this case study also reveals how the debate on heritage selection and conservation in 1970s' Hong Kong was not simply a cultural issue, but also a delicate political issue for the colonial government.

The discussion of the new cultural complex project was first raised by the government in 1967. The government suggested that the railway station should be moved from Tsui Sha Tsui to Hung Hom, and the station be demolished to free up space for the new cultural complex. The former Kowloon Railway station was located at Tsim Sha Tsui which was the south-bound terminus of the Kowloon-Canton Railway. The station building and the clock tower were both typical Edwardian style structures, fully completed in 1916. The station was designed by an English architect, Arthur Benison Hubback who also designed several important structures in former British Malaysia, such as the Kuala Lumpur Railway Station and Jamek Mosque. The railway station featured red and white coloured bricks and would become a landmark of Kowloon after its completion, as well as an important transportation hub to connect Hong Kong and China, being the starting point of the Kowloon-Canton Railway. The station was moved to its new location in Hong Hum in 1975, and the future of the remaining building and the clock tower became very controversial.

In 1978 the government insisted that the whole structure should be demolished, and the land to be used for the new cultural complex. It claimed that there was an essential and urgent need for the new cultural complex, as it would enrich the

cultural life of the Hong Kong people, and the station was described as 'useless' by the governor MacLehose, who stated that it should 'make way for a superb new cultural centre' (FCO, 1978e, p.1). However, as I have discussed in previous chapters, the 1970s were also a period of rapid economic and social change for Hong Kong, marked by the emergence of local civil society groups (CSGs). Therefore, various CSGs (e.g. the Hong Kong Heritage Society and The Conservancy Association) objected to the government's proposal. The Kowloon Resident's Association initially sent a letter to the then Colonial Secretary to request the conservation of the railway station (FCO, 1970c), while another local residents' association—the Tsim Sha Tsui Kai Fong & Welfare Association—also wrote to the government to express their desire for protecting the whole structure of the station building in 1975 and 1977 (FCO, 1977a). These residents' associations were mostly formed by residents who were living in the vicinity of the railway station building. The Tsim Sha Tsui Kai Fong & Welfare Association argued in its letter sent to the then Chief Secretary that the station building, especially the clock tower itself, was 'tremendously linked up with the daily life of our public'. Furthermore, it also stressed that the tower had been 'admired by over-million[s] of tourists every year as well as by the local people of some four millions in number' (FCO, 1977a, p.3).

Similarly, the residents' associations argued that the station building (and the clock tower) should have been preserved due to their cultural and social value for the local population. An organised heritage movement that aimed to stop the demolition of the station was mobilised in 1977 by the then newly-born 'Hong Kong Heritage Society' ('the Society'), which was also the pillar of the movement. The Society collected more than 15,000 signatures from the public for a petition

to the Governor MacLehose to request the preservation of the station building. They proposed the integration of the new development plan for the cultural complex with the existing station structure, instead of demolition (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1977b). However, the petition was not entertained by the governor who decided that the adaptive reuse of the station building would not allow sufficient space for a modern auditorium and other facilities and it would significantly delay the construction work (FCO, 1977b).

In March 1978, the Hong Kong Heritage Society sent their petition to the Queen (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1978b). The petition arrived at Buckingham Palace on 15th March 1978 requesting the Queen to override the decision of the Hong Kong government and urge them to keep the whole structure of the railway station. The Secretary of State advised the Queen not to intervene in the decision made by the Hong Kong government. He claimed that there was 'an urgent requirement for a modern cultural complex to be built on this piece of land [Hong Kong] and he also suggested that there was 'no significant popular support for the preservation of this building' (FCO, 1978f, p.1-2).

Therefore, the petition was rejected while the government's 'compromised' plan allowing the clock tower to be retained at the colonial government's expense was supported by the British Government in the name of the Queen (FCO, 1978f). The colonial government started the demolition work immediately and the iconic clock tower was preserved as a memorial landmark of the former station and the new cultural complex opened in 1989. Although the movement mobilised by the CSGs such as the Hong Kong Heritage Society failed to preserve the entire structure of the station building, the movement itself still encouraged the government to negotiate with the CSGs and offer a 'compromised' plan to preserve the clock tower.

Thus, I further suggest that the CSGs' movement successfully encouraged the government to offer an alternative plan as a response to the concerns voiced by the CSGs. However, this movement was not able to gain significant support from the local Chinese population, as they generally did not have sufficient sentimental attachment to colonial structures and associated colonial history.

4.1. The Emerging Power of Civil Society: The Hong Kong Heritage Society

Since the announcement of the demolition of the former Kowloon Railway Station in 1970, the opposition to the government's proposal grew quiet, limited to a number of local residents' associations (such as the Kowloon Resident's Association) (FCO, 1970c) and professional groups (such as the Hong Kong Institute of Architects and the Royal Town Planning Institute, Hong Kong Branch), until the establishment of the Hong Kong Heritage Society (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1978b). The Hong Kong Heritage Society stated that the silence was caused by 'a traditional reluctance of local colonial Chinese people to oppose authority or become involved in controversial issues, even civil issues' (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1978b, p.3).

This was one of the reasons behind the establishment of the Society, founded in April 1977, and informed its aims 'to represent, express and encourage interest and involvement in Hong Kong's heritage' and 'to express and respond to a. the need for continuity; b. sense of responsibility; c. cultural identity and civic pride of the peoples of Hong Kong' (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1977a, p.1). The aim of the Society was to encourage more active public participation in Hong Kong's heritage conservation. The founding chairman was David Russel, a professional architect, while Vice-chairman Peter Hodge was a Professor of Social Work of the

University of Hong Kong who had been involved in the development of the local community service and welfare system since before joining the Society. There were 14 members in its Committee—half of whom were Chinese. Several of the members' relatives were closely associated with the colonial government and enjoyed privileged social status within the colony. One example was Gloria Barretto who was a core member of the Society's committee. She was born in a Portuguese family, and her family had been very influential in the public administration and the legal sector (*South China Morning Post*, 2017). Her brother, Leonardo Horácio d'Almada e Castro Jr., was a local barrister and a prominent leader of the local legal sector. He had been selected as the President of the Hong Kong Bar Association five times (1951-1961) (Club Lusitano, 2017; Hong Kong Bar Association, 2000). He was the first local-born King's Counsel in Hong Kong, was appointed as a member of the Executive Council in 1949, and served until 1959 (Hong Kong Bar Association, 2000). Gloria Barretto herself was a botanical specialist at Kadoorie Farm, owned by the Kadoorie's family (FCO, 1978c). Therefore, the Society itself consisted of members of the local elite, a combination of English-speaking and local Chinese professionals, and experts in the sectors of architecture, town-planning, and academia (FCO, 1978c).

The members of the Society enjoyed a very extensive and influential social network and social capital in various professional sectors within the colony, as well as Britain. It also explained why the Society could mobilise the movement which opposed the government by sending petitions to both the Governor and the Queen and could successfully attract the attention of the colonial government and the FCO.

The establishment of the Society also indicated that a group from within the civil society was emerging to represent the interest and will of the people and that these individuals were making use of their social resources to express their ideas and opinions on various civic issues during the 1970s. The public participation of local civil society was still limited since many among the Chinese population (especially the less educated) were still reluctant to oppose the authorities openly. The participants in NGOs like the Hong Kong Heritage Society were still mostly members of the social elite, usually local professionals and experts. Nonetheless, this was also a critical factor in their capacity to mobilise the movement in the colonial context of Hong Kong in the 1970s.

4.2. The Political Dynamics of Creating Hong Kong Heritage and Identity

The Hong Kong Heritage Society mobilised the movement for the preservation of the former Kowloon Railway Station in 1977 and sent its petition to the Governor in July 1977 and a petition to the Queen in March 1978. After thorough examination of the FCO archival documents covering the communication between the Hong Kong Government, the Society, and the FCO during the period of 1977-1980, I argue that the very central point of the dispute was that the colonial government and members of the local social elite (represented by the Society) had a different understanding of the values and narratives of Hong Kong heritage and Hong Kong identity. In this section, I identify and discuss the different discourses around heritage and identity that concerned the government and the Society in relation to the heritage movement of the former Kowloon Railway Station by analysing the texts in the archival documents dating between 1977 and 1980. I will then further analyse the implications of the discourses and how they affected the actions and decisions of different interest parties.

Referring to the discussion in chapter two, I suggest that, along with the process of heritage movement, the stakeholders of civil society could be divided into categories. Within this particular movement, four different categories of stakeholders can be identified. These include the public sector, third sector, local professionals, and citizens (refer to Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Stakeholders alongside the process of heritage movement.

Stakeholders	**Features and examples**
Public sector	Government authorities who are responsible for the making and execution of heritage policy. In this case, they include the Governor, Executive Council, Urban Council, and other governmental organisations such as the Antiquities and Monuments Office.
Third sector	Established Non-government Organizations (NGO)s who participated or even mobilised the heritage movements such as the Hong Kong Heritage Society and the Conservation Association.
International and local professionals	International and local professionals including academics and architects sitting in the associated advisory board such as the Antiquities Advisory Board
Citizens	Members of the public concerned with local issues related to heritage selection and conservation and have participated in local heritage movements.

In the case of Kowloon railway station, the Hong Kong Heritage Society should be categorised as a member of the public sector. W.E. Quantrill, an FCO officer described it as a 'small, largely expatriate group founded a year ago with the aim of protecting historic building and natural landmarks in Hong Kong at a time when

an accelerating construction programme seemed in danger of turning Hong Kong into a concrete jungle' in an internal document dated 4th May 1978 (FCO, 1978b, p.1). However, I argue that the Society was not only interested in preserving the material heritage of Hong Kong, it also emphasised material fabric of Hong Kong was very important to the construction of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity. Therefore, the Society insisted that, besides its architectural merits, the former Kowloon Railway station was also a very important cultural symbol of Hong Kong and its people.

In the petition sent to the Governor dated 29th July 1977, the Society argued that 'The public interest in the K.C.R. building and the new Cultural Complex is an expression of the growing public concern over the urban environment in our city-state' and is the result of 'Government's encouragement of a sense of identity in Hong Kong' (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1977b, p.4). The Society argued that the preservation of the former Railway Station was not only an urban development issue; it was also a delicate cultural issue for the construction of Hong Kong's identity. In a meeting with an FCO representative after the Society submitted its petition to the Queen dated 5th June 1978, the FCO representative argued that the desire for the preservation and conservation of the Station was not strong among the entire population of Hong Kong (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1978c). The Society responded that 'this building is now of very few left in Hong Kong. It has historical/emotional/psychological significance to this community, and even it is not an important architectural monument on worldwide assessment' (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1977b, p.3-4). More specifically, the Society also pointed out that Hong Kong had been a home for a considerable number of people and it was the

government's responsibility to act as 'custodian for the people of Hong Kong as regards their heritage' (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1977b, p.3-4).

The Society considered the Station as an important element for the memory and history of Hong Kong. It also believed that the people of Hong Kong had a very strong sentiment towards the local Hong Kong history and culture. For example, in a letter wrote by Ching Tam, a local Chinese committee member, the Society expressed a very explicit opinion on the issue from a 'local Chinese' perspective. He stated: 'I do not belong to the category of "cultural pre-communist mainland" Chinese, who flooded across the border in the last 30 years', as his family had lived in Hong Kong for four generations (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1978a, p.1). He further argued: 'I am a Hong Kong Chinese' and the Station was 'my heritage, the Hong Kong heritage' (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1978a, p.1). This text succinctly emphasises the Society's emotional attachment to Hong Kong heritage and identity.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the awareness of a Hong Kong identity was first recognised in the 1970s, particularly among the local Chinese social elite who were highly educated and benefited from upward social mobility due to the rapid economic development and the government's social reform. The Society, in its petition to the Queen, also stated:

> 'With improving living standards and increased expectations, there is a growing appreciation by Hong Kong people of their cultural heritage as a separate entity to that of mainland China or sovereign Britain, a heritage evolved in a melting pot of east and west, and which we accept with pride' (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1978b, p.6).

This quotation relates to the argument that I have made in the previous section; that is, a notion of 'civic pride' was emerging among the people of Hong Kong. It was also a political and cultural approach of the colonial government as it wished to construct an identity entirely separate to that of Communist China.

Mark argues that there had also been a political awakening among the new generation of locally-born Hong Kong citizens, primarily university students questioning the 'nature of colonial rule' (Mark, 2014, p.330). They have openly encouraged the then colonial government to recognise Chinese as an official language and also supported China's claim to the Diaoyutai or Senkaku Islands. Furthermore, Mathews and Ma also argue that the majority of local Hong Kong Chinese who migrated from mainland China had a 'refugee mentality' (avoiding politics) while the generation of post-war baby-boomers embraced the 'market mentality' (making money)(Mark, 2014, p.331). To a certain extent, this helps explain why, apart from the members of the Society, the majority of local Chinese population did not have a strong emotional attachment to the colonial buildings and associated history.

There was an atmosphere of questioning the legitimacy of the then colonial government among the younger Hong-Kong-born Chinese and culture of 'de-politicisation' among the majority of the emerging local Chinese middle-class population. Therefore, although the history of modern Hong Kong had always been positioned as a history of colonialism (Abbas, 1997), the colonial government still aimed to construct a 'modernized' Hong Kong identity which featured the modernity, prosperity and stability of the city rather than a sentimental notion of identity highlighting the past of the colony.

Referring to the text of relevant government documents, they further demonstrate that the then colonial government had a relatively strong motivation to remove the Station building and replace it by a new modern Cultural Complex as soon as possible. In the reply letter to the Society's petition to the Governor, the government stressed that there was 'a clear and urgent public need for additional facilities in Kowloon' and the former Station building could not be preserved as there had been no sufficient space for the new Cultural Complex and associated modern facilities (FCO, 1977b, p,1). Therefore, the government also rejected the Society's request for integrating the former Station building into the design of the new Cultural Complex (FCO, 1977b). In addition, a telegram dated 20th February 1978 sent to FCO from the then Governor MacLehose described the Society as 'a small but vociferous organization with predominantly expatriate membership' implying that the Society itself was only representing a small group of experts and the government should not entertain their requests as the benefit of the public should have had the priority (FCO, 1978e, p.1). He also confirmed with the FCO that the new Cultural Complex 'is a badly needed facility which will enrich the life of the community' and the public 'have no particular affection for the old station' (FCO, 1978e, p.1). Therefore, he suggested the FOC should not allow the Society to submit a petition to the Queen as it would delay a necessary urban development plan for Hong Kong.

The Society eventually submitted its petition to the Queen in March 1978. The Hong Kong government sent another letter (dated 18th April 1978) to the FCO to further express its counter-arguments, and one of the points made was:

> There is no real evidence that Hong Kong people are developing a sense of separate cultural heritage in the sense meant by the Society.

> Sentiment attached to Chinese culture and to mainland China is strong, particularly among those who have not had a Western education. Among the better educated, there is a strong attraction towards modern things. Very little sentiment is attached to the former Kowloon-Canton Railway building, which is seen by many as an anachronism (FCO, 1978d, p.6).

Following the argument that I have made in the previous sections, the government aimed to rebrand the notion of Hong Kong and its people with the new cultural complex project. Mega cultural infrastructure projects have often been used to re-arrange urban space and be a crucial part of urban imaging strategies. The new West-Kowloon Cultural District in Hong Kong (expected to open in 2020) and the Esplanade-Theatres on the Bay in Singapore, opened in 2002, are both contemporary examples of such mega cultural infrastructure projects in twenty-first-century Asia (Kong, 2015).

So, during the 1970s, the Hong Kong colonial government was committed to the construction of a modernised, progressive and successful city, which embraced its traditional Chinese culture and at the same time rejected Communist China's ideological paradigm. FCO in London supported the government's approach as well. Referring to the relevant archival data, for example, in an internal discussion paper dated on 21st March 1978, FCO officer Quantrill suggested that the views of the Society were shared by a very small proportion of Hong Kong people and that the majority of citizens expected that the 'derelict' railway station would be replaced by a new Cultural Complex in order to benefit the entire community (FCO, 1978a, p.1-2). I conclude that the then FCO was in favour of the Hong Kong

government's approach, the Station needed to be demolished as soon as possible and to be rebuilt as a new and modern cultural complex.

The Society's suggestion to incorporate the Station in the new Cultural Complex was not practically possible as it would delay the construction work and lead to a 'lowering of the standard' of modern facilities for the Cultural Complex. For these reasons, Quantrill urged the FCO to advise the Queen not to entertain the Society's petition. With the support of the Queen and the FCO, the Governor Maclehose ordered the demolition of the station while also overruling the recommendations of the Antiquities Advisory Board, released on 25th April 1977, which recommended that the façade of the Station building, and the clock tower, should be both retained (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1977b). However, the Governor argued that retaining the façade of the Station would significantly delay the construction work of the new cultural complex. Therefore, the government decided to keep the clock tower only and proceed with the demolition work of the main structure of the station building in 1978.

The case discussed above indicates how the discourse of heritage is dynamic and negotiable. The Society understood Hong Kong heritage from an emotional perspective, the language used in its documents and letters written by the members showed a profound sentiment attached to the Station and the colony's history associated with it. For example, they repeatedly described Hong Kong as a 'home for Hong Kong people' who had already developed a strong sense of belonging and felt different from the people in mainland China. The Society also claimed, in a leaflet distributed to the public, that they aimed to protect both 'Chinese and the European' cultural heritage of Hong Kong including 'old Chinese

buildings and *colonial* [emphasis added] architecture' (Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1977a, p.1).

As discussed in the previous sections, the then colonial government had recognised that Hong Kong would be eventually returned to China and what it aimed to achieve was preparing for the future negotiations with the post-Cultural Revolution Chinese government. In other words, the British government had to confirm that Hong Kong would still have its unique 'economic and political' advantages for both China and Britain which would encourage the Chinese government to 'accept the continuing existence of the Colony' to maximise its commercial interests in Hong Kong' (FCO, 1970d; cited in Mark, 2014, p.324). It would also help Britain to gain more time to negotiate an 'orderly withdrawal' with the Chinese government (FCO, 1970e; cited in Mark, 2014, p.325).

I then suggest that, by rebranding Hong Kong as a modern and economically successful international city, rather than just a British colony, would be more favourable for Britain's economic interests and, more importantly, this 'de-politicised' and 'de-colonised' position would be more acceptable to the Chinese government. Mark also argues that Hong Kong's 'economic progress and administrative autonomy' had paved the way for 'de jure decolonisation' (Mark, 2014, p.334). Therefore, the terms and ideologies associated with colonialism were what the colonial government sought to avoid the long-term political benefits of Britain.

Governor MacLehose was a key figure who urged for the Station to be demolished without delay. He highlighted that the Station building might have been seen as an 'anachronism' which had no place in the urban centre of Hong Kong. The government also emphasised that the demolition of the Station was a 'rational'

choice and prioritised the people's benefit, as it argued that the local Chinese had no considerable sentiment towards the colonial structure and a new Cultural Complex was urgently needed for the local Chinese people. The government attempted to rebrand the whole issue as not only a matter of cultural policy but as social welfare reform.

It suggested that modern cultural facilities such as theatres and museums were more important than preserving the old station building itself. It also helps to justify that the argument suggesting that the new cultural heritage policy of the then colonial government such as the construction of the new Cultural Complex project was seen as a tool to achieve the target of rebranding Hong Kong as an economically prosperous city and constructing its modern urban imaginary. The Hong Kong government intentionally avoided the notion ofcolonialism in Hong Kong, as it did not wish to remind the local Chinese about the colonial past of the city.

From the government's perspective, the new Hong Kong identity should feature a focus on modernity and progress combined with traditional Chinese cultural elements which had been once perceived as an 'anachronism' by Communist China during the Cultural Revolution in 1966-1976.

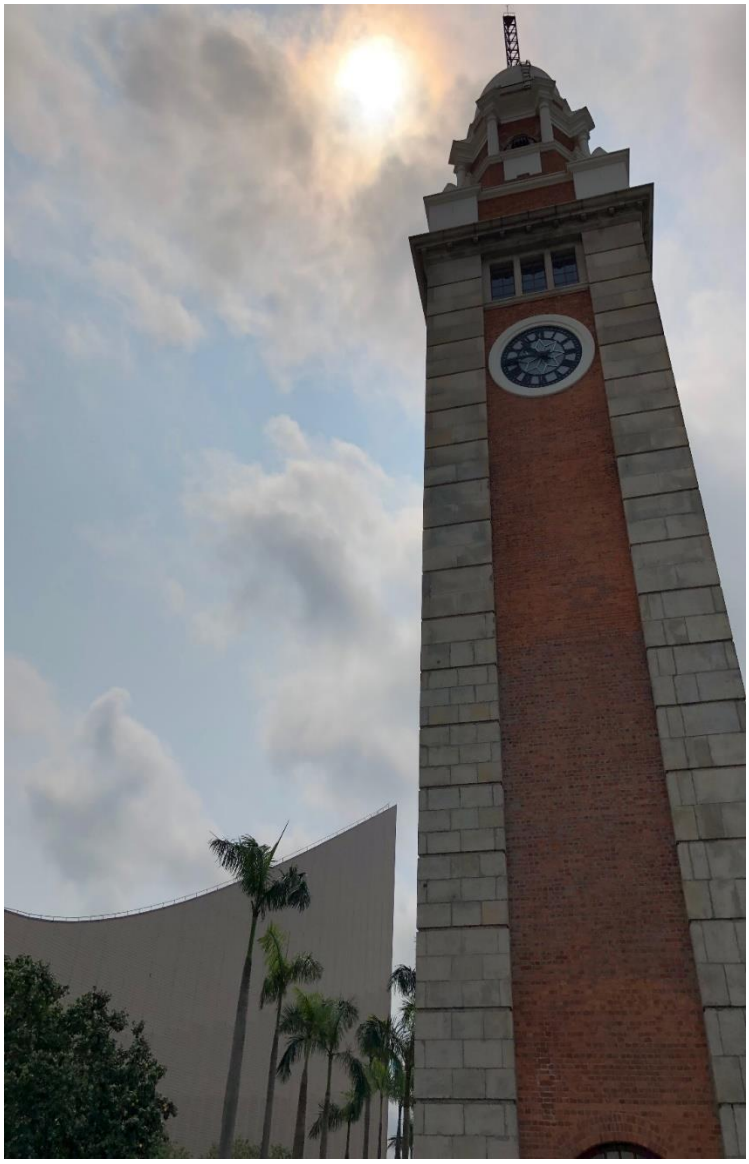

Figure 3.1. The preserved Clock Tower in 2019. (Photo taken by the author, 2019)

This section has argued that, from the perspective of the colonial and British government, the selection of Hong Kong's heritage was not just an internal matter in relation to Hong Kong citizens only. It was also a diplomatic and political issue between Hong Kong, Britain and China and it affected the long-term stability of the colonial government's power for decades to follow, as well as the positioning of Hong Kong in the global context and the benefits of the British government in the subsequent negotiations regarding the future of Hong Kong. I have also argued that heritage is not only cultural but is also social and political. The making of

heritage has to be understood in a specific political and social context. The cultural and material values of an object, structure or site were not enough for them to be defined as heritage—the implications of its conservation or otherwise are inherently political. The case of the railway station building has also demonstrated that the AHD proposed by the authority could be challenged or even modified through civic advocacies and heritage movements and there is always an interactive relationship between different stakeholders along with the process of heritage.

5. Conclusion

This chapter outlines the main features of the early development of Hong Kong's heritage policy and discourse in the 1970s. It also reveals the political nature of heritage itself and the power relations operating around the selection process of heritage in Hong Kong. The emergence of Hong Kong's first heritage policy framework was partially caused by a series of large-scale political and social reforms in response to the aftermath of the Riot of 1967. The colonial government aimed to improve the living quality of the local Chinese population to gain their support. The administration understood that the Riots itself was a call for change and the colonial government needed to rebrand itself as a government 'for' the people and to work hard for the modernisation of Hong Kong. This set of circumstances encouraged the government to enact a new heritage law and cultural heritage policy as part of the rebranding of the city as a modern city featured with its economic success.

In addition, a Hong Kong version AHD was emerging alongside the formation of the local cultural heritage policy. This version of AHD emphasised an ideology of developmentalism and cultural heritage policy should not obstruct the rapid

urban development of the core urban areas. In addition to the enaction of the new heritage laws, other key pieces of local cultural heritage policy such the promotion of the 'Festival of Hong Kong' and the construction of new cultural complex project were examples of the government's ambitious plan to remove colonial 'anachronisms' and free up space to achieve modern aspirations.

The colonial government aimed to rebrand and present Hong Kong as a modern and economically prosperous city which should be perceived significantly different from mainland China in the 1970s. By doing this, the colonial government also encouraged the local Chinese population to create a unique Hong Kong identity, an identity encompassing both modern Western and traditional Chinese cultural characters. What the colonial government planned to achieve was the promotion of a notion of Hong Kong identity which was distinguishable from the national narrative of mainland China, but also separate from the city's colonial history.

The heritage movement of the former Kowloon Railway Station was not simply a movement about protecting a specific historical structure, and it also demonstrated that the civil society led by local elites and the government understood and valued heritage in different ways. While the former perceived heritage as part of local history and people's emotional memory, the latter was concerned with the political implications of heritage (rather than its cultural or social values). The colonial government wanted to create a new, modern and advanced Hong Kong without historical 'burdens'. The colonial past was perceived as an anachronism and needed to be forgotten. The movement itself has also shown the flexibility of AHD which could always be challenged and changeable

depends on different social contexts and the needs of various stakeholders alongside the dynamic social process of heritage.

Ironically, the once-forgotten colonial past has been reimagined in the current post-colonial period of Hong Kong. In the first decade of the HKSAR, several heritage movements that aimed to preserve colonial structures, such as the former Central Star Ferry, tried to rebrand the colonial past of Hong Kong. The discussion of Hong Kong identity has become popular again among local people, especially the younger generation, who did not experience the colonial past of the city. Once again, the selection and making of heritage became the core issue, and new heritage discourses were continually being assembled (further discussed in chapter five and chapter six). The 1970s were also the golden era for Hong Kong's popular culture. TV, movies and the music industry had experienced rapid development in the 1970s, and many media productions have been perceived as 'classic' symbols of Hong Kong's popular culture.

A notable example was the TV drama series *Below the Lion Rock* (in Chinese: *獅子山下*) produced by the publicly-funded RTHK (Radio Television Hong Kong). The TV drama featured the poor living conditions of the local Chinese population in a public estate as they cooperated and worked together to overcome their challenges and rebuild Hong Kong after WW2 and the Riots. The theme song for the drama series *Below the Lion Rock* became one of the most popular Cantonese pop songs, and the 'Lion Rock Spirit' embodied in the song was rebranded as a core value of Hong Kong by the government and the media, which emphasised the perseverance and solidarity of the citizens. This song has been further interpreted and reconstructed as an important new cultural symbol of Hong Kong in the post-colonial period.

The following chapter will explore how both material and intangible heritage such as popular culture has further enriched the context of AHD and the articulation of Hong Kong's heritage values through the development of local civil society and associated heritage movements in both colonial and recent post-colonial Hong Kong.

Chapter 4. From British Hong Kong to Hong Kong China: The Transition of Cultural Heritage Policy between 1980 and 2004

1. Introduction

The previous chapter has examined the formation of the colonial government's cultural heritage policy and the assemblage of Hong Kong version's AHD within the political and social context of the post-riot colonial period between the late 1960s and the early 1970s.

By analysing the case studies of the former Kowloon Railway Station Building and the Festival of Hong Kong, I have demonstrated how the image of Hong Kong had been rebranded as a 'modernised' commercial hub through the establishment of a new 'post-riot' cultural heritage policy. I have also argued that Hong Kong had developed its version of AHD, emphasising the emerging modernity of Hong Kong and its unique notion of Hong Kong's social and cultural identity.

This 'authorised' construction and use of Hong Kong's social identity highlighted the civic pride of Hong Kong people through the economic 'modernisation' of Hong Kong. The confidence of Hong Kong towards the future of the city was effectively restored after the Riots of 1967. Rebuilding people's confidence in Hong Kong's long-term future was also beneficial for the political and social stability of Hong Kong which helped the British government to accumulate more bargaining power during the negotiation process with the Chinese government over the future of Hong Kong.

Chapter three has also investigated how different stakeholders from the local civil society understood the meaning of heritage and the notion of Hong Kong differently. I discussed how new notions of Hong Kong's social identity emerged

among the post-war generation. Several local-born Chinese professionals, such as members of the Hong Kong Heritage Society, developed a more sentimental attachment towards Hong Kong compared to the previous generation. However, at the same time, a considerable number of local Chinese university students became actively 'interested in social issues and came to question the nature of colonial rule' (Mark, 2014, p.330). It also helps to explain that not all educated local-born Chinese had developed a sentimental attachment to colonial history and associated colonial structures.

