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Industrial Heritage: Valorising the Spatial–Temporal Dynamics of Another Hong Kong Story

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This paper challenges current perspectives on Hong Kong heritage that are based predominantly on a dichotomous juxtaposition of traditional Chineseness vis-à-vis post-colonial romanticism, and argues for a deeper appreciation of its industrial history and identity. Textured narratives are proposed that highlight the socio-economic relationships that were/are essential components of the industrial (hi)story. Specifically, the paper identifies the time/space dimension as unique, and hence it should be valorised using context-sensitive, carefully thought-through and executed approaches. The paper presents an 'other Hong Kong heritage story' that foregrounds the compressed time–space nature of the city's industrial history, the spatial organisation of manufacturing, and the dynamic spatial stretch that has been taken by the industrialisation process. Furthermore, a stretching of governance space for the identification, (re)presentation and conservation of heritage using a participatory approach is proposed. In the face of rapid deindustrialisation and pressure for urban renewal, prompt, well-conceptualised and time/space-sensitive efforts to valorise, preserve and manage this fast-disappearing heritage in Hong Kong are vital.

Keywords: Industrial Heritage; Hong Kong; Industrialisation/Deindustrialisation; Space–Time Process Patterns; Valorisation Approach

Introduction

This paper aims to reconceptualise current perspectives on Hong Kong heritage, arguing for a deeper appreciation of its industrial identity. By taking a closer look at this

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subset of cultural heritage, we complement mainstream ideas on industrial heritage and its use, from both a conceptual and an applied perspective. The appreciation, conservation and valorisation of industrial heritage have hitherto been confined almost exclusively to Old Industrialised Countries (OICs). We call for more efforts in this direction in Newly Industrialising Economies (NIEs),[1] focusing on the case of Hong Kong. Hong Kong is particularly interesting as it testifies to a rapid and widely overlooked development, namely the fact that some NIEs (or regions within them) are now experiencing (or have already experienced) rapid industrial up-grading and/or de-industrialising, or are already de-industrialised economies (e.g. the four Asian 'dragons'—Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, as well as parts of China and India). Hong Kong's rich industrial past, embodied in a wealth of tangible and intangible assets that are, however, not yet given the appreciation they deserve, provides the most obvious reason for our proposal. While the city is still home to locally, regionally and trans-nationally linked industrial production systems, their rapidly changing nature on the one hand and a historically unprecedented and unrivalled trans-boundary reach on the other is creating a new heritage environment. This calls for prompt, well-conceptualised and context-sensitive approaches to valorise, preserve (or in some cases, rescue) and manage this fast-disappearing heritage. We argue that context-sensitive, better thought-through and implemented valorisation of industrial heritage in Hong Kong and other recently (de)industrialising societies requires a rethinking of the conventional notion of industrial heritage—i.e. where it is found, what it tells us and how it should be preserved and (re)presented. Specifically, Hong Kong displays the following characteristics that make a mere transfer of models and practices from OICs insufficient.

Firstly, Hong Kong was a base for small-scale, labour-intensive manufacturing production with unimpressive machinery and unique linkages between factories and residential production sites, in strong contrast to the large-scale and spectacular industrial heritage properties that are more usually valorised in OICs.

Secondly, the 'volatility' of Hong Kong's industrialisation path, characterised not only by a peculiar take-off by means of 'transferred industrialisation'[2] introduced by immigrant entrepreneurs from mainland China in the late 1940s and early 1950s and an equally peculiar trans-boundary transfer to the mainland in the 1980s and 1990s, poses challenges to any commonly applied concepts and practices of industrial heritage valorisation. Furthermore, nowhere in the world have we witnessed such a rapid pace in moving from a pre-industrial to a post-industrial stage over just three to four decades.

Thirdly, the spatial context of Hong Kong (i.e. its size, compactness and geopolitical location) and consequently the spatial specificities of its industrialisation process (i.e. how production is organised and how it shapes a variety of unique industrialised cityscapes) both prior to and after the onset of China's Open Door Policy in 1978, are as intriguing as they are challenging for scholars and practitioners interested in heritage research and valorisation.

Fourthly, the way in which interweaving industrial, social and urban processes relate to (de)industrialisation in a trans-boundary context can be made readable and accessible

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in an extremely condensed space in Hong Kong. Here we stress social and urban processes which have received inadequate attention in spite of the fact that they are elements of the industrial story. These include delicate and transnational issues such as the employment of undocumented migrants and children or the rise of 'concubine villages' (*ernaichun*) in Guangdong adjacent to Hong Kong, aspects that are still not properly addressed in industrial heritage valorisation.[3]

In the following sections we substantiate our arguments and demonstrate how industrial heritage, as another Hong Kong story, deserves greater appreciation, and how it complements other elements commonly represented in the general heritage discourse. Before we proceed to elaborate on these issues, an overview of industrial heritage valorisation in the international landscape, and a critique of the current understanding and presentation of cultural heritage in Hong Kong are necessary, followed by conclusions as to how the way(s) ahead can be charted.

