



アジア研究センター共同研究
「アジア都市の生活圏」レクチャーシリーズ

Vol.1

Touristification, gentrification, pandemic, and living heritage

–Recent urban transformation at a World Heritage Site
and a non-UNESCO historic site

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LECTURER



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Suet Leng KHOO is Associate Professor in the Development Planning and Management Programme, School of Social Sciences, Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM). She joined USM in 2010 after completing her Ph.D. from the University of Melbourne, Australia. Suet Leng is also a registered Town Planner with the Board of Town Planners (Malaysia) and corporate member in the Malaysian Institute of Planners. Her areas of research interest are creative city, culture-led urban regeneration and urban heritage conservation. She has published in many international and local journals that include *City, Culture and Society*, *Cultural Trends*, *Creative Industries Journal*, *Heritage & Society*, *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, *International Journal of Cultural and Creative Industries*, *Journal of Cultural Economics*, and *Journal of Urban Culture Research*.



Saori Kashihara

Saori Kashihara is Assistant Professor specialising in urban conservation and historic urban landscapes at the Faculty of Architecture and Building Engineering, Kanagawa University. Her research focuses on managing changes in the historic districts of Hanoi, Vietnam; Taipei, Taiwan; and Tokyo's wholesale district. Utilising a mixed-method approach that integrates mapping and field surveys, she has analysed both long- and short-term transformations of Hanoi's traditional guild streets. Her work includes proposing strategies to recognise vibrant traditional activities as cultural heritage and developing a scoring system to assess changes in historic urban landscapes. In addition to her teaching responsibilities, she has participated in collaborative research projects and led practical initiatives with the local commercial community in Kamakura, Japan. Her ongoing research aims to further explore adaptive changes in dynamic intangible cultural heritage across various Asian cities.

INTRODUCTION

Saori Kashihara:

Good evening! Thank you for participating in this seminar titled 'Touristification, Gentrification, Pandemic, and Living Heritage'. This event is hosted by the Center for Asian Studies of Kanagawa University, which hosts several research groups, each with its own specific theme. My name is Saori Kashihara and I am an assistant professor at Kanagawa University. I am a scholar on the urban conservation and urban heritage management and part of the research group called 'Everyday Life Sphere of Asian Cities'. This theme was motivated by the pandemic. We all experienced the limitation of movement during the pandemic, which emphasised the importance of our neighbourhood.

Many changes have occurred in historic districts, particularly Asian cities, since before the pandemic. The most significant are touristification and gentrification that have influenced people's lives. Considering this, Kanagawa University members visited George Town in February 2024 and met Khoo Suet Leng Sensei at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM). Although the stay was only for several days, touristification was evident and we also heard about the ongoing gentrification. Thereafter, we contemplated what it would be like to live at this world heritage site, called a 'living' heritage site. This led to an online meeting with Suet Leng Sensei and this seminar. Today, we will discuss and compare the recent developments and transformation at two sites; the World Heritage Site of George Town and the non-UNESCO Historic Site, the Hanoi Ancient Quarter, which is my research site. The title of this seminar includes interesting keywords.

Today's agenda includes my presentation on intangible cultural heritage and living heritage concept, which are significant keywords in today's seminar. Thereafter, Suet Leng Sensei will deliver a presentation on George Town, Penang, followed by my presentation on Hanoi Ancient Quarter, and finally a discussion session.

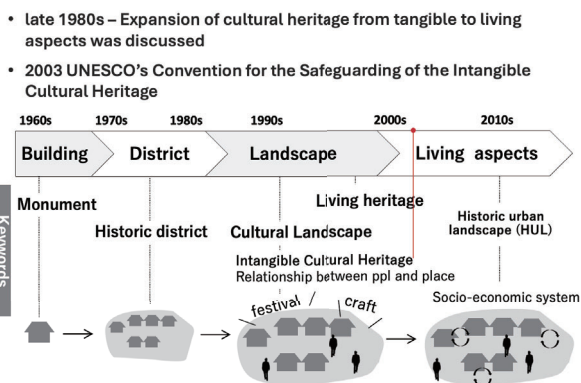
LECTURE

Intangible Cultural Heritage

The concept of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) first appeared in the late 1980s. It began with tangible heritage, such as historical buildings or monuments and gradually expanded its scope to districts.

Since the late 1980s, the concept has expanded to wider heritage and living aspects. Today, heritage not only denotes tangible heritage, but also the living aspects such as the interrelationship between people and place. The new keywords in the 1990s were cultural landscape and ICH, and in the 2010s, it further expanded to historic urban landscape.

Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) / Living Heritage



Although the intangible aspect was not material, it was important in qualifying the cultural heritage in each locality. This awareness led to the issuance of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. Article 2 of the Convention defines ICH as the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, as well as the instruments, objects, and artefacts.

2003 UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention

Article 2 - Definition

- The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and **cultural spaces** associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.
Not only skills or expressions but also cultural space
- This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment,
Change and dynamism is inherent

their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. ...

I would like to highlight that the definition involves 'cultural spaces associated therewith, and that communities, groups, and in some places, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage.' Thus, ICH is not only skills or expressions, but also cultural spaces. ICH, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity. The important aspect is the change or dynamism inherent in the concept of ICH. This is different from the tangible cultural heritage in its most conventional sense, which does not allow changes.

ICH has multiple manifestations; first, oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle, and also the performing arts. These are easily understandable as 'heritage', but they also include social practices and rituals and festive events, which may change as modernisation progresses. Moreover, traditional craftsmanship is involved as ICH.

To highlight the importance of ICH, the selection criteria of world heritage began including living aspects, mentioned in its third criterion, which states 'to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared'. Living cultural tradition is an important keyword. Moreover, the sixth criterion states the importance of being directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions. Clearly, this living aspect of heritage is important to historic districts under change pressures.

Regarding the terminology of living heritage, UNESCO uses intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and living heritage interchangeably. However, when I first encountered the term 'living heritage', it was in this context: the townscapes and settlements that people continue to live in or cultural heritage that has been used continuously under the same context as a cultural heritage was originally used (Inaba, 2017). Thus, there could be some variations in understanding living heritage. However, today I would like to emphasise that the living heritage is more related to the settings. It is in the people-place relationship and in-situ behaviour. Moreover, this concept was used to encompass holistic approach to townscape conservation. Therefore, that is how I understand the living heritage, however, it is also, used as ICH in some contexts.

This was the introduction to intangible cultural heritage. Now, I invite Suet Leng Sensei to speak. For the

participants, if you have any questions, please take notes and ask them during the discussion session. Now, please welcome Suet Leng Sensei!

Urban Transformations in a UNESCO World Heritage Site: Case of George Town, Penang, Malaysia
Khoo Suet Leng:

Thank you, Saori Sensei. To all students and colleagues from Kanagawa University as well as Universiti Sains Malaysia, I am extremely honoured and humbled to be invited for this seminar. Today, I will be sharing my 14 years of work on mapping and analysing urban transformations in the UNESCO World Heritage Site, using George Town as a case study.

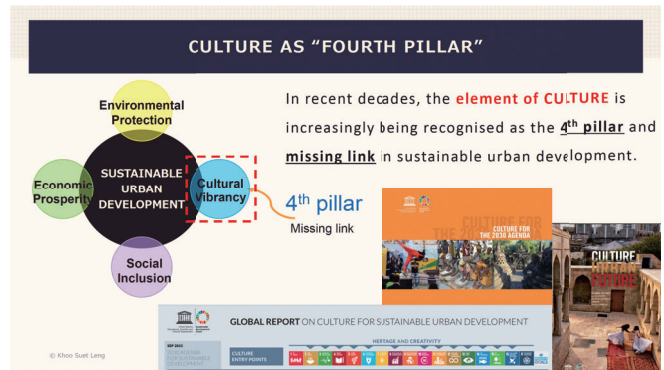
An overview of my presentation: I will begin by introducing the concepts and context; as a planner, I will discuss the planning mechanisms; and then analyse post-UNESCO urban transformations and some key takeaways, the concepts on heritage conservation and urban transformation. For the benefit of those who are not familiar with heritage, according to UNESCO, heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generation.