Apart from the local-born Chinese professionals and university students, as Mark argues, the majority of the local Chinese population in the 1970s were not content with local politics, including the politics of local heritage conservation and the political struggle between Britain and China. Thus, the local heritage movements were chiefly motivated by a relatively small number of well-educated local Chinese and foreign elites.

Following the previous discussion, this chapter further examines the development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy and how various heritage discourses and heritage values were articulated alongside the heritage process between 1980 and 2004.

I suggest that this period can be interpreted as 'transitional period' of the historical development of local heritage policy in Hong Kong. The discussion focuses on the last two decades before the handover and the early period of post-colonial Hong Kong until 2004. The newly born Special Administrative Region (SAR) government carried out its first-ever cultural heritage policy review in 2004.

It indicated a new turning point for local cultural heritage policy, which will be further investigated in the following chapters.

This chapter discusses how the significant political and social changes in this transitional period impacted Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy, the articulation of AHD and various social and cultural heritage values of Hong Kong. These discourses and heritage values can be identified and analysed through selected case studies such the demolition of old Hong Kong Club Building in 1981, the making of new historical narrative for the Hong Kong Museum of History in the early 1990s and the debate over the conservation of Central Police Station Compound (CPS) between 2003 and 2004.

These case studies demonstrate that the assemblages of heritage discourses in Hong Kong were always highly political and associated with various political struggles between different stakeholders from the local civil society. Furthermore, they also indicate that various stakeholders developed different interpretations of Hong Kong's social and cultural identity alongside this dynamic process of heritage.

Chapter four consists of five sections. Section two argues that the colonial government rebranded Hong Kong as a modern commercial hub to position Hong Kong advantageously about developing a 'diversified economy' which aimed to 'develop it as a commercial and financial centre' (Ho, 2018, p.222-223). In other words, I propose that the colonial government and members of the local civil society considered a rapid economic and urban development more important than the conservation of local heritage. I suggest that this aim of rebranding Hong Kong as a commercial hub was achieved through the rearrangement of urban space

including the removal of colonial-built structures in the city's central business district (CBD) in the early 1980s.

At the same time, the Chinese government also initiated the process of negotiation with the British government regarding the long-term future of Hong Kong. By analysing the redevelopment project of old Hong Kong Club Building taking place between 1978 and 1981, section two argues the demolition of this colonial structure was driven by a strong notion of developmentalism and desire to rebrand Hong Kong as an important global commercial city-state. Furthermore, this case study also investigates how the social elites of Hong Kong, a relatively small segment of Hong Kong's civil society, operated the concept of heritage dynamically and brought significant influence on the assemblage of Hong Kong's AHD in that period.

Section three argues that the colonial government constructed a colonial legacy around the notion that the success of modern Hong Kong was also an accomplishment of the British colonial rule. It was a critical discourse operated by the administration at the end of the colonial period in the between the late 1980s and the early 1990s and can be detected even within the colonial administration's cultural heritage policy.

The 'Sino-British Joint Declaration' was signed to enact the return of Hong Kong as a Special Administrative Region to China in 1997. I argue that the colonial government was not only attempting to create Hong Kong as an economic city; it also aimed to celebrate Hong Kong as a colonial success with a unique colonial legacy.

By analysing the language used in the new historical narrative of the Hong Kong Museum of History's permanent exhibition, we can understand how the administration tried to reinforce the uniqueness of Hong Kong further and highlight its economic success. Additionally, it aimed to emphasise the achievement of colonialism and legitimise an AHD that portrayed how, under the British colonial rule, Hong Kong – once a traditional Chinese fishing village – was developed into a metropolis in around 150 years.

Section four addresses how the mentality and language of governance in terms of cultural heritage policy was constantly being changed in the first decade of the post-colonial period. This section argues that the post-colonial SAR government's new heritage policy, between 1998 and 2004 was driven by the intention to promote heritage tourism as a way of contributing to the recovery of the local economy in the context of the damage to Hong Kong's economy after the 1998 Asian Financial crisis.

However, the developing maturity of Hong Kong's civil society, as demonstrated by the 'March of 1st July' in 2003 – which was the result of deep dissatisfaction with the SAR government – led to an increase of local concern and activism around various social issues, including local heritage policy. The local civil society also began to proactively celebrate the cultural uniqueness of Hong Kong and the values and context of the emerging discussion of Hong Kong identity (Cheung, P., 2011; Ku, 2004; Ku, 2010). I argue that the previous colonial legacy was employed by the local civil society to legitimise their newly assembled heritage discourse through various civil advocacies. This argument will be further developed through an analysis of the proposed redevelopment of the former Central Police Station to become a new commercial complex. This case illustrates how a historical structure

was rebranded as a symbol of the success of modern Hong Kong's legal system and the principle of the 'rule of law' which also came to be considered one of the core values of the post-colonial Hong Kong identity along with the movement opposing the commercial-led redevelopment plan of the site.

The rising public awareness of local heritage issues encouraged the government to review its existing heritage policy. Section four ends the chapter with a brief discussion of the 2004 government review of the heritage policy – the first heritage policy framework for the SAR government. I suggest that, although there was a more explicit policy approach developed in the review, the new policy framework still failed to address the more fundamental conflicts of interest between urban heritage preservation and developmentalism with practical long-term solutions. The new cultural heritage policy review played a role in the growth of public heritage movements in the second decade of the SAR, which will be discussed in chapter five and chapter six.

2. Rebranding Hong Kong as modern commercial hub: Cultural heritage discourse and policy in the 1980s

Section two discusses how the colonial government reconstructed the image of Hong Kong as a modern international financial hub through its CBD development plan, which also encompassed the cultural heritage policy.

I argue that the heritage preservation and urban planning policy in the 1980s were purposely in favour of the urban development plan of the city and global capital competition and endorsing a compelling discourse of developmentalism. By analysing the redevelopment project of the old Hong Kong Club Building, we can understand how the Hong Kong's version of AHD was also being assembled and

operated in among the social elites, a small but influential segment of local civil society.

2.1. Embracing developmentalism: The case study of the old Hong Kong Club Building

2.1.1. The ideology of developmentalism

As I have discussed briefly in chapter three, since the late 1970s, Hong Kong had embraced a developmentalism approach to urbanisation and policy of fast-paced economic development which resulted in huge demand for land for commercial use in the CBD such as Central and Tsim Sha Tsui. The rapid growth of sectors such as banking, finance and property development between the late 1970s and the 1980s were actively encouraged by the government, as it aimed to rebrand Hong Kong as a modern and successful economic hub in Asia (Ho, 2018).

The government had monopoly ownership of all land in Hong Kong and employed the 'principle of sale by auction to the highest bidder' (Cuthbert, 1984, p.154); therefore, the land value of the core urban areas had increased rapidly since the late 1970s. The general revenue of the government was also highly dependent on land sales and property development. It helped the government to maintain a relatively low tax rate to attract global capital and conducted its new social welfare reforms, such as new public housing projects, nine years of compulsory funded education (introduced in 1978) and new, public mega-infrastructure projects such as the Mass Transit Railway (MTR) system (opened between 1979 and 1980) (Cheung, Gary Ka-wai, 2009; Ho, 2018).

Furthermore, in 1979, the colonial government released the *Hong Kong Outline Plan,* which was the foundation of future urban planning of Hong Kong. The plan suggested that Hong Kong should be developed into modern city with a diversified economy. In order to do this, new roads, public transportation system and urban areas needed to be expanded to pursue economic growth and 'help develop it [Hong Kong] as a commercial and financial centre' (Ho, 2018, p.220-221)

I argue that the colonial government aimed to rebrand Hong Kong as an international business hub through rapid and large-scale infrastructure projects and urban re-development in core urban areas such as Central and Tsim Sha Tsui. In these urban areas, colonial structures were replaced by new modern high-rising commercial buildings while new reclamation projects took place on both sides of the Victoria Harbour in order to provide new land for commercial use (Ho, 2018; Ng, M. K., Tang, Lee, & Leung, 2010; Ng, M. K., 2011).

The re-urbanisation of the core urban areas of Hong Kong increased the land value and the income of the government, major land developers and property owners. Tang argues that Hong Kong had a history of adopting a planned and alienated urban redevelopment pattern generated by both government and property developers (La Grange & Pretorius, 2014; Lui, 2017; Tang, 2017). I argue that the rapid re-urbanisation of Hong Kong in the late 1970s to the early 1980s was the result of the developmentalism-led approach to the government's urban redevelopment policy.

2.1.2. Developmentalism, social elites and local heritage conservation

In this sub-section, by analysing the case study of the former Hong Kong Club Building, I argue that the cultural heritage policy in the late 1970s to the early

1980s was compressed into the developmentalism-led urban regeneration pattern. It is also clear that heritage itself was also one of many elements being employed within a complicated political-cum-economic power network assembled by various stakeholders in the historical and social context of Hong Kong.

Chapter three discussed how Hong Kong's version of AHD was assembled through the enaction of a new heritage law. This AHD emphasised that cultural heritage policy shall not obstruct the rapid economic and urban development of the city. Furthermore, the case studies of the former Kowloon Railway station building and the Festival of Hong Kong have also illustrated how various stakeholders of local civil society interpreted Hong Kong's social and cultural heritage values and identity differently. Chapter three has also demonstrated that notions of protecting cultural heritage such as historical structures were commonly raised by a local social elite, which was usually a small but influential segment of the local civil society. Members of the local elite class can often access essential social and cultural capitals to address their concerns over heritage conservation in the political arena. For example, as discussed in chapter three, the movement to protect the former Kowloon Railway Station was led by the Heritage Society, a civil society group formed by foreign experts and a small number of local Chinese elites.

In this sub-section, the movement to preserve the old Hong Kong Club Building between 1978 and 1981 was another example explaining the influential role of the social elite class in local heritage conservation. This movement was limited to the local social elite and generally did not include the local Chinese population. However, by employing the old Hong Kong Club Building as a case study, this sub-section demonstrates that the segment of the social elite class has also played an

important role in legitimising and assembling Hong Kong's own AHD. I argue that the case study shows that members of the local civil society did not necessarily stand against the AHD and heritage values articulated by the government. Instead, it was also possible for them to be a critical part of the articulation of the AHD. Thus, this case study also illustrates the complexity and flexibility of the social process of heritage.

The Hong Kong Club, formed in 1846, was one of the most prestigious social clubs in Hong Kong (England, 2016). Most of the members of the Club were British colonial officials and other foreign social elites including professionals and merchants working and living in Hong Kong. Local Chinese elites were not allowed to join the Club until the end of WWII when the first batch of Chinese members was accepted (England, 2016). I suggest that the Hong Kong Club itself was not only a social club but also a significant symbol of the authority of British colonialism in Hong Kong. The Club had substantial political and social implications which had been perceived as a symbol of the social segregation between colonial elites and the majority of the local Chinese population.

The old Club Building was built in 1897, and it was one of the last few remaining Victorian structures located in Central in the late-1970s. As the old Club Building was ageing and did not comply with new governmental fire safety requirements, discussions commenced within the Club discussing whether the Building should be rebuilt to meet the new legal regulations and needs of the members. In October 1978, the Club members voted to retain the Building and renovate it at the Club's own expense (England, 2016).

The debate over the preservation of the Club building divided the members of the Club into two groups: 'the preservationists' who insisted that the building should not be demolished and members who supported the demolition and redevelopment of the old Club building (England, 2016, p.130). In 1980, the Antiquities and Advisory Board (AAB) agreed with 'the preservationists' decision by describing the Club building as 'a handsome 4-story, colonial-style building with three bell-towers perfectly proportioned and harmonious with the rest of the building' (Executive Council, 1980b, p.2). The AAB further stated that 'the Club's long history as the headquarters of the British official and mercantile community' was an important reason to preserve the old Club building (Executive Council, 1980b, p.2).

The preservationists and the AAB legitimatized the historical value of the building by highlighting it as a significant symbol of Hong Kong's British colonial history. Moreover, they urged that the conservation of the building was not just a private matter for the Club; it was a territory-wide issue, as the old Club building needed to be preserved for the interests of Hong Kong and its people. In doing this, the Club appointed an advisory group formed by local heritage experts including John Prescott, the founding member of the Heritage Society to assess the potential cost of the renovation project (England, 2016). The group concluded that the renovation cost of the old Club building would be more than HKD 27 million (England, 2016, p.142), meaning that the Club would not be able to cover it. Therefore, the management of the Club suggested an increase in the membership fee to cover the extra renovation costs.

The report of the advisory group changed the dynamics of the Club significantly: several members who were in support of the demolition of the old Club building

argued that the amount of renovation was too high and would put a considerable long-term financial burden on the Club. Meanwhile, members who stood for demolition requested a reassessment of the renovation plan and its cost. The tension between 'the preservationists' and other members of the Club was rising (England, 2016). After months of debates and lobbying, the Club members voted again to make their final decision. The vote was cast in December 1979 with the majority of voting members in support of the demolition and redevelopment plan (The Hong Kong Club, 1979).

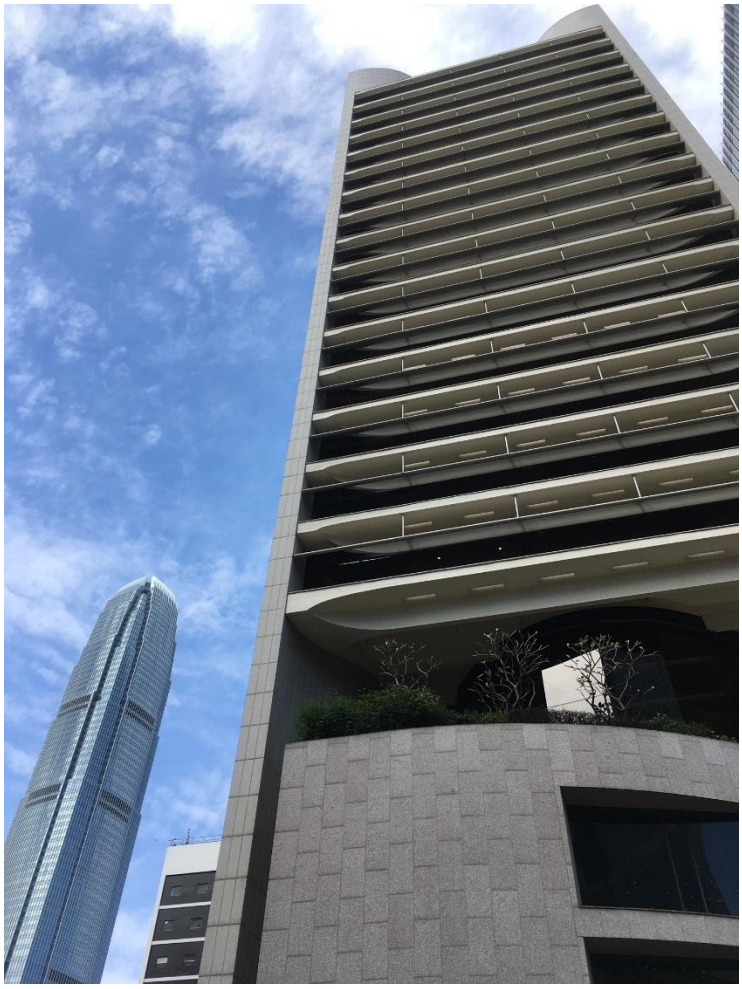

Figure 4.1. Current Hong Kong Club building after the redevelopment. (Photo taken by the author, 2018)

I argue that the redevelopment plan of the former Club building would allow the Club to avoid paying substantial renovation costs for the building. The redevelopment project was expected to bring significant financial benefits for the Club. The majority of the Club members were opposed to the retention of the former Club building, and it indicated that they were not eager to preserve the old building by paying the extra financial cost. P. Dickinson, one of the members who supported the redevelopment plan, suggested many owners of colonial-style buildings alongside the harbourfront had chosen to redevelop their buildings to be 'more convenient, more profitable and more comfortable in the age of air-conditioning' (The Hong Kong Club, 1979, p.141).

He commented 'nobody wept any tear' for the demolitions of colonial-style buildings that were similar to the Club building (The Hong Kong Club, 1979; England, 2016, p. 141). Thus, I argue that it was clear that the majority of the Club members considered that the economic values of the building were much more important than its potential cultural and social values. After the Club announced its decision, the AAB attempted to stop the demolition plan by urgently recommending the building as a legal monument in 1980 (Executive Council, 1980b). However, the Club insisted that the government would have to pay all necessary renovation costs and potential land development profits to the Club if the building was officially endorsed as a legal monument by the government.

The government eventually overruled the AAB's recommendation and allowed the demolition to go ahead (Executive Council, 1980b). The government justified its decision by stating that the majority of the local Chinese population had 'little sympathy for the historical value of the building' (Executive Council, 1980b, p.9). Furthermore, it also suggested the local Chinese media and community would be

highly critical of the government's decision if it agreed to spend a significant amount of public money for a building that would only be used by such a small amount of privileged people (Executive Council, 1980b, p.9).

As in the case of the former Kowloon Railway Station, the Heritage Society and the Conservancy Association tried to save the building by sending a petition to the Governor. In their petition, they suggested the government 'grants the Club an alternative site to build a new Club building in return for the surrender of the existing' (The Conservancy Association & The Hong Kong Heritage Society, 1980, p.6). However, the government argued that this direct 'non-*in-situ* land exchange' had very 'substantial financial implications for the government' (Executive Council, 1980b, p.7). It further suggested that the land value of the old Club building's site was very high as the cost to the public purse of the land exchange on a value-for-value basis would be around HKD 550 million (Executive Council, 1980b, p.7). Therefore, the Heritage Society and the Conservancy Association's petition was rejected by the government.

By analysing the case of the former Hong Kong Club Building, I demonstrate that various stakeholders, in relation to the Club, had different understandings of the heritage values of the former Club building. For example, the members of the 'preservationist bloc' highlighted that the old Club building itself had a substantial historical value for the local British elite as it had been the 'headquarters of a British official and mercantile community in Hong Kong for decades' (Executive Council, 1980b, p.1). Thus, the colonial-style Club building should have been preserved and considered as an essential part of the local history of colonial Hong Kong. Meanwhile, the majority of the Club members agreed that the potential rental values of the site of the former Club building were more important than its

social and cultural values as they supported the redevelopment plan of the building.

On the other hand, the government also denied the social values of the former Club building by arguing that The Hong Kong Club was a social club open only to British and foreign politicians and merchants, and thus most of the local Chinese population had no strong sentimental connection to the Building (Executive Council, 1980b, p.9). The government suggested that it would cost a large amount of public money if the government decided to preserve a building. As only the Club members could use the building, the decision of conserving the building by spending public funding would be possibility criticised by the local Chinese media while people should 'agree that there are more important priorities for Government expenditure' (Executive Council, 1980b, p.9).

As I have discussed in chapter three, Hong Kong's own version of AHD has been articulated alongside the formation of the local cultural heritage policy in the 1970s. This AHD emphasised that heritage conservation should not obstruct the economic and urban development of the city as the government aimed to rebrand the colony as a modern commercial hub in Asia. Following the discussion of chapter three, the case study of the old Club building has illustrated that cultural heritage policy should be considered as a part of a broader blueprint of the government's developmentalism approach to urban planning and city branding. Furthermore, it has justified that Hong Kong's own version of AHD was identifiable through analysing the attitude of the Club members towards the redevelopment project of the old Club building. Both the majority of the Club members and the colonial government considered the potential economic return of the site was more important than the social and cultural values of the building.

Barber argues that, in the late 1970s and the 1980s, the colonial government mainly focused on the preservation of local pre-colonial buildings and archaeological sites for tourism and educational purposes because those sites were mainly located in remote non-urban areas, and land was much less financially valuable than the central urban area on Hong Kong Island and Kowloon (Barber, 2014). The case of the old Hong Kong Club Building has further justified this agreement and revealed that the ideology of developmentalism, to a certain extent, had been generally accepted by the government and different segments of the local civil society including the social elite class and brought significant influence over the government's approach to cultural governance

The following section further discusses how a colonial legacy was being created through the making of a new set of administrative tools for heritage conservation during the transitional period before the handover of Hong Kong in 1997. Also, it argues that this particular colonial legacy was an important element for the articulation of Hong Kong's own version of AHD between the 1980s and the early 1990s.

3. Establishing a colonial legacy: the making of a new set of administrative tools for heritage selection and preservation

3.1. A new colonial legacy: the paradox of Hong Kong's decolonisation process

This section aims to investigate how the colonial government established a unique Hong Kong colonial legacy while Hong Kong was approaching the 1997 handover by making a new set of administrative tools for local heritage selection and preservation.

I argue that, by making a new administrative set of heritage conservation, the colonial government had conducted a careful selection of pre-colonial and colonial heritage. This selection process ensured that the authorised 'old' and 'new' image of Hong Kong could be placed together in 'contiguity and continuity' to create an authorised notion of Hong Kong's history (Abbas, 1997, p.67). This notion that emphasised that Hong Kong was a modern metropolis embedded with both Chinese and Western cultural characters, which was also one of the fundamental elements of the new colonial legacy being established by the colonial government. I further propose that this constructed and idealised image of history, highlighting how Hong Kong was a mixture of both Chinese and Western cultures, was one of the steps to construct Hong Kong's colonial legacy. It was also bringing forward a dilemma around local history and identity discourses in Hong Kong in the last decade of the British colonial rule.

In terms of the legal framework for heritage preservation, the colonial government made some minor changes to the existing *Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance* in 1982 after the heritage movements to preserve the former Kowloon Railway Station building and the old Hong Kong Club Building.

Under the revised legal process, the Antiquities and Monuments Office (AMO) would be able to declare any building or structure as a 'proposed monument' based on the recommendations of the AAB without the Governor's approval (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1982). It allows the AMO to stop any possible construction work that might affect a private historical building for a maximum of 12 months (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1982). The AMO and the AAB would then further assess the building or structure's eligibility for being declared as a legal monument (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1982). The owner of the proposed

monument could object and negotiate with the administration to suggest possible preservation solutions such as private donation, *in situ* land exchange, and acquisition of the property with public funding.

However, if no agreements between the government and the owner were made, the AMO and the AAB had to lift the restriction on construction works, and the owner would retain the legal right to demolish the structure. This new emergency mechanism was only activated once by the end of the colonial rule in 1987, to protect the Ohel Leah Synagogue, a Jewish Church located on Hong Kong Island (McDougall, 2000). Also, preserving archaeological sites and traditional Chinese buildings in suburban areas were usually less controversial, and it was easier to gain support and consent from the Chinese population associated with the sites as well. There were 39 buildings, or historical sites that were declared as legal 'monuments' under the *Ordinance* and most of them were traditional Chinese buildings, ancient carvings and archaeological sites located in New Territories and Outlying Islands in between 1976 and 1990 (Barber, 2014). For example, the AMO proposed the Sam Tung UK Village – where a farming village was built by the local clan of Chan in 1786, located in Tsuen Wan, the New Territories – as a legal monument in 1980 (Executive Council, 1980a). The AMO described this decision as 'likely to be favourably received by both news media and the general public, particularly in Tsuen Wan' and that no adverse reaction was expected (Executive Council, 1980a, p.3). Therefore, the selection of pre-colonial Chinese buildings and structures located in non-central urban areas as legal heritage could be used to demonstrate the government's respect for local Chinese traditional culture and highlight that Hong Kong had a strong cultural connection with traditional Chinese and modern Western cultures (Barber, 2014).

As the negotiations between the British and Chinese governments on the future of Hong Kong were launched in the early 1980s, it became clear that any discussion of Hong Kong's political and economic future was not only an internal matter for the city but also a diplomatic issue concerning the long-term interests of both nations. The British and Chinese governments eventually signed the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* in 1984, and both agreed that Hong Kong would be returned to China on 1st July 1997 as a SAR under the framework of 'One Country, Two Systems'.

According to the *Declaration*, Hong Kong would enjoy a high degree of autonomy and existing Hong Kong's laissez-faire system would remain unchanged. It has also been enshrined in the Basic Law, which is a constitutional document regulating the fundamental rights of Hong Kong residents and the relations between the SAR government and the Chinese central government in Beijing.

Compared to other former British colonies in the Asia-Pacific region, such as Singapore, Hong Kong's process of decolonisation was unique (Carroll, 2010). The British colonial rule in Hong Kong ended in 1997, and it did not lead Hong Kong to independence. Instead, the handover of Hong Kong's sovereignty was a peaceful and well-prepared process. The colonial government had more than two decades to plan the handover of the sovereignty of Hong Kong. Hong Kong was the last major British colony to be colonised, and unlike other former colonies, it was far more than a 'colonial embarrassment' (Carroll, 2010, p.12); instead, it has been commonly perceived as an achievement and a legacy of British colonialism (Carroll, 2010).

In the last decades of British colonial rule, the colonial government was eager to maintain the political and economic stability of the city to make sure that the local people and foreign investors would keep their confidence in the long-term future of Hong Kong. It is commonly assumed that the colonial government aimed to emphasise the advanced modernity and economic success of the city. As I have suggested in previous chapters, a new sentimental notion of Hong Kong identity was emerging among people in Hong Kong starting from the 1970s. Meanwhile, the rapid economic development, improved education system and the industrial restructuring towards the service industry (such as financial service) encouraged a new local Chinese middle class and led to the emergence of civil society mainly in the 1970s and 1980s (Chan, E. & Chan, 2017; Cheng, 2016; Wong & Chan, 2017).

The new-local born and educated youth also showed their dedication to Hong Kong and 'were more eager to correct the ills of the colonial regime' (Ma, 2009, p.47). Meanwhile, the local society was becoming more liberalised and local educated elites were able to question the colonial regime in a much more critical way (Mark, 2014). There was also a more sentimental notion of Hong Kong identity and Chinese nationalism triggered by China's new 'Reform and Openness' policy. This notion of local identity was also a critique of the injustice of the 'old-fashioned' British colonialism (Ma, 2009; Mark, 2014). The case study of the former Kowloon Railway Station discussed in chapter three has also demonstrated that there was a small amount of the local Chinese population, who were mainly local-born Chinese professionals, involved with the movement led by the civil society groups such as the Heritage Society.

This section explored how the colonial government aimed to 'de-politicise' Hong Kong as an economically prosperous modern city with both 'western' modern

values and traditional Chinese culture through the rearrangement of urban space and the administrative mechanism of heritage selection and conservation. This notion also further highlighted the uniqueness of Hong Kong and its people. In addition, it helped to make a colonial legacy emphasising the modern achievement of 'modern' Hong Kong under British colonial rule. The following sub-sections will investigate how the administration further portrayed and legitimised the colonial legacy in a more explicit way by constructing a new historical narrative for the permanent exhibition of the Hong Kong Museum of History in the early 1990s while Hong Kong was approaching to the moment of handover in 1997.

3.2. Visualising and legitimising the colonial legacy: the new permanent exhibition of the Hong Kong Museum of History in the early 1990s

This sub-section discusses how the colonial legacy, as a result of the success of British colonial rule, was being promoted through the construction of a new permanent exhibition of the Hong Kong History of Museum in the early 1990s. I also suggest that this notion of colonial legacy was also a substantial part of Hong Kong's version of AHD in the early 1990s.

The colonial administration decided to set up a new permanent exhibition presenting the history of Hong Kong at the Hong Kong Museum of History in 1986 while the *Sino-British Joint Declaration* was signed in 1984. The content of the new permanent exhibition was finalised in the early 1990s and opened in 1992. By examining the language used in the exhibition proposal and the layout of the exhibition, we can understand that the colonial administration aimed to build up an abstract concept of colonial legacy which highlighted the modernisation of Hong Kong as an achievement of the British colonial rule through the exhibition.

3.2.1. Constructing a colonial legacy through the new permanent exhibition

Identity is always a vital issue in the debates in relation to Museum Studies and Heritage Studies. Museums are important agents of socialisation, where identity is represented through the display of object and a systematic interpretation of the past. Macdonald argues that museums are 'significant sites in which to examine some of the claims of identity transformation' (Macdonald, 2003, p.2-3). Also, traditionally, museums 'have been deliberately constructed to represent the national community' (Watson, 2007, p.270). Also, in a more broadly global context, national museums and galleries are highly associated with the creation of national identity and also an expression of 'the changing political tendencies of the state' (Knell, 2016, p.12). The case study of the Hong Kong History Museum is one of the examples to justify that museum is a place for the creation and interpretation of political, social and cultural identity.

As I have discussed in the previous section, Hong Kong did not follow the path of other former British colonies, such as Singapore, towards independence. Instead, it was established as a SAR of China enjoying a highly autonomous and unique status which would be different from other parts of mainland China.

I have argued in chapter three that the colonial government recognised that building a national identity of Hong Kong was not possible for the 'post-riot' Hong Kong, but the construction of 'civic pride' was a reasonable alternative option. Museum is usually closely associated with the assemblage of national identity (Knell, 2016, p.12), however, in the case of Hong Kong Museum of History[7], I

[7] This museum was the first public museum who mainly aimed to preserve and display Hong Kong's history.

suggest that it seemed to be a museum without any clear national affirmation, neither British nor Chinese.