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Valorisation of Industrial Heritage: A Review

The valorisation of industrial heritage has been concentrated in old-industrialised and de-industrialised areas in Europe, and to a much lesser extent in North America. The properties valorised are mostly large-scale and spectacular properties (e.g. mines, textile plants, blast furnaces, etc. mainly dating from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century). Besides preservation for their historical values, these projects are often conducted to diversify the range of tourism products available in order to (re)generate economic activities and employment in post-industrial places that are in decline. Issues of identity and/or image building have also become important facets in these endeavours. Industrial heritage projects remain uncommon outside of OICs. In East Asia, examples can be found in Japan, China, Taiwan and South Korea. Most of these projects also focus on large and spectacular properties, mirroring the practice in OICs. Conserved industrial heritage properties offer space for adaptive uses. Common usages include museums or education centres that are related to their former and other industrial uses (e.g. Ironbridge Gorge Museums, UK), or other non-commercial uses (often for artistic purposes, e.g. the site of the present Tate Modern Museum in London or Beijing 798 Art Zone). Some industrial sites have been remodelled for residential (e.g. the former Union Maltings brewery buildings in Australia) and commercial uses (e.g. in Lowell, Massachusetts).

Academic research that evaluates these processes of industrial heritage valorisation began quite late, only gaining some currency in the 1990s. The growing body of literature includes work on general trends or conceptual analyses,[4] case-based evaluations of industrial heritage-related conservation and/or tourism projects,[5] and a few books dealing with industrial heritage and industrial archaeology, giving technical guidelines for conservation management.[6] The deindustrialisation process in Europe has aroused researchers' attention with regard to the potential of old industrial buildings for conservation and re-use.[7] Literature and research on industrial heritage and related tourism in areas beyond OICs is confined to isolated endeavours. In China, for instance, while industrial (*not* industrial heritage) tourism has been practised

increasingly widely, the protection and valorisation of industrial heritage is still uncommon. Academic research or conceptualisation of industrial heritage has also been rare.[8]

Cultural geographers have long been involved in the study of the social construction of place and space, and human relationships within a cultural landscape. Some studies have also been concerned with the issue of cultural heritage, its meanings for societies, and its importance in tourism and civic education.[9] A few studies by geographers have addressed the conceptual aspects of industrial heritage, including the issue of the selected creation of memory and identities, and the processes of commodification and consumption.[10]

To take stock: a survey of existing industrial heritage valorisation and critical academic appreciation reveals one apparent deficit: industrial heritage strategies focus mostly on sites and objects, while linkages over space and time, in particular in the form of industrial production systems and their evolution, remain opaque. Our Hong Kong case study provides rewarding opportunities to redress such deficits.

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'Hong Kong Heritage' Portrayed: Current Understanding and Existing Projects

A survey of currently existing projects reveals a clear dichotomous paradigm (traditional Chineseness vis-à-vis post-colonial romanticism) framing the Hong Kong story as perceived and marketed by the Hong Kong Tourism Board. The government's working definition of 'cultural heritage' has been criticised as being extremely narrowly defined, which in turn hinders the conservation of places and sites that do not fit into a pre-established category of 'antiquities' or 'monuments'.[11] In 2006, in order to catch up with the increasingly vibrant global discourse on cultural heritage, the Hong Kong government commissioned a university research team to draft a list of intangible cultural heritage items for the city, using the Guangdong list as a reference. The finalised list again shows an inclination toward traditional Chineseness in the selection.[12]

By narrowly defining heritage as old, aesthetic traditional Chinese or post-colonial, the government has devalued, and in some cases erased, other arguably more important aspects of the city's history and heritage. The recent demolition of the Central Star Ferry Pier and Queen's Pier reflects the government's attitude toward heritage conservation vis-à-vis urban development. Despite their importance for collective memory, the government decided to remove the ferry piers to make way for a four-lane highway. The strong protests against the demolition of the piers, though failing to preserve these two monuments of Hong Kong history, have put the government under pressure to review its heritage conservation policy at large. The Secretary for Home Affairs has pledged to increase public involvement in heritage conservation and to adopt new assessment criteria that will incorporate elements relating to 'collective memory' in its future evaluation of built structures. If this pledge is not merely rhetorical, it is an encouraging sign that the government is learning—although this is arguably happening too late and too slowly.

Echoing the sentiments of many Hong Kong people, we call for a stretching of the concept of cultural heritage that would also contribute to a re-conceptualisation of the

city's identity, which should be more inclusive and dynamic. This 'novel' notion of cultural heritage—which has been broadly accepted in many other countries—opens up space for appreciating the city's 'other' (multi-/trans-)cultural heritage including the migration stories and cultures of migrant/minority communities. Furthermore, it will also make space for contested heritage such as the coolie trade in the mid-nineteenth century.