Recent Context for Conservation and Heritage

The concept of conservation essentially examines cultural value embedded in heritage endowments; and as Saori Sensei mentioned it exists through space, place, and time. We would like to use the concept of culture by UNESCO, ‘the set of distinctive, spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features of a society or a social group that encompasses art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs’.

For the longest time, the concept of sustainable development and sustainable urban development has involved only the three pillars or the triple bottom line. Recently, the element of culture is increasingly being recognised as the fourth pillar. Therefore, as highlighted in the Global Report on Culture for Sustainable Urban Development and Culture, we have to include the element of cultural vibrancy, which includes cultural heritage.

Thus, cultural heritage can be divided into two categories: tangible, that is, things that we can see, feel, and touch, such as paintings, sculptures, buildings, monuments, and sites; and intangible, as explained in detail by Saori Sensei, the definitions and the concept of ICH.

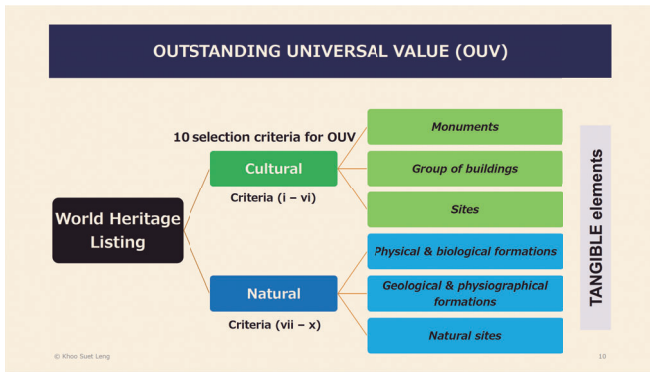


Outstanding Universal Value, Authenticity, and Integrity

What is a UNESCO World Heritage Site? It began in 1972 under the World Heritage Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, that is, the recommendation for protection at the national level. It is a designation for location that has outstanding universal value. I am going to use the acronym OUV. The two words that you will take away from my presentation today would be OUV and AI. AI not for artificial intelligence, but for authenticity and integrity, which I will discuss later. Therefore, inscription into the World Heritage List is for sites and monuments to be protected so that our future generations can gain access to all these and appreciate the sites.

What is OUV? It refers to the cultural and/or natural significance (of a site), which is exceptional as it transcends national boundaries and has common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. Thus, the location should have this natural or cultural significance that is so exceptional that it is important to all humanity.

There are 10 selection criteria of the OUV that are divided into two categories. Criteria 1 to 6 are categorised in the cultural category, and Criteria 7 to 10 are classified as natural. Cultural criteria involve monuments, groups of buildings, sites, whereas the natural criteria involve formations and sites. Clearly, these are all tangible elements. That is why the 1972 World Heritage Convention was critiqued by scholars and practitioners because it focused substantially on the tangible aspects. Subsequently, the 2003 Convention included the intangible element, that is, ICH.



UNESCO INSCRIPTION – A DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD?

- Urban transformations unfold with UNESCO listing – **double edged sword**
 - POSITIVES**
 - mobilizes efforts in conservation & preservation
 - revitalizes derelict historic inner cities
 - uplifts image / facade (e.g. historic buildings)
 - puts the heritage site on global radar
 - boosts cultural & heritage tourism – generate employment + stimulate local economy
 - NEGATIVES**
 - a myriad of conflicts & issues caused by listing combined with and / or accentuated by other factors
- The World Heritage Convention and its mechanisms predominantly emphasize **preservation of monuments and ensembles** (Denkins, 2019; see also Gustafsson & Ripp, n.d.)

What about the intangible??

Urban Transformations in UNESCO Heritage Sites

Now, I will discuss urban transformations at UNESCO world heritage sites. What is urban transformation? Urban transformation means to examine the dynamics of change; changes that connect cities and different social, technical, and socio-ecological systems across multiple levels; and skills to cultivate system sustainability.

URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN UNESCO HERITAGE SITES

- URBAN TRANSFORMATION**
 - Examines the dynamics of change that **connect cities and different socio-technical and socio-ecological systems** across multiple levels / scales to cultivate system sustainability (Wolfam et al., 2016: 20).
 - Inscription on World Heritage List can be one of the **causes of conflicts** related to urban transformation (Gustafsson & Ripp, n.d.; see also Jenkins, 2019).
 - Heritage listing may cause significant **changes to urban fabric** and the **emergence of a spectrum of conflicts** with temporary/new comers and permanent users of the city (Siemer et al., 2017)

Moreover, there is a daunting realisation, according to scholars, that inscription on the world heritage list can lead to conflicts related to urban transformation. Thus, heritage listing may cause significant changes to the urban fabric and the emergence of a spectrum of conflicts with temporary or newcomers, people that visit the heritage site, together with permanent users of the city. This is urban transformation in the context of heritage site.

Thus, what about this UNESCO inscription? It is actually a double-edged sword. It has its pros and cons. Clearly, the positives are that a UNESCO inscribed location mobilises efforts in conservation and preservation. Thus, the government, public and private sectors take efforts towards conservation. They revitalise derelict historic inner cities, uplift the facades for particularly historic buildings, and place your heritage site on the global radar. As a result, everybody wants to come and visit your site. Thus, it boosts cultural and heritage tourism that generates local employment and stimulates the local economy.

However, the negatives are that it would generate a myriad of conflicts and issues, caused by the listing combined with other factors. Thus, the World Heritage Convention, the 1972 Convention that I mentioned, predominantly emphasises preservation of monuments and ensembles, on buildings, sites, and so on, the tangibles. However, what about the intangibles, that refer to the people and experiences as Saori mentioned, which are extremely important as well.

Gentrification

What is gentrification? Gentrification means changes in social structure and increase in the housing market according to the 1964 definition by Ruth Glass. It also entails reinvestment of new capital into declining or post-industrial neighbourhoods, where you bring in new capital, you have new people or what they call the ‘Yuppies’, the ‘young urban professionals’, coming into the derelict neighbourhood, and in turn, this process displaces the existing low income working class in that neighbourhood. There are different forms of gentrification, new built gentrification, rental gentrification, self-gentrification, and today, we will discuss tourism gentrification.

WHAT IS GENTRIFICATION?

- GENTRIFICATION**
 - Changes in **social structure & increase in the housing market** (Glass, 1964)
 - Reinvestment of capital to declining / post-industrialised neighbourhoods** which attracts **in-migration of new higher-income residents**, and in turn **displaces the existing low-income working class** (Smith, 2002; Atkinson & Wulff, 2009)
 - Forms of gentrification:
 - ‘new-build gentrification’** (Davidson & Lees, 2010)
 - ‘rental gentrification’** (Van Criekingen, 2010)
 - ‘self-gentrification’** (Chan et al., 2016)
 - ‘tourism gentrification’** (Gotham, 2005)

Moreover, touristification and its impact are intertwined with concepts such as mass tourism, overtourism, uncontrolled tourism, tourism pollution, and low-value

tourism. Thus, urban issues and impacts that follow from this touristification process appear to have a negative connotation which normally include displacement of local host communities and traditional businesses.

TOURISTIFICATION & ITS IMPACTS

- **TOURISTIFICATION** – intertwined with concepts like:
 - mass tourism
 - over-tourism
 - uncontrolled tourism
 - tourism pollution
 - low-value tourism
- **Urban issues / impacts** that follow suite from touristification:
 - Displacement of local/host communities and traditional businesses (Jenkins, 2019)
 - Climate change issues (Khoo, 2024)
 - UNESCO-cide (Barron, 2017)
- **Authenticity & Integrity** of world heritage site are at risk, or, might be compromised.

