

文化遗产蓝皮书

BLUE BOOK OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

中国文化遗产事业 发展报告 (2016~2017)

主编/苏 杨 张颖岚 卓 杰 白海峰 陈 晨 陈叙图

ANNUAL REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF

CHINA'S CULTURAL HERITAGE
MANAGEMENT SYSTEM (2016-2017)







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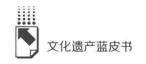
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国务院发展研究中心文化遗产蓝皮书课题组从 2008 年开始从第三只眼角度编撰的八本蓝皮书,其初衷是用新视角、讲新方法,多借鉴其他行业的先进经验,让文物系统在信息、方法上融会贯通,在发展借力中八面来风。① 这一点,对于中央要求的走出符合国情的文物保护利用之路尤为重要。毕竟对于在盛世才可能引起重视的文物保护利用工作来说,其在国情约束下还要建设文化遗产强国,只能自己趟出一条路。这条路上,哪些国情有影响? 走这条路,要跟什么人,举什么旗? 这条路的关卡和歧途在什么路段分别是什么? 总之,从方向、路径选择到怎么看带路人举的旗,以及如何排除各方面的误导和路障,都需要先有系统的思想认识。

道路自信的基础是文化自信,文化遗产事业的核心也在于文化。文化遗产就是文化自信的"信物",保护好信物并解读出其中的信息,就是文化遗产事业的使命。因此,中央领导的要求是"统筹好文物保护与经济社会发展,切实加大文物保护力度,推进文物合理适度利用,努力走出一条符合国情的文物保护利用之路,为实现"两个一百年"奋斗目标、实现中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦作出更大贡献"。这是党中央赋予文物工作者的新要求、新任务,指明了新形势下文化遗产事业尤其是文物系统改革发展的目标、方向和路径。

认识这条路,首先要明确,对国家、民族和人民这三个主体来说,文化遗产的功能是不同的:对国家,是文化载体、软实力的硬支持;对民族,是文脉体现、共同体的共同物;对人民,是生活组成、俗到雅的催化剂。这些功能,需要依托事业平台来体现,让文化遗产全面发挥功能尤其是城市文化平台功

① 文化遗产蓝皮书的影响范围远不止文物系统,在参与文物管理的文化、住建、宗教等系统和国家公园体制试点等相关工作中都体现了决策咨询价值。2017年高考语文全国卷将2015~2016年蓝皮书技术报告第二章的部分内容作为阅读材料也说明这套丛书还具有不小的社会影响。



能,这样才能在实现中国梦的过程中,"让历史文化与自然生态永续利用、与现代化建设交相辉映"。

走好这条路,应该是有道路自信的。这是因为既往成果可喜:不仅保护工作整体加强,合理利用工作在"十二五"期间也开始全面启动并于2016年开始提速,各方面的保障程度都在增强。例如,在资金投入方面,从全国层面来看,基本达到了《2020年文物事业发展目标体系》提出的"公共财政对文物事业投入的增长幅度高于财政经常性收入增长幅度"的要求。《国家"十三五"时期文化发展改革规划纲要》中的结论:《国家"十二五"时期文化改革发展规划纲要》确定的各项任务顺利完成,这期间的经验就是把新发展理念贯穿于文化发展改革全过程。

当然,在具体工作层面也像各行各业一样难免有瑕疵;文物系统人才队伍 建设、文物保护资金管理有待进一步加强, 可移动文物保存状况不容乐观, 文 物安全形势依然严峻。从定量评价角度(本书评估报告部分)看,"残存"的 问题也是明显的,有的还是痼疾,主要表现在三个方面。一是文物管理水平存 在空缺的地区效率改进不明显,个别省份甚至连续数年的评估结果都显示存在 管理空缺,且同时存在行政资源使用效率不高的问题——综合 GAP 分析和 DEA 分析的结果, 文物管理存在空缺的地区, 其在自由偏好下或专家偏好下 的文物系统发展静态效率均属中等或偏低水平、表明个别相对于文物保护需求 而言行政资源空间配置效率较低的省份,其文物系统行政资源使用效率也不 高。二是无论是国家层面还是省级层面,都没有真正建立纳人政策过程的重大 项目第三方评估体系,许多项目(如晋东南古建筑维修)的资金使用效率不 高、社会效益难以彰显,这类问题在许多总体比较成功的项目(如大遗址保 护专项)中同样存在。三是数据不完备的问题一直存在,特别是文物保存状 况资料欠缺明显,使得评估结果在反映保护绩效方面有所偏差,尚未全面反映 文物系统自身建设和工作成效,有待完善。在文物工作已经与经济社会发展的 关系越发密切、文化遗产事业的城市文化平台作用凸显的情况下,这些发展惯 性无论对加强文物工作还是对形成有中国特色的文物保护利用之路都有重大的 影响,需要作为今后的工作重点。