In this paper the focus is on disappearing industrial heritage, consciously concentrating on manufacturing industries that have contributed significantly to the development of Hong Kong into what it is today. Going beyond current trends towards scavenging tangible treasures from the many underused industrial buildings that are awaiting demolition to make space for urban renewal, industrial heritage is conceptualised here as a discursive space in which intangible industrial culture and the collective memories of hundreds of thousands of 'ordinary' people are also embedded—and need to be uncovered and appreciated in a heritage strategy that should not only challenge approaches commonly adopted in Western societies, but can also complement and improve them.

Before exploring a more context-sensitive and process-oriented approach to the valorisation of industrial heritage, we will take stock of the (arguably small and slow) steps taken in Hong Kong so far. Among the different industries that once thrived in the city, the fishing industry is one of the most frequently mentioned and best marketed, with the highly romanticised icon of Duk Ling, the 'last authentic sailing junk', which can be commissioned by private, corporate and commercial parties. The privately-run Lamma Fisherfolk's Village (opened in spring 2006) offers a more textured story, including an exhibition about the workings of the fishing industry and the livelihood of the fishing families. Another historical marine-related industry is shipbuilding and repairs. Such activities are still conducted at a low level in Hong Kong, and they will progressively be out-competed by counterparts in mainland China. The remaining production space—with its high-priced harbour location—will be quickly converted for residential and commercial use, given the immense pressure for development space. The former Hong Kong and Whampoa Dock, once one of the largest dockyards in Asia, was transformed into a large private housing estate in 1980s. The past identity of this former marine space is commemorated by the estate's landmark, a ship-like shopping centre. While some consider this to be a minimal and gimmicky gesture, it can also be argued that this symbolic effort is at least preferable to a complete erasure of the history of the shipbuilding industry from the landscape, which is a common feature of land development in Hong Kong.

In the case of manufacturing industries, some efforts have also been made to transmit this aspect of Hong Kong society's history and identity to visitors and later generations. Traces of the golden 'Made in Hong Kong' era are portrayed with a few objects, photos and narratives in the permanent exhibition in the Hong Kong Museum of History.[13] The recent decision to convert an old factory estate in Shek Kip Mei into a creative arts centre marked a milestone for the recognition of industrial heritage. In contrast to the common fate of most of the old industrial estates in urban Hong Kong,

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Figure 1 Shek Kip Mei Industrial Estate turned into the Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in 2008.
A: Exterior of Shek Kip Mei Industrial Estate Before Transformation.
Source: Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.

Figure 1 Shek Kip Mei Industrial Estate turned into the Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in 2008.
B: Interior of Shek Kip Mei Industrial Estate Before Transformation.
Source: Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.

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Figure 1 Shek Kip Mei Industrial Estate turned into the Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in 2008.
C: Exterior of Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.
Source: Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.

the Shek Kip Mei Factory Estate has been renovated to house the Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre (Figure 1).[14] The government's decision to retain the factory estate for cultural re-use is a welcome one. In our opinion, however, industrial heritage properties should not only be considered as space for other cultures and other heritages, since

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Figure 1 Shek Kip Mei Industrial Estate turned into the Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre in 2008.
D: Interior of Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.
Source: Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre.

industrial heritage itself deserves a higher level of genuine appreciation for its intrinsic historic value. Former industrial spaces with heritage qualities should be considered first and foremost for valorisation usage relevant to Hong Kong's (de)industrialisation processes.

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The literature regarding cultural heritage in Hong Kong is small but growing, and concentrates on the conventionally appreciated heritage properties (i.e. traditional Chinese or colonial/post-colonial heritage). Cheung makes a major conceptual and empirical contribution to this area of study.[15] Henderson analyses the relationship between post-colonial identity and heritage and how they are being marketed as tourism products.[16] Teather and Chow criticise the official notion of cultural heritage and the process of heritage site designation. Think-tank Civic Exchange has also published a report to express its critical view on the city's cultural policies regarding cultural heritage.[17] Published research on industrial heritage concentrates mainly on historical and frequently romanticised industries (e.g. farming, fishing, pearl and oyster harvesting, salt production and incense production). Lim, for example, includes a chapter on 'Industry' in her cultural heritage walking guide, helping readers to locate the few reminders of these economic activities.[18] More analytical work has been produced by Cheung, including a project on the declining practice of freshwater fish farming in Hong Kong, emphasising the connection between cultural and natural heritage, and exploring the potential of freshwater fish ponds as sites for nature-based tourism.[19] The heritage of manufacturing industries as cultural and tourism resources that have been crucial in the making of present-day Hong Kong is still uncharted terrain. While the international discussion on industrial heritage has barely affected academic debate and planning approaches in Hong Kong, this local body of research and policy commentaries on cultural heritage in general provide a foundation for our exploration.

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Spatial–Temporal Dimensions of the Hong Kong Industrial (Hi)story

We consider the spatial–temporal dimensions of the Hong Kong industrialisation process to be unique, making its valorisation very worthwhile. In this section, we first briefly recap the history of industrialisation in Hong Kong, highlighting its spatial context (extremely high population density and geopolitical location relative to mainland China) and the mind-boggling speed with which it has moved from a pre-industrial to a post-industrial stage.