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Additionally, when you have uncontrolled tourists visiting your site, it is bound to create climate change issues. Interestingly, ‘UNESCO-cide’ coined by Barron suggests that acquiring a UNESCO listing is akin to attempting suicide. Hence, the greatest fear would be the authenticity and integrity of the site and ways that they will be impacted. This is why AI here is not artificial intelligence. It refers to authenticity and integrity of World Heritage Sites of being at risk or being compromised.

Thus, touristification offers real challenges if you look at Bloomberg's recent City Lab. It has already happened in your historic city of Kyoto with headlines like “Record tourist numbers are overcrowding Kyoto's public transport. Public anger is rising, and it is a major challenge to the mayor.” Scholars, such as Mihalic, have even used the term anti-tourism or tourismphobia. In Mexico City, owing to the surge of tourists, residents are actually resisting their city from turning into a Disneyland.

TOURISTIFICATION – Some real challenges

Bloomberg CityLab: Record Tourist Numbers Are Clogging Up Kyoto's Public Transport (2024)

Mihalic (2020): anti-tourism, tourismphobia

Amid Tourism Surge, Oaxaca Residents Resist 'Disneylandization' (2024)

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This is an important need. One of the key takeaways is to expand the 1972 World Heritage Convention meaning of cultural heritage beyond the tangible and material approach. Luckily, in 1975, the Resolutions of Bruges has introduced elements of human scale and social function.

Further, the 1987 Washington Charter has introduced the importance of socio-economic development and participation of residents followed by the 2003 ICH Convention that Saori mentioned, and finally, the 2005 Faro Convention touched on human development and quality of life.

TO EXPAND THE 1972 WHC MEANING OF CULTURAL HERITAGE BEYOND THE TANGIBLE & MATERIAL APPROACH

- **1975 RESOLUTION OF BRUGES**: Principles Governing the Rehabilitation of Historic Towns, adopted by ICOMOS, referring also to the **human scale** and **social function** (ICOMOS, 1975).
- **1987 WASHINGTON CHARTER**: ICOMOS announced the integration of urban conservation into policies for **socio-economic development** and the **participation of residents** in the Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (ICOMOS, 1987).
- **2003 CONVENTION FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE**
- **2005 FARO CONVENTION**: (Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society) that “the conservation of cultural heritage and its sustainable use have **human development** and **quality of life** as their goal” (Council of Europe, 2005).

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Thus, all these new types of charters and conventions are required to complement the 1972 World Heritage Convention mechanism. Subsequently, in 2011, UNESCO introduced their own historic urban landscape approach, whereby they call for the symbiotic coexistence of these relationships between tangible and intangible cultural heritage. It requires us to link the tangible and intangible, and the relationship between the historic urban areas to consider the different cultural diversity, social inclusion, and all these climate change issues and challenges in a collective manner.

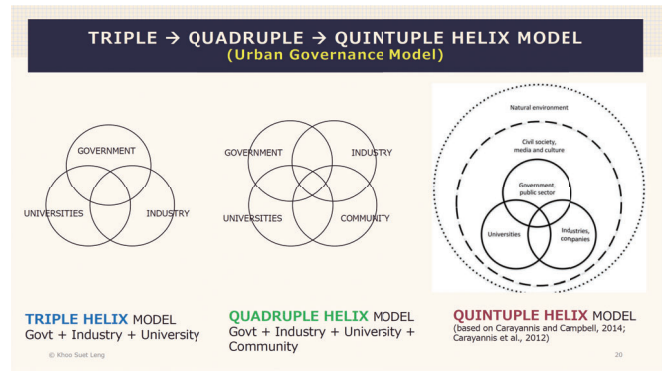
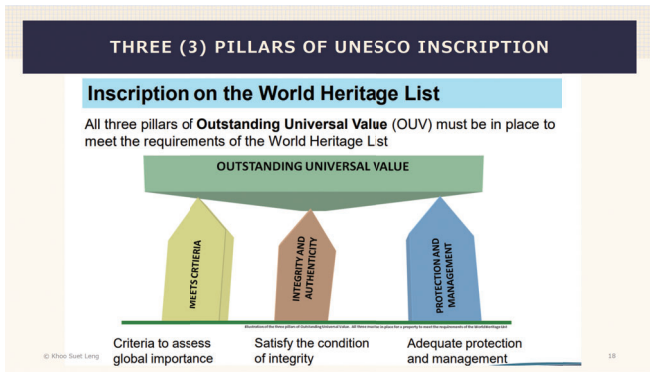
HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE APPROACH

Conservation of historic urban areas should integrate the **symbiotic co-existence** of these relationships:

- UNESCO Historic Urban Landscape Approach (2011)
- Relationship between **TANGIBLE heritage + INTANGIBLE heritage**
- Relationship between **Historic Urban Areas + Cultural Diversity + Social Inclusion + Climate Change**

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Now, this is an extremely significant slide. What next after inscription? Of the 10 criteria, only one criterion should be met to be on the list and then AI, authenticity and integrity of the site should be safeguarded. Post-UNESCO is where the protection and management initiatives and plans become significant.

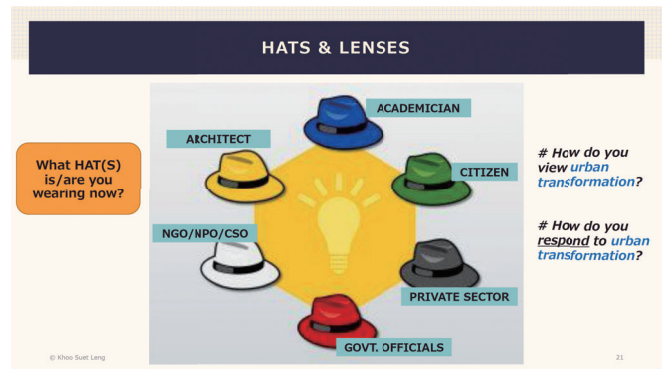


Alongside these are the current SDGs. The urban dimension, as we know, is SDG number 11, and within that is 11.4, to strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage. Thus, the SDG and its notion of being inclusive implies to leave no one behind, that is, equality and non-discrimination. Some key concerns in the context of sustainable heritage conservation are: is it shared or is it common heritage? What about cultural diversity and inclusion, to include whose culture, cultural rights, cultural democratisation, cultural erosion, and the dilution (of culture) if you have war, for example, what is happening in Hamas now, cultural evacuation, and essentially, whose culture are we talking about here.

Key concerns in the context of SUSTAINABLE HERITAGE CONSERVATION related to:

- Shared/common heritage?
- Cultural diversity?
- Cultural inclusion?
- Cultural rights?
- Cultural democratization?
- Cultural erosion/dilution?
- Cultural evacuation?
- Whose culture?

I believe that this is extremely important. I have intentionally included this. What hats and lenses are you wearing? How do you view urban transformations? As each of us, whether one is an academic, a practitioner, representing civil society or the private sector, one would respond to urban transformation differently. Hence, I ask you, what hat/hats are you wearing, and what are your lenses? How do you view and respond to urban transformation?



Therefore, in today's world it is important to shift the urban governance model from simply a triple helix to quadruple helix, and then to a quintuple helix model, which includes the public, private, academia, civil society, media and culture realm, and natural environment. I will discuss this in my last slide.