从问题可以看出,要走好这条路,文物系统必须自觉主动:自觉指认识清楚,主动指主动改革、主动协调,即要衔接宏观体制改革,以落实五大发展理

念,在主动协调各方面力量加强保护的同时,应通过限定、放开和规范并举来 加强合理利用。

自觉主动必须以体制改革为基础。体制是公益事业能否实现发展目标的决定性因素:公益事业按照什么方式来组织、相关机构按照什么方式来运行、其用什么方式来实现为人民服务以及可实现的程度等,都取决于体制。文物保护体制的主体是文化遗产的事业体制,即和文化遗产保护有关的、面向社会或政府提供公益(产品)服务、技术支持等的管理体制、机制和管理体系等。按照《国家"十三五"时期文化发展改革规划纲要》,这样的制度建设包括"深化人事、收入分配、社会保障、经费保障等制度改革,加强绩效评估考核。推动公共文化馆、图书馆、博物馆、美术馆等建立事业单位法人治理结构",也包括建立健全有文化特色的现代企业制度,完善社会效益和经济效益综合考核评价指标体系,建立考核结果与薪酬分配挂钩的绩效考核制度等。文物系统的制度建设既要查缺补漏,也要配套全面,否则就会复现国内诸多博物馆发展文博单位文化创意产品相关产业时因为制度不配套只能走回头路的教训。

自觉主动还指在新形势下通过设计新的发展方式带动全局的发展方式转变。兼顾加强文物保护和实现文化遗产相关产品价值,存在技术路线障碍、治理结构障碍、政策法规障碍,文物部门必须自觉主动转变发展方式,进行供给侧改革,只有这样才能克服这些障碍。自觉指创新资源利用方式,产生新的技术路线,在新的利用方式下实现资金机制创新;主动指主动作为、形成合力,构建多层次、多部门保护体系,层层责有攸归、权责相当。

以有文化遗产特色的新型城镇化为例,从三方面总结这种自觉主动地带动全局的模式:①理念上,今人的发展不可能将自身受益不明显的古迹保护放在第一位,所有的发展思路必须今人古迹兼顾、保护利用互促。如果目前城市发展的问题,如城建资金匮乏、产业没有特色且效益不高、人居环境不佳等,是依托古城保护解决的,古城保护就会成为所有利益相关者都支持且将其作为"本钱"的大事;②方式上,使城市以文化遗产资源为特色,在产业发展、基础设施、公共服务及就业上都体现出非消耗性的"古为今用",文化遗产尤其是博物馆等成为城市多功能服务平台,文化遗产相关设施也首先为市民服务(而非既往按景区建设思路主要为游客服务),这样才能真正使文物在经济社会发展中全面"活起来""会说话";③机制上,实现管理单位体制和资金机

制的创新。文化遗产事业要取得大发展,就必须在管理中体现"全社会保护利用文物"的局面,各行业的相关管理机构都能参与到文物工作中,文物系统的管理机构则有权、有钱且权责对等,这样才能在全局的发展都考虑到保护文物的需求和借助文化遗产资源实现特色发展的方式。在古城保护中,应善用政策性贷款做奠基、铺路、引智工作,为商业性贷款的大宗进入打下软硬两方面基础,从而解决城市发展的资金短缺问题,解决产业特色不足问题,解决人居环境欠佳问题,这样才能通过以文化遗产资源为特色的新型城镇化发展来加强保护。这其中,思路创新是自觉,路径设计是主动,最终达到的效果是全局以文物为大局。