The industrialisation of Hong Kong is marked by two characteristic phases or (in a metaphorical sense) 'waves' of capital, people, machinery, knowledge. Both of these waves were triggered, or imposed, by far-reaching changes in international political and economic systems after World War II, namely (i) the initial push towards industrialisation by means of 'transferred industrialisation' by 'emigrant entrepreneurs' from Shanghai[20] in the textile sector (late 1940s to mid-1960s), rapidly followed by diversification and growth to an almost exclusively export-oriented industry for a variety of light consumer goods (until the late 1970s), and (ii) the rapid transfer of production to mainland China after the implementation of the Open Door Policy, first to neighbouring Special Economic Zones and later to other economic zones and other parts of the mainland at large. These phases will be described in more detail in the following section:

Industrialisation Stretched Out (1): From Shanghai to Hong Kong

Manufacturing industries in Hong Kong can be traced back to the pre- World War II period. Archival evidence from 1846 indicates that a strong industrial community already existed in Hong Kong. As many as 3,000 predominately small-scale factories and workshops were listed in a business directory in 1927 and 7,500 establishments were recorded in 1940.[21] It was, however, mainly the instability in post-World War II China that made a tremendous impact on the industrialisation process in Hong Kong. During the power struggle between the Chinese nationalist and communist parties from 1945 to 1949, Hong Kong received an influx of refugees unparalleled in its history—an estimated almost 1.3 million.[22] This flow of migrants, mainly from Guangdong, Shanghai and other commercial centres, continued after the Communist Party seized power in 1949. While most of these newcomers were poor and willing to work for almost any wage, there were also many industrialists from Shanghai in this migration wave.[23] These 'immigrant entrepreneurs' provided capital and know-how that enabled the almost instant emergence of prospering light manufacturing industries (textiles and clothing in particular) with a 15-year lead over neighbouring economies.[24] Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Hong Kong grew as a manufacturing and industrial centre for textiles, clothing, plastics, watches, electronics and other low-priced goods for global export.

While population movement out of the People's Republic of China was tightly controlled, exits were allowed periodically. For example, about 100,000 people were allowed to enter Hong Kong in the early 1960s. In the late 1970s, precautions against undocumented migration to Hong Kong were again relaxed—some 200,000 people are estimated to have moved across the border in 1979.[25] The flow of migrants from China to Hong Kong added to the low-cost human resource base in Hong Kong. In addition to capital from China, Hong Kong's tax policies also attracted foreign investment that fuelled its rapid economic growth. During this period, the economy grew extremely fast, turning Hong Kong into a huge industrial town, characterised by a globally unprecedented mixture and density of manufacturing clusters. This period of industrialisation had the following features: products were mainly light consumer goods (e.g. clothing and toys), labour was low-skilled, and low-cost, low value-added processes dominated, and finally production took place in small factories which operated in intensively interlinked and flexible subcontracting systems within short geographical distances, in which (female) outworkers (i.e. waged work located in domestic premises) played a crucial role. In the late 1970s more than 10% of the residential flats in Sham Shui Po district (Figure 2) had been converted to industrial uses. In addition to the fully-fledged conversion of domestic space for industrial use, a large amount of subcontract work in the form of outworking was carried out in domestic space.[26] Reading this urban text from a purely structural perspective would reveal an intricate infrastructural system (including port facilities), tens of thousands of multi-storied factories (many of them informal and 'squatting' in residential areas)[27] as well as associated home