The issue was more than just a cultural one, but with underlying political implications. In the local political and social context of the late 1970s and 1980s, the paradox was that the museum 'storyline'[8] was not explicitly linked to British national identity since the colonial government worked hard to remove the image of colonialism from Hong Kong.

At the same time, I argue that if the 'storyline' emphasised the historical and cultural connections with China, especially the modern history of China, it might have stimulated a more profound attachment to Chinese nationalism which was what the colonial government was leaning towards. Based on the previous discussion, I further argue that the colonial government was constructing a fluid historical narrative for Hong Kong and its identity and a discreet narrative of the colonial legacy which was also an identifiable part of Hong Kong's own version of AHD. In other words, the museum exhibition itself was also helping to motivate the process of 'identity transformation' (Macdonald, 2003, p.2-3). The making of the new museum 'storyline' was likely used to legitimise further and visualise the authorised version of Hong Kong's history endorsed by the colonial government.

The Hong Kong Museum of History was established in 1975 after the former City Museum and Art Gallery were split into the Hong Kong Museum of Art and the Hong Kong Museum of History. The museum was then moved to Kowloon Park where the Whitfield Barracks of the British Army was originally located. Two

[8] The term 'storyline' was used in the related government archival documents and it referred to the new content and narrative of the proposed permanent exhibition of the Hong Kong Museum of History (Urban Council, 1988, p.1-2)

blocks of the former barracks were occupied by the museum. The Urban Council – responsible for the management of the city's cultural facilities – agreed that a new permanent exhibition about the history of Hong Kong should be designed for the museum in 1986 (Urban Council, 1986; Urban Council, 1988).

The exhibition was provisionally named *Hong Kong History – a Brief Introduction*. The Council claimed that 'the need for an exhibition on the history of Hong Kong has long been felt' (Urban Council, 1986, p.1). Therefore, the exhibition should 'provide a brief introduction to the history *of the Hong Kong region as a whole*, tracing the experience of its earliest inhabitants from the Neolithic period to its first recorded settlements in the Song dynasty; as well as the subsequent historical development during the Ming and Qing periods, but prior the inception of Hong Kong 1841' (Urban Council, 1986, p.1, emphasis added). The text shows how it is possible to infer that the administration intended to construct Hong Kong as a culturally and historically distinct region despite its significant connections with the history of mainland China.

The exhibition stressed the subjectivity of Hong Kong and its historical development during different ancient Chinese dynasties prior the colonisation of Hong Kong, also referred to as the 'inception of Hong Kong' (Urban Council, 1991, p.1-2). The language used in the 'storyline' proposal implied that the watershed moment between ancient and modern Hong Kong history was the British colonization of Hong Kong, presenting it in a positive light since it marked the 'inception of Hong Kong' and the start of the 'modern' history of the city (Urban Council, 1991, p.1-2). However, the design of the 'storyline' was soon modified and extended to 1984, the year in which the *Joint Declaration* was signed in Beijing.

The final version of the 'storyline' had been divided into five sections, namely, *The Natural Environment*, *The Neolithic Age*, *Dynastic Development*, *The Village* and *The City* (Urban Council, 1991, p.1-2). It aimed to provide an outline of 'the six thousand years of Hong Kong's development from a Neolithic settlement and fishing village to an important metropolis' while 'a large portion of the exhibition [would] be devoted to the building and development of the city from 1841 to 1984 when the *Joint Declaration* was signed' (Urban Council, 1991, p.1-2).

The exhibition was finally named *History of Hong Kong – From Neolithic Settlement to Modern City* and officially opened in October 1992, almost five years before the handover of Hong Kong. Considering the text above, it was clear that the 'storyline' aimed to celebrate the achievements of Hong Kong and its people, who transformed a farming and fishing village into a prosperous international city under the British colonial rule (Urban Council, 1991). The 'storyline' also marked 1841 – the beginning of Hong Kong's colonisation by the British – as the starting point of modern Hong Kong history (Urban Council, 1988; Urban Council, 1991). On the other hand, it also stressed the deep cultural and historical connections between Hong Kong and ancient China in the section of *Dynastic Development* (Urban Council, 1991, p.1-2). The cultural and historical connections were favoured over an analysis of the political and social dynamics between Hong Kong and modern Communist China, which had the potential to be much more politically and socially controversial. The narrative presented by the exhibition was similar to that promoted by the colonial government: branding Hong Kong a prosperous global economic city, featuring its unique and diverse cultural background with both Western and traditional Chinese elements. Additionally, it emphasised that Hong Kong had undergone a process of transformation – from a

farming and fishing village to a modern city – since the arrival of British colonialism in 1841, which marked the start of modern Hong Kong history.

As mentioned in the previous sections, although the colonial government allowed for the removal of several urban historical landmarks, perceived as an anachronism of colonialism, this does not mean that the then government was attempting to entirely erase colonial history from the Hong Kong's broader past. Instead, this new museum 'storyline' indicated that they aimed to reimagine and reconstruct the historical narrative more selectively and strategically.

The positive aspects of colonial rule were emphasised in a relatively indirect manner by presenting Hong Kong as a modern city that went from fishing village to metropolis in a mere hundred years after the start of the British colonial rule. The cultural space of Hong Kong by the end of the colonial rule was being rearranged and re-imagined not only for selecting and forgetting the unwanted memory but also for the persistence of certain ideological guidelines. These invisible and concealed ideological guidelines, such as highlighting the economic achievement and the cultural diversity of the city, helped develop a stronger sense of identity for Hong Kong people. This sense of identity first emerged in the 1970s, as explored in chapter three, but was further developed and reinforced during the last two decades of the colonial rule through the selection of heritage and the making of a new museum narrative.

The modern urban outlook of Hong Kong was in strong contrast with the intentionally preserved traditional Chinese architecture, to legitimise the idea that Hong Kong was a mixture of old and new, and a meeting point of East and West. These constructed elements of Hong Kong's social identity were gradually

accepted and adopted not only by the government but also by the upper social class and emerging local Chinese middle class who had benefited from the rapid economic development and the government's constant social reforms starting in the early 1970s. The new storyline materialised the abstract concept of the colonial legacy to the public, and further legitimatized and expanded the AHD of Hong Kong as endorsed and promoted by the government.

Section three explored how a colonial legacy was constructed and endorsed through a revised historical narrative of the Hong Kong Museum of History's permanent exhibition. The exhibition conveyed that the modernisation of Hong Kong and the economic success of the city were achievements of the British colonial rule. The historical moment in 1842 when the British Empire colonised Hong Kong was branded as the 'true' starting point of the city's modernisation process. Thus, I conclude a particular version of Hong Kong's AHD could be clearly identified through analysing one of the crucial pieces of the government's cultural heritage policy, the actual design of the Hong Kong Museum of History's new permanent exhibition.

This version of AHD highlighted that Hong Kong experienced a radical transformation process during the colonial period. The city developed into a modern international commercial hub from a traditional farming and fishing village under the colonial rule in less than 150 years.

This 'miraculous' colonial legacy further reinforced the so-called uniqueness of Hong Kong and its people and was also being portrayed in local popular culture such as the culture of Hong Kong-style milk tea which was a critical part of the public's everyday life. I suggest that, to a certain extent, this phenomenon helped

to strengthen the sense of Hong Kong identity and its 'unique' culture in the mind of the local community. This phenomenon will be further investigated in chapter five. It also sowed the seed for the emergence of the fore-coming heritage movements that came together in the early post-colonial period, which will be discussed in the following section.

4. Visiting cultural heritage policy and discourse in the first decade of the post-colonial period

Section four addresses how the cultural heritage policy and related discourses, including the AHD, were being developed and changed in the early post-colonial period of Hong Kong, namely between 1997 and 2007.

Hong Kong was returned to China by Britain in 1997, experiencing a unique process of de-colonialization compared to other former British colonies. Following the discussion in the previous section, the ideology of developmentalism was still influential for the government's approach to cultural governance. For example, as a response to the Asian Financial Crisis in 1998 and the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), the SAR government proposed to make use of the local heritage sites to encourage the development of heritage tourism.

However, by analysing the redevelopment of the former Central Police Station Compound (CPS), I argue the colonial heritage sites was used to symbolise and justify various social and cultural values of Hong Kong and its people. For instance, the CPS was described as a symbol of the success of Hong Kong's legal system and its principle of the rule of law by politicians and civil society groups that were against the commercial-led redevelopment of the site of the CPS. The case study of

the CPS also revealed that the then local civil society was well-developed, and the civil society groups also attempted to make use of different heritage discourses to evoke heritage movements to fulfil various political and social agendas which will be further examined in chapter five.

4.1. A unique decolonisation experience

On 1st July 1997, the SAR government was officially established. After 156 years, British colonial rule came to an end. In the early period of the SAR government, the administrative system was generally inherited from the former colonial government. The SAR government's cultural heritage policy had a strong economic focus to maintain the mainstream image of Hong Kong: an international modern city where Western culture and Eastern culture met to support the development of local tourism (as Hong Kong grievously suffered from the Asian Financial Crisis right after the end of the colonial rule in 1998).

Hong Kong experienced rapid economic development, especially in the sectors of finance and real estate investment between the 1980s and 1990s. Before the end of colonial rule in 1997, Hong Kong had been a major Asian financial hub and played a critical role in the international financial market. However, this ended soon after the handover.

Hong Kong and other major Asian stock and real estate markets, such as Thailand and Singapore, were severely affected by the Asian Financial Crisis between 1997 and 1998. The currency and GDP of several Asian counties, including Thailand, Malaysia and South Korea decreased drastically due to the crisis (Choi, Kim, & Lee, 2011). As an Asian financial hub, Hong Kong was inevitably influenced by the crisis: confidence in the local property market was low and resulted in a noticeable

fall of the property price. It also reduced the general income of the newly established HKSAR government as land revenue had always been a major source for public funding. The GDP of the city also dropped by over 5% in 1998 compared to the previous year, and the unemployment rate reached its historical height (HKSAR Government, 2000).

There was an urgent need for the government to revitalise the economy and to rebuild the public's and investors' confidence in the future of the SAR. As part of the recovery plan, the government attempted to give new vibrancy to the local tourism sector by making alternative uses of existing local heritage sites. The government suggested that rebranded heritage sites would attract more foreign and mainland visitors and generate considerable profits for the tourism industry (HKSAR Government, 1998; HKSAR Government, 1999a).

4.2. Recovering economy by heritage tourism

The previous chapters have discussed how the governments of Asian cities, including Hong Kong and Singapore, made use of rebranded local heritage to promote the notion of a global city and encourage local heritage tourism. The decline of the global economy during the crisis stimulated the administration to explore alternative options to revitalise the local economy. The government believed that by promoting local heritage tourism, the local tourism industry would be reinvigorated. The Policy Address 1999 stressed that: 'It is important to rehabilitate and preserve unique buildings as this not only accords with our objective of sustainable development but also facilitates the retention of the inherent characteristics of different districts, and helps promote tourism' (HKSAR Government, 1999a, p.128).

The conservation of local heritage was expected to help to promote the city's tourism and sustainable economic development (HKSAR Government, 1999a). The government selected several colonial structures to be redeveloped as tourist attractions to help the recovery of the local economy. Those projects were mostly commercially oriented and, several local colonial buildings were converted into shopping malls, hotels and tourist markets in the early years of the post-colonial period.

Henderson further suggests that the notion of Hong Kong was still generally in line with the discourse endorsed by the colonial administration which stressed that Hong Kong was always a mixture of Chinese traditional culture and contemporary life with an international outlook (Henderson, 2001; Henderson, 2008). It was also a key element and classical 'material' for the branding of Hong Kong tourism adopted by the Hong Kong Tourism Board (HKTB) (Henderson, 2001). The juxtaposition of this so-called 'old and new', 'East and West' was also emphasising a dilemma around Hong Kong history and its discourse: Hong Kong was part of China and the city needed to build a closer attachment with its motherland. However, at the same time, Hong Kong had to maintain its uniqueness to distinguish itself from other Chinese cities. As Henderson suggested if Hong Kong had been sufficiently 'patriotic', the place would possibly be 'less international' (Henderson, 2001, p.230).

4.3. Economic-led approach to heritage conservation: The example of the former Marine Police Headquarters

This sub-section aims to use the former Marine Police Headquarters located at Tsim Sha Tsui (a commercial hub in Kowloon) as an example to illustrate how the

SAR government deployed local colonial heritage sites for the development of heritage tourism in the early 2000s. The colonial structure was declared legal monument in 1994.

The Hong Kong Police moved out from the site and returned it to the government in 1996 (Cheung, Sidney C. H., 2003; Woo, 1999). In 1998, right after the handover, a redevelopment plan of the site was released by the Planning Department and Government Property Agency while a consultancy study contract was commissioned for HKD 720,000 in 1999 'to optimise the development potential of the site' (HKSAR Government, 1999b, p.1). The government emphasised that 'in view of its prominent location with prestigious hotels, offices, shopping arcades, and cultural facilities in the vicinity, the site is considered suitable to be developed into an attractive tourist visiting spot' (HKSAR Government, 1999b, p.1). This aim had also been presented in both the 1998 and 1999 Policy Addresses, which intended to improve the local economy by promoting local heritage tourism. It was believed that vibrant local heritage tourism would help generate new income for the tourism sector and reduce the government's long-term maintenance cost of the historical structures by attracting private investors into the heritage tourism projects.

In the case of the former Marine Police Headquarters, a local giant land developer, Cheung Kong Holding, was awarded the tender in 2005 for HKD 352.8 million and the plan was completed in 2009 (Kong, 2004; Lai, 2006). It was converted into a complex of high-end shops and restaurants, and a luxury hotel. This heritage regeneration project was criticised by some local media and heritage professionals, as the transformation of the site was irreversible and several of the original parts were changed permanently (Lai, 2006; Wu, 2003).

Another possible negative aspect of the project suggested by the public was that it was incorrectly carried out as a cultural-led tourism development project which was emphasising its commercial values to the government and the property developer, with the original historical setting being destroyed and the cultural and historical values of the project overlooked (Cheung, Sidney C. H., 2003; Kong, 2004; Lai, 2006; Wu, 2003).

Referring to the previous sections of this chapter, the 'state-cum-private' mode for urban space redevelopment was always the main feature in the context of Hong Kong's developmentalism and is still valid in post-colonial Hong Kong (Ku, 2012, p.7).

This case study has further explained the government's approach to considering heritage as a tool to encourage heritage tourism development. Colonial heritage sites and their past could be celebrated and employed by the government and urban developers as a result of 'capital accumulation strategies' (Law & Veldpaus, 2017, p.400) to stimulate local economic development. The example of the former Marine Police Headquarters has shown that the SAR government was eager to utilise local colonial heritage as a tool to develop tourism in order to motivate the general recovery of the local economy.

Meanwhile, civic engagement on heritage preservation was also actively motivated by local civil society groups in the context of post-colonial Hong Kong. There were debates surrounding the issue of heritage and the notion of Hong Kong identity while a stronger sentimental feeling about post-colonial Hong Kong was also brewing. The following sections will further discuss it.

4.4. Proactive civic participation with heritage preservation: The case study of the former Central Police Station Compound

The previous sub-section has discussed that public awareness around heritage conservation progressively increased, along with the active development of local civil society between 1997 and 2003. In this sub-section, the movement to preserve the former Central Police Station Compound (CPS) is employed as a case study. This movement to preserve the CPS was the first major public heritage movement after the 1st July March in 2003, with a more proactive civil participation around local heritage issues and showing how discourses of Hong Kong and its social core values were being operated through the heritage project. In addition, this case study also helps us to understand how heritage itself has been interpreted as a political issue in the context of post-colonial Hong Kong.

The CPS is comprised of three groups of buildings, including the former Central Police Station, the Central Magistracy and the Victoria Prison (Development Bureau, 2007a). It was built between 1864 and 1919 and was declared a monument in 1995. The site was described as a unique compound colonial structure which 'allow[ed] the historical development of the institutions for law and order in Hong Kong since the mid-19th century to be traced' (Antiquities and Monuments Office, 2016, p.1).

The CPS was legally protected as a legal monument partially because it was perceived as a symbol of the principle of the rule of law in modern Hong Kong which was also the keystone of Hong Kong's economic achievement. The CPS was another clear example of colonial legacies, such as the ones discussed in previous sections, and it showed how the principle of the rule of law, initially introduced by

British colonialism, was a 'fundamental' social value of Hong Kong. However, similarly to the former Marine Police Headquarters, the site of CPS was initially meant to be redeveloped as a tourism and commercial project in 2003 by the government (Ku, 2010).

In 2004, while the government was looking for land developers to take over the tourism project, the administration was under attack by sectors of academic professionals, district councillors and residents living nearby (Ku, 2010; Kwong, 2004; Lai, 2005b; Yung & Chan, 2015). The main critique of the project was the government's cultural economy approach, which was considered as inappropriate use of heritage and it also undervalued the social and historical values of the site (Kwong, 2004; Lai, 2005a; Lai, 2005b). One of the most active and influential players of the movement opposing the redevelopment plan was the newly formed Central and Western District Board, where the CPS sites were located (Kwong, 2004).

After the government's political crisis in 2003, local pro-democrats had successfully achieved a major victory in the district council elections in 2003. The political stand of the pro-democrats was usually sympathetic towards the local heritage preservation issues. The district council board passed a motion which strongly opposed the government's proposal. The then District Councillor Stephen Chan Chit-Kwai criticised that the government's proposal failed to 'emphasise the importance of the uniqueness of the site, its cultural heritage, as well as the need to keep it a public place' (Kwong, 2004, p.1).

The Central and Western District Board suggested the project should be more engaged with the community and serve as a public space rather than transforming

it into a commercial tourism project (Ku, 2010). The board co-operated with the professionals and civil society sectors such as the Hong Kong Institute of Architects and the Conservancy Association to form a specific 'CPS Heritage Taskforce' to construct a heritage framework for the site and promoted more active public participation (Chan, C., 2004; Ku, 2010; Lee, 2004; Ng, K., 2004). In contrast to the case of the former Kowloon Railway Station Building in the 1970s, the main taskforce behind the movement was almost entirely made up of well-educated ethnic Chinese professionals and politicians who were born in Hong Kong. They were able to reposition the CPS and rebrand the issue as a public political one. Also, they had built a good relationship with the public through forums, surveys and media coverage. Local heritage movements were no longer exclusively powered by foreign professionals and elites; instead, the movements were driven by the locally born elite and middle-class, indicating that a more mature and proactive local civic society was emerging.

The preservationist bloc employed the CPS to articulate a set of social and cultural heritage values of Hong Kong. This set of heritage values suggested both the police station, prison and magistracy were strong symbols of colonial authority and they were tools for the colonial government to control the local population through foreign legal principles and law. Nevertheless, they were also essential elements of the city's modern legal system, as century-old symbols of the principle of 'the rule of law' for the city. This core social value of the 'rule of law' dominated the debate surrounding the CPS site as it was also linked to the mainstream and typical notion of Hong Kong as a once traditional Chinese fishing and farming village, now a 'barren-rock-turned-capitalist-paradise' (Ku, 2010, p.391).

This notion of Hong Kong had been endorsed continuously by both the colonial government and the SAR government. The concept of 'the rule of law' and the practice of the common law system represented the keystones of Hong Kong's success (Ku, 2010, p.390-391). Under huge public pressure coming from the district council and civil society, the administration decided to review the plan and abandoned its original approach. The project was later awarded to the Hong Kong Jockey Club[9] to develop it as a cultural and art complex with a non-profit business model in 2007 (Development Bureau, 2007a; Development Bureau, 2007b). The new project was completed in May 2018, and the site was renamed as 'Tai-Kwan Centre for Heritage and Art', and it aims to 'offer the best heritage and arts experiences, and to cultivate knowledge and appreciation of contemporary art, performing arts and history in the community' (The Jockey Club CPS Limited, 2019, refer to Figure 4.2.).

Figure 4.2. Current CPS after the renovation. The site is now renamed as 'Tai-Kwan Centre for Heritage and Art'. (Photo taken by the author, 2019)

[9] Hong Kong Jockey Club was established in 1884 and now is a service provider of lottery and sport wagering services. It is also a major charity contributing local social welfare service through tax contribution and charitable donations.

To sum up, a set of cultural and social heritage values was articulation alongside the movement to preserve the former CPS motived by various stakeholders of the local civil society. This set of heritage values has highlighted the concept of 'the rule of law' was the key to the success of Hong Kong and an important element of the assemblage of Hong Kong's identity. Also, the case of the CPS has demonstrated that a more proactive local civil society is being developed in Hong Kong through the various heritage movements motived by locally born elite and middle-class.

4.5. Proactive civil participation and urban heritage preservation

The previous chapter has presented the case study of the former Kowloon Railway Station, which demonstrated how the emergence of local civil society groups started the very first heritage movement in Hong Kong. However, in the early years of the SAR, the civic engagement on heritage preservation was not sufficient to provoke large-scale heritage movements, probably due to the declining economy and the focus on financial issues rather than cultural heritage. However, the outbreak of SARS in 2003 marked another critical moment for the development of local civil society and civic engagement (Carroll, 2010; Cheung, Peter, 2011).

As Hong Kong was still undergoing the recovery process from the 1998 financial crisis, the SARS crisis acted as a trigger for the accumulated resentment against the SAR government's failed economic and social policies and reforms between 1997 and 2003. The public disappointment manifested itself in a march – the March of 1st July – in 2013, coinciding with the sixth anniversary of the handover of Hong Kong (Carroll, 2010). More than half a million people joined the protest and the March itself developed into a significant turning point for local civic

engagement bound to be highly influential for the forthcoming heritage movements happening in the second decade of SAR, which will be further investigated in the following chapters.

The Asian Financial Crisis and the 9/11 terrorist attack in 2001 severely affected the economic growth of Hong Kong and the outbreak of SARS in 2003 was a crisis for the city. The epidemic caused the death of 299 Hong Kongers and the unemployment rate rose as high as 8.7% – higher than any year between 1998 and 2001 (HKSAR Government, 2004).

The Public Sentiment Index released by the Public Opinion Programme of the University of Hong Kong in July 2003 was 63.8 out of 100– the lowest rate since 1992 (The Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 2017). It indicated that the declining economy and the outbreak of the SARS critically reduced the public confidence in the city's future and the administration's governance. In addition to this, the government released the proposal for the subversion law to fulfil the legal requirement of the Basic Law's Article 23 in 2002 (Carroll, 2010; Cheung, Jimmy & Lee, 2003). The Article 23 of the Basic Law requires the HKSAR to enact its local law to prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition and subversion against the central government of the People's Republic of China as the HKSAR has the responsibility to protect national security. The proposal caused an active debate among different sectors of society. People questioned whether the PRC government would interfere with the internal affairs of the HKSAR and affect the existing freedom and civil rights currently being enjoyed by Hong Kong people after the enforcement of the law.

The issue of Article 23 further accumulated the people's dissatisfaction with the HKSAR government. Unrest was caused by consistently weak economic performance and the possible enactment of new national security law. Strong negative feelings towards the administration resulted in the first large-scale social movement in the post-colonial era – the 1st July March, in 2003. Local media reported that around half a million people (equivalent to more than 7% of Hong Kong's total population in 2003) joined the March (Cheung, Gery & Cheung, 2003; Cheung, Jimmy & Lee, 2003; The Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 2005).

The march itself was a huge political shock for the administration as it was the first case of a large-scale social movement targeting the SAR government's performance and administration. The random sample survey conducted by the University of Hong Kong (HKU) on the day of the march showed that more than 81% of interviewees agreed that their reason for participating was because the performance of the SAR government was 'unbearable' (The Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 2005).

Such massive and proactive civic participation proved that the local civil society had a certain ability to mobilise resources and people to engage with public issues to create significant pressure for the government. The HKU's on-site survey of the March of 1st July showed that 69% of the interviewees agreed that collective movement may help to change the society and that it motivated them to join (The Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 2005). This finding was critical as it indicated that a significant number of Hong Kong people were willing to engage with public affairs and act proactively to present their concerns of different social issues. Additionally, it was believed that the public who

participated in the march accepted the idea that large-scale social movements can be an effective channel to speak out and place more pressure on the administration.

I argue that the March of 1st July was successful in pushing the administration to discontinue the legal process of enacting the law related to Article 23 in September 2003. I also suggest that it also further reinforced the confidence and determination of Hong Kong people to monitor and change society through civic action. Since the first March of 1st July in 2003, the march itself has been an annual event for the local people and the civil society to express their opinions and concerns on different current political and social issues. The march of 1st July was not solely built around heritage issues, but further increased public awareness on various political and social issues.

The Conservancy Association [10] – a historic local NGO focusing on local environmental protection and heritage conservation submitted a position paper to the administration after the March of 1st July in 2003. It wrote that 'SARS and [the march of] 1st July provided the opportunity for Hong Kong to make a kind of statement about itself: a statement that this "world city of Asia" is a city of both substance and depth…' rather than only focusing on the city's economic achievement (The Conservancy Association, 2003, p.1).

The Conservancy Association also suggested that the radical social change in the previous years had already encouraged Hong Kong to develop into a much more

[10] The Conservancy Association was established in 1968 and aimed to address local environment issues and raise the public's concern on the environmental protection of Hong Kong (The Conservancy Association, 2003, p.1-5). They concerned about the local heritage preservation issue and participated the movement to preserve the former Kowloon Railway Station building explored in the chapter four.

mature society, a socially cohesive society with strong collective confidence capable of defining 'Hong Kong culture' or 'Hong Kong character' (The Conservancy Association, 2003, p.1). Furthermore, the Association proposed that the government should launch a new policy review of local heritage policy 'as a clear statement setting out what we want to achieve' (The Conservancy Association, 2003, p.10).

The 1st July march and the outbreak of SARS in 2003 pressured the government into reviewing its existing policy to respond to people's dissatisfaction. It was also a turning point for the development of local civil society, and it helped to forge a more emotional and sentimental understanding around the values and culture of Hong Kong, which also engendered more proactive and collective participation in local heritage movements and required a more public and open administrative system for heritage policy.

4.6. Exploring a new policy approach

The SAR government launched its first comprehensive heritage policy review and public consultation in 2004. In the consultation paper, the administration agreed that the public desire for local heritage conservation was more compelling at the community level. It also recognised that there was a 'growing recognition of the importance of heritage conservation in urban development and an increasing commitment by the community to support the HKSAR government to conserve our heritage' and four fundamental principles were highlighted for the government's new heritage conservation policy:

(a) To conserve but not to take over ownership;

(b) Conservation should be based on heritage value, not simply the age of a building;

(c) A balance between conservation needs and economic cost should be maintained; and

(d) Private property rights should be given due regard

(HKSAR Government, 2007, p.1-14).

The administration emphasised that the rapid urbanisation and high land values were significant difficulties of local urban heritage preservation, as there was a clear conflict between the (re) urbanisation and the preservation of urban heritage, especially in terms of the private-owned properties (HKSAR Government, 2007; HKSAR Government, 2013). Although the Government was always expected to shoulder the responsibilities to protect private structures by offering compensation to the affected owners, the government emphasised that it would be impossible to cover possible expenses for preserving local heritage. Moreover, the paper also admitted that 'there has not been a comprehensive approach to systematically assess and select heritage items for protection' in Hong Kong (HKSAR Government, 2004b, p.2).

Heritage was usually protected as a specific point, for example, a building, instead of being preserved as a holistic landscape which should also include a 'line', such as a street, or a 'surface', a specific district or area. The HKSAR government also argued that it was always challenging to conserve a whole street or neighbourhood under the existing heritage approach (HKSAR Government, 2007). In short, the 2004 policy review attempted to respond to the public concern of heritage preservation, but there is still a 'struggle between balancing culture and local conservation projects' (Law & Veldpaus, 2017, p.402).

Section four has discussed the development of the cultural heritage policy and discourses in the early post-colonial period of Hong Kong. In the very first phase of the post-colonial period, the administration's heritage was still economically driven and chiefly targeted the economic values of the local heritage sites. However, the political and social environment changed radically in 2003 and evoked a more proactive civic engagement with local heritage issues. The local civil society was becoming more active and brought new dynamics to the politics surrounding local heritage policy.

The analysis of the CPS sites indicated how the local civil society was learning to articulate a new set of social and cultural values of Hong Kong to legitimise their agendas. Although the government attempted to respond to the trend by conducting a new heritage policy in 2004, more active or even more radical heritage movements were still be motived in the following decade of the post-colonial period, which will be discussed in chapter five and chapter six.

5. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the historical development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy and the assemblages of Hong Kong's of AHD in the 'transitional period' of Hong Kong between the 1980s and 2004.

Section two explained how the ideology of capitalism and developmentalism influenced the (re)arrangement of the city's urban space and the significant extension of the abstract space in the CBD. It also suggested that the AHD endorsed by the colonial government were in operation and that public awareness on issues of local heritage and identities was consistently growing. This emerging awareness further provoked a new wave of heritage movement targeting colonial

heritage sites and debates of local identities. The case study of the redevelopment project of the old Hong Kong Club Building showed how the re-arrangement of urban space could be driven by both economic and political forces. Furthermore, it also revealed how different heritage discourses were being employed through power relations between different stakeholders, especially the social class, which was a small but very influential segment of the local civil society. Although the movement of the old Hong Kong Building was only made of a small number of people belonging to the colonial elite, it indicated that heritage discourse was not only operated for the preservation of heritage but the removal as well.