在文物保护单位文化创意产品相关产业发展中,须从体制机制上进行供给 侧改革:将资金机制、激励机制和人力资源管理机制联动,打通产业发展中单 位、人、物联动的障碍。只有这样,作为文物实际主要拥有者的体制内的文博 单位才有人有动力将作为"物"的文物主要通过创意完成资源一产品一商品 的转化,作为需求者的公众才可能真正全方位、多角度感受到文物的魅力。

2017年,中央将召开十九大,十八届三中全会《关于全面深化改革若干重大问题的决定》中的各项改革任务将有阶段性评价,文物系统只有积极地、上下结合地、全面配套地推进各项改革并借鉴其他部门的新做法抓好已有制度(如《文物保护法》中提出的"五纳人")的落实,才可能摸索出符合国情的文物保护利用之路和文化遗产强国之路。

Abstract

Since 2008, the cultural heritage research group of the Development and Research Center of the State Council (DRC) has written eight reports on the development of Chinese heritage management system (hereinafter referred to as the "Blue Books") from the perspective of a third party. The purpose of this cause is to use new perspectives and methods, to learn from other industries advanced experience, so that the cultural relic system can integrate all the information and methods and develop well. DAccording to the central government's requirement to take a road where the protection and utilization of cultural relics, which is not taken seriously until the arrival of prosperity, are in line with the national conditions. In other words, the cultural relic system should make its own way under the constraints of national conditions and finally make our country a great cultural heritage power. On this road, what national conditions matter most, who to follow and which banner should be held? Where are the roadblocks and intersections, which types of blocks are there and where will each fork lead? In short, these questions, from the choices of direction and path, to the interpretation of the leader's banner, and to the exclusion of all aspects of misleading and roadblocks, need to be answered systematically in the first place.

Cultural heritage is the "token" of cultural confidence, which is the basis of road confidence. The mission of the cultural heritage business, which regards cultures as its core, is to well protect this token and interpret the information in it. To this end, the central leadership requires that the system should "well coordinate cultural relic

① The influential scope of The Blue Book is not only limited to the cultural heritage management system, which also covered that of culture, housing and urban-rural development, Religious Affairs. In the process of pilot national park, the Blue Book played role of policy advisory directly. It had social influence in a relatively wide range which was testified by the fact as follows; context in the Chapter 2 of technical report of the Blue Book (2015 −2016) was cited as reading materials in the Chinese papers of College entrance examination.



protection and socio-economic development, effectively strengthen cultural relic protection, promote the rational and moderate use of cultural relics, strive to take a road where the protection and utilization of cultural relics are in line with the national conditions, and make greater contribution to the achievement of the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation". These are the new requirements and tasks of cultural relic workers made by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which point out the development objectives, direction and path of the cultural heritage business, especially the reform of the cultural relic system.

Before taking this road, it should be very clear that the functions of the cultural heritage vary among the three different subjects, namely, the country, the nation and the people. For the country, the cultural heritage is the carrier of its cultures and the support of its soft power; for the nation, the cultural heritage is the embodiment of its cultural context and communities; for the people, the cultural heritage is an important part of their life and the catalyst for their change from vulgarity to elegance. These functions rely on the platform of the cultural heritage business. Only when the cultural heritage displays all its functions, especially the function as a city cultural platform, can we make the history and cultures sustainably used with the nature and mingled in modern buildings.

We should be confident in this road we choose considering past achievements. During the 12th five-year plan (FYP), the protection of cultural relics was strengthened, the utilization of it was fully initiated and speeded up in 2016, and the guarantee of all aspects was enhanced. For example, at the national level capital investment has reached the requirement that "fiscal input in the cultural relic business grows faster than regular revenues" which was proposed in the "2020 Cultural Relic Business Development Target System". Besides, according to the results in the "National Cultural Development and Reform Program During the 13th FYP", the tasks set in the "National Cultural Development and Reform Program During the 12th FYP" has all been successfully completed, during which the experience is to wind the new development concept through the whole process of cultural development and reform.