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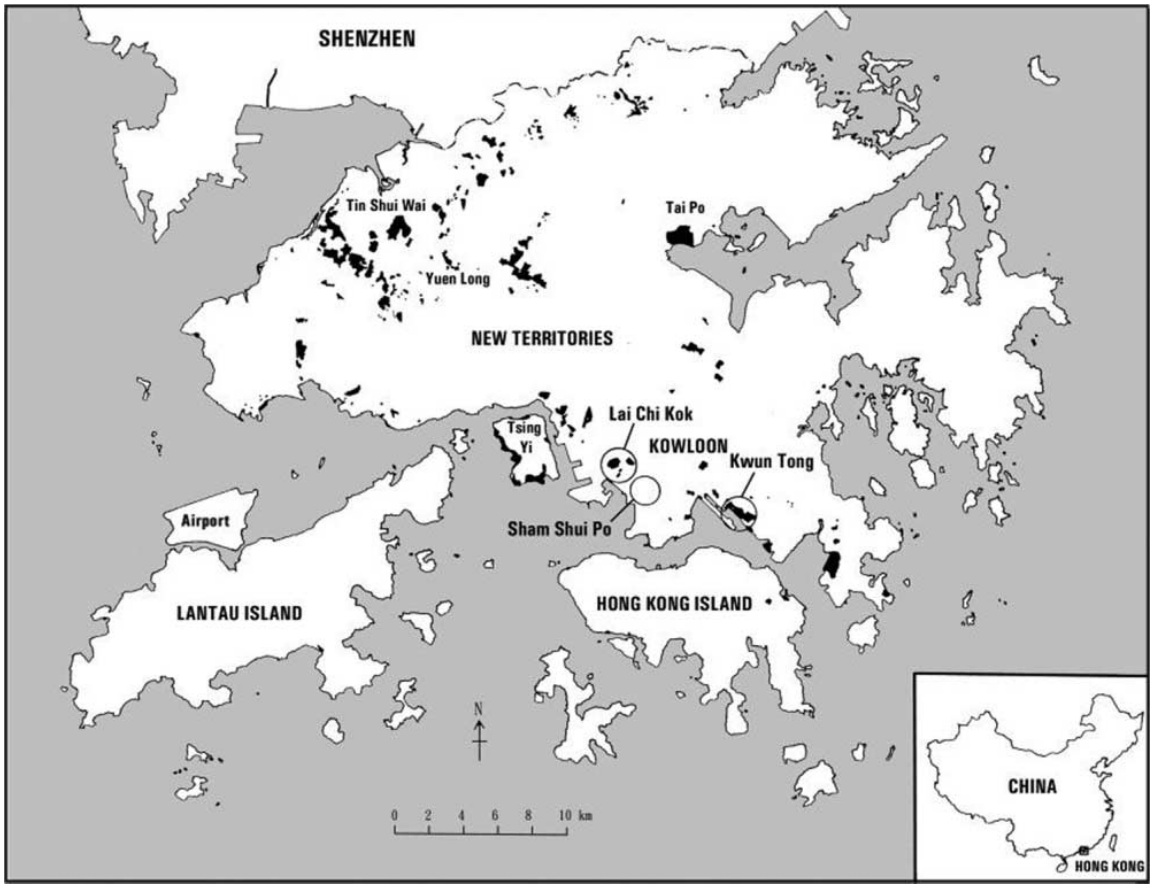

Figure 2 Industrial Land in Hong Kong (2004).
Note: Shaded areas include the following land use: industrial, industrial estates, and warehouse and storage.

factories and residences. From a process-oriented perspective, however, these production systems can only be understood by including the hundreds of thousands of individuals and households who contributed to a substantial part of the time and (human) energy invested by working at home, with or without the help of machines.

Industrialisation Stretched Out (2): From Hong Kong to Mainland China

As China opened for foreign investment at the end of the 1970s, Hong Kong industrialists, lured by the much lower production costs and tax concessions, began to move their production across the border, first to the Pearl River Delta and later further into the interior regions of the mainland. As of 2005, there were over 80,000 factories established by Hong Kong-invested enterprises in Guangdong alone and about half of them were outward processing operations. These factories are primarily engaged in the production of textiles and clothing, electronic products, toys, clocks and watches.[28] The extent of this second wave of 'transferred industrialisation' is further reflected by the trade statistics. In the first quarter of 2007, 37% (HK$103.3 billion) of Hong Kong's total exports to the mainland of China were for outward processing while 77% of Hong

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Kong's re-exports of mainland Chinese origin to other places were produced by outward processing on the mainland.[29]

The Hong Kong economy evolved to become financial/banking and service-based in the 1980s. By 2004, only 3.5% of Hong Kong's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) derived from the manufacturing sector, compared to almost 23% in 1980. The share of manufacturing employment fell from 41% in 1983[30] to 6.85% (more than 235,200 jobs) in 2005.[31] However, the drastic decrease in its share of GDP and employment should not be simply interpreted as the end of manufacturing industries in Hong Kong. The relocation of Hong Kong's manufacturing production units is more appropriately viewed as a spatial and organisational extension of Hong Kong's industrial sector,[32] creating a cross-border or 'borderless manufacturing' system.[33] In other words, the Chinese Open Door Policy made possible a new spatial division of labour across the Chinese–Hong Kong border. While Chinese workers are employed for basic product assembly, the more complicated parts of many manufacturing industries are still located in Hong Kong. More importantly, the city serves as the command-and-control centre, orchestrating the production and flow of goods supplied by factories in China and many other places in the developing world to retailers worldwide—functioning in accordance with the 'front shop, back factory model'.[34]

In the above we have held a spotlight on the lively industrial face of Hong Kong, illuminating two aspects that are anchored at different spatial levels. Firstly, hundreds of thousands of people still make their living in this economic sector *in* Hong Kong today; secondly, the Hong Kong industrial story has also extended its reach, has become de-territorialised in the way that manufacturers based in the city have assumed a command-and-control position in an unfettered manufacturing space. We would argue that these temporal–spatial dynamics call for a heritage valorisation approach that is also 'stretched out' in order to do justice to these characteristics. Furthermore, it has become clear that Hong Kong has grown into one of the world's most important industrial cities during the late twentieth century and still constitutes what is now the largest contiguous industrialised region on our planet. Respect and valorisation of representative elements of this phenomenon should be imperative for any heritage strategy, not only from a local or regional, but even from a global perspective.