Section three suggested how heritage discourses and heritage values can be employed strategically to construct a positive colonial legacy. The administration reshaped the historical notion of the permanent exhibition of the Hong Kong Museum of History in the early 1990s, right before the handover. It further legitimatized the discourse of 'barren-rock-turned-capitalist-paradise' that had been generally endorsed by the government which attempted to construct a positive legacy of colonialism through the arrangement of the exhibition in an indirect way. The uncertainty of Hong Kong's future after the handover also engendered a re-imagination of Hong Kong identity to maintain Hong Kong people's uniqueness and autonomy under the rising influence of China. This argument will be further discussed in following chapter five and chapter Six.

The 156 years of British colonial rule ended in 1997, and section four argued that the colonial AHD was continuously being operated in the early post-colonial period while the legacy of British colonialism was still fresh and deliberately being employed to justify the 'uniqueness' of Hong Kong and its people. The 1st July March in 2003 inspired more active and mature civic participation in different

political and social issues, including the heritage preservation issue. There was also a concern around the sustainability of Hong Kong's highly autonomous status in the future as the city was inevitably strengthening its links with mainland China in terms of political and cultural aspects.

Moreover, section four also argued that the CPS was rebranded as a representation of the success of Hong Kong's legal system which was mainly inherited from the British one to justify the unique social values of the site by politicians and professionals who opposed the commercial-led re-development plan of the site. The discourse of colonial legacy was instrumental in advocating for a particular political and social agenda. However, this discourse was also in line with the mainstream discourse of modern Hong Kong. The case study of CPS was followed by a concise evaluation of the government's review of its heritage policy conducted in 2004. The review was not able to outline a clear approach to tackle the conflicts between heritage preservation and developmentalism, especially in the urban area. It created more space for the emergence of heritage movements targeting local colonial urban heritage sites such as the Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier in forthcoming years.

Meanwhile, various heritage discourses and sets of heritage values were being assembled, continually challenging and questioning the Hong Kong's version of AHD. However, as I have discussed in chapter two, the concept of AHD is always changeable. Hong Kong's version of Hong Kong was also being modified alongside the dynamic process of heritage. The following chapter five will further discuss it.

Chapter 5. The Heritage Movements and Dynamics of Heritage Values and Discourses in Post-colonial Hong Kong between 2006 and 2007

1. Introduction

This chapter explores the political and cultural dynamic of Hong Kong's heritage values and associated discourses in the post-colonial period of Hong Kong between 2006 and 2007. In this chapter, two of the largest public heritage campaigns in the history of Hong Kong – the Central Star Ferry Pier movement and the Queen's Pier ('the Piers') movement which took place between 2006 and 2007 – are selected as case studies. By doing this, I further explore how the new cultural and social values have been articulated through the movement in the political context of post-colonial Hong Kong. It also discusses how the articulation of social and cultural values associated with the Piers has helped to modify and re-shape the Hong Kong version of AHD. Also, by analysing the case studies of the Piers, this chapter argues that AHD and other heritage values are not necessarily only driven by the elites and policymakers they are also shaped and reshaped by the power of local civil society. I argue that the movements to preserve the Piers were not simply a matter of distinguishing heritage and 'non-heritage' (Pendlebury, 2013, p.716-717), the movements themselves were also a claim of alternative heritage possibilities over the AHD and even a strategy of resistance to the existing social values and model of capital accumulation through land and property development of Hong Kong.

This chapter explores how the movement had brought significant political, social and cultural influences on Hong Kong society such as a new review of existing

cultural heritage policy; and a more active public discussion on the notions of nostalgic colonial legacy and Hong Kong identity through the process of heritage. In addition, I suggest that the articulation of certain social and cultural heritage values alongside the movement has also helped to re-assemble the heritage conservation practise and AHD of Hong Kong.

There are four sections in this chapter. Section two provides background information about the movement to protect the Central Star Piers in 2006. It also argues that civil society groups and activists had made use of different heritage values to sustain and publicise the movement. The activists employed a sentimental notion of heritage stressing Hong Kong peoples' emotional attachment to the Pier to argue that the Pier had a strong historical and cultural value to the city and its people (Ku, 2012). When the authority insisted on its original demolition plan of the Central Star Ferry Pier after the first wave of protests, civil society groups activists concatenated a new set of social and cultural values in relation to the Central Star Ferry Pier. They rebranded the Pier as a lived public space for the public and also a strong political symbol for Hong Kong people's history of social resistance.

Meanwhile, the activists were also fighting for more civic participation in the planning processes of local urban renewal through the movement. Therefore, I also argue that the movement to preserve the Central Star Ferry Pier itself was a strategic resistance to the existing social values and model of Hong Kong's land and property development. The rebranding of the Pier's heritage values successfully attracted attention from the media and the public, but the movement still failed to save the Central Star Ferry Pier.

Section three follows this discussion by arguing that civil society groups and activists shifted their focus to the nearby Queen's Pier in 2007 (which was also planned to be removed for the same reclamation project which demolished the Star Ferry Pier) from the previous movement to protect the Central Star Ferry Pier. They emphasised that the Queen's Pier was an important symbol of the colonial history of Hong Kong, and the venue for many major local social movements since the 1970s such as the 'anti-imperialism' protest for protecting Diaoyu Island and the movement for supporting Chinese as an official language of Hong Kong. Activists highlighted that the Queen's Pier was an irreplaceable part of the history of local activism and social movements. Thus, safeguarding the Pier was also an inheritance of the local spirit of resistance. The Pier was then described as a testimony of the British colonial rule and Hong Kong people's tradition of active civic engagement.

The nostalgic and critical notions of the Piers were influential in Hong Kong society both politically and culturally. Thus, section three focuses on the analysis of the aftermath of both movements to protect the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier from various perspectives. It examines how these two movements resulted in changes to the government's heritage policy and provided new political opportunities for local civil society to secure resources and collaborate with the government through heritage conservation projects. Section three also discusses how the heritage movement mobilised to protect the Piers became an inspiration for following local social movements involving younger generations of activists.

Section three concludes with a discussion of how, in the second decade of the SAR, a nostalgic notion of Hong Kong's history was emerging alongside the process of

the movements. This notion had also encouraged the assemblage of diversified heritage values such as the construction of local popular culture. A case study of Hong Kong-style milk tea will be used to demonstrate the dynamic process of creating a particular set of heritage values around Hong Kong's post-colonial popular culture. Thus, this chapter discusses the ways in which heritage discourses in Hong Kong have been constructed and utilised for different social and political purposes between 2006 and 2007.

2. Understanding heritage discourses and heritage movement in post-colonial Hong Kong: The Case of the Central Star Ferry Pier

Section two examines the political and social context of the heritage movement to protect the Central Star Ferry Pier in 2006. It also identifies various new sets of social and cultural values of heritage assembled by the different members of local civil society through the movement. Those heritage values assembled around the Piers are identified by analysing the archival data from various sources, especially the archival record of the Legislative Council and reports of local media between 2006 and 2007. In addition, I further argue that the heritage movement to preserve the Central Star Ferry Pier was not only concerned with whether the site should be considered as heritage or not, but it was also a form of resistance against the existing AHD which was dominated by the ideology of developmentalism of urban planning. Besides, it was also a strong expression of dissatisfaction with the governance of the administration. This section further develops this argument with reference to the case studies of the heritage movement of the Central Star Ferry in 2006.

2.1. The Central Star Pier: From a sentimental attachment to a symbol of political resistance

This sub-section investigates how the movement that aimed to stop the removal of the Central Star Ferry Pier in 2006 was transformed into a social movement with significant public participation through the assemblage of a new social and cultural heritage value of the Pier. The people's sentimental attachment accumulated a particular set of identifiable heritage values of the Pier, which was also provoked by various civil society groups and media along with the movement.

The Central Star Ferry Pier can refer to four different generations of the Pier used for the Star Ferry service connecting the two sides of Victoria Harbour. The Pier is located at Central, the central business district (CBD) of the city. In this chapter, the Central Star Ferry Pier is specifically referred to as the third generation of the Pier which was built in 1957, while the first generation of the Pier was in use in 1890 and the second generation was opened in 1912 (HKSAR Government, 2001; Ng, Tang, Lee, & Leung, 2010).

The Pier itself was a critical part of the city's public transportation system. As a government report suggested: 'ferry transport was the dominant mode of cross-harbour transport prior to the opening of the Cross-Harbour Tunnel in 1972' (HKSAR Government, 2001, p.9), the Central Star Ferry Pier was considered an important component for Hong Kong's public transportation system especially before the opening of the Cross-Harbour Tunnel. The Pier's clock tower was also labelled as an iconic landmark of the city 'particularly for tourists and locals crossing it via ferries' (HKSAR Government, 2001, p.9). The Pier was in service for almost 50 years, before being removed for the new reclamation project in 2006.

The movement to stop the demolition of the Central Star Ferry Pier emerged in July 2006. SEE Network, a civil society group tackling local social and environmental issues, mostly formed of young professionals, published a magazine, *SEE,* where they investigated the 'unique' historical values of the Central Star Ferry Pier and revealed that the administration had decided to demolish the Pier and its clock tower by 2006 for the new reclamation project (Ku, 2012; Yang, 2007). In the *SEE* magazine, the founder of the of SEE network, Patsy Cheng emphasised that the Pier, the clock tower especially, was an important and unique icon of the city and it should be understood as a Hong Kong version of the 'Big Ben' in London (Ku, 2012). She stressed that the clock tower was a working piece of art and should be appreciated by Hong Kong people. The report of the SEE Network drew attention from other local civil society groups such as the Conservancy Society and the Society for Protection of the Harbour. A public signature campaign was launched, and around 8,000 signatures were collected within a month to call for the preservation of the structures of the Pier *in situ* (Ku, 2012; Yang, 2007). The SEE Network collaborated with other civil society groups and social activists to organise a concerned group on the redevelopment of the Pier. The concern group hosted a series of peaceful protests and campaigns which aimed to attract more public attention on the demolition plan of the Pier between August and September 2016.

At this moment, the movement to stop the demolition project of the Central Star Ferry was still a peaceful one; and the organisation of the movement was still loose (Ku, 2012). Furthermore, the civil society groups and other activists generally emphasised the particular historical and social values of the site and the people's sentimental attachment to the site (Chow, 2006; Ku, 2012). The media coverage

also focused on people's experience and their memory connected to the Pier. Individuals with different social backgrounds were interviewed to talk about their memories of the Pier by major local media such as the *South China Morning Post.* For example, a news article titled *Hundreds seek a sentimental ride on last Star Ferry from Central Pier* published in the *South China Morning Post* on 29th October 2006, highlighted how a fifty-year-old retiree Mrs Cheng, 'tried hard to hold her tears' while she recalled the 'many romantic trips' that she had taken there with her late husband (Chow, 2006, p.5). Another participant of the last ride of the Star Ferry departing from the Pier, Ms Hung, was also interviewed and mentioned how she witnessed a woman trying to kill herself by jumping into the sea from a boat when she was eight, and that memory still haunted her. Ms Chan, who was in her 70s also emotionally commented that the demolition of the Pier 'was like a mother leaving her son' (Chow, 2006, p.5).

Another news article titled *Lights out as an icon: the last Star Ferries* dated 12th November 2006 suggested that the Pier was an important part of people's memory and the city's history (Connolly & Yeung, 2006). The article interviewed Mrs Lee who returned from Australia for the last ride and said, she and her son used to take the ferry every morning as her son 'were very interested in ships and boats' (Connolly & Yeung, 2006, p.1). Meanwhile, Mrs Lee's daughter also stated that 'I have many memories associated with this place – the kinds of memories I'd hoped I could pass on to my kids, but now that won't happen because they are closing it' (Connolly & Yeung, 2006, p.1).

Meanwhile, the local media attempted to construct a sentimental and emotional feeling surrounding the Pier and aggregate individual feelings and memory of the Pier as a form of 'collective memory' (Asprey, 2006; Ku, 2012; Lai, 2006b; Mok,

Kwong, Lee, & Wong, 2006; Ng et al., 2010). It helped to justify the legitimacy of the conservation movement of the Pier and encourage more active public engagement. As Ku suggested, a 'growing affective mood' to promote 'a discourse of collective memory with a sentimentalised appeal to nostalgia' was surrounding the site and the movement (Ku, 2012, p.10). This sentimental and nostalgic notion of the people's collective memory was also connected to the history of Hong Kong. Irwin-Zarecka proposed three different approaches to 'memory work': the nostalgic mode, the critical approach and the instrumental mode (Irwin-Zarecka, 1994; Ku, 2012).

I argue that the movement itself had already experienced the nostalgic mode suggested by Irwin-Zarecka which was characterised by both individual and collective memories associated with the Pier (Ku, 2012) In other words; the Pier was rebranded as a memorial point between individual and collective experiences. People did not only understand the site through their personal experience but also perceived it as an essential part of the city's history. Furthermore, the notion of 'collective memory' encouraged proactive public engagement with the movement (Henderson, 2008; Ku, 2012; Wu, 2006). One of the examples was a candle-lit vigil, organised by the SEE network and other civil society groups during which more than 1,500 people joined to protest the government's demolition plan of the Pier (Asprey, 2006; But, 2006).

This notion of collective memory was sentimental, and it helped people to build up a sense of place through the collective remembrance of the Pier. However, it still failed to change the decision of the authority. The government insisted on demolishing the whole structure but would consider keeping the clock tower and re-assemble it at the new harbour-front after the completion of the reclamation

project (Asprey, 2006; Lai, 2006e). From the government's perspective, the demolition plan of the Central Star Ferry Pier had 'undergone detailed consideration and statutory consultation procedures'. Meanwhile, the government also argued that, due to future demand for rail transportation, 'the demolition of the Star Ferry Pier is inevitable' (HKSAR Government, 2006b, p.1).

The government also stressed, in the Antiquities Advisory Board (AAB) meeting (held in 2002), members were informed that the Star Ferry Pier had to be demolished. Furthermore, the government also proposed that the new Star Ferry Pier would be relocated to release land for the new infrastructure project and 'members did not raise any objection to the re-provisioning proposal' (HKSAR Government, 2006a, p.1-2). Therefore, the government argued that the demolition plan was endorsed by experts and professionals of the Antiquities Advisory Board. On the other hand, the Central Star Ferry Pier had never been graded as a historical building or suggested as a declared monument under the Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance by the Board which also legitimised the government's decision on demolishing the Pier (HKSAR Government, 2006a).

As the government refused to stop the project, local civil society groups and activists adopted a much more radical approach. They also realised that the notion of collective memory was not able to change the administration's decision. Meanwhile, a new social notion of heritage was also assembled among the civil society groups activists and the public: a notion of public lived space had emerged.

As the authority refused to stop the original demolition plan of the Central Star Ferry Pier, a new opportunity for prefiguring a new set of social and cultural values of the site had been opened. The planning and arrangement of public space was a core issue among the civil society groups and the activists. One of them, The

Conservancy Association, suggested the Central Star Ferry Pier was a 'heartbreak of Central' as 'thousands of Hongkongers shared the experience of Star Ferry ride' while 'the clock sounds of Star Pier Clock Tower has long been a part of the life of Central' (The Conservancy Association, 2006, p.1). The local civil society also argued that the preservation of the Pier and the clock tower was not enough, the heritage site needed to be understood as a public space in conjunction with the Queen's Pier, the Edinburgh Place and the City Hall Complex (The Conservancy Association, 2006).

In the case of the Central Star Ferry Pier, local civil society groups such as the Conservancy Association and the SEE Network and some individual activists argued that the space of the Pier and the nearby area was a vital living public space for the people of Hong Kong. They attempted to connect the space to the social history of Hong Kong. On 4th April 1966, a twenty-seven years old man So Su-Chong started a hunger strike at the Central Star Pier to protest a ferry fare increase of five-cent HKD (Ku, 2012; Lai, 2006c; Ng et al., 2010). The police arrested him, and it instantly provoked a mass protest joined by thousands of young people and students which forced the government to review its social policy (Ng et al., 2010). This hunger strike then helped to trigger off the Riots of 1966 and 1967. After the handover of Hong Kong, the Central Star Pier the Queen's Pier and the nearby Edinburgh Place were a popular spot for protests and a starting/ending point of marches because the Piers were well-connected by public transportation and also perceived by the public as a symbol of the government's authority.

The Pier had been branded as a living public space of the Hong Kong people. This notion of heritage was adopted by civil society groups and activists. A few civil

society groups and young individual activists allied with each other as a new alliance named the 'Local Action'. Members of the alliance and few university students, similar to what So Su-Chong had done in 40 years earlier, proposed a hunger strike at the Pier (Lai, 2006c). A news article titled 'Hunger striker who sparked riots adds voice to Pier protest' dated 27th November 2006 reported that So, who staged a hunger strike in 40 years earlier, also visited the Pier to show his support for the activists and students (Lai, 2006c).

The movement was no longer just targeting the preservation of the Pier and its clock tower; it was also concerned with the power inequality between the authority and the public in terms of urban planning and the arrangement of urban public space (Yang, 2007). Activists broke into the closed Pier and rolled down banners that stated 'Stop! People Participate in Urban Planning' from the top of the clock tower (Yang, 2007). It was clear that the notion of heritage employed by the civil society groups and participants was highlighting that the Pier was not only a historical heritage site, it was also a living space for people and a symbol of resistance against the administration-led model of urban planning and rearrangement of public space. Furthermore, it also illustrated that although AHD was usually powerful and influential, heritage values could be still assembled by the external force such as the force of civil society groups. They could also create new heritage values to encourage the re-assemblage of Hong Kong's own version of AHD.

2.2. Heritage site as a political agency

On 12th December 2006, right before the proposed date of the demolition of the Pier, local media discovered that a government environmental impact assessment report from 2001 on the Pier was not fully disclosed to the public during the

consultation period (Ku, 2012; Lai, 2006a). The report stated that, although the Pier's age 'alone could not qualify itself to meet the minimum requirement of a historical building, it merits itself of great significance in her role played in Hong Kong's transport history of modern era' (HKSAR Government, 2001, p.9). Furthermore, the report also recognised that the historical value of the Pier by stressing that: 'Star Ferry was involved in one of the most influential social movement events in Hong Kong, ignited by the 5-cents fare increase application in 1966' (HKSAR Government, 2001, p.7). Also, the report commented on the removal of the Pier would 'likely raise public objection and dismay' based on the unique historical and social values of the Pier (HKSAR Government, 2001, p.9). The findings of the assessment report were generally in favour of preserving the Pier and the clock tower instead of its full removal. The report also resonated with the notion proposed by the civil society groups and activists, that is, understanding the Pier as a necessary public space for public events and social movement rather than just a facility for public transportation.

Several activists resurrected the report, and they also criticised the authority for not disclosing the report clearly and fully to the public during the public consultation (Lai, 2006a). The resurrection of the report also provoked a more radical response from the civil society groups and the activists. Two dozen young activists occupied the Pier and camped at the site while another twenty of them were performing a non-stop sit-in which lasted for a month outside the terminal building of the Pier to stop its scheduled demolition on 13th December 2006 (Lai, 2006f). The sit-in campaign continued until 16th December 2006 when the authority decided to remove all protesters and launch the demolition work (Wu, Kwong, & Mok, 2006). The protesters confronted the police force directly, and

some of them even lay on the road to stop police vehicles and the demolition work team. The conflict lasted until 3 am the next day, and protesters were cleared and arrested by the police force (Wu et al., 2006). Most of the demolition work of the main building and the clock tower was completed rapidly within hours (Wu et al., 2006).

The Central Star Ferry Pier movement has demonstrated how various stakeholders constructed different social and cultural heritage values through the movement itself. The movement gained popularity by focusing on people's memories and emotional attachment to the Pier. A set of social and cultural values addressing the nostalgic and sentimental feelings of the Pier was employed through the activities organised by the local civil society and the text used in the local media coverage. However, such sentimental notion of the Pier was not strong and influential enough to challenge the existing AHD which was generally in favour of a capital accumulation model of land and property. The authority perceived the values of the site from a different perspective. In the authority's view, the Pier was a facility of public transportation with a history which lasted less than fifty years. Therefore, the structure could not have been considered a historical building under the law and regulation. Meanwhile, the government also stressed retention of the Pier would involve significant and fundamental changes on the proposed development project of the new road and underground facilities for the Airport Express railway which would delay the process of the project.

The approach of the government encouraged the civil society groups and activists to employ a new way of thinking about the site and review its values with a more critical approach. They perceived the planned demolition project of the Pier as a symbol of the hegemonic power of the government in terms of urban planning and

rearrangement of public space rather than just a matter of selecting heritage or 'non-heritage'. They accused the government of neglecting the values of the site as a lived public space for the people, as the government's professionals mainly understand space as a means of production for financially effective development. Therefore, in this context, I argue that the Pier was no longer labelled as a historical site and an emotional place, but a potent symbol of strategic resistance to the hegemonic power of the government and the dominating ideology of developmentalism.

The demolition of the Central Star Pier Ferry had also been criticised by local media, legislative councillors and heritage professionals (Lai, 2006a). It also helped to justify the argument suggested by the civil society groups and activists, which highlighted that the government ignored the peoples' needs for public space and denied the social values of the Pier. The movement itself was rebranded as a tool to fight against the government's AHD and associated urban planning policy. Once again, this case study demonstrates the vibrancy of the attachment of social and cultural values in relation to a heritage movement.

Another feature of the movement to preserve the Central Star Ferry Pier was the proactive participation of the younger generations in the different stages of the movement. Similar to the case of the former Kowloon Railway Station building in the 1970s discussed in chapter three the movement of saving the Pier was also first motivated by some local well-educated middle-class professionals who had sufficient knowledge to identify and address the issues of heritage conservation. However, the movement of preserving the former Kowloon Railway Station did not successfully provoke an active public engagement; while the movement of protecting the Central Star Ferry Pier managed to draw constant attention from

the local media and encouraged younger generations to get involved with the movement. It indicated that there was active civil engagement with this specific social movement. Moreover, many of the participants and activists who decided to adopt a radical approach (for example staging hunger strikes and occupying the terminal building) were young professionals in their late twenties and early thirties, as well as university students.

Their motivations for being a part of the movement were not only because of memory or emotional attachment with the site itself, but they were also more concerned about the issues of the city's urban planning policy and the arrangement of public space. One of the activists, Chan Kin-Fai who was interviewed by a local newspaper during the movement stated that: 'my participation in the Star Ferry movement is a continuation of my concern for Hong Kong's cultural development and the problems caused by the development model' (Ku, 2012, p.14). Therefore, I further suggest that the Central Star Ferry Pier itself was employed as a new political agency to generate changes in the existing urban planning policy and a more democratic process of the government's decision making.

Section two has described the background and development of the movement of protecting the Central Star Ferry Pier in 2006. It has discussed how the local civil society created new heritage value for the site. The local civil society groups and activists employed a sentimental notion claiming that the Central Star Pier Ferry was an essential part of people's daily; therefore, they argued that the Central Star Ferry Pier should be considered as a memorial point of Hong Kong people's daily life. The government eventually rejected to stop the demolition of the Pier. The Pier was embedded with a strong symbolic meaning suggesting the SAR

government was holding a hegemonic power in terms of local heritage selection and urban planning policy. I have also argued that the movement to protect the Central Star Ferry Pier was embedded with new heritage value and repositioned as a strategy of resistance to the Hong Kong's AHD which was also in favour of the Hong Kong's long-existing model of capital accumulation through land and property development.

Therefore, by analysing the case study of the Central Star Ferry Pier, I conclude that the authority and professionals do not exclusively dominate the creation of heritage values and assemblage of heritage discourses. Instead, it is always possible for local civil society to establish alternative heritage values and help to expand the composition of Hong Kong's version of AHD to serve various political and cultural purposes. This process of heritage was also motivating the making of a new narrative of post-colonial Hong Kong's history and identity. The following section will future explore this argument by employing the case study of the Queen's Pier.

3. Heritage as a Narrative of Local History and Identity: The Case Study of the Queen's Pier

'Their latest movement is a crusade to safeguard the principle of public space; to stop the government privatising common areas that have helped form Hong Kong people's identity. They have also called for city planning to be more democratic'.

(Lai, 2007, p. EDT12)

This quote is captured from a newspaper article titled 'Last resistance – A disparate band of conservationists are doing their bit to protect the city's disappearance history' (Lai, 2007). It summarised the movement for saving the

Queen's Pier. It argued that the Queen's Pier movement itself was political resistance to the government's developmentalism-led model of urban planning and arrangement of public space (Ku, 2012).

Following the previous discussion, section three aims to understand how the various social and cultural values of the Queen's Piers were employed strategically by multiple stakeholders of the local civil society and helped to construct a notion of Hong Kong's social history and identity within the unique post-colonial context of Hong Kong. After the demolition of the Central Star Ferry Pier in December 2006, the movement of the Central Star Ferry Pier was extended to the Queen's Pier. As I have demonstrated in the last section, the Queen's Pier was located next to the Star Ferry Pier, and the two Piers were connected through a public square, Edinburgh Place. Both Piers were scheduled to be demolished for the new reclamation project. The deconstruction of the Star Ferry Pier did not end the movement, and the civil society groups and the activists continued their campaign in the Queen's Pier. Therefore, I argue that the movement to protect the Queen's Pier should also be understood as an 'extension' of the previous movement to preserve the Central Star Ferry Pier.

Although the movement failed to preserve the Central Star Ferry Pier, comparing to the movement to protect the former Kowloon Railway station building in the 1970s which has been discussed in chapter three, the Central Star Ferry Pier movement had encouraged a much more active civic participation. The Central Star Ferry Pier movement was also able to assemble new heritage values that resonated with the public, including the younger generations. In addition, this movement further helped to enact a new reflection on the notion of post-colonial Hong Kong identity among the public. The young activists of the movement

attempted to put the heritage sites under a much larger narrative of Hong Kong history and identity rather than understanding the Pier as an individual heritage site.

After the demolition of the Central Star Ferry Pier, the colonial Queen's Pier which was just a few hundred meters away from the Star Ferry Pier was the new 'battlefield' for the local heritage conservation. As for the Central Star Pier Ferry Pier, the Queen's Pier was affected by the new reclamation project and scheduled to be demolished together with the Central Star Pier Ferry Pier (Henderson, 2008; Ng et al., 2010). Henderson suggests that the Queen's Pier was a powerful political and cultural symbol of British colonialism as the Pier was used for the arrival of new Hong Kong Governor and the members of the Royal family (Henderson, 2008). Therefore, I further argue that the movement of preserving the Queen's Pier was not just a matter of questioning the existing AHD and associated heritage values, but also a cultural issue of how Hong Kong people connect with the city's colonial history and legacy. The following sub-section will focus on the case study of the Queen's Pier to further examine how notions of nostalgic colonial legacy and Hong Kong identity were constructed through the heritage movement to protect the Queen's Pier.

3.1. Connecting the Past of the Queen's Pier

Both of the two movements to save the Piers shared similar features such as employing the heritage site as a political agency to question the authority's urban planning and fighting for a more democratic civic engagement with the public administration. However, the historical background of British colonialism of the Queen's Pier caused the emergence of a new set of social and cultural values of the Pier by suggesting that the Queen's Pier was an unreplaceable part of Hong Kong

identity as it witnessed the rapid modernisation and the legacy of colonialism of the city in post-war Hong Kong.

The Queen's Pier was in use in 1953, and the Pier was not only for public use, but it also served a significant political purpose during the period of British Hong Kong (Henderson, 2008). Since 1961, the Queen's Pier was used as a landing Pier for new Governors of Hong Kong. The new Governors usually arrived at the old Kai Tak Airport, located at Kowloon (Henderson, 2008). They would be on board of the Governor's Yacht to cross the Victoria Harbour and landed on the Queen's Pier (located on the Hong Kong Island side of the harbour). The new Governors would then inspect a guard of honour at Edinburgh Place which was a public space connecting both Piers and the City Hall complex (Henderson, 2008; HKSAR Government, 2001). After the welcoming ceremony held at the Queen's Pier and the Edinburgh, the Governors would walk straight ahead to the City Hall complex to make their oath to serve as the Governors of Hong Kong (HKSAR Government, 2001).

The Queen's Pier also served as landing Pier for the British Royal family as well. In 1975, during her first visit to Hong Kong, Queen Elizabeth II landed on the Pier and received a formal welcoming ceremony at the Pier and the City Hall complex (Cheung, 2016). The Prince and Princess of Wales also landed in Hong Kong at the Queen's Pier in 1989 (Asprey, 2006). As Kwan Wai-sheng, a sixty-three-year-old shopkeeper of the Pier recalled: 'I will always remember the inaugurations of the Governors'; and he particularly 'remember[s] Diana [Princess of Wales]' as 'she was very beautiful and very graceful' (Asprey, 2006, p.4). Alongside the movement to protect the Queen's Pier, this specific historical notion of the Pier was employed by various local civil society groups who had participated in it.