However, like other business there are inevitably flaws in work concerning cultural relics. Building of talent teams and fund management for the cultural relic system need to be further strengthened, the preservation of movable cultural relics is not optimistic, and the safety of cultural relics is in a tough situation. In terms of quantitative evaluation (referring to the evaluation reports in the book), the remaining problems are obvious, some of which are even chronic maladies. Firstly, there is no obvious efficiency improvement in areas where cultural relics are in absence of management, and the evaluation results further show that in some particular provinces not only the lack of cultural relic management has been lasting for years, but also the utilization efficiency of administrative resources is rather low. Combining the results of GAP and DEA analysis, we find that in areas where cultural relics are in absence of management the static development efficiency of the cultural relic system under both free preference and the expert preference are at or below the medium level, which indicates that in provinces where the spatial allocation efficiency of administrative resources does not match the protection demand of cultural relics, the utilization efficiency of administrative resources in the cultural relic system is also low. Secondly, no matter at the national level or provincial level, there is no real thirdparty evaluation system for major projects which incorporates the policy process. For many projects, such as the maintenance of ancient buildings in the southeast of Shanxi province, the use of funds is not efficient and the social benefit is not obvious. Such problems even exist in many generally more successful projects, such as the special project for the Great Site protection. Thirdly, the data missing problem constantly exists, especially the lack of information on the preservation conditions of cultural relics, which makes the performance evaluation of protection work inaccurate and cannot fully reflect the achievements of the cultural relic system. In the situation where cultural work is closely related to socio-economic development and the function of cultural heritage as the city cultural platform becomes increasingly important, the above problems will present obstacles to the strengthening of cultural relic work and the road to better protection and utilization of cultural relics with Chinese characteristics, hence the focuses of future work.

Owing to the above problems, it could be concluded that the cultural relic system should take this road consciously and proactively. "Consciousness" means that it should clearly understand the current situation and reform requirements; "proactivity" means that the system should proactively reform itself and coordinate different parts, that is, it should connect Chinese macro system reforms to implement



the "five development concepts", coordinate forces from all sectors to improve conservation, and enhance the rational use of cultural relics by restriction, liberalization and regulation.

Consciousness and proactivity should be based on institutional reforms. System is the crucial factor which decides whether business concerning public welfare could achieve its development goals. Specifically, the way the business is organized, the way relevant institutions operate, the means they use to serve the people and the extent to which they realize their goals all depend on the system. The main body of the cultural relic protection system is the cultural heritage business system, that is, the management system and mechanisms which are related to cultural heritage protection and provide relevant public goods, public services and technical support for the society or governments. According to the "National Cultural Development and Reform Program During the 13th FYP", the establishment of such system includes not only "deepening the institutional reforms on personnel, income distribution, social security, funds security, etc., improving performance evaluation, and encouraging public cultural centers, libraries, museums, art galleries and other cultural units to set up the corporate governance structure for public institutions", but also establishing and improving the modern corporate system with cultural characteristics, perfecting the evaluation index system incorporating social and economic benefit, and improving the performance appraisal system where the evaluation results are linked to payment distribution. The system establishment of cultural relic protection need to not only fill in the parts where it is weak, but also give full support to the work concerning cultural relics, otherwise Chinese cultural relic protection units would once again fail their attempt to develop cultural and creative products and related industries and have no choice but go back to their old ways.

"Consciousness" and "proactivity" also means that the cultural relic system should try some new methods to promote the transformation of the mode of overall development under the new situation. While strengthening the protection of cultural relics and realizing the values of cultural heritage products, in order to overcome the obstacles related with technical roadmaps, governance structures and policies and regulations, the cultural relic department must change the development mode and reform itself from the supply side consciously and proactively. "Consciousness" means innovating resource use, designing new roadmaps and finally new financial