Substantiating Hong Kong's Heritage Narrative with its Industrial Story

In this section we will further flesh out our appreciation of Hong Kong's industrial heritage, to illustrate some of the major constraints and opportunities for its valorisation, and finally to present some concrete proposals for projecting it more adequately in the mainstream cultural heritage discourse.

As we have shown, the temporal and spatial context in which Hong Kong's industrial story took place is intriguing and unique, thus requiring a context-sensitive approach. The speed with which Hong Kong moved from a pre-industrial to a post-industrial economy—two to three decades compared to one to two centuries in Europe—deserves attention in heritage valorisation, and calls for heritage approaches that have not been tested anywhere else in the world. In addition to this temporal

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compression, industrialisation in Hong Kong also took place in a spatially compressed context. Due to the compactness of the city and its land-use planning system, different types of manufacturing industries were located in high-density industrial buildings in close proximity to land for other (i.e. residential or mixed) uses as well as with port access. This complicates the identification of specific industrial remnants as they are often hidden at first sight. Furthermore, the shortage of physical space in the urban area has also justified the demolition of industrial buildings and clusters that have lost their manufacturing relevance. In the past two decades, much of the historical and history-making industrial landscape has been replaced by glittering high-rise towers that usually lack any connection with local history and geography.

The fact that manufacturing production also took place in informal industrial space further complicates valorisation. Nevertheless, we believe that a comprehensive inventory and a serious heritage conservation effort are necessary, and any valorisation approach should take this informal organisation of production into account. In order to (re)present the spatial organisation of manufacturing work from the 1960s to 1980s, the conservation of exemplary factories or workshops *and* residential space in the neighbourhood would be necessary. Emphasising the use of domestic premises as a production space sets our proposed Hong Kong narrative apart from existing industrial heritage conservation projects elsewhere, in which residential space is preserved 'merely' as a reminder of how workers and entrepreneurs lived, rather than as an integral part of industrial production space.

Capturing the spatial organisation of production is crucial to a narrative of the Hong Kong industrial story from a process-oriented perspective. This perspective entails more than the valorisation of production spaces. The historicised and changeable gender, socio-cultural and economic processes that intersected to produce these production spaces are also key elements of the narrative.[35] By juxtaposing the varying and dynamic spatial organisations of production that characterise the different periods of Hong Kong's (de)industrialisation process—namely from localised organisation around factories through regionalised organisation stretching as far as the Pearl River Delta, to globalised webs of production and division of labour—the Hong Kong story illustrates the diversity within manufacturing industrialisation that is played out across time and space. During the various phases of 'stretched-out' industrialisation, capital, machines and (semi-)finished products were not the only things to be moved; some entrepreneurs and workers also moved or adopted a trans-border lifestyle; work culture has also been moved over borders. The spatial fluidity of industrial heritage moving through space means that industrial heritage must be conceptualised as more than simply properties and practices grounded in certain confined places—which are commonly (re)presented as anchor points along heritage routes. Instead, we should stretch the concept to include flows that transcend time and space in our thinking about industrial or other forms of heritage, in order to reflect the trans-boundary nature of our regionalised and globalised social reality.

The characteristics of the Hong Kong industrial story compressed in time and space also present opportunities. Hong Kong is a unique setting where manufacturing

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industrial heritage can be (re)presented for civil education and tourism purposes in an efficient way. While in Europe long distances must be travelled to learn about different forms of industrial production and the associated social relations and cultures in different periods of history, this can be achieved with a minimum expense of time and energy in the Hong Kong context. An industrial heritage trail could be planned in (former) industrial/mixed-usage districts such as Kwun Tong or Lai Chi Kok (Figure 2) where meaningful elements can still be located, conserved, organised and presented in clusters within a few hundred meters and a dozen storeys.

The valorisation of Hong Kong's industrial heritage calls for a creative approach to exploit the opportunities and confront the challenges discussed above. In fact, any heritage approach that neglects the spatial–temporal specifics of Hong Kong industrial reality and shies away from the challenges associated with their valorisation would be grossly misleading. In addition to a creative extension of the heritage concept, we also advocate the stretching of governance space in heritage valorisation. Numerous recent events (e.g. Wedding Card Street renewal, demolition of Star Ferry Pier and Queen's Pier) have shown that the people of Hong Kong are concerned and vocal about their visions for heritage conservation. Because it depends on the sale of land-use rights as a major source of revenue, the Hong Kong government has been most focused on maximising income from every inch of land. Heritage items have therefore often been viewed as obstacles to development and urban renewal. Contrary to this monetary value-oriented perspective, the people have affirmed the value of their rapidly disappearing heritage. In our opinion, a meaningful and genuine valorisation of industrial heritage, according to the framework suggested above, should motivate the participation of diverse stakeholders beyond the state actors involved so far. Relevant stakeholders include entrepreneurs, business associations, workers' unions, individual workers and their families, scholars (e.g. historians, cultural geographers, sociologists, anthropologists and educationalists), architects and representatives from the tourism sector. The involvement of diverse parties is vital and fruitful for the valorisation of industrial heritage, because it was a process that was lived by *and* produced by millions of people, many of whom are not conventionally identified as 'experts' in heritage conservation. Nevertheless, they hold the keys to put flesh (in the form of oral history, private diaries, photographs and other memorial items) onto the bones (in the form of preserved or renovated physical production space supplemented by elite-produced, institutionalised narratives and exhibition materials) of this 'other Hong Kong story'.