As I have investigated in chapter four, 2003 was a turning point for the development of Hong Kong's civil society as the massive 'anti-government' protest encouraged more active civic engagement among the public. It also motivated the establishment of various new civil society groups concerning different local political, social and cultural issues.

I suggest that many civil society groups who participated in the movement to protect the Queen's Pier were not established for the issue of heritage selection and conservation. For example, 'Designing Hong Kong Harbour District' was established by a group of local professionals who aimed to reaffirm 'the importance to stakeholders of an integrated approach in sustainable planning for our Harbour District' of Hong Kong including the Victoria Harbour and the harbour front and surrounding districts on Hong Kong Island and Kowloon'.

Many of these civil society groups were founded for various political and social purposes which were not directly associated with the conservation of the Queen's Pier. The debate over urban heritage conservation in Hong Kong is not only concerning the selection of heritage or 'non-heritage', but it can also be associated with various political, social and cultural issues and processes. Through the case study of the Queen's Pier, I also argue that a single heritage site could be employed for the assemblage of various social, cultural and historical values. For example, one of the civil society groups, the 'Local Action' which was chiefly formed by young activists had attempted to rebrand the Queen's Pier as a visible connection point of Hong Kong people's collective memory of the social history of the late 1960s and 1970s Hong Kong (Ku, 2012).

As I have argued in chapter three and chapter four, that specific period was an era of rapid modernisation of the city and the emergence of the post-war Hong Kong

identity. The 'Local Action' recalled that the Queen's Pier was also the venue of many historical, social movements in the history of Hong Kong such as the 'anti-imperialism' protest for protecting Diaoyu Island and the movement for supporting Chinese as an official language of Hong Kong in the 1970s. Thus, the Queen's Pier was an important connection point for the Hong Kong people's collective memory of their history of social resistance to fight against social injustice and inequality. As the 'Local Action' claimed, the Queen's Pier should also be understood as a social symbol of the city's 'self-strengthening civic personality' (Ku, 2012, p.17)

The 'linkage' between the past and the present was a core message of the notion of heritage that was employed by the activists. A series of forums and public talks were held at the site during the movement to raise the attention of the public and further justify their notion of Hong Kong's history and identity. For example, in a public forum held on 29th July 2007 at the Queen's Pier, a core member of the 'Local Action', Eddie Chu stressed that protecting the Queen's Pier was also safeguarding the Hong Kong people's memory and history of resistance (hkmyradio, 2007). He emphasised the Queen's Pier was the venue of various historical, social movements in Hong Kong's history such as the hunger strike to protest the fare increase of the Star Ferry in 1966 and the 1970s' Chinese Movement initiated by local Chinese university student which aimed to make Chinese an official language of the colony. He also made a statement suggesting that the Queen's Pier was not only a symbol of colonialism but also a landmark for the local history of civil resistance to fight for freedom, justice and democracy (hkmyradio, 2007). Therefore, I further propose that the movement to protect the Queen's Pier was employed by the local civil society groups such as 'Local Action'

to echo the previous local social movements that emerged during the 1960s and 1970s. Meanwhile, they also named themselves the 'inheritors' of the heritage of civil activism of Hong Kong people through the movement of the Queen's Pier to further justify the legitimacy of the movement.

The Queen's Pier was embedded with strong symbolic political and social meanings of the colonial legacy and the authority of the British colonial government which was perceived as an essential part of Hong Kong's history by the activists (Cheung, 2016; Henderson, 2008; Ku, 2012; Ng et al., 2010). They also suggested that the removal of the Pier would be a considerable loss for Hong Kong's younger generations as the Pier itself could be a cultural landmark of colonial governance. Besides its symbolic meanings of colonialism, the Queen's Pier was also rebranded as a public space for public protests and different events. As the environmental assessment report stressed, the Queen's Pier 'performed some civic and political functions in the colonial period of post-war Hong Kong' and the demolition of the Queen's Pier 'would scrap forever the concrete link to a brief past of local development' (HKSAR Government, 2001, p.10).

3.2. Understanding the Queen's Pier as political heritage

Following the previous discussion, I argue that that the heritage values employed by the local civil society groups for the Queen's Pier were both cultural and political. The Pier was perceived as a significant part of the city's colonial history and a unique testimony for the emergence of local civic activism and the notion of Hong Kong identity. The legacy of both colonialism and anti-colonialism were integrated through the construction of new heritage values. This set of heritage values addressed a critical understanding of the governance of the SAR government through emphasising a nostalgic narrative of the colonial history of

Hong Kong, especially during the period of the 1960s and 1970s. Once again, a heritage site was being used for political agency, further underlining that heritage is not a frozen concept, but a social and political process.

This sub-section investigates how the local civil society groups had employed the international and national AHD to challenge Hong Kong's own version of AHD which chiefly assembled by the local authority. The civil society groups accused the Hong Kong government's demolition plan of the Queen's Pier violated *the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (2000)[11] which was in relation to various international conservation principles such as the *Venice Charter* (1964) and the *Burra Charter* (1979). By analysing the joint declaration of the civil society groups on the demolition project of the Queen's Pier, this section also further explains the political and social complexity of AHD while external power, for example, the local civil society shall still play a role in the process of re-shaping the particular version of Hong Kong's AHD.

As I have explored in chapter two, there are multiple layers, and versions of AHD and the concepts of different versions of AHD might vary according to specific political and social context. In the case of the Queen's Pier, 17 local civil society groups released a *Civil Society Declaration on Queen's Pier* (The *Declaration*) in April 2007 as the government insisted that the Queen's Pier must be removed for the new reclamation project and that it should be rebuilt at another site in the future. In the *Declaration*, the civil society groups employed the Article 18, 19, 21 and 24 (Refer to Table 5.1.) of the *China Principle* to claim that the government's

[11] *The Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* was developed in 2000 by ICOMOS China. It was published with Chinese and English versions in 2002 and 2004. It was the first set of national guidelines for cultural heritage conservation practice in China endorsed by both ICOMOS China and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China.

removal and 'reconstruction' was clearly in violation of the *China Principle* (2000) while it suggested that conservation of heritage site should be undertaken *in situ* and the cultural setting of the site must be conserved. Therefore, the 17 organisers of the Declaration requested the government to 'adhere' to the *China Principle* (2000) and stop the demolition work of the Queen's Pier (Heritage Watch, 2017, p.2).

Article 18	Conservation must be undertaken *in situ*. Only in the face of uncontrollable natural threats or when a major development project of national importance is undertaken, and relocation is the sole means of saving elements of a site may they be moved in their historic condition. Relocation may only be undertaken after approval in compliance with the law.
Article 19	Intervention should be minimal. Apart from routine maintenance, there should be no intervention on parts of a building or site that are not at imminent risk of serious damage. Intervention should only be undertaken when absolutely necessary and then should be kept to a minimum. The main goals of conservation and management measures are to preserve the site's existing condition and to slow deterioration.
Article 21	Physical remains should be conserved in their historic condition without loss of evidence. Respect for the significance of the physical remains must guide any restoration; vestiges and traces of significant events and persons must be preserved.
Article 24	The setting of a heritage site must be conserved. Natural and cultural landscapes that form part of a site's setting contribute to its significance and should be integrated with its conservation.

Table 5.1 Article 18, 19, 21 and 24 of the *China Principle* (ICOMOS China, 2004, p.62-64).

The release of the *Declaration* itself has demonstrated a unique political context of colonial Hong Kong which is although the city is a part of China, its legal and administrative system is still independent of the mainland China under the arrangement of 'One Country, Two Systems'. In other words, the Hong Kong government has no legal obligation to adopt the conservation guidelines and regulations that have been endorsed by the Chinese central government, such as the *China Principle* (2000).

The Hong Kong government had repeatedly emphasised that the Queen's Pier had not been heritage graded and suggested as a legal monument by the AAB under the Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance and the retention of the Queen's Pier could delay the process of the necessary infrastructure project (HKSAR Government, 2006b). The case of Hong Kong has helped to prove that there are multiple versions of AHD and the re-assemblage of AHD is not necessarily motived by the authorities, policymakers or heritage professionals, it shall also be advocated by other sources of power such as the local civil society.

Thus, in the case of the Queen's Pier, both international and domestic versions of AHD were utilised by local civil society groups to argue that Hong Kong 's version of AHD which was more in favour of a set of social values promoting active urban renewal and development. On top of this, I argue that the *Declaration* itself suggested that the existing Hong Kong's version of AHD should be changed and expanded to adopt a certain set of heritage conservation principles and values endorsed nationally and internationally. This example further illustrates the malleability of AHD and also recognises that external forces such as the civil society can also help to reshape conservation values and the associated version of Hong Kong's AHD.

The movement of the Queen's Pier lasted for more than three months from April to 1st August 2007. More than one hundred protests and activists had occupied and camped at the site to stop the demolition. A hunger strike was also undertaken by the activists of the 'Local Action' and several local university students until armed police removed them on 1st August 2007 (Cheung, 2016; Henderson, 2008; Ku, 2012). The authority insisted on continuing the planned demolition work, and the Queen's Pier was finally removed in August 2007. Both movements of the Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier failed to save the heritage sites physically, but the movements were watersheds of the history of Hong Kong's heritage conservation policy and social movement. The active civic participation in the movements reflected that public awareness of local heritage conservation and urban renewal planning had been significantly raised. The case of the movement to preserve Queen's Pier also indicated that the civil society groups and activists managed to employ different heritage discourses that were associated with the sites strategically and dynamically in the various stages of the movements. The dynamic assemblages of new social and cultural values of the site successfully drew attention from the public and encouraged a more active civic engagement through the heritage movement.

Meanwhile, the movements also made use of two heritage sites to be political agencies to fight against the government's urban planning policy and the dominating model of developmentalism of Hong Kong. In the following section, I also suggest that the movements also brought both significant political, social and cultural changes to the society. It discusses how the movements of the two Piers generated changes in the administration's attitude on heritage conservation and local cultural policy; it will also examine how the movement further empowered

the 'massification' of local civic engagement and resistance which reached its climax during the Umbrella movement in 2014.

3.3. The Aftermaths of the Movements of the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier

This section discusses and examines the aftermath of both the Central Star Ferry and the Queen's Pier movement between 2006 and 2007. The movements were important events for the history of local heritage conservation. The effects of the movements were influential in different aspects. This section will firstly address the changes on the instrumental level, such as the changes of government cultural heritage policy and the new administrative model for the collaboration between the administration and civil society groups. The second half of this section will elaborate on how the movement itself constructed a nostalgic notion featuring the uniqueness of Hong Kong's culture and identity. This nostalgic narrative was also utilised through the promotion of local popular culture to reconstruct the image of Hong Kong and encourage new reflections on the context of the culture of Hong Kong.

3.3.1. New Policy Approach and New Political Opportunity for Local Civil Society

Although the movements failed to change the government's decision and both Piers were eventually demolished, the large-scale civic engagement did indicate that the public concern with local heritage conservation issues had been effectively raised. After the movements, the government recognised that the existing cultural heritage policy was not sufficient. The voice of the public should be captured and considered in future heritage policy frameworks to promote

more active civic participation. In the 2007-2008 policy address, the then Chief Executive, Donald Tsang stressed that 'in recent years, Hong Kong people have expressed our passion for our culture and lifestyle', and the government promised that it 'will press ahead with our work on heritage conservation' during the following five years by introducing a series of new cultural heritage policies (HKSAR Government, 2007a, p.49).

The government set up a new office named 'A Commissioner for Heritage Office' in the Development Bureau which aimed to 'provide a focal point for public participation and the Government's heritage conservation work' to prove that local heritage conservation would be a long-term commitment of the government (HKSAR Government, 2007a, p.54). In addition, another critical new policy was the introduction of the 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme' which aimed to 'strike a balance between sustainable development and heritage conservation' and 'promote active participation in the conversation of historic buildings' to put those buildings 'into good and innovative use' (HKSAR Government, 2007a, p.53).

Under the scheme, non-governmental organisations would be eligible to apply for the adaptive re-use of government-owned historic buildings 'to provide services or run businesses in the form of social enterprise' (HKSAR Government, 2007a). All submitted proposals would be examined by an advisory committee, formed by both government and non-governmental experts. The government would provide financial support to the successful applicants to cover the renovation cost of the sites and start their social enterprises.

This scheme, as an administrative tool, opened a new political opportunity for the government to engage with local civil society on the issues of local heritage

conservation. I argue that this scheme has also provided a new political opportunity for local civil society groups to make use of the government-funded heritage conservation projects as a social resistance to fight against the of the dominating social values in favour of rapid development and capital accumulation through real estate development. This argument will be further discussed through the case study of the Blue House Clusters in Wan Chai, Hong Kong Island in chapter six.

The heritage movement to preserve the Piers successfully pushed the government to review its existing cultural heritage policy and make new changes such as the review of heritage policy in 2008 and the launch of the 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme'. In the next chapter, I argue that, to a certain extent, the new 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme' provided new potential opportunities for the government to work with the local civil society in the aspect of heritage conservation. It should also be understood as a response to the compelling demand of local civil society groups during the movement, which was requesting a more open decision-making process of heritage conservation and urban planning for local civic engagement.

3.3.2. Constructing Nostalgia for the Present: Nostalgic Popular Culture

Following the discussion of the previous sections, one of the features of the movements of the Piers was that the activists successfully connected the Piers and the social history of Hong Kong by arguing that the Piers were an iconic landmark for local anti-government social movements. They also attempted to construct a nostalgic notion of the Piers. This nostalgia can be perceived through the language and notions employed by the activists. As one of the core members of the Local Action addressed: 'The Pier building is our landmark, it served ordinary people; it

is one of the best representations of local culture' (Lai, 2006d, p.5). The activists associated the Pier with 'ordinary' Hong Kong people's lived experience to encourage more local people to show their support to the movement. This set of emotional ideas surrounding the Pier had been further developed as a much clearer nostalgic notion through the movement by stressing the intimate historical connection between the Pier and the history of the local social movement.

To a certain extent, the movements raised public awareness on heritage conservation and popularised ideas or notions of nostalgia among the public. Different notions of nostalgia were constructed to serve various political social and economic purposes and were then adopted by local popular culture. Popular culture is a set of social beliefs, social practices and even objects that is generally recognised by the public (Robinson & Silverman, 2015). Popular culture can refer to food, music, films and other cultural elements. It is always relative to 'high culture', consumed by a selected elite class (Robinson & Silverman, 2015). It also associated with so-called 'mass culture', which is usually a part of our daily life and 'everyday cultural participation' (Gibson and Miles, 2013).

I argue that, in a certain extent, popular culture is a set of socially constructed practices, which could be 'governed by accepted rules and/or ritual to inoculate certain values, norms, and behaviours' (McDowell, 2019, p.812). In other words, these socially constructed practices could also be understood as invented traditions which are not necessarily linked to the past but providing legitimacy to certain value systems, beliefs and conventions of behaviour (Hobsbawm, 2012). These new traditions are invented to strengthen the connection between the people and the land that they inhabit. Furthermore, invented traditions would also

help to construct and legitimatise a shared sense of identity among the people (Hobsbawm, 2012; McDowell, 2019).

In the context of post-colonial Hong Kong, one invented tradition is Hong Kong-style milk tea, an everyday beverage known to all Hong Kong people. In this sub-section, I suggest that the Hong Kong-style milk tea culture was invented as a unique Hong Kong tradition through commercial branding in the midst of a nostalgic atmosphere which was strengthened by, among other factors, the movements to preserve the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier.

Hong Kong-style milk tea is ubiquitous and widespread in Hong Kong. It can be found in around 6000 local *cha chaan teng* (literally: 'tea restaurant'). Hong Kong-style milk tea is a tea drink made from black tea and evaporated or condensed milk (Chan, 2009; Reinfrank, 2017). It originally came from British colonial culture. The British practice of afternoon tea, where black tea is served with milk and sugar, grew popular in Hong Kong. However, the local Chinese population preferred tea with a rich taste; hence, they added evaporated or condensed milk instead of fresh milk to their tea (Reinfrank, 2017). This everyday beverage of Hong Kong people was developed as an icon of local nostalgic culture since around 2009.

In 2009, the Association of Coffee and Tea of Hong Kong held the first local Kam Cha Competition to select the best brewer of Hong Kong-style mile tea to promote the Hong Kong-style milk tea (*South China Morning Post*, 2010). The objective of the competition was mainly commercial as the association attempted to promote local tourism through the competition. However, the competition strongly resonated with the emerging nostalgic social atmosphere among the general public and attracted enthusiastic attention from the media. Thus, I suggest that a particular social and cultural value stressing that Hong Kong-style milk tea was a

significant icon of Hong Kong's local culture was being articulated through the competition and the media. As one of the participants of the completion concluded: 'There is value in the milk tea and *cha chaan teng* culture. I hope the government will do more promotions because this is a special part of Hong Kong's dining culture. I will pass the milk-tea-making skills on to the next generation and this restaurant's operator' (Chan, 2009, p.2).

This Hong Kong-style milk tea culture and associated discourses were instrumentalised by the government as it recognised the importance of the competition and financially supported it in 2010 as a tourism branding programme (*South China Morning Post*, 2010). The competition was also organised as an international competition, while overseas restaurants and their brewers were invited to join as well. The culture of Hong Kong-style milk tea was further promoted and marketed to mainland China and overseas through films, TV dramas and media coverage. *Cha chaan teng* and Hong Kong-style milk tea were becoming very popular in mainland China. A Hong Konger who set up his catering business in mainland China argued that: 'For people on the mainland, a *cha chaan teng* is synonymous with Hong Kong. They have been watching films and television shows for many years that feature Hong Kong food and are curious about the taste' (Lai, 2010, p1). The nostalgic popular culture of Hong Kong-style milk tea now has been a significant cultural icon of Hong Kong culture and its identity across borders.

The nostalgic discourse of the milk tea was also 'formalised' and instrumentalised by the government by inscribing Hong Kong-style milk tea in *The Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Hong Kong* in 2013 and adopted by the authority in 2014 (Siu, 2013). The authority justified its decision by saying that

milk tea making 'reflected the East-West fusion trends of Hong Kong as well as the lifestyle and food culture of the local people' (Home Affairs Bureau, 2017, p,11). This notion was highlighting that Hong Kong was a mixture of both Chinese and Western culture.

As I have explored in the previous chapter, a colonial heritage discourse suggesting that Hong Kong as a modern city that went from fishing village to metropolis where was also a mixture of old and new, and a meeting point of East and West was still influential in the post-colonial period of Hong Kong. The case study of the Hong Kong-style milk tea further has proved that this particular colonial heritage discourse has also been employed by the SAR government to legitimise their cultural policy and branding strategy of the city.

The case study of Hong Kong-style milk tea has demonstrated the cultural and historical specificity of heritage values. Hong Kong-style milk tea was first employed as an agent for commercial and tourism branding by the local catering industry and the authority. Afterwards, it had been further developed as an emotional attachment to people's everyday life and an essential symbol of Hong Kong's culture. This case study also revealed that different heritage discourses could be assembled around both tangible and intangible heritage. The example of Hong Kong-style milk tea shows how a common local beverage has been reinterpreted as a unique icon of nostalgia in Hong Kong culture.

This trend of nostalgia of Hong Kong emerged around 2007, and it was, to a certain extent, was a result of the heritage movements to preserve the Piers. What I shall address here is that the heritage movements of the Central Star Pier Ferry and the Queen's Pier have also made 'heritage' and 'nostalgia' popular concepts among the public. Those concepts were further employed and developed by different people

and parties through social movements, commercial marketing and even social media to serve different political, commercial, social and cultural purposes. Different social and cultural values were articulated through various material and intangible heritage processes. These newly created and re-shaped values of heritage had also helped to re-assemble Hong Kong's version of AHD. AHD is always dynamic and changeable while various external powers such as civil society groups shall help to modify and diversify the composition of AHD. Therefore, I argue that the movements to preserve the Piers have motivated the articulation of a set of social and cultural heritage values of Hong Kong. This set of heritage values has also constructed a social atmosphere in favour of reflection and reconstruction of Hong Kong's identity in the post-colonial context of Hong Kong.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the case studies of the Central Star Ferry movement (2006) and the Queens' Pier movements (2007). I have argued that the movements brought significant changes to Hong Kong society politically, socially and culturally. This chapter has also addressed that these heritage movements had publicised the awareness and values of heritage conservation and the cultural identity of Hong Kong among the public by analysing the emergence of the popular culture of Hong Kong-style milk tea after the end of the movements of the Piers.

As discussed in both section two and section three, the civil society groups and activists articulated and employed various social and cultural values of heritage in different stages of the movements to encourage a more active civic engagement and attention from the media. A specific set of social values highlighting people's

collective memory and emotional attachment to the Piers was firstly assembled through the language and notions used by media and activists. However, this sentimental notion was not able to motivate the government to change its decision of demolishing the Central Star Ferry Pier. Thus, activists, especially the members of the 'Local Action' articulated another set of social and cultural values of the Star Ferry Pier stressing that preserving the Pier was also a symbol of fighting against the hegemonic power of the government and in favour of a more democratic process of urban renewal planning (Cheung, 2016; Ku, 2012). The site of the Pier was presented critically as a tool for fighting for power and civil rights for Hong Kong people.

The Central Star Ferry was eventually removed despite the radical protests staged by the civil society groups and activists. The demolition of the Central Star Ferry did not stop the movement. Instead, it further pushed the activists to move their focus to the Queen's Pier which was just next to the Star Ferry Pier and was scheduled to be removed for the new reclamation project. As I have discussed, the Queen's Pier was perceived as a potent symbol for British colonialism and its authority. It was also a major venue of the local social movements, especially between the 1960s and 1970s. A nostalgic notion of colonial history and local activism was assembled around the Queen's Pier. The Pier had been rebranded as a landmark of Hong Kong's colonial history and the history of local activism by the activists.

This nostalgic notion also strongly influenced the younger generations of activists and indirectly inspired the forthcoming local social movements in the second decade of the SAR, such as the 'Umbrella Movement' in 2014. Furthermore, the movements to save the Piers between 2006 and 2007 also encouraged the

administration to review its existing cultural heritage policy in the 2007-2008 Policy Review. New policies such as the 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme' were implemented to allow local civil society groups to participate in the process of heritage conservation and create a new platform for the civil society and the government to collaborate. It also constructed a potential political opportunity for the local civil society to expand their service and even make use of new government resources to reinterpret the heritage site as an alternative form of social resistance. I also suggested that it was a process of re-assembling Hong Kong's version of AHD as civil society groups and their values of heritage were also assembled as a part of post-colonial Hong Kong's AHD. I will further elaborate and discuss this argument in chapter six.

Together with the changes in the government policy approach, another significant effect of the movements provided an opportunity for young activists to learn how to sustain a large-scale social movement. As I have previously analysed, the activists were able to effectively assemble and make use of new sets of social and cultural values around the Piers. They first started the movement by stressing people's memory and emotional attachment; at a later stage, they rebranded the heritage movement as a radical resistance symbol to fight against the hegemonic power of the government and the private land developers.

Many young activists who had joined the movements of the Piers continued to participate in different social movements concerning various social issues such as urban renewal planning and public housing policy in the second decade of the SAR (2007-2017). Some of the core activists of the movement became leaders of other social movements, by their experience and reputation gained during the movements of the Piers. One of the examples was Chu Hoi-dick, who was an active

member of the 'Local Action' and was engaged in the heritage movement of the Piers (Cheung, 2016; Ku, 2012).

After the movement of the Piers, Chu continually addressed the issues of local urban planning and use of land to the public and further participated in different social movements including the movement standing against the construction plan of the high-speed railway connecting mainland China and Hong Kong between 2008 and 2009 (Lai, 2009). He also suggested that the issues of urban planning should be part of a broader movement for the democratisation of Hong Kong (Cheung, 2016). By rephrasing the heritage discourses of the sites, they could be able to play as a critical political agent to encourage people to put the issue of heritage in a bigger picture by perceiving it as an opportunity to engage with the politics and fight for the Hong Kong people's democratic rights through the heritage movements.

The movements to save the Piers were one of the major heritage movements in the post-colonial period of Hong Kong. The pattern of 'direct action' including staging hunger strikes and occupying heritage sites was adopted by the activists of other local social movements after 2007. Several local social movements were inspired by this pattern and the experience of the movements of the Piers. From the movement of Star Ferry Pier in 2006 to the 'Umbrella Movement' in 2014, a culture of 'resistance' was emerging in society, especially among the younger generations who were eager to confront the authority and fight for rights and freedom for Hong Kong and its people (Cheng, 2016; Cheung, 2016; Veg, 2017).

The 'Umbrella Movement' of 2014 was started by a group of young teenagers and university students. The 'Umbrella Movement' aimed to fight for people's right of universal suffrage for the Chief Executive election and was perceived as the climax

of contemporary Hong Kong's history of democratisation (Cheng, 2016; Veg, 2017). Therefore, the heritage movements of the two Piers can be understood as the 'fountainhead' of the new wave of local social movements in the second decade of the SAR's history. This discussion of the relationship between heritage activism and more recent political activism in post-colonial Hong Kong will be further explored in the concluding chapter.

On top of the political and social changes brought by the movements, section three has also addressed the cultural change associated with the movements of the Piers. I argued that the movements of Piers made the concepts of 'heritage' and 'nostalgia' popular among the public and encouraged different people and parties to construct their notions of heritage and nostalgia for various purposes. The case study of Hong Kong-style milk tea was employed in the last sub-section to demonstrate how a local beverage was developed into an icon of local popular culture and a newly invented tradition through commercial branding.

To sum up, this chapter explored how different social and cultural values of heritage were articulated and operated to help motivate a more active civic engagement through heritage movements in the post-colonial context of Hong Kong. The emergence of nostalgic popular culture is also directly related to the main argument of this thesis which suggests that heritage is a dynamic process shaped by the assemblage different values of heritage while this process should change and re-shape the composition of various heritage discourses such as Hong Kong's AHD. Also, the malleability and flexibility of AHD were demonstrated and justified within the specific post-colonial context of Hong Kong. The next chapter will further explore the dynamics of Hong Kong's version of AHD by analysing how local civil society has developed a new form of political resistance by collaborating

with the government through heritage conservation projects after the movement of the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier.

Chapter 6. Civil society and cultural heritage policy: heritage as social resistance

1. Introduction

This chapter explores the dynamics between the local civil society and cultural heritage policy in Hong Kong from 2008 to the present day. I argue that government-funded urban heritage regeneration projects have been employed as a form of social resistance by various local civil society groups to fight against the dominating economic approach to the governance of cultural heritage. As discussed in previous chapters, this economic approach is also associated with Hong Kong's version of AHD which usually defines heritage values 'in monetary terms with commercial concerns' (Chung, 2011, p.985) in the post-colonial context of Hong Kong.

This form of social resistance, I argue, was advocated through the articulation of an alternative set of heritage values emphasising that heritage should be defined by people's everyday experiences associated with heritage itself. However, this chapter also argues that this particular set of heritage values has not been sufficiently well-developed to support sustainable operation of this social resistance in the context of post-colonial Hong Kong. Instead, as demonstrated in chapters four and five, the economic approach to the governance of cultural heritage and the ideology of developmentalism are still profoundly influential in the process of local heritage conservation and renovation in Hong Kong.

In other words, the economic approach to Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy is still present and powerful, despite years of social resistance and heritage movements investigated in the previous chapters.

This chapter develops the aforementioned arguments by analysing the case study of the Blue House Cluster (the Cluster), an urban heritage site selected to be regenerated by the SAR government. This chapter is divided into five sections. Section two analyses the political and social background of the case study. The Cluster is a recently revitalised urban heritage site located in Wan Chai. This heritage regeneration project is operated under the 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme' ('the Scheme'), introduced and funded by the SAR government in 2008.

In chapter five, I have argued that the movements to preserve the Central Star Pier and the Queen's Pier created an ongoing discussion between the government and different stakeholders of local civil society regarding the questions of what Hong Kong heritage values should be. I have demonstrated that, as part of the aftermath of the movements to save the Piers, the SAR government reviewed its existing heritage policy to respond to the emerging public awareness around local heritage conservation. Thus, in this chapter, I argue that the policy 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme' was a direct outcome of this government review.

Under the Scheme, introduced in 2008, government-owned historic buildings considered suitable for adaptive re-use would be selected for renovation. Meanwhile, local non-profit-making organisations would be 'invited to submit applications for using these buildings to provide services or run business in the form of social enterprise' (HKSAR Government, 2017a, p.1-2). The Blue House Cluster was selected for renovation and revitalisation under the Scheme in mid-2009, and a local civil society group which is also a charity called the St. James'

Settlement (SJS) was chosen as the government's partner to operate the regeneration project of the Cluster.