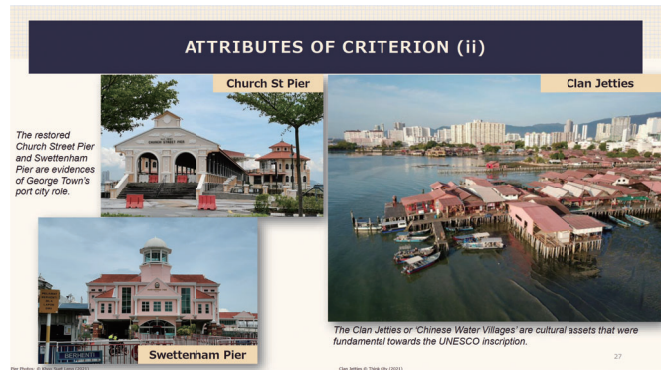
Context of George Town World Heritage Site

So, now I will introduce the context, George Town World Heritage Site. For those of you who have not had the opportunity to visit George Town, I hope I can bring George Town to you with my presentation. This is the, George Town World Heritage Site. George Town and Melaka were jointly inscribed as UNESCO World Heritage Site on 7 July 2008. This is the island of Penang and at the tip is George Town. This is the core area. In the UNESCO language, it is also known as property. This is, property or the core zone, which is 109.38 hectares and is protected by a buffer zone, which is 150 hectares. This site was inscribed because it fulfilled Criteria, 2, 3, and 4 belonging to the cultural heritage category. Collectively, this site has 5,013 historic buildings, both in the core and the buffer areas.

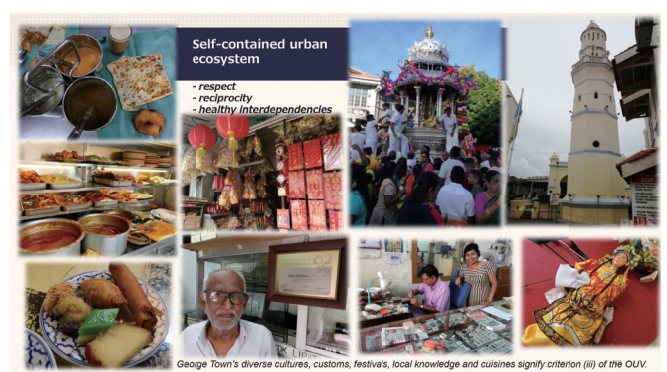
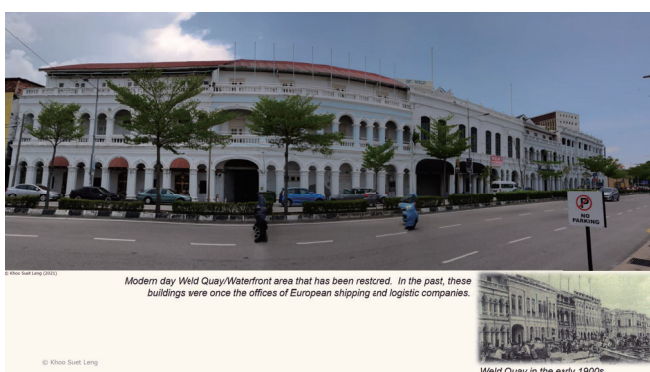
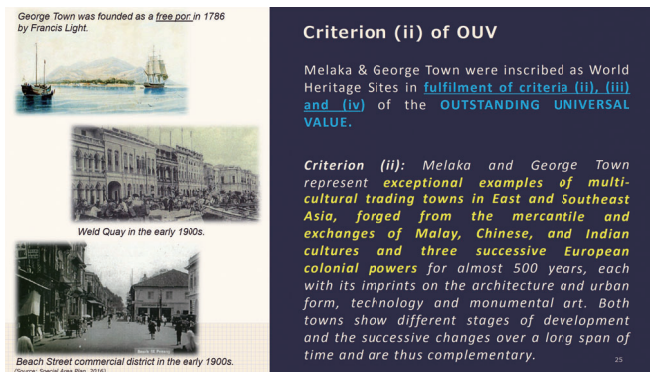


Let us examine the statement of significance. This is Criterion 2 because Melaka and George Town, are both historic port cities.

George Town was founded by Francis Light in 1786. In the early days, the Weld Quay area was like that and this is the Beach Street Commercial Financial Area in George Town. This is a modern-day waterfront area that has been restored. In the past, these buildings were once the offices of European Shipping and Logistic Companies. It makes sense because we are a historic port city. Thus, the European logistic, transportation, shipping companies, such as Behn Meyer Building used to operate their offices in these buildings back in those days. You can see here the attributes of Criterion 2, the restored Church Street Pier and Swettenham Pier are evidences of George Town's Port City status and the famous Clan Jetties or the water villages, the Chew Jetty and Tan Jetty as examples.



Criterion 3 would be Melaka and George Town as living testimony to the multicultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, which includes different faiths, ethnic quarters, different languages, festivals, dances, costumes, and food. This picture says it all. George Town is actually a self-contained urban ecosystem. There is mutual respect, reciprocity, and healthy interdependence among the pluralistic and multicultural communities here. Thus, the customs, festivals, ethnic enclaves, and our gastronomy, all collectively fulfil Criterion 3.



I would like to draw your attention to the Street of Harmony. Formerly known as Pitt Street, now Jalan Masjid Kapitan Keling, whereby within 800 meters, there are actually four different religious institutions located on the same street. At the corner here is the Saint George's Church, and at some distance is the Kuan Im Teng or the Goddess of Mercy Temple, then the Sri Mahamariamman

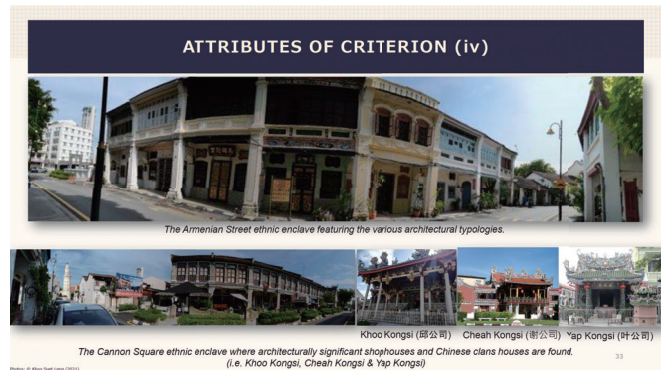
Indian Temple, and then Kapitan Keling Mosque. These are all Category 1 buildings, that is, they are more than 100 years old.

Finally, Criterion 4 is the built heritage, which refers to the ensemble of shophouses and townhouses. If you take a stroll in our world heritage site, you can see that the façade of our shop houses generally fit into this typology of six types of shop house architectural styles. A shop house literally means that on the ground floor, in the olden days, they operated their shop or commercial activities, and used the upper level for residential purposes. However, in modern times, there is change of use and this shophouse connotation is no longer applicable. With respect to building categorisation, we have Category 1 and 2 buildings, and then infill as well as replacement.

Criterion (iv) of OUV
Criterion (iv): Melaka and George Town reflect a mixture of influences which have created a unique architecture, culture and townscape without parallel anywhere in East and South Asia. In particular, they demonstrate an exceptional range of shophouses and townhouses. These buildings show many different types and stages of development of the building type, some originating in the Dutch or Portuguese periods.

BUILDING CATEGORISATION:
 a) Category 1
 b) Category 2
 c) Infill
 d) Replacement

Thus, this is the scene at George Town heritage site. The different shop houses based on the six architectural typology that I presented, and this is the famous boutique hotel, Seven Terraces, that opened doors after UNESCO listing. This is the Armenian Street ethnic enclave area featuring shop houses with various architectural styles. This area is also known as the special zone because it has the highest concentration of OUV and Category 1 buildings. Thus, this slide explains criterion 4 of the OUV.



Urban Heritage Conservation in GTWHS

Let us examine some of the planning mechanisms and special purpose vehicles after the UNESCO listing. In terms of regulations and laws, once the site is listed as a UNESCO heritage site, at the international level it is governed by the Operational Guidelines outlined by UNESCO. At the national level, in Malaysia, it is regulated by the National Heritage Act (NHA) 2005. Simultaneously, we subscribe to both approaches of conservation, the western as well as the eastern. The western approaches to conservation would include the Venice Charter 1965, ICOMOS Burra Charter, and the eastern approaches are the Nara Document on Authenticity as well as the Hoi An Protocols.