While a working manual for implementing such an approach lies beyond the scope of this paper, we will conclude this section by proposing a framework for projecting industrial heritage more adequately in the mainstream cultural heritage discourse. In specific terms, we would suggest the following procedure: (1) conceptual preparation of tangible and intangible heritage properties, contexts and events to be represented in a future heritage valorisation; (2) scientific inventories of heritage properties along publicly established and accepted criteria and lines of inquiry; (3) evaluation and selection on the basis of a fair representation of exemplary properties/sites/contexts; and finally (4) drafting and implementation of policies and steps for preservation and reuse initiatives.

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Conclusions

This paper presents our exploratory effort to appreciate Hong Kong's industrial heritage, focusing on industrial manufacturing processes in the post-World War II period. We argue that the valorisation of industrial heritage outside OICs should be treated more seriously, and that it should extend beyond the traditional focus on large-scale and spectacular properties. Taking Hong Kong as a case study, we have shown that a simple transfer of perspectives and practices in industrial heritage valorisation across space is not sufficient. Industrialisation and heritage valorisation are both historically and geographically contingent processes. Therefore, a successful heritage conservation project must pay close attention to the context of a place. While in many cases they share some common features, the industrial stories of different NIEs are also unique in their own ways. We underline the importance of taking local histories seriously and consider the case study of Hong Kong as an example illustrating how valorisation can be conducted in more innovative ways. In more general terms, however, we believe that a stronger emphasis on place, local identities, temporal and spatial specificities and dynamics, and aspects that are apparently non-industrial, but whose social or cultural nature is intimately linked to the creation of the industrial world, would certainly contribute to the general heritage discourse and would also enrich existing approaches in OIC heritage valorisations.

In our case study we have demonstrated both the meaningfulness and the necessity of highlighting Hong Kong's manufacturing industries as part of its cultural heritage, as they have contributed and continue to contribute to the making of today's Hong Kong. Thus an appreciation of Hong Kong's manufacturing industrial heritage is not about something that is *passé*. Instead it is about a culture and a heritage with a remarkable history that is still alive and changing (and indeed changing very quickly), continually creating new time–space, both locally and globally. This volatility of recent 'domestic' de-industrialisation and continued 'trans-boundary' industrialisation in Hong Kong poses a unique challenge to any heritage strategy, but it can also be turned into its most valuable asset.

In addition to diversifying the notion of cultural heritage, industrial heritage is also exceptional because it inspires more critical spatial thinking in the area of heritage research. We emphasise the need to take space and place seriously, which deters researchers from blindly shifting models and practices from one case to the next. Recognising the spatial–temporal specificities not only acknowledges the uniqueness of Hong Kong's industrial heritage, but also expresses an appreciation of the spatial–temporal dynamics of industrialisation processes in general. Only by valuing this dynamism can we begin to conceptualise heritage as more than fixed points on the ground and as simply historical. Instead, we can extend the notion to include the space of flows, as well as tangible and intangible artefacts and processes in the present which shape our future world.

Finally, we argue for stretching the space for the identification, (re)presentation and conservation of heritage using a participatory approach. Involving stakeholders of different gender, age/generations, socio-economic backgrounds and professions who have played/or play different roles in Hong Kong's industrialisation process can help to

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draft a more comprehensive and therefore more representative narrative for this part of the city's history. The new story will include more than renovated built structures or photos of the demolished ones in museums, celebratory descriptions of a few successful male industrialists and a collection of photos and videos showing industrious employees at work. We envision the adoption of a more innovative and inclusive approach that would (re)present the working relationships in the space where these processes took place, give voice to all the relevant actors involved, and that does not shy away from exposing the darker sides (e.g. working conditions, pollution problems) of the golden 'Made in Hong Kong' era.