In section three, I argue that the government-funded regeneration project of the Cluster has been transformed by the SJS as a form of social resistance. With the assistance of the SJS, residents of the Cluster attempted to convert the regeneration project as a means of social resistance to the dominating economic approach to cultural governance and capital accumulation alongside the rapid process of urban (re)development in Hong Kong. Section three also discusses how the SJS has helped the residents to motivate this form of social resistance via the facilitation of a specific set of heritage values. The SJS supported the concept of 'the people's heritage' raised by the residents suggesting people's everyday experience associated with heritage should be the key element to define what heritage is. The SJS has encouraged this articulation of the heritage values of the Cluster through the curation of a community museum and via their community cultural development programmes.

Section four argues that the social resistance embodied in the Cluster has failed to change the dominant economic approach to local heritage policy. I suggest that the financial and administrative constraints of the Scheme have presented a challenge for the Cluster in achieving its aim to fight against the dominating economic approach to cultural governance and urban renewal policy. The government provides the selected projects with initial operational funding for the first two years under the Scheme. Thus, the SJS has to generate new financial income to sustain the long-term operation of the project. In order to do this, the SJS has launched the 'Good Neighbour Scheme' to rent out several refurbished flats within the Cluster to new tenants at the average market price (St. James' Settlement,

2017c). I argue that the 'Good Neighbour Scheme' has encouraged the process of gentrification the scheme initially set out to counteract.

This chapter reveals that there is always an ongoing discussion on the social and cultural values of heritage between various stakeholders of society. In the context of Hong Kong, this discussion is continually being influenced and dominated by a particular economic approach to cultural governance and heritage conservation despite years of social resistance.

2. Revitalising heritage through partnership: the political and social background of the case study

This section explores the political and social background of the government-initiated revitalising project of the Blue House Cluster (the Cluster). The Cluster is located in Wan Chai, a declining urban area on Hong Kong Island. The Cluster was put under the 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme' (the Scheme) by the government in mid-2009. The selection board appointed by the Government selected the SJS, a local charity and civil society group to host the renovation project of the Cluster in 2010. The government intended this Scheme to promote the construction of a partnership with local civil society groups like the SJS to renovate and revitalise government-owned local heritage sites.

In chapter five, I have demonstrated that the movements to save the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier between 2006 and 2007 had motivated a debate over social and cultural values of heritage among various stakeholders in the local civil society such as the government, heritage experts and different civil society groups. It has illustrated how the SAR government made use of its hegemonic power to rearrange public space and justified a particular economic paradigm of

heritage conservation in Hong Kong, such as promoting various culture-led urban heritage regeneration projects for economic purposes (Ku, 2012; Ng, Tang, Lee, & Leung, 2010). I have also illustrated that the resistance led by local civil society groups alongside the heritage movements to save the Piers between 2006 and 2007 aimed to challenge the dominating economic approach to cultural governance and urban renewal planning.

In response to the movements to preserve the Piers, the government conducted a new cultural heritage policy review in 2008. I propose that the new cultural heritage policy introduced by the government has also opened up a further discussion on heritage values in Hong Kong.

2.1. The 2008 cultural heritage policy: urban development in the name of culture

This sub-section explores the content of the newly introduced cultural heritage policy in 2008. I argue that the new strategies presented through this policy, such as the revitalising scheme, have not changed the economic approach to the SAR government's cultural heritage policy. Instead, the policy framework itself has indicated a trend of 'just add culture and stir' (Gibson & Stevenson, 2004. p.1) as the government aimed to encourage the city's urban economic development by making use of the city's cultural resources such as various cultural heritage sites.

In 2007, less than a year from the movements to save the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier, the Chief Executive Donald Tsang claimed that the existing cultural heritage policy was not sufficient to protect valued heritage sites of Hong Kong in the *2007-08 Policy Address*. He stressed that the voice of the public should also be captured and considered in future cultural heritage policy to promote a more active civic participation through heritage conservation projects (HKSAR

Government, 2007a). In doing this, at the meeting of the Executive Council on 25th September 2007, he endorsed a new policy statement for the government's heritage conservation policy:

> To protect, conserve and revitalise as appropriate historical and heritage sites and buildings through relevant and sustainable approaches for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations. In implementing this policy, due regard should be given to development needs in the public interest, respect for private property rights, budgetary considerations, cross-sector collaboration and active engagement of stakeholders and the general public (HKSAR Government, 2007b, p.1)

In the *2007-2008 Policy Address*, the Chief Executive further suggested several new local cultural heritage policies such as conducting Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) for new capital works projects and the introduction of the 'revitalising' Scheme (HKSAR Government, 2007a). However, the government did not introduce a new heritage conservation ordinance as the government argued that legislation will be a 'long-drawn process' and would not bring 'speedy improvement for the current situation' (HKSAR Government, 2007b, p.5). The current *Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance* which took effect in 1976 is still the only ordinance specified for the selection and conservation of local heritage. I suggest that this decision has indicated that the government aimed to solve the issue in a *speedy* way (HKSAR Government, 2007b, p.5) and considered the introduction of the Scheme as one of the 'time-effective' solutions for the local heritage conservation issue.

As stressed in the administrative paper submitted to Legislative Council, the goal of the Scheme is to 'strike a balance between sustainable development and heritage conservation' and 'promote active participation in the conversation of historic buildings' in order to put them 'into good and innovative use'. Several government-owned heritage sites have been included in the Scheme for 'adaptive re-use' (HKSAR Government, 2017a, p.1). Local NGOs and non-profit-making organisations are invited to submit proposals for 'using these buildings to provide services or run business in the form of social enterprise' (HKSAR Government, 2017a, p.1). Applications to the Scheme are examined by an advisory committee formed by both government and non-governmental experts based on the following criteria:

a. reflection of historical value and significance;

b. technical aspects;

c. social value and social enterprise (SE) operation;

d. financial viability; and

e. management capability and other considerations.

(HKSAR Government, 2017b, p.10)

If the application is successful, the government will provide the following financial support:

a. one-off grant to cover the cost of major renovation to the buildings, in part or in full;

b. nominal rental for the buildings; and

c. one-off grant to meet the starting costs and operating deficits (if any) of the social enterprises for a maximum of the first two years of operation at a ceiling of HKD 5 million[12], on the prerequisite that the social enterprise proposal is projected to become self-sustainable after this initial period.

(HKSAR Government, 2017b, p.14-17)

The government has also promised to provide 'one-stop' administrative support to help successful applicants make sure their heritage renovation projects comply with the land use and urban planning law, as well as the Buildings Ordinance (HKSAR Government, 2017b). However, as Chung has argued, the Scheme selection committee is dominated by 'an elitist vetting committee and guided by pro-development and economic principals in the assessment of project proposal' (Chung, 2011, p. 985). This arrangement ensures that the selected civil society groups and conservation projects are capable of generating sufficient income to maintain the sustainable operation of the sites beyond the initial funding period. Therefore, I argue that revised local cultural heritage policy is still emphasising the potential economic contribution of heritage rather than its cultural and social values. It further justifies the argument suggesting that the revised cultural heritage policy is again stressing its financial implication to the public finance and the city's economic development.

In the same administrative paper submitted to the Legislative Council, the government suggested that the historic buildings included in the Scheme should 'have limited commercial viability' while those historical buildings assessed to have 'some commercial value' should not be put under the Scheme (HKSAR

[12] As 18th September 2019, 1 HKD = 9.76 GBP.

Government, 2007b, p.7). Furthermore, the authority emphasised that the Scheme should be able to 'help create jobs at the local level' and 'in line with tripartite co-operation between government, business and people in promoting SEs (Social Enterprises) (HKSAR Government, 2007b, p.8). It argued the Scheme should be able to 'provide an additional impetus to encouraging greater entrepreneurial spirit amongst NGOs (Non-government groups)' (HKSAR Government, 2007b, p.8). The above discussion has indicated that the revitalising Scheme itself has adopted an economic approach to cultural heritage conservation. Therefore, I suggest that, from the perspective of the SAR government, a 'successful' heritage conservation and regeneration project should be financially self-sustainable and bring positive impact to the local economy and job market.

In this chapter, I argue that the renovation project of the Cluster is a culture-led regeneration project. Culture-led regeneration could be defined as 'using art and cultural activities as the 'catalyst and engine of regeneration'' (Evans & Shaw, 2004, p.8). Different elements of culture such as cultural heritage and various cultural activities are integrated into urban re-development planning under the model of culture-led regeneration (Evans & Shaw, 2004; McCarthy, 1998; Pratt, 2009). Culture-led regeneration project could bring positive effects to the affected community such as facilitating rehabilitation of historic buildings, improving local infrastructure and creating new job opportunities for local residents (Evans & Shaw, 2004; Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Lin & Hsing, 2009; Miles, S. & Paddison, 2005).

An economic approach to the culture-led regeneration project is not necessarily a 'bad' practice for cultural heritage conservation (Atkinson, 2004; Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Vigdor, 2002). I argue that in the case study of the Cluster, besides

bringing possible economic benefits to the local community (Vigdor, 2002), the regeneration scheme of the Cluster could provide a potential opportunity for collaborations between the government and the local civil society groups through public-funded heritage renovation projects. Under the Scheme, the selected civil society groups could draw new financial and social resources to expand their service and promote civic engagement through collaboration with the government. On the other hand, it can be argued that civil society groups and residents living in the cultural heritage sites may have different understandings from the government on what cultural heritage is and what a 'successful' heritage regeneration project is.

In the case of the Cluster, I argue that the SJS has utilised the resources provided by the government under the Scheme to transform the heritage regeneration project as a form of social resistance. It has aimed to challenge the dominating economic approach to heritage conservation and urban redevelopment by articulating a particular set of the social and cultural value of the Cluster. This argument will be further examined in the following sections.

3. Heritage as social resistance: a debate of heritage values through the Blue House Cluster

This sub-section analyses how a government-initiated urban heritage regeneration project has been utilised as a form of social resistance by the SJS, a local civil society group and charity in the post-colonial context of Hong Kong through the articulation of a specific set of social and cultural values of heritage.

As I have discussed in the previous chapters, heritage is a social and cultural process which involves 're/creating, negotiating and transmitting' selected values

that various sections of the society would like to 'preserve' (Smith, 2009, p. 33). However, there are various understandings of what heritage is among various stakeholders of civil society (Avery, 2009). Meanwhile, it is also possible for both the government, civil society groups and residents associated with specific cultural heritage sites to have a different understanding of what a 'successful' heritage conservation project is.

In the case of the Cluster, I propose that the heritage site has been transformed as a form of social resistance to challenge the dominating economic approach to local cultural governance and ideology of developmentalism in the context of post-colonial Hong Kong which I have also discussed in the previous chapters.

This sub-section discusses the social and cultural dynamics between the SJS and the community of the Cluster over the last six decades. It will be then followed by sub-section 3.2 which discusses how the heritage conservation project of the Cluster has been transformed into a form of social resistance by the residents with the help of the SJS. A specific set of heritage values has defined the Cluster in cultural and social terms such as the residents' everyday lived experience and their memory associated with the site rather than its economic implications. Sub-section 3.3 discusses how this articulation of specific heritage values of the Cluster has been achieved through a series of community education programmes, workshops and community museum exhibitions under the Scheme since 2009.

3.1. The Prelude: The Blue House Cluster and St. James' Settlement

This sub-section discusses the interactions between the Cluster and the SJS in the last six decades. Before the Cluster was selected for revitalisation under the Scheme, the SJS has already constructed solid social connections with the residents of the Cluster.

The Cluster is a pre-Second World War structure located on Stone Nullah Lane (refer to Figure 6.1.), Wan Chai – an old urban area of Hong Kong Island (Antiquities and Monuments Office, 2011; HKSAR Government, 2011; Ng, 2018). It consists of three buildings: Blue House, Yellow House and Orange House. Blue House was listed as a Grade 1 historical building by the SAR Government in 2009.

The history of the Cluster can be traced back to 1922-1925, and it has been mostly used for a residential purpose since the 1920s. It had once hosted a local temple for Wah Toh (the Chinese god of medicine) and also a traditional Chinese medical clinic (Ng, 2018).

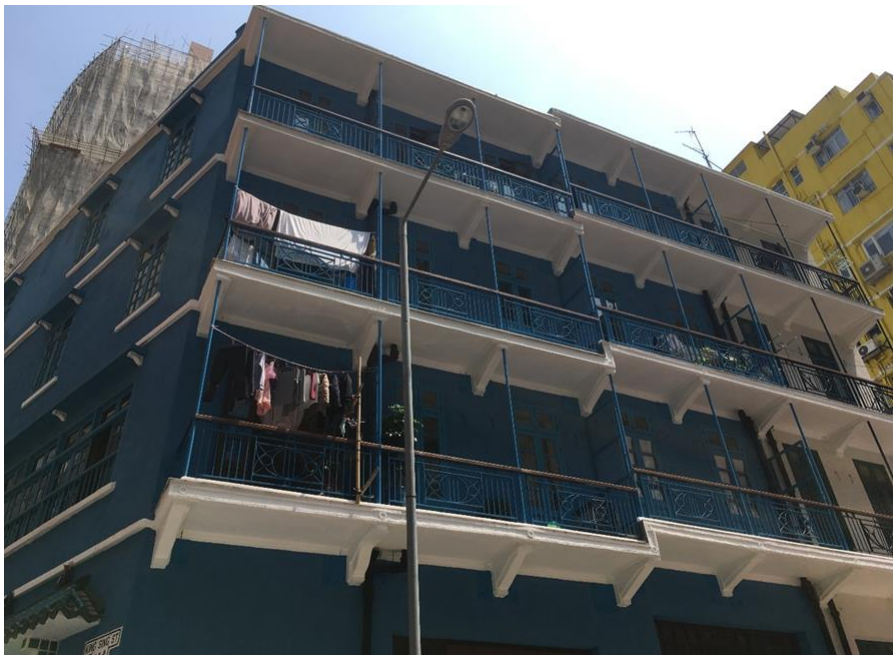

Figure 6.1. Blue House Cluster after the renovation. (Photo taken by the author, 2019)

The Cluster is legally owned by the government. Most of the residents were immigrants from mainland China (due to wars and social instability) and belonged to the Chinese working class (Antiquities and Monuments Office, 2011). The interior space of the Cluster was very limited, creating frequent and close social connections between the residents. This community network was also extended to the shops and restaurants nearby. Many residents spent decades of their life in the community and had a strong sense of place.

The SJS was founded in Wan Chai in 1949 to offer educational and vocational training to the local Chinese population. The charity was established by the Bishop Hall of the Hong Kong Anglican Church inspired by the anti-poverty Settlement Movement started by the academics of Oxford and Cambridge in the late-nineteenth century (Ng, 2018).

As I have discussed in chapter four, Hong Kong experienced rapid industrialisation after the Second World War, however, the public social service for the local Chinese population was insufficient before the colonial government's social welfare reform during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Therefore, local charities such as the SJS played a critical role in filling the gap left by the colonial Government by providing necessary community social services to the local Chinese population. These social services included health care, childcare and family support in the Wan Chai district (St. James' Settlement, 2017a).

Since its establishment, the SJS has been an essential element of the working-class community network of the neighbourhood, and its social workers have developed a prolonged social connection with the residents through decades of community collaboration. In 2000, the Blue House was listed as a Grade One historic building by the Antiquity Advisory Board for its iconic local Cantonese shophouses design

style and its deep historical connection with the urban development of the Wan Chai district (Antiquities and Monuments Office, 2011).

The SJS applied to the government for setting up the Wan Chai Livelihood Museum, a community museum serving the 'residents to come together to promote local culture and develop a stronger place identity' (Ng, 2018, p.502). Under this community museum, more than four hundred items were donated by the residents as museum collection which showed that there was a tight bonding between the SJS and the residents with an 'organic and mutually supportive neighbourhood' (Ng, 2018, p.502). Thus, I further argue that the SJS had historically already built a very intimate social and cultural connection with the residents.

In March 2006, the Hong Kong Housing Society (HKHS) and the Urban Renewal Authority (URA), statutory bodies of the government, announced a renewal project of the Cluster. According to the proposal jointly presented by HKHS and URA, the 9,961 square foot site of the Cluster would be renovated as a medical and tea history museum and a commercial space for developing local heritage tourism (Chan, 2006; Hong Kong Housing Society, 2006). HKS and URA planned to invest HK$100 million to renovate the Cluster as a tourism and shopping complex with the theme of tea and medicine.

As the proposal suggested, the Cluster would not be used for residential purposes anymore, and all existing residents would have to move out. According to the social impact assessment conducted by the URA in 2006[13], 60 residents were registered. Many of them (more than 40%) were elderly (aged 60 or above) in the

[13] There were 23 domestic units in the Cluster and the assessment covered 14 domestic units (61%) while 28 households were living in these units (Urban Renewal Authority, 2006, p.3).

low-income bracket (Urban Renewal Authority, 2006, p.3-4). Meanwhile, 43% of the interviewed households had an average monthly income below HK $10,000 , with the median monthly household income of Hong Kong in 2006 being HK$16,900 (Census and Statistics Department, 2017, p.118).

Most of the residents had lived in the Cluster and the Wan Chai district for a long time. As one of the social workers who worked in the neighbourhood for a decade recalled, the residents and the social workers were shocked by the proposal as they had not been consulted or even been informed before the announcement of the new heritage tourism project (Anonymous Informant B, Interview with the author, March 2017). The social worker also noted that the authority's commercial-led urban renovation plan was rejected by the residents of the Cluster as many of them did not want to move out from the Clusters and disconnect with their social network in Wan Chai (Anonymous Informant B, Interview with the author, March 2017).

The residents asked for help from the SJS, the charity who had constructed a stable social connection with the residents for decades. The residents requested assistance from the SJS to explore any possible solution to stop the government's conservation plan. With the help of the SJS, residents collaborated with professionals including artists, architects, academics and surveyors to create a concerned group: The Blue House Conservation Group (the concerned group) to stand against the Government's proposal in 2006.

The concerned group organised various activities, including focus group meetings, seminars and workshops to connect with the residents and to explore a sustainable way to maintain the resident's ways of life in the Cluster. The existing residents of the Cluster appealed for their right of staying in the Cluster. In doing

this, the concerned group submitted a counter-proposal for the SAR Government proposing that the residents of the Cluster should have the right to stay and the renewal project should be carried out based on a community-led approach (Lai, 2006; Sun, 2006).

I argue that, from the perspective of the residents, a 'successful' heritage conservation project should be operated as a 'bottom-up' model and allow the residents to build up a 'healthy community development through sustaining its living and community economy cultures' (Ng, 2018). With the help of the concerned group and its extensive social network, a face-to-face meeting between the residents who were living in the Cluster and Carrie Lam, the Secretary for Development at the time, was arranged at the Cluster in 2007 (Wu, 2007). Several residents attended the meeting and presented their strong wish to stay in the Cluster and suggested that the residents should also participate in the process of heritage conservation (Wu, 2007)

After a series of civic advocates (starting from 2006) and the meeting between the residents and the Secretary for Development (conducted in 2007), the government's attitude towards the conservation project of the Cluster had been changed. Carrie Lam, the Secretary for Development, recognised that many households in the Cluster had lived there for three or four generations and their social network should be preserved. She also suggested that the Cluster could be included in the forthcoming 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme'[14]. In late-2007, the SAR Government announced the initially proposed

[14] The Scheme was officially introduced in 2008.

heritage tourism project of the Cluster would be stopped. The existing residents of the Cluster would be allowed to stay.

At this stage, between 2006 and 2009, the SJS and the concerned group played an essential role in stopping the tourism-led project of the Cluster. However, this heritage regeneration project was not an 'artist-led regeneration'. 'Artist-led regeneration' usually refers to a regeneration strategy highlighting the interaction between artists, creative industries and urban regeneration. Under this strategy, cultural heritage sites could be employed as new places for artists and their studios (Vickery, 2007, p.20). Instead, existing residents are still living in the Cluster while their social network has also been maintained.

In the case of the Cluster, I argue that it is inevitable for the SJS to acquire a role of leadership of the revitalising project. As one of the residents who lived in the Cluster for decades suggested, the residents of the Cluster were not only participating in the process of fighting against the tourism-led proposal but also leading, the process with the assistance of SJS (Anonymous Informant C, Interview with the author, March 2017). However, this 'bottom-up' model of heritage conservation was also being modified as the Cluster has been put under the government-funded revitalising Scheme officially in 2009 (HKSAR Government, 2009; HKSAR Government, 2011). In 2009, the SJS was invited by the government to submit its application for the revitalising Scheme. In 2010, the proposal by SJS named 'Viva Blue House' was approved and chosen by a selection board appointed by the government. Under the Scheme, the SJS would be responsible for the subsequent operation of the revitalising project and monitoring the financial condition of the project.

The revitalising Scheme of the Cluster itself has adopted an economic approach to cultural heritage conservation as the selected civil society group (the SJS) have to ensure that the revitalising project has to be self-sustainable financially and able to create new job opportunities for the local community.

The selection board endorsed the SJS's proposal and 61 million HKD were granted for the renovation work of the Cluster and the implementation of the revitalising plan at initial stage proposed by the SJS (HKSAR Government, 2011). More details of this specific revitalisation will be discussed in the following sub-section.

As presented in the proposal submitted to the SAR Government by the SJS, the main objectives of the revitalising project were:

1. Conserving Hong Kong's living heritage: to encourage people to share their time, skills and experience to benefit both themselves and others and, by doing so, to conserve a community way of living that is relevant to and valued by future generations;
2. Revitalising community relationships and networks;
3. Developing a community-oriented mutual and sustainable economy.

(St. James' Settlement, 2018, p.1)

In order to achieve the above objectives, the project included various new elements, such as a community museum called House of Stories displaying the historical development of the Cluster, the renovation project and new residential and common spaces for the residents. A new restaurant operated by residents was also included in the plan to generate potential income for the project.

In the case of the Cluster, cultural heritage has been given a role by the government in urban development to address various economic and social issues

such as encouraging culture-led urban regeneration and providing new employment opportunities for the elderly in the specific context of the Wan Chai district. However, it was not necessary for the SJS and the local residents to agree with the government's economic approach to this culture-led regeneration project. Instead, with the help of the SJS, the residents of the Cluster have attempted to transform the regeneration project as a form of social resistance to the current 'top-down' economic approach to cultural governance. The following sub-section will further discuss it.

3.2. 'Revitalising' the Cluster, fostering a form of social resistance

This sub-section focuses on how the SJS has advocated the Cluster's residents to help to transform the heritage conservation and regeneration project as a form of social resistance. The SJS was selected and endorsed by the SAR government to host the operation of the revitalising project in 2009. Therefore, I argue that the SJS has played a significant role in mobilising associated social capitals and resources to help re-positioning the aim of the revitalising project. From the perspective of the SJS, the chief objective of this heritage regeneration project is not to provide new motivation for Hong Kong's urban development as the government suggested. Instead, the SJS has targeted to transform the project as a mean of social resistance to the government's economic-led approach to cultural governance and urban development. I further argue that this form of social resistance has been activated through the articulation of social and cultural heritage values of the Cluster alongside the government-funded revitalising project.

By examining the *modus operandi* of two major programmes under the Blue House Cluster revitalising project (the new community museum House of Stories and the

'Blue House Studio Cultural Heritage Education Programme'), this section investigates how new social and cultural heritage values defining the Cluster as 'a living heritage' and 'the people's (the residents) heritage' has been articulated through these programmes since 2009. Also, I argue that the SJS has attempted to foster social resistance through the heritage renovation project at a district level, and even at a territory-wide level in Hong Kong. They have aimed to promote the experience of the Cluster to other ageing urban areas of Hong Kong such as To Kwa Wan, which is also experiencing an ongoing process of urban renewal. By doing this, I argue that the case of the Cluster is also a territory-wide discussion of Hong Kong's heritage values and a form of social resistance to challenge the current dominating economic approach to cultural governance in Hong Kong.

3.2.1. Creating 'the people's heritage' through community museum exhibitions

As a part of the revitalising project, the residents have worked with the SJS to construct a new community museum to display the history of the Cluster.

The museum is named as 'A House of Stories'. The first permanent exhibition of the museum, 'From retaining of both the Residents and the buildings to Viva Blue House' was opened to the public in 2008. The primary purpose of the permanent exhibition is to record, explain and display the historical development of the Cluster between 2006 and 2018. By presenting two different versions: 'the Peoples' version' and 'the official [the SAR government] version' of the historical narrative of the Cluster, the exhibition has attempted to articulate a set of social and cultural heritage values of the Cluster, emphasising that the Cluster is a living heritage associated with the residents' everyday living experience. It also highlights that the revitalising project of the Cluster is an achievement of both the residents, the

SJS and professionals from different sectors such as architects and academics.

The establishment of the community museum is a core element of the culture-led regeneration project of the Cluster. Cultural projects could be useful for urban regeneration, and can positive effects for the local communities associated with the heritage sites such as the making of sense of place, encouraging community development and bringing new economic benefits (Dicks, 2003; Evans & Shaw, 2004; Landry, 2008; Vickery, 2007). In this context, the SJS has collaborated with the residents of the Cluster to create this community museum to serve the 'specific needs' of the community (Crew, 1996, p.80-90) such as making the Cluster a community space to revive its historical functions of serving the community (Crooke, 2007; Ng, 2018). Museum itself could serve as an *engagement zone* for different stakeholders of the community to meet and build up interrelations through the museum (Clifford, 1997; Onciul, 2013). A community could be defined by shared historical and cultural experience (Manson, 2005). The community museum is able to play as a community space to display, support, validate and legitimize individual and community memory associated with the Cluster (Crooke, 2007; Watson, 2007).

Also, the museum highlights that the Cluster itself is a living heritage, associated with the residents' historical and cultural experience in the Cluster and their strong social connections with the heritage site. The concept of the 'living heritage site' could be defined variously according to different social-cultural context. It usually refers to 'a site with a local community, which is seen as a community of fixed boundaries living near or around a site' (Poulios, 2014, p.25). Living heritage is always having a continuous and strong cultural and social connection with the community (Poulios, 2011).

In the case of the Cluster, the Cluster has been highlighted as a living heritage site

associated with the residents' everyday social experience and cultural participation (Miles, A. & Gibson, 2017). Everyday cultural participation matters in the case of the Cluster (Back, 2015; Ebrey, 2016). By understanding how the residents' daily cultural life associated with the Cluster, it is possible to demonstrate 'the opportunity to link the smallest story to the largest social transformation' (Back, 2015, p.834). In this context, the community museum is an arena to reflect and display how lives of individuals and community have been affected by larger social processes such as the formation and revision of the local cultural heritage policy (Ebrey, 2016).

The residents of the Cluster mainly engaged with the establishment of the community museum in three different way. Firstly, more than four hundred items were donated to the museum which had documented 'the history heritage and community development' of the Cluster and Wan Chai district (Ng, 2018). Secondly, residents participated in an oral history research project to record their living experiences associated with the Cluster and the history of community building surrounding the Cluster. The research findings of the oral history project have been included in the permanent exhibition of the Cluster. Finally, several residents who are living in the Cluster are serving as museum docents voluntarily to tell their own living experiences in the Cluster to museum audiences.

Therefore, it can be argued that a particular set of social and cultural heritage values for the Cluster has been articulated alongside the establishment of the museum and its exhibitions. The exhibition suggests that the heritage values of the Cluster should be defined in social and cultural terms, and they should be able to serve the needs of the residents who engage with it.

The first permanent exhibition of the Cluster, 'From retaining of both the Residents and the buildings to Viva Blue House', opened in mid-2018. The theme of the

exhibition was to show how residents of the Cluster with the help of the SJS and the community of the Cluster have successfully stopped the commercial-led tourism project proposed by the SAR government and retained their rights of staying in the Cluster. Although this project is funded by the government, the residents are still able to highlight the Cluster as a living heritage site focusing on the residents' everyday lives and experiences until 2018.

In this permanent exhibition, two parallel timelines are displayed: 'the Official Version' and 'the People's Version'. The 'People's Version' emphasises how the SJS and the residents negotiated and even confronted the SAR Government. For example, the first part of 'the People's Version' timeline demonstrates how the residents of the Cluster confronted the authority directly as they refused to move out of the Cluster for the renovation project proposed by the authority in 2006 (refer to Figure 6.2).

Meanwhile, the 'Official Version' timeline (refer to Figure 6.3) shows how the SAR Government insisted on changing the zoning of the Cluster as 'Open space and historical buildings preserved for cultural, community and commercial uses – non-residential' in June 2006 which meant that no residents would be allowed to live at the Cluster under the new zoning plan (from the exhibition panel, authors translation, 2018).