PLANNING & MANAGEMENT MECHANISMS

INTERNATIONAL	NATIONAL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention UNESCO INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLD CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE WORLD HERITAGE CENTRE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> WESTERN APPROACHES TO CONSERVATION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Venice Charter 1965 ICOMOS Burra Charter 2013 EASTERN APPROACHES TO CONSERVATION <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nara Document on Authenticity 1994 Hoi An Protocols for Best Conservation Practice in Asia 2009
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> LAW OF MALAYSIA REPORT Act 645 NATIONAL HERITAGE ACT 2005 Incorporating all amendments up to 1 June 2006

Guidelines and laws that provide the existing framework for protection and conservation of George Town World Heritage Site.

More importantly, at the state and local level, well I like to call it the 'bible', under Section 16(B) of the Town and Country Planning Act, there is provision for the preparation of a Special Area Plan (SAP), where this document also acts as the conservation management plan as required by UNESCO. This document, includes all the matters related to land use zoning control, land use zone, development zone, building use, activity zone, density control, plot ratios, and building height control. For instance, you cannot build more than 18 metres.

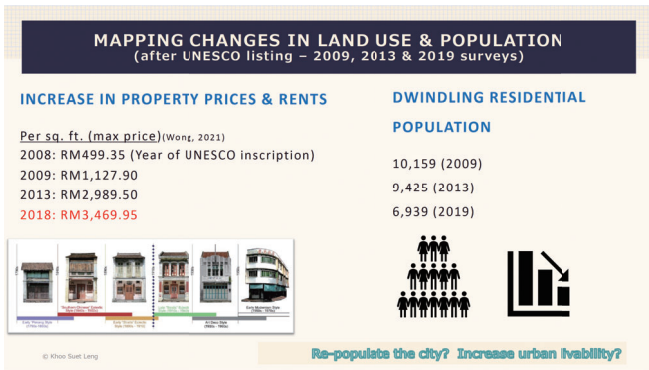
Moreover, the philosophy that underpins it, the conservation principles, the significance of a place, particularly the AI aspects - authenticity and integrity of the heritage site. Thus, the SAP, the 'bible' as I mentioned, has many plans, and among them, an important one would be the activity zones, spelling out the permissible and non-permissible activities in the heritage site.

Post-UNESCO Urban Transformations

Let us examine urban transformations that occurred after UNESCO listing in 2008. Think City conducted a mapping of the site in 2009, the year after inscription, and again in 2019; you can see the changes after 10 years. In 2009, the economic base at that time was finance, banking, transport; in 2019, it shifted to hospitality and tourism. Hence, in 2019, hotel increased by 190%, which is a substantial increase; and restaurants and bars by 74%, akin to 230 establishments, and then a marked increase in arts, culture, and craft outlets by 97%.

After UNESCO-listing, there was inception of three new entities. First was Think City, which is an urban regeneration think tank to implement the George Town Transformation Program and Grants Program. Second was George Town World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI), which serves as the state heritage agency and also the World Heritage Office. Thus, it is also the de facto custodian and site manager of the World Heritage Site. Third was the Heritage Conservation Department parked under the Penang Island City Council (local authority). These were the three key entities that were established after the UNESCO listing.

Additionally, the increase in property prices and rents which used to be RM499 per square foot, but after the inscription it increased significantly. By 2018, it was already RM3,469 per square foot. However, lesser people are now living in the World Heritage Site. What does this mean for living heritage? As Saori mentioned, if there is a heritage site that has nobody to live there, it defeats its entire purpose.



How do we repopulate the city to increase urban liveability? The heritage shops and houses became like a cash cow overnight after the UNESCO inscription. Thus, foreigners, the Singaporeans particularly, began to 'invade' pre-existing properties in Penang, with rental prices skyrocketing, and their value continues to rise even as we speak now.



Moreover, there is the emerging street art movement. The year after inscription, the Penang state government initiated a street art project 'Marking George Town'. There are 52 storytelling caricatures around the World Heritage Site, and there is a brochure that illustrates them. Since 2010, the George Town Festival, a month-long arts festival was organised, which is now reduced to two weeks in every July-August to celebrate the UNESCO inscription, together with the George Town celebrations. In 2012, as part of George Town festival events, the Mirrors George Town project was added in a series of state commissioned murals.



One extremely famous one is in Armenian Street; two children on the bicycle. You can see all the tourists lining up to take a picture of this. I am not sure whether Saori Sensei took a picture of this. The murals were painted by Lithuanian street artist, Earnest Zacharevic, and it went viral overnight and captured global attention thus attracting many tourists the whole year round.

In 2018, that is before the COVID-19 pandemic, there was already a large influx of tourists and the mushrooming of tourist related businesses at the heritage site. This is the tour guide here and the number of tourists visiting the heritage site. In 2019, after the listing, there was a marked presence and growth in new businesses, boutique hotels, bars, and new cultures. Can you imagine many cafe bistros selling western breakfast here? Best breakfast in town, open face, avocado sandwiches, French crepes at the World Heritage Site supplied by many bistros and bars. No doubt, in 2019, the murals on the walls around

the heritage site added to the charm and attracted many tourists to the site.



Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic

During the pandemic, I had the privilege to be part of a project to examine the impact of the pandemic. At that time, it was extremely challenging to conduct research. We conducted an online survey followed by face-to-face survey whenever possible. The survey had only 207 participants. Thus, it is only indicative of the pulse of changes and impacts owing to the COVID-19 pandemic. By the way, the breakdown of ethnicity actually corresponds to the ethnic groups in the World Heritage Site.

COVID-19: CHANGES & IMPACTS (2020 – 2021)

METHODOLOGY: Mixed method (online survey, f2f survey, interviews)
Online survey: 1- 30 July 2021 (1 month) **F2F survey:** 10-13 October 2021

Table 1: Survey participants for study

ETHNICITY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE OF ETHNIC GROUPS FROM THE SURVEY (%)	COMPOSITION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN GEORGE TOWN (%)
Malay	65	31%	32%
Chinese	117	57%	53%
Indian	23	11%	9%
Others	2	1%	6%
TOTAL	207	100%	100%

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We examined the impacts of the pandemic based on three criteria. The first was based on Criterion 2. As you can see here, severe reductions in customer sales threatened the survival of traditional businesses. At that time, reduction in port activities and cruise services also led some businesses and activities to disappear. Thus, these two impacts were significant. Traditional businesses were also closing owing to prolonged Movement Control Order (MCO), which is the Malaysian version of the lockdown.

IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON CRITERION (ii) OF GTWHS

In your opinion, which of the following is/are the impact(s) of Covid-19 to criterion (ii) of George Town?	Frequency	Percentage
# No impact	3	1
# Traditional businesses are closing due to prolonged MCO.	143	69
# Traditional businesses are suffering losses but still surviving.	133	64
# Severe reductions in customers/sales threaten the survival of traditional businesses.	150	72
# Using online platforms during lockdown is insufficient to sustain traditional businesses.	93	45
# Reduction in port activities & cruise tourists will cause some business/activity to disappear (e.g., trishaws, cruise tour agencies)	149	72

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The impact on criterion 3, reportedly the highest, was the fear of loss of cultural and heritage tourism. What does it say when the locals are concerned on this tourism aspect here? Considering criterion 4, the findings revealed the intention to restore heritage buildings was put on hold, causing buildings to deteriorate. Clearly, at that point in time, the tangible, which are the buildings, would be of least concerned. Thus, of the three criteria, criteria 2 and 3 were given more emphasis, compared to the historic buildings (criterion 4). People did not have money, hence, they would put that (conservation of buildings) aside first.

IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON CRITERION (III) OF GTWHS

Following the lockdowns, several activities such as religious/cultural festivals and prayer congregation were curtailed. In your opinion, how have these restrictions impacted criterion (ii)(multi-cultural heritage)?	Frequency	Percentage
# No impact	27	13
# Practices of traditional prayer rites & rituals may phase out and gradually disappear.	96	46
# Supply for prayer requisites is negatively affected & may disappear.	75	36
# Supply for prayer requisites is negatively affected but will survive.	96	46
# Reduction in the business of traditional traders/artisans will put their businesses at risk of extinction.	116	56
# Loss of cultural and heritage tourism.	121	58

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IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON CRITERION (IV) OF GTWHS

Following the lockdowns, how have these restrictions impacted criterion (iv) (heritage shop houses)?	Frequency	Percentage
# No impact.	19	9
# Periodic maintenance of heritage buildings takes a backseat causing buildings to deteriorate.	110	53
# The intention to restore heritage buildings is put on hold causing buildings to deteriorate.	118	57
# Funding/sponsorship for conservation is now on low priority.	108	52
# Investment/demand for heritage shophouses has reduced.	109	53
# Investment/demand for heritage shophouses has increased.	27	13

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Post-COVID, in April 2024, I recently visited the site again. These are the existing traditional trades that continue to survive at the heritage site along the Beach Street area, the warehouses. This is the Lebuah Aceh Malay Mosque area. Many of the shop houses there have been adaptively reused to become food and beverages (F&B) enterprises catering to tourists and locals alike.

EXISTING TRADITIONAL TRADES

April 2024



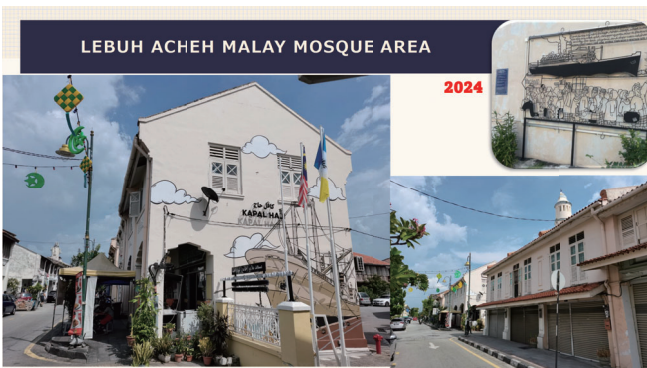
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Some existing trading enterprises & warehouses along Beach Street.

53

LEBUAH ACHEH MALAY MOSQUE AREA

2024



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LEBUH ACHEH MALAY MOSQUE AREA

2024



Shophouses along Lebuah Aceh area.

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This is the Little India area, which retains its charm and functionality and attracts considerable number of people from the Indian community to obtain their groceries and other household items. I mean...essentially, this is the place they visit for their shopping. You can see the pots and pans, that they can buy from Little India imported all the way from India. Additionally, it has many jewellery, textile, and fashion shops too.

April 2024



LITTLE INDIA

April 2024



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Traditional stalls selling snacks & teatime delicacies in Little India.

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Interestingly, the traditional streetside stalls selling snacks and teatime delicacies, like the famous Vadai and Samosa, in Little India have survived. This stall is the Indian equivalent of 7/11, although it is extremely small, it appears to have everything that you need, similar to the 7/11.

Let us look at Chinatown. This is Chinatown, the Campbell Street area, this is the view from Penang Road looking into Campbell Street. In the front here, we have these traditional biscuits, that are being sold in a refurbished shophouse with a modern look. These are attempts to infuse innovation and modern methods into the production of traditional goods.



In the heyday during the 1980s and the 1990s, the Campbell Street area used to be the place for retail activities. Whether one required school bag or textile, one would go there. However, with the growth of shopping malls, these places are now less popular and they are akin to sunset industries. However, there remain a few surviving luggage shops operating in Campbell Street. This is the view of Campbell Street area. Walk-in business is rather slow here nowadays. After the pandemic when I visited the area, many of the shops have not opened, maybe they would have pivoted to digitalisation and online platforms.



This is the Toh Soon Heritage Cafe in one of the alleys in Campbell Street area – this small café is extremely famous. The famous Kim Haus, formerly a jewellery store that has been adaptively reused again as a cafe bistro. From jewellery, it had become a cafe bistro. Thus, there are positive changes such as the creation of more public spaces, revitalisation of back lanes, side lanes in the World Heritage Area, because of the City Council of Penang Island and other initiatives. As Saori mentioned, linking people and place.



Thus, if you take a walk around the heritage site, you can also see all these. Maybe, it is because we have too much of these that is why people love the site so much. This used to be a dirty, dark back lane, however, look at it today, a successful placemaking initiative, by upgrading back lanes to become cleaner, safer, and more accessible. This is what I observed when I visited the site in February 2024.

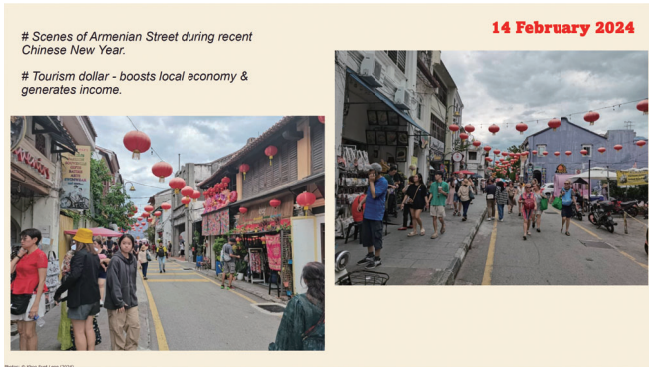


February 2024

Extensive **PLACEMAKING** initiatives

Upgrading of back lanes to be cleaner, safer & accessible

This was during Chinese New Year, when the tourists were here to visit the Armenian Street. This brings the tourism dollar. It boosts local economy and generates income for the local community, which is good. However, as scholars, we view it critically. There are many souvenir shops all over the heritage site selling souvenirs, particularly fridge magnets, along Armenian Street.



14 February 2024

Scenes of Armenian Street during recent Chinese New Year.

Tourism dollar - boosts local economy & generates income.

Mushrooming of souvenir shops all over the heritage site, especially Armenian Street enclave.

What kinds of tourists do we attract?

- here to fulfill bucket list - "Been here (George Town), done that!"
- here for fridge magnets, t-shirts & hawkler food!
- here because the cruise ship stopover & I don't have a choice but to disembark!

Provoke QUESTIONS?

Volume vs Value? # Quality vs Quantity?

14 February 2024

What types of tourists do we attract actually? Are they here to fulfil the bucket list, meaning to say that I have been to George Town, been there and done that. Are they here only for fridge magnets, t-shirts, and hawkler food, or are they here because the cruise ship stopped over and they do not have a choice but to come down? It provokes the question of 'volume versus value', 'quality of tourists versus quantity'. Do we want to have many tourists who simply visit and buy one or two fridge magnets and return? These are the issues that we have to contemplate.

This is recently in April 2024, last month. The Cannon Square area heading towards the Malay Mosque area. You can see these rows of trishaws waiting for tourists, particularly those from the cruise ship. The locals do not use these trishaw services, only the tourists use these services. Thus, the key tourism spot would be the intersection of Armenian Street and the Canon Square area.



April 2024

Cannon Square area heading towards Masjid Melayu Lebuah Acheh enclave.

Rows of trishaws waiting for tourists, especially those from the cruise ships.