Industrial heritage in Hong Kong does not exhibit grandiose structures and artefacts, but it is nevertheless unique. Hong Kong's industrial heritage is important because it is in people's memory, it is an essential part of Hong Kong culture and identity, and is worthy of being preserved and transmitted to the younger generations—or to use a more 'trendy' expression, cultural sustainability. Sceptics may argue that in the context of limited land space and rapid urban growth, it would be an arduous task to preserve a dispersed (and often apparently invisible) and rapidly disappearing industrial heritage. While we understand that these complexities may explain the hesitant nature of previous valorisation initiatives, we believe that in the long run they offer rewarding opportunities—as well as tourism potential—for devising innovative approaches that do not yet exist anywhere else in the world. A continuation of the on-going erasure of the tangible and intangible reminders of those processes that made Hong Kong into what it is today would not only deprive local residents, but also all observers around the world who are fascinated by the Hong Kong story in all its facets.

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Notes

[1] This has been addressed in more detail by Li and Soyez, 'Industrial (Heritage) Tourism in Newly Industrializing Countries'.

[2] Wong, *Emigrant Entrepreneurs*; Sit, 'Hong Kong's "Transferred" Industrialization and Industrial Geography'.

[3] See also Soyez, 'Coping with the Dark Sides'.

[4] Soyez, 'Industrietourismus'.

[5] E.g. Edwards and Llurdés, 'Mines and Quarries'; Jones and Munday, 'Blaenavon and United Nations World Heritage Site Status'; Rofe, 'From "Problem City" to "Promise City"'; Smith, *Heritage of Industry*; Soyez, 'Europäische Industriekultur als touristisches Destinationspotenzial'; Summerby-Murray, 'Interpreting Deindustrialised Landscapes of Atlantic Canada'.

[6] E.g. Alfrey and Putnam, *The Industrial Heritage.*
[7] E.g. Stratton, *Industrial buildings*.
[8] With exception of e.g. Li, 'Industrial Heritage and Industrial Tourism'; Li and Soyez, 'Evaluation of Industrial Tourism Development of China from a Western Perspective'. A recent issue of the Chinese-language *Architectural Journal* (2006, issue no. 8) contains a collection of essays regarding the conservation and adaptive reuses of industrial heritage buildings in China. A synopsis of Industrial Tourism and Industrial Heritage Conservation in Germany from a Chinese perspective has been published recently by Liu and Li (*Industrial Tourism*).
[9] E.g. Cartier, 'Megadevelopment in Malaysia'; Ley and Olds, 'Landscape as Spectacle'; Yeoh, 'The Global Cultural City?'.
[10] E.g. Graham et al., *A Geography of Heritage*; Soyez, 'Industrietourismus'; Summerby-Murray, 'Interpreting Deindustrialised Landscapes of Atlantic Canada'.
[11] Chu and Uebergang, *Saving Hong Kong's Cultural Heritage.*
[12] http://newsletter.ust.hk/07/summer/en/content/index.html. Accessed 10 September, 2007.
[13] In 'The Hong Kong Story' video and light show, the city's manufacturing industrialisation history is summarised in two sentences: 'Hong Kong industries began developing swiftly from the 60's. The garment, metal, plastics, clock and watch industries not only provided job opportunities but helped the economy to surge.'
[14] The conversion of heritage sites for creative or artistic usage has also been conducted in the transformation of Cheung Sha Wan Cattle Slaughter House and To Kwa Wan Slaughter House into art villages.
[15] Cheung, 'The Meanings of a Heritage Trail in Hong Kong'; 'Remembering through Space'; 'Keeping the Wetland Wet'.
[16] Henderson, 'Heritage, Identity and Tourism in Hong Kong'.
[17] Chu and Uebergang, *Saving Hong Kong's Cultural Heritage*.
[18] Lim, 'Industry'.
[19] Cheung, 'Keeping the Wetland Wet'.
[20] A term coined by Wong, *Emigrant Entrepreneurs*.
[21] Leeming, 'The Earlier Industrialization of Hong Kong'.
[22] Asia Pacific Migration Research Network, 'Issues Paper from Hong Kong'.
[23] Wong, *Emigrant Entrepreneurs.*
[24] Sit, 'Hong Kong's "Transferred" Industrialization and Industrial Geography', 883.
[25] Worden et al., *China: A Country Study*.
[26] Lui, *Waged Work at Home*; Sit 'Hong Kong's "Transferred" Industrialization and Industrial Geography'.
[27] See Sit, 'Hong Kong's "Transferred" Industrialization and Industrial Geography'.
[28] The Greater Pearl River Delta Business Council, 'Facilitating Outward Processing Operations in PRD to Enter the Mainland Market', 69.
[29] http://sc.info.gov.hk/gb/www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/200706/21/P200706210096.htm.
[30] Wong, 'The Growth of Manufacturing and Services in Hong Kong'.
[31] http://www.tdctrade.com/econforum/tdc/tdc061103.htm.
[32] Ibid.; Sit, 'Hong Kong's "Transferred" Industrialization and Industrial Geography'.
[33] As referred to by William Fung, managing director of the giant global trading group Li & Fung. For details, see http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1580057,00. html.
[34] Sit, 'Hong Kong's "Transferred" Industrialization and Industrial Geography'.
[35] Here we draw upon Doreen Massey's concept of space (*Space, Place and Gender*).

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