mechanisms. "Proactivity" means that different departments should proactively form a joint effort to build a multi-level multi-sectoral protection system where the rights of each department match its responsibilities. New urbanization featured by cultural heritage is used as an example to illustrate how such "consciousness" and "proactivity" can promote the overall development. Firstly, in theory, if the people can hardly benefit from the protection of historic sites, they are unlikely to put it in the first place. Therefore, the general idea is to balance the relationship between the people and historic sites, and make protection and utilization of historic sites support each other. If current urban development problems, such as lack of urban construction funds, featureless industries with low efficiency, poor living conditions and environment, etc., can be solved by protecting the ancient city, then all the interest groups will value and support such cause. Secondly, in practice, in order to make cultural relics "fully alive" and "able to talk" in the socio-economic development, we should make cultural heritage a feature of the city and nonexpendably "make the past serve the present" in terms of industrial development, infrastructure, public services and employment. Besides, cultural heritage, especially museums, should become the city multi-functional service platform, and relevant facilities should firstly serve the citizens (rather than tourists according to past ideas of scenic construction). Thirdly, as for systems and mechanisms, there should be innovation on management unit system and financial mechanisms. In order to achieve successful development of the cultural heritage business, we need to reach a management situation where the whole society protects and uses cultural relics, the management institutions of all industries are able to participate in work concerning cultural relics, and the management institutions of the cultural relic system are given enough funds and powers which are equal to their responsibilities. Only in this way can the protection need of cultural relics be incorporated into the overall development and the development with characteristics be realized with cultural heritage resources. In the protection of the ancient city, policy-related loans are the basis and guide of relevant work, since they can attract large amount of commercial loans, which will alleviate the problem of shortage of funds, featureless industries and further poor living conditions. Therefore we should make good use of policy-related loans, so that the protection can be strengthened through the development of new urbanization characterized by cultural heritage resources. In this development mode, the



"consciousness" refers to idea innovation, while the "proactivity" refers to path designing, and the ultimate effect is that cultural relics are given great importance in the overall picture.

In order to achieve the goal of cultural relic protection units to develop cultural and creative products and related industries, relevant systems and mechanisms should be reformed from the supply side. The financial mechanism, incentive mechanism and human resource management mechanism should be linked to each other, so that obstacles concerning departments, personnel and materials in the industrial development could be overcome together, the cultural units which is the actual owner of cultural relics within the system will have enough motivation to complete the innovative transformation of cultural relics (which belong to a kind of materials) from "resources" to "products" and to "commodities", and finally the public, the actual consumers will be able to enjoy the charm of cultural relics from all rounds and multiple angles.

In 2017, the 19th CPC National Congress will be held by the central government, during which the progress of each reform task set up in the "Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC on Some Major Issues Concerning Comprehensively Deepening the Reform" adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the CPC will be periodically evaluated. The cultural relic system must proactively and supportively promote each reform taking into account the requirements of different levels of governments, learn the new methods from other departments, and implement well the existing systems (such as the "five incorporations" mentioned in Chinese cultural relic protection law), so as to explore the road where the protection and utilization of cultural relics are in line with the national conditions and the road to a cultural heritage power.

如何自觉主动"加强文物工作", 多方合力走出符合国情之路

尽管有很多不尽如人意之处甚至在某些方面还能看见危机,但无论与自身的纵向比较还是与类似行业的横向比较都不难得出这样的结论:中国这个文化遗产大国的文化遗产事业发展到今天,事业平台基本成形,与经济社会协调发展的局面初露端倪①。但考虑到现存的问题(问题导向)和中央文件、习近平总书记系列讲话中的要求(目标导向),作为这项事业主体的文物工作,若要全面体现文化遗产事业的功能,则还需"取法乎上"、更高要求,在"加强"和"自觉主动"这两方面全面发力。"加强"和"自觉主动"这两个主题词,是"十三五"期间文物工作相对既往必须体现出来的特点,其源于《国务院关于进一步加强文物工作的指导意见》(国发〔2016〕17号)和中央巡视组对国家文物局党组的巡视意见;而"十三五"末期,国家要建成全面小康社会,全面小康自然不能少了文化遗产这一面。全社会都认识并践行"文化遗产人人保护、人人共享",这才是文物工作由物及人、以文化人的体现,才是文化自信。即文化遗产相关工作要满足社会需求,也需要通过供给侧改革这样"主动"且"自觉"的措施来达到"加强"的效果。

为此,今年的蓝皮书以"自觉主动融入经济社会发展大局,努力走出一

① 这是文化遗产蓝皮书课题组以第三只眼的视角得出的结论,与主要属于自然遗产领域的风景名胜区行业和自然保护区行业相比、与教育医疗等社会事业相比,中国文化遗产事业的发展相对较快、在国际上的地位相对较高,人民群众的满意程度相对较高。当然,也必须认识到文物系统在管理方面的科研支持不够,多种管理缺少量化、动态支撑,一些法规和标准也有理念落后、缺少研究支撑等问题。