KEY TOURISM SPOT
Intersection of Armenian Street & Cannon Square

April 2024

Additionally, I would like to draw your attention to the rise of 'third spaces' as new cultural creative hubs. Thus, from historic and rustic Kopitiam or coffee shops, we have many of these with artisanal coffee places, and if you look closely at the menu, it is actually serving Western coffee. Americano, cappuccino, and latte. I too visit the new wave of coffee shops. You can see here, Western-style cafes selling cakes, waffles, and ice creams. This is also in April 2024, last month, when I visited the heritage site.





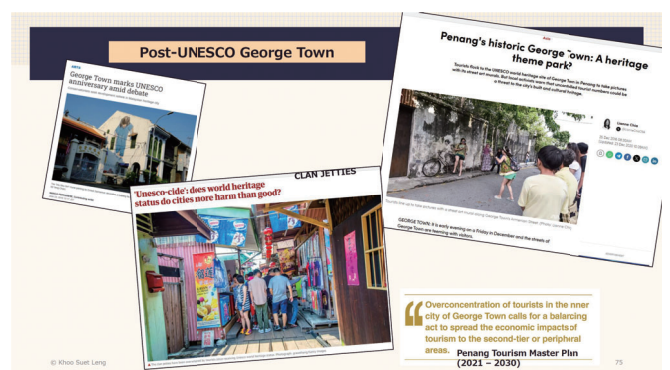
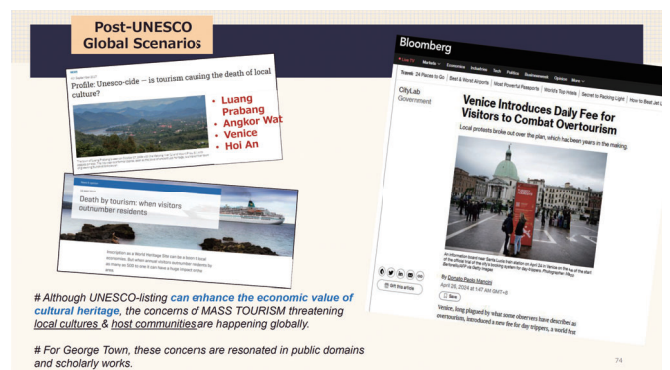
Thus, we find an infusion of new cultures, Western-styled coffee and Middle Eastern sweets and desserts along Armenian Street, including the baklava. These are actually Thai words. For a moment, I was somewhat confused, am I in George Town or am I in Pattaya or Hat Yai, or somewhere in Thailand? Thus, we find new cultures infiltrating into the World Heritage Site these days.



Hence, post-UNESCO listing, I can say that although UNESCO listing can enhance the economic value of cultural heritage, the concerns of mass tourism, threatening local cultures and host communities are occurring globally. It is not unique to George Town alone. For George Town per se, these concerns are also resonated in public domains. Hence, I want to show you other UNESCO cities, such as Luang Prabang, Angkor Wat, Venice, Hoi An; again, the word 'UNESCO-cide' in

the headlines of foreign news. Is tourism causing the death of local culture?

Death by tourism; this is in Venice. Can you imagine when visitors outnumber residents? You have more tourists than the local residents! That is why Venice recently had to introduce a daily fee for visitors to combat overtourism. What is happening in UNESCO George Town? This debate has been ongoing. We have also asked in the news, is it 'UNESCO-cide'? Does the World Heritage status cause more harm than good to cities? Are we willing to change our heritage site to become a heritage theme park? Like how the children on the mural along Armenian Street has attracted tonnes of tourists.



All these concerns are not only in the news, but are also captured in the Penang tourism master plan. This verbatim quote that I extracted from the tourism master plan. "Overconcentration of tourists in the inner city of George Town calls for a balancing act to spread the economic impacts of tourism to the second-tier of peripheral areas." It implies that the tourists should be brought to other areas of the island as well such as Balik Pulau and others.

Post-COVID, Penang recorded arrival of nearly 7 million passengers in 2023, an increase of 64.5%. Penang state has only 1.7-1.8 million population, however, we had 7 million passengers after COVID. News headlines like 'Penang records rapid increase in cruise tourism, says the state exco' and 'Penang tourist attractions record over

27,000 visitors last week after interstate travel resumes' are evidences to show the vibrancy of Penang's tourism sector. Thus, we can see how popular Penang is, particularly the World Heritage Site.



Academic research, including my own work, has examined aspects related to inclusion, poverty, among others. Considering the constraint of time, you can read my papers on these aspects if you are interested to find out more. Dr. Gwyneth Jenkin's book on contested space examines how spaces are used, reproduced, and renegotiated. Further to that, other concerns are related to the concept of carrying capacity, which pillar(s) of the sustainable urban development should be prioritised, value versus volume, quantity versus quality, and the state market nexus towards cultural sustainability.



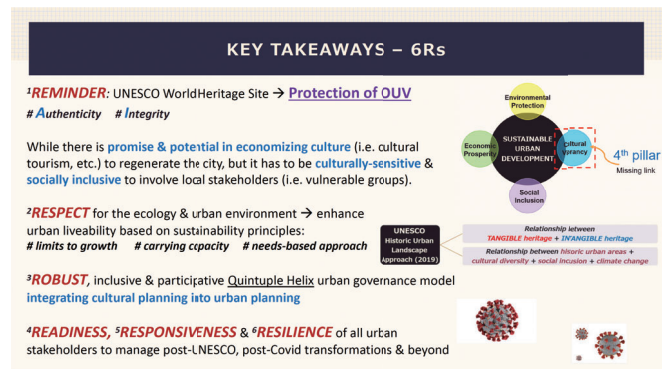
Reflections on Urban Transformation & Cultural Sustainability

Thus, I would like to request the audiences to ponder and reflect on urban transformation and cultural sustainability. How do we showcase all the offerings in novel or refreshing and creative innovative ways to ensure that the cultural sustainability is not compromised? We must know that we are a city, and we are not static. Therefore, we need to also embrace new methods of innovation and creativity. How do we showcase all these old offerings in innovative ways? How do we attract a steadier stream of local consumers instead of heavy

reliance on foreign tourists at UNESCO heritage sites?

The COVID has taught us an important lesson. The moment the tourists stopped arriving, it was like a dead town. Hence, all the local vendors could not survive. How do heritage sites be more socially inclusive and ensure 'the right of the city' principle is upheld at UNESCO World Heritage Sites, particularly for local communities and vulnerable groups? How do we ensure that the World Heritage Sites are not pushed to the limits considering climate change challenges? These key concepts of threshold, carrying capacity, and ecological footprint are important and need to be factored into the equation for cultural sustainability.

Now, I will present the last slide on key takeaways. I hope that audiences can remember these '6Rs'. An important reminder here. Hence, to be listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, OUV and AI, authenticity and integrity, are significant. I argue here that while there is promise and potential in economising culture through cultural heritage tourism to regenerate the city, it has to be culturally sensitive and socially inclusive to involve local stakeholders, particularly the vulnerable groups. We should also have respect for the ecology and urban environment to enhance urban liveability based on sustainability principles.



We need to acknowledge limits to growth, carrying capacity, and advocate for a needs-based approach. Whose needs are we talking about? In terms of governance, we need to have a robust, inclusive, and participative quintuple helix model where all stakeholders are involved to ensure inclusive and effective urban governance. Do you remember that urban governance model that I showed you when integrating cultural planning into urban planning? Finally, your city, your urban space, your urban sphere has to be ready, responsive, and resilient for all the stakeholders to manage post-UNESCO, post-COVID

transformations, and beyond. I thank you for your time and kind attention.

Saori Kashiara:

Thank you, Suet Leng Sensei, for your wide-ranging topics of presentation. We now have 16 participants, and for those who joined later, please keep your questions for the discussion session.

Introduction of Hanoi Ancient Quarter

Now, I would like to discuss the Hanoi Ancient Quarter and its modern craft streets as living cultural tradition. My topic is more of a detailed case study of the ancient quarter and related to living cultural tradition. Hanoi is about an attractive city, which I have repeatedly visited for a decade.