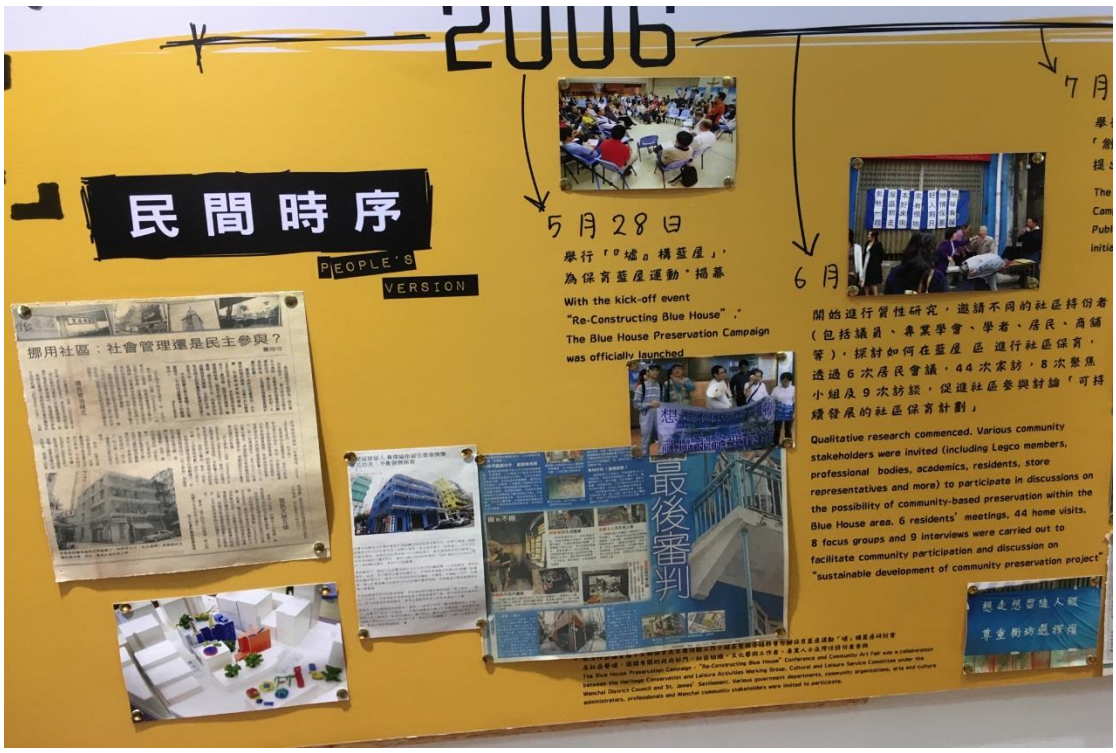

Figure 6.2. Exhibition panel displaying the first part of 'the People's Version' timeline (Photo taken by the author, 2018).

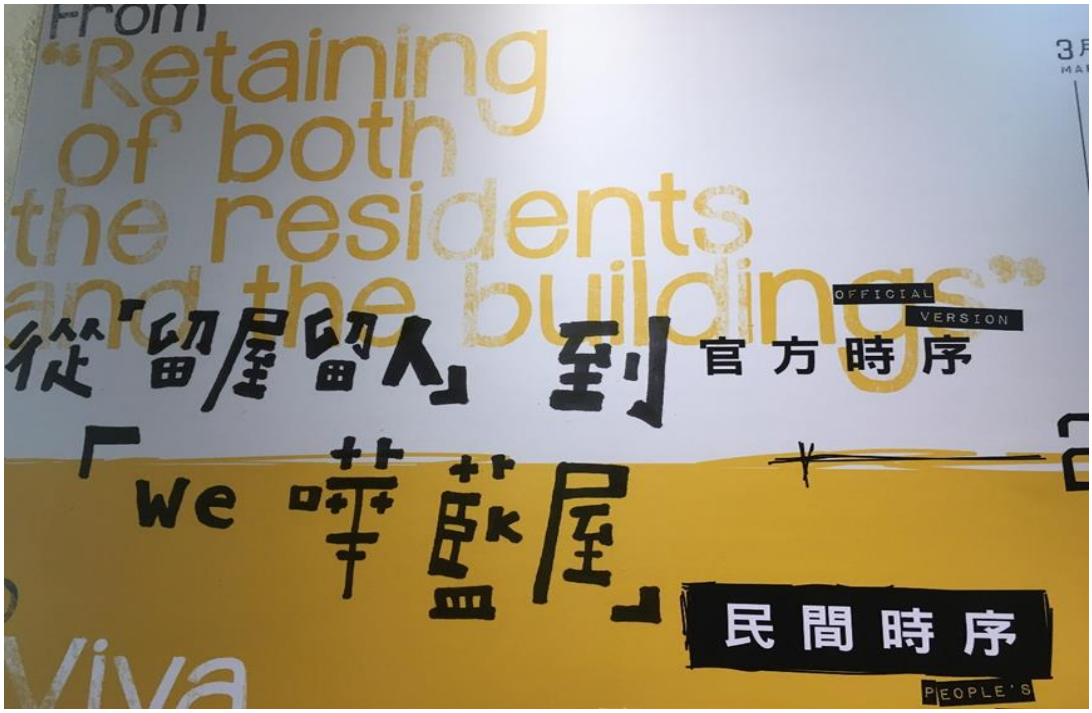

Figure 6.3. Exhibition panel displaying both 'the People's Version' and 'the Official Version' timelines (Photo taken by the author, 2018).

The second part of the timelines demonstrates how the residents had worked with different stakeholders including members of the Legislative Council and heritage professional bodies, artists and academics through a series of focus groups, seminars and workshops to explore how they could stop the original renovation plan of the Cluster proposed by the SAR government.

The residents proposed that retaining both the residents and the buildings was the best option for the Cluster and its residents. On the other hand, 'the Official Version' timeline demonstrates how the authority negotiated with the residents on multiple occasions, including public hearings of the Town Planning Board and on-site meetings with the residents at the Cluster.

The final part of 'the People's Version' timeline concludes that the efforts made by the residents had successfully forced the SAR Government to accept the proposal of retaining both the residents and the buildings in 2008 and put the Cluster under the government revitalisation Scheme in 2009 (refer to Figure 6.4).

I argue that the exhibition tries to construct a narrative emphasising that the successful preservation of the Cluster is achieved by the collaboration between the SJS and the residents of the Cluster. Also, the presentation of the two timelines delivers a clear message, suggesting that the social resistance to the SAR Government's economic approach to heritage conservation and urban renewal advocated by the SJS was highly influential to the successful preservation of the Cluster.

In the last section of the exhibition, two panels display the 'values' (refer to Figure 6.5) and 'missions' (Refer to Figure 6.6) of the conservation project of the Cluster explicitly. One of the core values of the project is 'respecting rights and responsibilities of all stakeholders' through a 'bottom-up, community-led collaboration' of both 'living tangible and intangible heritage preservation' (from

the exhibition panel, authors translation, 2018).

Therefore, I argue that, although the culture-led regeneration project of the Cluster is funded by the government, with the efforts contributed by the residents and the SJS, the Cluster itself has been transformed as a mean of social resistance to the dominating economic approach to urban development and cultural governance.

I further argue that the historical narrative of the Cluster presented in the exhibition is over-simplified but useful for the articulation of social and cultural values 'preferred' by the SJS and the residents. To a certain extent, the narrative of 'the People's Version' has neglected the complexity of the process of heritage conservation in the post-colonial political context of Hong Kong.

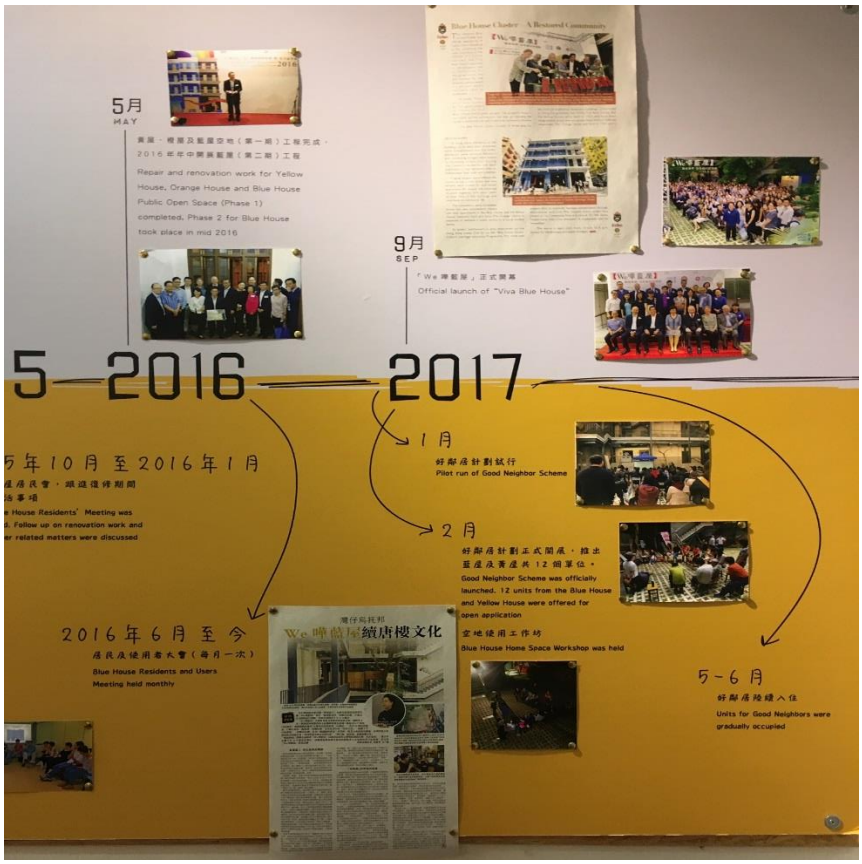

Figure 6.4. Exhibition panel displaying the final part of the both versions' timelines (photo taken by the author, 2018)

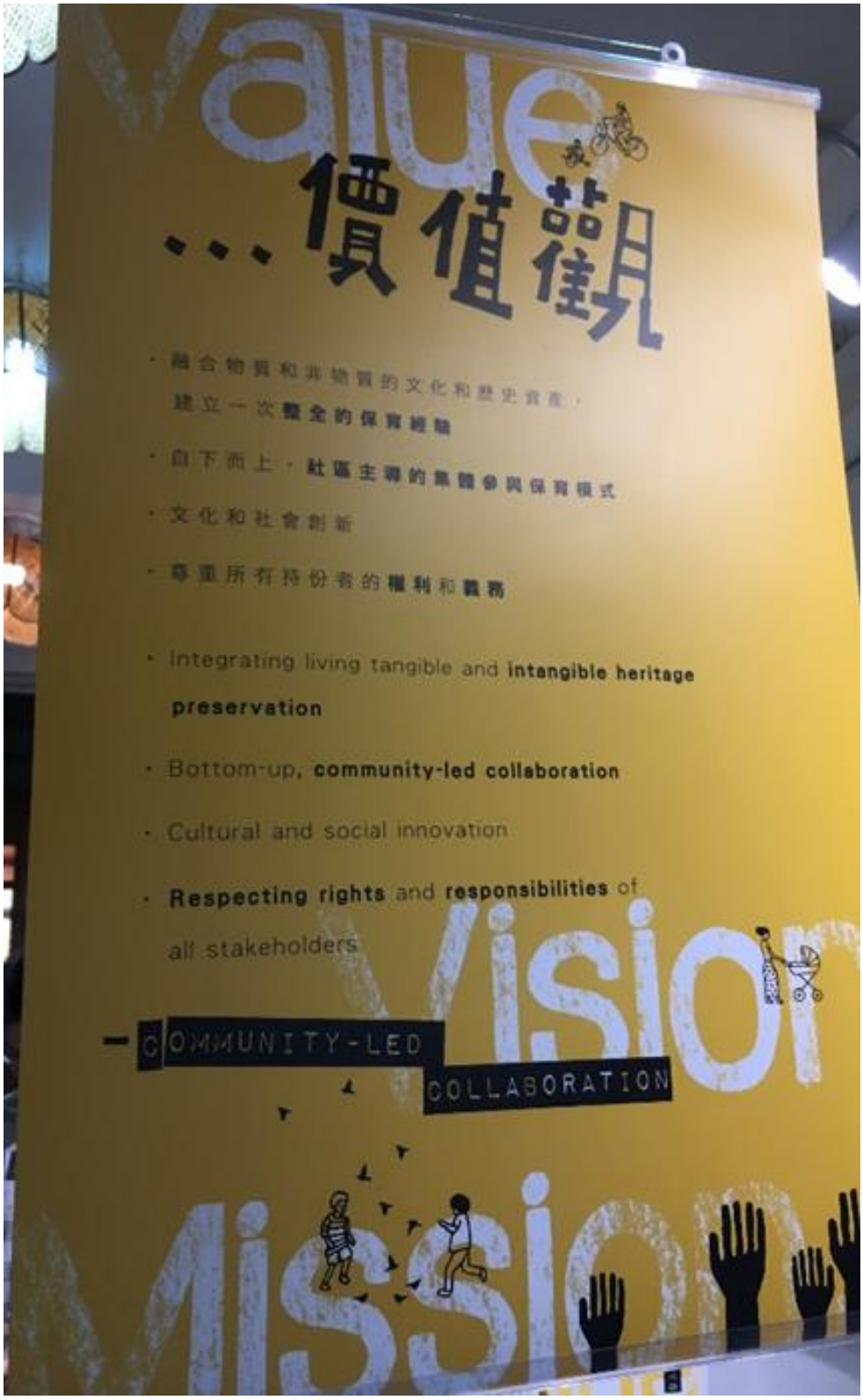

Figure 6.5. Exhibition panel showing the 'value' of the regeneration project (Photo taken by the author, 2018)

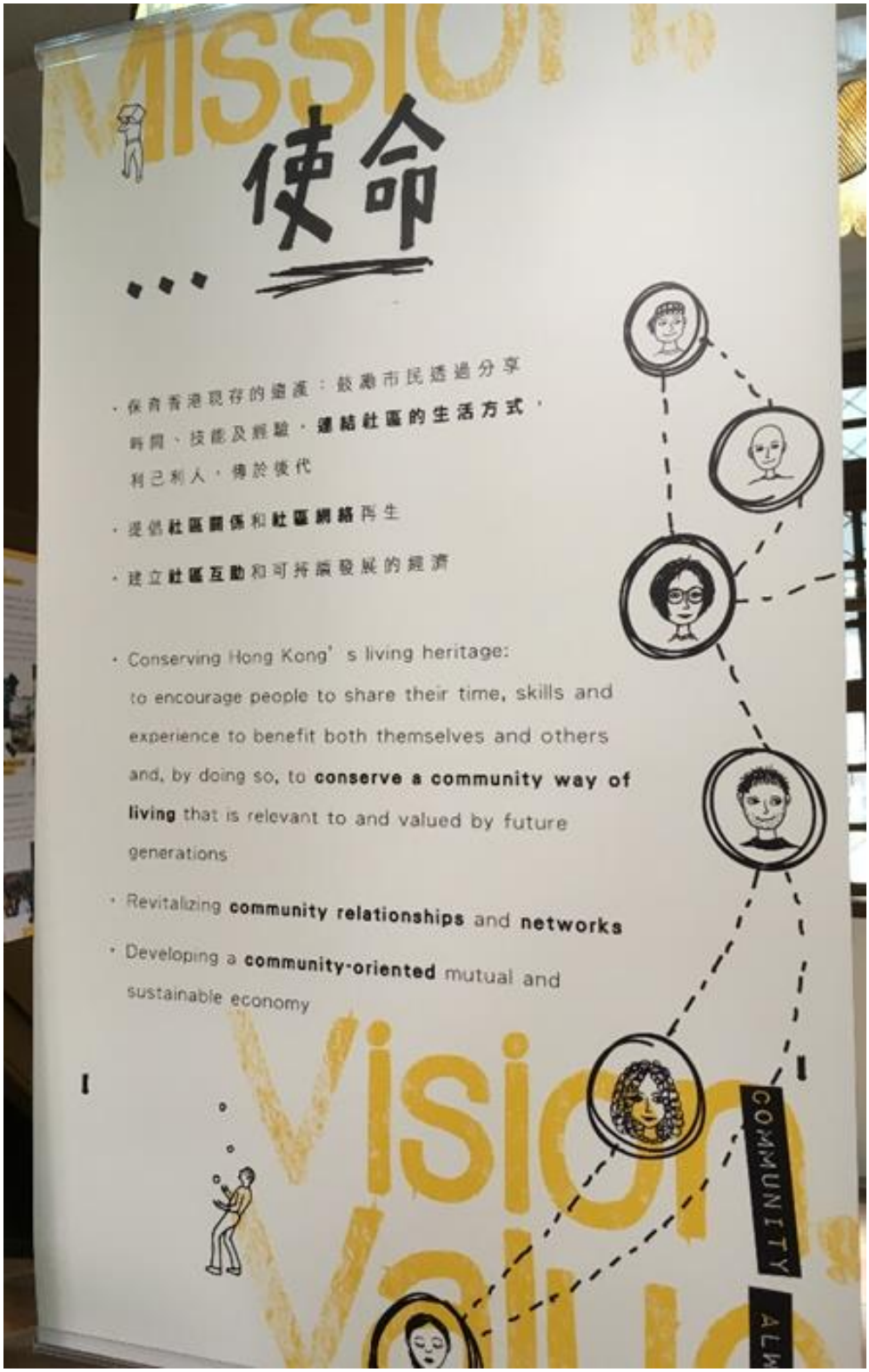

Figure 6.6. Exhibition panel showing the 'mission' of the regeneration project (Photo taken by the author, 2018)

As I have demonstrated in the previous section, the 'revitalising' Scheme itself was also a result of series of debates on heritage values and political negotiations such as the movements to save the Piers in 2006 and 2007. The social resistance advocated by the SJS and the residents certainly contributed to the preservation of the Cluster. Furthermore, this 'over-simplified' narrative is also practical for the articulation of a specific set of heritage values emphasising that the Cluster is an essential part of the residents' everyday social and cultural participation (Miles, A. & Gibson, 2017). This narrative also highlights that the residents have an intimate social and cultural relationship with the Cluster. Thus, the residents should have ownership of the site (Onciul, 2013).

Another core value of the project is to preserve 'Hong Kong's living heritage' by encouraging 'people to share their time, skills and experience to benefit both themselves and others' (from the exhibition panel, authors translation, 2018). Meanwhile, heritage – like in the case of the Cluster – can also help revitalise 'community relationships' and 'networks' (from the exhibition panel, authors translation, 2018).

The content of the exhibition has indicated that revitalising project of the Cluster itself is emphasising the proactive role of residents and community members along with the heritage process (Ng, 2018). It has also illustrated how the SJS utilised their knowledge about local culture to gain extra cultural capital (Bailey, 2010)and empowered the local community members to define the heritage values of the Cluster in social and cultural terms (Lu, 2016; Ng, 2018; Stephens & Tiwari, 2015). Also, the exhibition suggested, from the perspective of the SJS, a successful heritage regeneration project shall be defined in social and cultural terms, rather than its economic contributions to urban development (Bailey, 2010; Ng, 2018).

This form of social resistance is not only limited to the Cluster and the nearby Wan

Chai: the SJS have attempted to promote the experience of the Cluster in order to advocate a territory-wide form of social resistance in Hong Kong. The following sub-section will further discuss this.

3.3. Thinking beyond Wan Chai: The Cluster as territory-wide resistance

This section argues that the Cluster has been operated as a territory-wide form of social resistance by the SJS. As I have discussed above, since the Cluster has been included in the government-funded revitalising Scheme, the SJS has led and assisted the residents in operating the regeneration project of the Cluster. Also, the SJS has articulated a set of heritage values associated with the Cluster through the establishment of the community museum's permanent exhibition. This set of heritage values suggests that heritage shall be defined in cultural and social terms rather than its economic benefits. It stresses that the Cluster is a living heritage constructed by the people's everyday experience and cultural participation with the Cluster. I argue that this 'model' of articulating heritage values has been further utilised as a territory-wide form of resistance to the dominating economic approach to local cultural governance and urban development in other urban districts in Hong Kong, like To Kwa Wan in Kowloon.

In addition to the establishment of a community museum, another core component of the revitalising' project is the 'Blue House Studio Cultural Heritage Education Programme' (VBH Studio) (St. James' Settlement, 2017b; St. James' Settlement, 2018).

The VBH Studio is a community education programme funded by the Hong Kong Jockey Club. It aims to encourage Hong Kong's younger generations such as secondary students, university students and young professionals (the participants) to understand the conceptualisations of living heritage and community building

(Jockey Club "Blue House Studio" Cultural Heritage Education Programme, 2017a). This educational project could be considered a participatory community art programme as the participants are expected to work an integrate with various local artists and the residents of the Blue House Cluster through various cultural activities such as guided tours and craftsmanship worships (Jockey Club "Blue House Studio" Cultural Heritage Education Programme, 2017b; St. James' Settlement, 2017b). The effects of the culture-led regeneration projects could be observed from a non-economic perspective (Miles & Paddison, 2005). Through this community art programme, the residents of the Cluster are playing more proactive alongside the process of the culture-led regeneration project of the Cluster (Binns, 2005; Evans & Shaw, 2004).

Community is a dynamic and changeable concept (Waterton & Smith, 2010). However, it usually refers to a group of people who are sharing a similar sense of belonging (Watson, 2007). The definition of a community is multidimensional as it can be defined in both national, regional and local level (Manson, 2005; Watson, 2007). The VBH Studio Programme is a case study to illustrate how a culture-led regeneration project could encourage the residents of the Cluster and the participants to establish a stronger sense of ownership in both local and territorial (Hong Kong) level.

Through the VBH Studio programme, the SJS attempted to promote the experience of the revitalising project of the Cluster to other urban districts in Hong Kong. The participants in the programme come from different districts of Hong Kong. The participants are expected to employ their local knowledge to achieve better urban planning to suit the needs of the community they originally come from (Jockey Club "Blue House Studio" Cultural Heritage Education Programme, 2017b).

Prima facie the residents of the Cluster work with the participants through a series

of craftmenship workshops and fieldwork studies to introduce the understand the history of the Cluster and share their traditional craftsmanship knowledge such as traditional paper crafting techniques to the participants. Through the art programmes, the residents have an opportunity to express their culture and cultural identity to the participants originally coming from other districts (Beddow, 2001; Williams, 1997). This process could help the residents to build up a greater sense of ownership of its own cultural and social environment (Carey & Sutton, 2004; Williams, 1997).

Besides, social workers and artists experienced in community building host seminars and workshops for the participants. They teach the participants skills on how to work and integrate with the residents of the community of the Cluster. They also share their experience of articulating cultural heritage values in the community and promoting civic engagement through the project of the Cluster. Participants are then requested to make their reflections based on what they have learnt from the case of the Cluster in relation to the Hong Kong's heritage conservation and urban planning policy and present their ideas by curating a poster exhibition (Jockey Club "Blue House Studio" Cultural Heritage Education Programme, 2017a). The exhibition is expected to demonstrate what the participants have learnt from the case of the Blue House Cluster and how they can mobilise participatory art programmes in different communities they belong to (Jockey Club "Blue House Studio" Cultural Heritage Education Programme, 2017a).

Since 2016, the VBH programme is longer only organised in the Wan Chai district where the Cluster is located. The programme has been expanded to another declining urban district in Kowloon, To Kwa Wan.

Like Wan Chai, the district of To Kwa Wan is also experiencing radical social

changes due to re-urbanisation and the construction of a new railway system. Similar to the programme conducted in Wan Chi, the participants from various districts of Hong Kong are required to study the social history of To Kwa Wan by collaborating with the current residents of To Kwa Wan through various art programmes including guided tours and craftsmanship workshops. The residents of To Kwa Wan also work with the participants to design proposals to preserve the cultural heritage sites of the To Kwa Wan (Jockey Club "Blue House Studio" Cultural Heritage Education Programme, 2017b). By doing this, residents of To Kwa Wan could also construct a stronger sense of place of their community. For the participants who are not living in To Kwa Wan, the SJS describes that VBH Studio programme could encourage young participants to understand the social and cultural history of other different regional communities in Hong Kong (St. James' Settlement, 2017b). Ultimately, the programme aims to help construct a stronger expression of a territorial social and cultural identity of Hong Kong through participatory art programmes and urban heritage revitalising projects (Lowe & Yuk-Ha Tsang, 2018; Ng, 2018; Paasi, 2009).

I argue that the VBH Studio programme is also a process of articulating social and cultural heritage values for Hong Kong. Through the programme, the residents of Wan Chi and To Kwa Wan are operating a process of articulation of heritage values by selecting the historical and social experiences that they prefer to include in their narrative of heritage.

It is also a process to reflect and articulate heritage values for Hong Kong. As one of the social workers from the SJS commented, the VBH Studio programme is a strategy to make use of government funding to share and 'export' the SJS's experience of provoking civil engagements and social resistance through heritage conservation projects to other districts of Hong Kong (Anonymous Informant A,

Interview with the author, March 2017).

She further elaborated that the SJS sees the Cluster as a living role model of community-based heritage conservation project in the post-colonial urban context of Hong Kong. They aim to inspire different communities of Hong Kong such as Wan Chai and To Kwa Wan to mobilise their own heritage revitalising projects and community-building programmes through the promotion of the VBH Studio programme (Anonymous Informant B, Interview with the author, March 2017).

I further argue that the VBH Studio programme is also a process to construct Hong Kong social and cultural identity. The making of social identity is also associated with the action 'being part of'. 'Being part of' always requires 'a narrative in which we locate ourselves and are located in' (Anico & Peralta, 2008, p.1). The VBH Studio programme is a process of establishing a specific narrative for Hong Kong's social identity, which emphasises Hong Kong people's social experience and cultural participation rather than the city's economic achievement.

As I have discussed in sub-section 3.2, the case study of the Cluster shows that the discussion of heritage values can be performed through negotiations and collaborations, as in the case of the Cluster's community museum, between the government and local civil society groups. I argue that the revitalising project of the Cluster itself has been transformed as a form of social resistance aims to challenge the dominating economic approach to local cultural governance and urban development policy in Hong Kong.

4. Old wine in new bottles: The 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme'

In this section, I propose that the financial and administrative constraints of the revitalising Scheme have brought the Cluster into a dilemma forcing the SJS to adopt an economic approach to heritage conservation which the SJS initially set

out to counteract.

Culture-led regeneration such as the heritage revitalising project of the Cluster may bring effects of gentrification (Evans & Shaw, 2004; Lees, 2010; Ley, 2003; Zukin, 1987). Urban regeneration projects usually help to improve the infrastructure and physical living environment of the old urban area and attract middle class with higher income to move into the area undergoing regeneration (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Lees, 2010; Ley, 2003). This process of 'poor and working-class neighbourhoods in the inner city are refurbished by an influx of private capital and middle-class homebuyers' is typically defined as 'gentrification' (Smith, 1996, p.2).

Culture-led regeneration projects may bring new investment to the old urban area and may attract tourists and improving the local economy (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Evans & Shaw, 2004). However, the needs of disadvantaged residents with a low-income and a low educational background may not be well addressed in the regeneration plan (Allen, 2007; Ruiz, 2004); they may also not be able to engage with the culture-led regeneration project due to the lack of time and economic availability (Ruiz, 2004).

In this context, the SJS has suggested that one of the aims of the revitalising project is to tackle this possible threat of gentrification through encouraging those less educated and underprivileged residents of the Cluster to have a more proactive cultural and social engagement with the Cluster and its community (St. James' Settlement, 2017). However, referring to the discussion in section one, the SJS has to consider how to generate sufficient income through the Cluster to support the operation of the conservation project of the Cluster beyond the funding period dictated by the SAR government. In doing this, the SJS introduced the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme', a programme aiming to rent out several renovated flats

of the Cluster to selected tenants in 2018 as a part of the revitalising project. In this section, by examining the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme', I argue the SJS has also complied with the market-oriented and economic approach to heritage conservation which they have aimed to challenge.

4.1. 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme: an 'alternative' gentrification'?

As I have investigated in section one, the Cluster has served a residential purpose for several decades. The Cluster is still serving its residential function even after the structural renovation work was completed in 2017.

The SJS launched the 'Good Neighborhood Scheme' along with other community education program in 2018. Existing residents of Cluster were able to move back to their renovated flats. The rent of their flats remained unchanged, which was also substantially lower than the average market rent. Meanwhile, twelve out of twenty units were selected to be rented out to tenants who were not the residents of the Cluster originally. Under the arrangement of the 'Good Neighborhood Scheme', the tenants have to pay a monthly rental cost that ranges from HKD 11,540 to HKD 30,477 (St. James' Settlement, 2017c). All applicants of this neighbourhood scheme have to be interviewed by a selection committee consisting of social workers from the SJS and existing residents of the Cluster to assess if the applicants are willing to participate in the community proactively and bring useful social skills to the Cluster's community. The potential tenants are also required to be an active part of the Cluster's community and be able to contribute their professional knowledge and social capitals to the community.

According to the statistics report released by the Census and Statistics Department in March 2018, the average monthly wage of all industry sections in

Hong Kong was HK$15,897, while the average monthly salary of working-class sections (such as lavatory cleaner) was HK$9,949 (Census and Statistics Department, 2018, p.35-42). Thus, I suggest that the rental cost of the flat is significantly higher than the monthly average wage of most local working-class employees. It indicates that the applicants of the flat-renting scheme are most likely middle-class professionals who have the financial capability to pay the rental cost.

The SJS argued that the reason to introduce new residents to the Cluster was to encourage 'members from a wide range of backgrounds join hands to make this small neighbourhood' to be sustainable and 'to work against gentrification in Wan Chai or even Hong Kong' (St. James' Settlement, 2017c, p.1). However, the concept of gentrification usually suggests that low-income classes could be replaced by more affluent people who can pay higher rent for housing, forcing less-wealthy residents to move out (Arkaraprasertkul, 2017; Hamnett, 2003; Shin, Lees, & Lopez-Morales, 2016).

In the case of the Cluster, middle-class professionals are 'deliberately' selected to live with the existing residents under the arrangement of the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme'. Furthermore, the rental cost is also variable depending on changes in the local real estate market. Therefore, I argue that the 'Good Neighborhood Scheme' itself, to a certain extent, has also led to gentrification.

I agree that the process of gentrification is not inherently negative (Atkinson, 2004; Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Vigdor, 2002). Middle-class professionals may be able to apply their professional knowledge and social capitals to improve the living environment and increase local fiscal revenues of the old urban area through the

process of gentrification (Arkaraprasertkul, 2017). In the case of the Cluster, the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme' has allowed the SJS to gain extra financial recourse and social capital to ensure that the revitalising project of the Cluster could be financially self-sustainable as requested by the SAR government. However, the SJS has continuously claimed that they aim to stop the process of gentrification by introducing the renting scheme. Thus, I question whether the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme' can genuinely stop the process of gentrification that it aims to challenge. I would argue that this scheme is just putting 'old wine in a new bottle', as the process of gentrification has been 'deliberately' encouraged in the name of heritage conservation in the case of the Cluster. In other words, the phenomenon of gentrification could be still identified in the case of the Cluster.

As I have demonstrated in section two, the Cluster has always been re-branded as 'the people's heritage' for the local working class. This specific narrative of the Cluster has been endorsed by international heritage institutions such as the UNESCO. The UNESCO described the Cluster as 'a triumphant validation for a truly inclusive approach to urban conservation' (UNESCO, 2017, p.1). Furthermore, it argued that an alliance 'spanning from tenants to social workers and preservationists' has been successfully assembled (UNESCO, 2017, p.1). This alliance aimed to save the last remaining working-class community in the fast-gentrifying enclave of Wan Chai through a grassroots advocacy campaign in the context of the 'one of the world's most high-pressure real estate markets [Hong Kong]' (UNESCO, 2017, p.1).

Thus, I propose that this renting scheme has not stopped the process of gentrification, instead, it has paradoxically encouraged this process by

introducing a highly market-oriented renting scheme. The SJS as the host of the revitalising project of the Cluster appointed by the government has to ensure that the revitalising project of the Cluster would be financially self-sustainable as the funding provided by the government is limited. Therefore, the example of the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme' has also indicated that the SJS has no choice but to embrace an economic approach to local heritage conservation policy endorsed by the government to explore long-term and stable financial resource for the project.

Furthermore, as I have discussed in Section one, the SAR Government suggested that the 'revitalising' Scheme aiming to 'provide an additional impetus to encouraging greater entrepreneurial spirit amongst NGOs (Non-government groups)' (HKSAR Government, 2007b, p.8). Thus, I further argue that the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme' is paradoxical and ambiguous, which is an example to illustrate how the SAR Government has tried to achieve this goal through the 'revitalising' project. Therefore, I agree with Chung who criticises that the 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme' is still heavily emphasising on the financial competence of the heritage conservation projects (Chung, 2011, p. 985).

Although I recognise that the Cluster has been operated as a form of social resistance to the dominating ideology developmentalism and economic approach to heritage conservation, I argue that the current cultural heritage policy of Hong Kong has not yet moved beyond the paradigm of economic constraints (Chung, 2011). In other words, the heritage value of heritage conservation of Hong Kong is 'still defined in monetary terms with commercial concerns' (Chung, 2011, p. 985)

which is highly influential to local urban renewal and heritage conservation policy in the context of post-colonial Hong Kong.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the interactions between local civil society and the current cultural heritage policy between 2008 and the present through the specific case study of the Blue House Clusters, a culture-led heritage regeneration project funded by the government.

In section two, I have demonstrated how a new cultural heritage policy – the 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme' has provided a new opportunity for the local civil society groups such as the SJS to operate a revitalising heritage project as a form of social resistance. By articulating a specific set of social and cultural heritage values, it aimed to question and challenge the dominating economic approach to cultural governance and urban renewal policy in Hong Kong. This particular set of heritage values has stressed the social and cultural values of the Cluster, which should be understood as a living heritage of local working-class defined by the people's everyday experience associated with the Cluster. It has also provided an alternative definition of what a successful heritage regeneration project is from the perspective of the SJS.

In section three, I have demonstrated how the SJS has articulated this particular set of heritage values through various cultural and educational programmes such as the establishment of the Cluster's community museum and its new permanent exhibition. This section has also illustrated how the 'Blue House Studio Cultural Heritage Education Programme' (VBH Studio) has expanded the revitalising project of the Cluster as a form of territory-wide resistance to the

developmentalism-led heritage values from Wan Chai district to another ageing urban area in Kowloon, To Kwa Wan.

Section four has analysed another core component of the 'revitalising' project – the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme'. This scheme aims to generate sustainable income for the project by renting out several renovated flats to selected tenants. The SJS decided that the tenants have to be interviewed and selected by the existing residents and the SJS to make sure that they will proactively contribute to their new knowledge and social capital to the Cluster's community. The SJS expects that the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme' will be able to mitigate the process of gentrification in the Wan Chai district. However, I have argued that the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme' itself has encouraged the process of the gentrification by deliberately introducing middle-class tenants into a working-class community in the name of heritage conservation. The example of the 'Good Neighbourhood Scheme' has revealed that the dominating economic approach to heritage conservation, focused on 'progressive development', is significant and influential in the current post-colonial context of Hong Kong.

From chapter one to chapter six, this thesis has explored the emergence and development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy and the associated discussion of heritage values from the 1970s to the present day. Along with the process of heritage in the last five decades, the desires for being a successful modern and international city have continuously motivated an economic approach to cultural governance and urban development in Hong Kong. However, civic engagement with the process of heritage has also been more proactive due to the rising public awareness of local heritage conservation, especially during the post-colonial period of Hong Kong. People in Hong Kong have also started to reflect and even

question what Hong Kong identity is through the discussion of heritage values, although the answer still appears to be unclear. The next chapter will conclude this thesis and further explore the paradox of Hong Kong identity and the uncertain future of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

1. Introduction

This chapter serves as a conclusion and reflection for this PhD thesis. It concludes the significant research findings and contributions of this doctoral research briefly and reflects the limitations of this doctoral research itself. Together with a review of the main research findings, this chapter also illustrates the possible limitations of this research. Also, it outlines new knowledge gaps for further research in heritage studies in the contemporary post-colonial context in Asia.

This thesis has engaged with a comprehensive discussion of Hong Kong's heritage discourses and heritage values through analysing the city's cultural heritage policy. It has explored and investigated how different stakeholders of the local civil society engaged with the process of articulating heritage values and assembling heritage discourse in both colonial and post-colonial context of Hong Kong from the 1970s to 2018. Also, this thesis has conducted a systematic analysis of the interrelationship between the process of heritage and the changes in the city's social and cultural identities.

Section two further presents the significant contributions of this research to the field of Asian heritage studies. These contributions can be divided into three different elements.

Firstly, this thesis systematically outlined and analysed the development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy between the 1970s and 2018. It explored the political and social development of both colonial and post-colonial Hong Kong from the perspective of heritage studies. It concluded that heritage is a political and social process in the context of Hong Kong. This process is closely associated with both local and international politics. Thus, this thesis has proved that it is

essential to understand the operation of heritage politics in the specific colonial context of Hong Kong.

Another significant contribution is the definition of Hong Kong civil society through the lens of heritage studies. It demonstrated that the emergence and development of Hong Kong's civil society were intimately associated with local politics of heritage. New heritage discourses and heritage values were assembled and articulated along with various civil advocacies and heritage movements concerning the selection and conservation of Hong Kong's heritage. This thesis has also illustrated how local civil society groups employed heritage as a means of political resistance to stand against the government's approach to cultural governance and urban re-development policy.

Thirdly, this thesis also enriched the discussion around Hong Kong's social and cultural identity within the field of heritage studies. It demonstrated that heritage itself had played a critical role in the process of creating and re-creating the social and cultural identity of Hong Kong. This thesis has also shown that heritage is an interpretation of the past constructed for present and future needs, such as providing cultural legitimacy for the notions of Hong Kong's identity. Also, this thesis has contributed more broadly to the ongoing international debate on postcolonial Asian heritage studies.

Following the discussion of section two, section three provides a reflection on the research to illustrate its potential limitations and identify the possible new knowledge gaps for further research in the field of heritage studies in the social and cultural context of post-colonial Hong Kong.

In section three, I argue that there is still considerable room for comprehensive academic discussions on various issues associated with the field of heritage studies such as cultural governance, the making of heritage and tradition and the

construction of local social and cultural identity in the postcolonial Asian context. This thesis selected Hong Kong as a critical element to investigate the formation of cultural heritage policy, the articulation of heritage discourses and the re-making of social and cultural identity from a postcolonial Asian perspective.

This thesis has demonstrated that the process of creating local identity had been associated with the construction of local intangible heritage and the making of specific intangible 'Hong Kong traditions', for example, Hong Kong-style milk tea in the post-colonial context. However, there is still considerable room for establishing a more extensive discussion on the role of intangible heritage in the process of formation and re-formation of Hong Kong's cultural and social identity. Furthermore, this thesis has discussed how the definitions and meanings of Hong Kong's social and cultural identity have been continuously being assembled and re-assembled alongside this highly dynamic political and social process of heritage in Hong Kong since the 1970s.

Furthermore, after the sovereignty of Hong Kong was handed over to China from Britain in 1997, debates on the uniqueness and 'Chineseness' of post-colonial Hong Kong had been continually raised along with various heritage movements between 2003 and 2018. Nevertheless, the making of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy and Hong Kong identity is still a rapidly changing process due to the recent political and social instability caused by the outbreak of the Umbrella Movement in 2014 and the massive protests to stand against the extradition bill allowing suspects to be sent to mainland China in mid-2019. The future political and social changes of the Hong Kong society are unpredictable at this stage. Thus, it has become one of the main limitations of this research. On the other hand, it has also created new knowledge gaps to be explored to contributing the field of heritage studies in the specific context of contemporary post-colonial Asia.

2. Findings and contributions

2.1. Heritage: an ever-changing process for Hong Kong

This sub-section illustrates how this thesis has justified the argument suggesting under the context of both colonial and post-colonial Hong Kong, heritage is always a dynamic political and social process through the various case studies that have been employed for the research.

Hong Kong, as an international financial centre and a former British colony, has always been put under the spotlight of international politics historical, especially as a political and cultural arena for two major powers of the world: China and Britain. This thesis has attempted to understand the politics and social development of Hong Kong through the lens of heritage studies. It has also applied various case studies to outline and discuss the historical development of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. By analysing different significant events in Hong Kong's history of heritage selection and conservation, this thesis demonstrated that heritage is an ever-changing process in Hong Kong, politically and socially dynamic.

Chapter two has articulated a systematic, theoretical framework to explain several vital concepts in the field of heritage studies such as heritage, heritage discourse, heritage values and identity in the specific Asian colonial and post-colonial context. This systematic literature review has also helped to establish the main arguments of this thesis through the theoretical lens of heritage studies.

Chapter three explained how the cultural heritage policy framework of Hong Kong, to a certain extent, emerged as a response to the political and social instability caused by the Riots of 1967. The new policy framework was also a part of a broader social reform to improve the quality of life of the local Chinese population

to secure their support for the colonial government. In the case study of the former Kowloon Railway Station building, various local social elites and local civil society groups argued that the station building's heritage values should be understood from cultural and social perspectives. However, the colonial government still insisted on demolishing the station building in 1978 to construct a new modern cultural centre. Through this case study, I have demonstrated that the colonial government was eager to remove local historical structures perceived as colonial 'anachronisms' to emphasise the economic success of the colony and rebrand Hong Kong as a modern and international city mixing both Western and Chinese cultural characters. Chapter three has also shown Hong Kong's version of AHD was being assembled alongside the social process of heritage. This assemblage of AHD could be identified through examining the government's cultural heritage policy and the civil advocacy to preserve the former Kowloon Railway station organised by the Hong Kong Heritage Society. This particular Hong Kong's version of AHD was highlighting the economic values of local heritage and the success of modern Hong Kong. Furthermore, an economic-led approach to cultural governance was also being established in the 1970s. Therefore, chapter three demonstrated that the emergence of Hong Kong's heritage cultural policy shall always be understood in the specific colonial political context of Hong Kong.

Furthermore, this economic-led approach to local cultural governance was further developed and extended in the 1980s. Chapter four employed the case study of the former Hong Kong Club building to explain how a colonial historical structure was eventually demolished in 1981 due to the economic concerns of the government and the Club itself. While the Club was not willing to cover the renovation cost of the old Club building, the colonial government also refused to pay the renovation cost by using public funding. Therefore, the former Club building was removed to

construct a commercial complex which was expected to provide significant financial income to the Club. The case of the old Hong Kong Club Building illustrated that the ideology of developmentalism had been constructed an economic-led approach to the government's governance to actualise Hong Kong as a successful modern business hub. Also, this approach had been adopted by the majority of the members of the Hong Kong Club, who mostly were political and business elites in Hong Kong.

Chapter four has suggested that this particular economic-led approach and ideology to cultural heritage policy has been further reinforced through the renovation of the new permanent exhibition of the Hong Kong Museum of History. A more explicit version of Hong Kong's AHD was able to be identified before the handover of the city's sovereignty in 1997. This specific version of AHD emphasised how Hong Kong had been developed as a thriving international business hub including both Western and Chinese cultural characteristics under the British colonial rule. As I have discussed in chapter five, this economic approach to cultural heritage management, to a certain extent, was still being adopted by the postcolonial SAR government in the early postcolonial period of Hong Kong. The financial crisis in 1998 and the outbreak of the SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome) in 2003 significantly affected the economy of Hong Kong, so heritage was employed to revitalise Hong Kong's tourism and economy. The economic values of local heritage had been continually stressed by the SAR government, and this specific set of economic heritage values was being challenged by the various civil society groups and the public through a series civil advocacies and heritage movements in the postcolonial period of Hong Kong.

To sum up, chapter three and Four have illustrated that a Hong Kong's version of AHD highlighting the modernity and economic achievements of the city had been

assembled since the late 1970s. Meanwhile, an economic-led approach to cultural governance had been being established between the late 1970s and early 1990s. This economical approach to cultural governance emphasises the economic values of local heritage rather than its social and cultural values. Also, both chapters have helped to prove that Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy has been adequately explained in monetary terms since the late 1970s.

The post-colonial SAR government had also adopted this economic-led approach to Hong Kong's cultural governance after the establishment of the SAR in 1997. However, chapter five has found that this specific approach to local cultural heritage policy has been being challenged since the outbreaks of several local heritage movements, for example, the movements to save the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier between 2006 and 2007.

Through the systematic media research on the movements, chapter five has shown that new social and cultural heritage values of the Piers and Hong Kong had been articulated along with the movements. This set of social and cultural heritage values suggested that the Piers were important symbols of Hong Kong's history of social resistance and representations of the postcolonial social identity of Hong Kong people. Furthermore, the experiences of the movements to save the Piers also encouraged local civil society groups and individual activists to employ heritage as a means of social resistance to stand against the government's commercial approach to cultural governance and urban planning. As chapter six has shown, although the current dominating economic approach to heritage conservation is still significant and influential, a new dynamic has emerged among the local civil society groups and activists. Chapter six has also justified that the values of heritage could be interpreted and understood from both social and cultural perspectives through the case study of the Blue House Cluster. It could also

help the various stakeholders of the local civil society to employ heritage itself as an alternative political means to archive their political and social agendas.

To conclude, chapter five and chapter six have shown heritage itself has been employed as a mean of social resistance by the various civil society groups to stand against the dominating economic-led approach to cultural heritage conservation and urban planning. The rising public awareness on the issues of local heritage conservation has also actively encouraged the articulation of new social and cultural heritage values in the post-colonial context of Hong Kong. Although this economic mentality of cultural governance is still existing and affecting the current local cultural heritage policy, specific changes on the city's cultural heritage policy have been brought by a series of heritage movements. Social and cultural values of heritage have now become considerable factors for the making of the local cultural heritage policy.

The following sub-section further presents how this thesis has contributed to the discussion of the emergence and development of Hong Kong's civil society through the lens of heritage studies.

2.2. Heritage and civil society in Hong Kong

Another contribution of this thesis is that it has established an analytical framework to understand the interrelations between the development of Hong Kong's civil society and the city's on-going process of heritage. This thesis also suggested that there is an interactive and dynamic relationship between the government and different civil society groups, including various NGOs whose concern is the conservation and management of local heritage.

As previously mentioned, heritage itself is a political and social process, and various economic, social and cultural heritage values can be created and articulated by different stakeholders of the local civil society.

This thesis has further proved that there was an intimate relationship between the development of local civil society and the emergence of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy. The heritage movements and civil advocacies organised and led by the local civil society groups and individual activists helped shape and re-shape the policy approach to local cultural governance in both colonial and postcolonial period.

For example, chapter three illustrated how the demolition plan of the former Kowloon Railway Station proposed by the government encouraged the establishment of new civil society groups such as the Hong Kong Heritage Society. The Hong Kong Heritage Society organised several campaigns including sending a petition to the Queen to stop the demolition project in 1978. The movement to save the railway station building did not gain extensive support from the local Chinese population, as it was mainly organised by a small number of foreigners and the local Chinese elite. However, this movement was still one of the first publicly engaged heritage movements in the history of Hong Kong.

In addition, although the government refused to stop the demolition plan, it agreed to keep the original clock tower of the station and merge it with the newly built cultural complex. Therefore, the movement itself, to a certain extent, did put the government under pressure to respond to the requests made by the Society. As I have discussed in chapter three, Hong Kong's civil society has been emerging since the 1970s or post-riot period. Therefore, the establishment of the Hong Kong Heritage Society was also a part of this emerging process of the local civil society.

This thesis has provided new insight into understanding the early development of Hong Kong's civil society from the specific perspective of heritage studies. Furthermore, this thesis has also argued heritage itself had played a critical role in terms of the historical development of local civil society, particularly after the

movement the save the Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier in 2006 and 2007. Comparing the movements to protect the piers and the one to preserve the railway station building in 1978, the former encouraging large-scale public involvement and successfully attracted media attention.

Therefore, I have also argued that the movements to save the piers were also turning points of the development of local civil society. The justification for this argument is that the active public engagement with the movements has proved that heritage itself could serve as a practical and useful means of political mobilisation. The themes of the movements to save the piers were no longer focusing on the selection, conservation and management of a specific site, they had been extended to question the current approach to urban planning policy and the legitimacy of the SAR government.

As chapter six has demonstrated, heritage could be further employed as a means of social resistance to stand against both cultural heritage policy and urban-renewal policy. New heritage discourses and heritage values of Hong Kong have also been being assembled and articulated through this political process of heritage. Meanwhile, the SAR government has also made use of heritage as a political opportunity to negotiate and collaborate with various stakeholders of local civil society as a result of the movements to save the piers.

In short, this thesis has evaluated how heritage helped encourage the emergence and development of Hong Kong's civil society over the last four decades.

At the same time, this thesis has also investigated how the social and cultural identity of Hong Kong has been created and re-created along with the process of heritage, which shall be illustrated in the following sub-section.

2.3. Heritage and the making of 'Hongkongers.'

One of the significant contributions of this thesis is that it has explored how the notion of Hong Kong's social and cultural identity has been created and re-created along with the political and social process of heritage in Hong Kong.

As chapter three discussed, a notion suggesting that Hong Kong's social and cultural characters are distinctive from mainland China started to be articulated after the Riots of 1967. Chapter three explored how the colonial government intended to build up 'civic pride' among the local Chinese population in Hong Kong by promoting a series of social reforms and rebranding campaigns such as the Festival of Hong Kong. The colonial government aimed to highlight Hong Kong as a successful commercial and business hub with unique Western and Chinese cultural characters rather than just a 'British colony'. The emerging cultural heritage policy in the 1970s was also a part of this series of social reforms to improve the living quality of the local Chinese population and to develop 'civic pride' about being a part of Hong Kong. A hybridised modern identity of Hong Kong people (Fung, 2004; Smith, 2008), emphasising the mixture of both western and traditional Chinese cultural characters, was being articulated. By doing this, the colonial government believed that it would help maintain the long-term political and economic stability of the city and protect Hong Kong from the influence of Communist China's ideology.

This specific strategy was consistently applied until the end of British rule. As chapter four has shown, through the renovation of the new permanent exhibition at the Hong Kong Museum of History, an AHD emphasising the modernity and the economic achievements of the city and its cultural uniqueness was being assembled. The exhibition sent a strong message to the public suggesting that the unique cultural background and hard work of the people of Hong Kong had

brought enormous economic success to the city which remained distinct from its counterparts in mainland China. As the sovereignty of Hong Kong was about to be handed back to China in 1997, the imminent restoration of Chinese rule had actively encouraged discussion and debate about social and cultural identity in the mid-1990s.

This dilemma of identity was brought up and further intensified in the postcolonial period. A series of heritage movements and civil advocacies such as the movements to save the Piers in 2006 and 2007 were motivated and organised by various stakeholders of the local civil society. As I have suggested in Chapter five, the movements playing a vital role in the re-making of Hong Kong identity as it was not only defined by the success of the modern economy but also in terms of 'modern citizenry'. In other words, The Piers themselves were also connected to the history of social resistance of Hong Kong people since the 1960s and were rebranded as a symbol of Hong Kong people's spirit of resistance. This notion created new social and cultural heritage values and helped rearticulate a local identity about democracy and everyday life (Ku, 2012).

Furthermore, chapter five discussed how, as a result of the movements, new traditions, such as Hong Kong-style milk tea culture, were utilised to consolidate the notion of Hong Kong identity further.

In the context of post-colonial Hong Kong, issues of heritage selection and conservation have been actively employed by different stakeholders of local society to create and re-articulate the notion of Hong Kong identity. It is difficult to identify a clear definition of what Hong Kong identity is as this process of identity-making is still in progress, especially after the Umbrella Movement demanding universal suffrage in 2014. The movement has been labelled as a symbol of the localism and political awareness of the younger generation who were born and

raised after the handover of Hong Kong (Lowe & Yuk-Ha Tsang, 2018). Furthermore, the younger generation has clearly shown their distrust and even hostility towards the rule of mainland China and the pro-Beijing SAR government (Lowe & Yuk-Ha Tsang, 2018; Ortmann, 2015). Through the movement, the growing sense of the uniqueness of Hong Kong identity and the political independence of Hong Kong has intensified (Cheng, 2016; Lowe & Yuk-Ha Tsang, 2018; Veg, 2017). The result of this on-going process of making Hong Kong identity is still uncertain and hard to be anticipated and predicted.

3. Limitations and new knowledge gaps: the uncertain future of Hong Kong

This sub-section explains the main limitations of the research and discusses how these research limitations could be developed as new knowledge gaps for future research in the field of heritage studies.

As I have briefly discussed in the previous sub-section, one of the limitations of this research is that the making of Hong Kong's cultural heritage policy and Hong Kong identity is still going through a specific post-colonial period marked by re-shaping identity or identity instability. It could be changed and revised rapidly, and it is not possible for this research to identify and analyse all the changes made in the recent period. For example, in June 2019, more than two million people in Hong Kong have joined the largest protest in Hong Kong's post-colonial history to stand against the extradition bill allowing suspects to be sent to mainland China. This public protest showed the Hong Kong people's distrust towards the justice system of mainland China and the governance of the SAR government. Furthermore, as suggested by Graham-Harrison & Kuo in *The Guardian* (Graham-Harrison & Kuo, 2019), this protest was also a political tool to challenge the

authority of the SAR government publicly and represented a strong expression of Hong Kong's postcolonial social and cultural identity.

Currently, the cultural heritage policy of Hong Kong is still economically driven despite being constantly challenged by the power of local civil society groups and activists as I have discussed in the previous chapters. I expect that the dilemma over the rising ideology of localism and Chinese nationalism will be further aggravated in the arena of local heritage selection and conservation. Also, the legitimacy of the governments' approach to cultural governance may be questioned and challenged. However, the uncertainty of Hong Kong's political future will also provide considerable new space for further research on postcolonial heritage politics in the Asian context.

Another research limitation is that this research mainly focused on the issues associated with tangible heritage and was not able to conduct a comprehensive analysis on the creation of local intangible heritage and the government policy related to it. I recognise that intangible heritage such as popular culture, craftsmanship and language are all important elements of local heritage and should be analysed and studied systematically alongside local built heritage.

The SAR government agreed to apply *the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* in Hong Kong in 2004; it, therefore, established an Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit, later renamed the Intangible Cultural Heritage Office (ICHO) in 2015 (Leisure and Cultural Services Department, 2015, p.1-2). ICHO aims to 'heighten its endeavours on the identification, documentation, research, preservation, promotion and transmission of intangible cultural heritage' in Hong Kong (Leisure and Cultural Services Department, 2015, p.3). Two years after the establishment of the ICHO, the first *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Hong Kong* was released in 2017. Therefore, the creation,

selection and preservation of Hong Kong's intangible heritage also need to be researched to provide a holistic understanding and analysis of postcolonial heritage politics in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong has been described as a 'borrowed place on borrowed time' (Hughes, 1976, p.13) and the future of this city seems to be uncertain and determined by others. As I have discussed in this thesis, Hong Kong is placed in a unique and vital geographical and political position in the postcolonial Asian context. It is also the only living case study of the 'One Country, Two Systems' policy which provides valuable space for heritage studies research concerning the issues associated with heritage policy, civil society and identity.

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Appendix A

Appendix A. Heritage groups and organisations mentioned in this thesis		
Name of heritage groups and organisations (Year of establishment)	A brief history of heritage groups and organisations	Formation of its membership
1. The Conservation Association (1968)	The first environmental group founded in Hong Kong. It firstly engaged with the local environmental movements and joined the heritage movement to save the former Kowloon Railway Station building in 1977. (See chapter three)	It was mainly formed by Highly educated foreign professionals, experts and a limited number of local Chinese elites.
2. The Hong Kong Heritage Society (1977)	It should be the first NGO established for heritage conservation in Hong Kong. It actively participated in the heritage movement to save the former Kowloon Railway Station building in between 1977 and 1978. (See chapter three)	It was chiefly set up by foreign professionals, experts and a limited number of local Chinese elites.
3. Hong Kong Club (1846)	One of the most privileged social club in colonial Hong Kong. It was founded in 1846. The club was one of the significant stakeholders of the heritage movement to preserve the former Hong Kong Club building between 1980 and 1981. (See chapter four)	Most of the members of the Club were British colonial officials and other foreign social elites including professionals and merchants working and living in Hong Kong. Local Chinese elites were not allowed to join the club

		until the end of WWII when the first batch of Chinese members was accepted.
4. CPS Heritage Taskforce (2004)	A task force formed to stop the former Central Police Station Compound being transformed as a commercial tourism project. (See chapter four)	Members were mainly local Chinese professionals and experts coming from various organisations such as the Hong Kong Institute of Architects and the Conservancy Association.
5. SEE Network (2006)	It was a civil society group that aims to tackle local social and environmental issues. It published a magazine, *SEE,* where they investigated the 'unique' historical values of the Central Star Ferry Pier. (See chapter five)	Local young professionals mostly formed it.
6. Local Action (2006)	It was a small-scaled organisation aimed to safeguard the former Central Star Ferry Pier and the Queen's Pier. It also adopted a relatively radical approach to express their concern through hunger strike and even confrontation with the police force. (See chapter five)	It was chiefly formed by young activists had attempted to rebrand the Queen's Pier as a visible connection point of Hong Kong people's collective memory of the social history of the late 1960s and 1970s Hong Kong.
7. St. James' Settlement (1949)	It is a local charity providing numbers of social services to the local community in Wan Chai. It has played a significant role in the renovation project of the Blue House Cluster between 2006 and 2019.	The charity was firstly established by the Bishop Hall of the Hong Kong Anglican Church inspired by the anti-poverty Settlement Movement started by the academics of Oxford and Cambridge in the late-nineteenth century.

	With the help of the SJS, residents of the Blue House Cluster collaborated with professionals including artists, architects, academics and surveyors to construct a close community network to operate an urban heritage revitalising project under the 'Revitalising Historic Buildings Through Partnership Scheme' introduced by the government in 2008. (See chapter six)	It is now one of the major local charities to provide various social services including health care, childcare and family support in the Wan Chai district.