Hanoi is the capital of Vietnam and located in the northern part of the country; and has a wide-ranging area, however, the central area is around here. Here is a quick history of the city. Hanoi was under the Chinese rule for 900 years and in 1010, the city became the capital of Vietnam. Thereafter, the feudal period continued for approximately 800 years. However, at the end of the 19th century, the French colonial rule began and lasted for approximately 60 years. After gaining independence in 1954, the socialist regime began, which was a significant turning point because it changed both the country’s economic and distribution systems. During the Vietnam War between 1960 and 1975, the country was split into the north and south and they fought against each other. However, in 1976, the country was unified. Another significant turning point is the introduction of reform policy in 1986, which introduced free economy instead of planned-economy. That was a quick history. I hope you now know that the city has undergone many turning points.



My research site is called Hanoi Ancient Quarter, and

this is an aerial photograph of the central part of Hanoi. The Hanoi Ancient Quarter stretches between the Red River in the east and the Citadel area where the imperial court used to be situated. Across a small lake in the south, the French Quarter was developed during the colonial period. Being such a historical site, the conservation regulation was imposed since 1993. Although not a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the Ancient Quarter was designated as a national heritage in 2004.



A key feature is the craft streets or trade streets where the traders selling the same commodities cluster in each street. For example, shops on this street sell Buddhist art fittings, while this street sells sewing materials, and this is metal objects street, and this street sells the festival goods and also the funerary objects. Thus, various craft streets characterise the Ancient Quarter.



A closer examination reveals that the Ancient Quarter resembles George Town. Moreover, they have different styles of shophouses depending on when they were

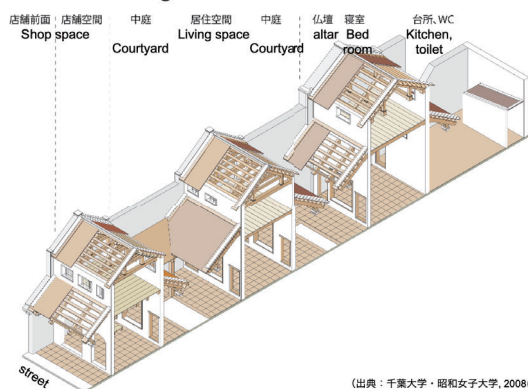
constructed. Hence, this is the traditional Vietnamese style, and these two in the middle demonstrate European styles that were adopted during the colonial period. Another feature of the shophouse in this area is traditional ‘tube houses’, reflecting their narrow and long shapes.



This is the spatial structure of this traditional tube house. Similar to other Asian shop houses, several buildings in the area aligned from the street side, punctuated by inner courtyards. These courtyards are for ventilation and natural lighting. While the front space was used for shops, people lived on the upper floors and at the back of the tube houses. However, nowadays, most of the tube houses have been modified. In many cases, these are converted into collective housing. For example, 10 families are living in this tube house. Thus, the Ancient Quarter is really crowded.

Traditional ‘Tubehouse’

- Spatial structure is a target of conservation



(出典：千葉大学・昭和女子大学, 2008に加筆)

Changes Surrounding the Hanoi Ancient Quarter

From here, I will go through the changes surrounding the Ancient Quarter based on my observation. While there are many streets, some are already heavily touristified. Therefore, not all streets appear similar to those I presented now; in these cases, we can see many hotels and restaurants and travel agencies in some streets.

Actually, a scholar demonstrated that hotels tend to be on higher stories, restaurants tend to be repainted to eye-catching colours, and travel agencies are likely to place large billboards.

Some Streets are Heavily Touristified



Although there is conservation regulation, in many cases, it is not really observed. In addition to the conventional tourism industries, I could find many bars, pubs, nightclubs, spas, tattoo, and piercing studios as a new type of tourism or nighttime economies. One prominent case of touristified street is called Ta Hien Street.

Bar, pub, nightclub, spa, tattoo, piercing studio



Thus, these are the impacts of tourism. Moreover, the nighttime economies have a significant impact on the landscape. I believe that these spas and nighttime economies have increased after the pandemic. You can observe the vividly coloured façade in these photographs. The regulation states that the colour schemes should match the traditional colour schemes, however, it is not adhered to. Further, the height of the buildings should be one to three stories in the street facing buildings, however, there are many violations.

Night-time Economies have High Impact on Landscape



2017



2022

Post-covid, spa and NTEs seem to have increased...

Touristification does not impact the street side alone, but also the street blocks inside. For example, this street is known as a high status, clothes wholesaler street. However, it was surprising to see a hotel here. In this photograph, you can observe a clothes shop, but actually it is the reception of a hotel. Similarly, I observed craft beer bar opening in the upper floor. Therefore, tourism not only impacts the street facing shops, but it is also penetrating into this area.

Penetration of Tourism into Street Blocks

- High status clothes wholesaler street
- Café, craft beer bar, hotel, gallery



Another significant impact is gentrification, which occurred before the COVID-19 pandemic. As Suet Leng Sensei stated regarding George Town, highly priced Western-styled coffee shops opened here as well. These photographs were taken before the pandemic and now they are all gone, however, similar types of coffee shops are appearing in the Ancient Quarter. They are not only targeting tourists, but also the local people in Hanoi. I would emphasise here that probably it is not the local community people in the neighbourhood, but people coming from other parts of Hanoi. Therefore, these types of shops may impact the lives of the people of the local community.

Gentrified Cafés/restaurants are Appearing



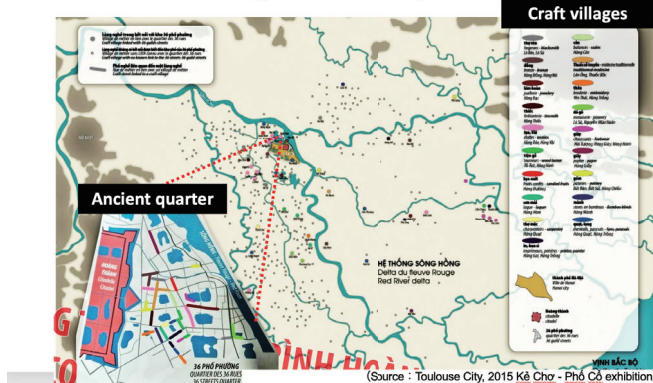
Case Study of Hang Thiec Street: A Craft Street as a Living Cultural Tradition

This was an introduction about the changes occurring in the Ancient Quarter. Now, I will discuss the craft street as living cultural tradition, referring to the case of Hang Thiec Street. As mentioned, the craft street is an important feature of the Ancient Quarter. Now, I will discuss the history of the Ancient Quarter specifically. The origin of the craft streets was the guild streets, which were connected with craft villages. As suggested in its location, the Ancient Quarter began as the supply centre for the adjacent palace area.

I will talk more about the connection between craft villages and streets. This map demonstrates Hanoi and its surrounding area and these dots are craft villages. In these villages, most villagers are engaged in manufacturing the same products. Thus, these are artisans' villages, and each village has their speciality products. Hence, these villagers cum artisans arrived at the urban area after the court was situated.

Origin of the HAQ is Guild Streets Connected with Craft Villages

- Started as supply centre for the palace area
 - Artisans from craft villages → Formation of guilds → Streets were opened



After they arrived here, they settled by village and

formed guilds, and streets were opened through the guild settlements. Today, the memory of guilds can be observed in the street names. Therefore, this map presents the street name categories, and the red ones are the trade or product names. For example, Hang Chieu Street means rush mat street, and Hang Giay Street means shoe street. Originally, 50 streets had the street name as the product or trade names, suggesting the guild origins.

Memory of Guilds is Evident in Street Names

- Original Street names
 - **Red:** trade/product names (50 streets)
 - **Blue:** location name (15 streets)
 - **Black:** names of heroes (14 streets)



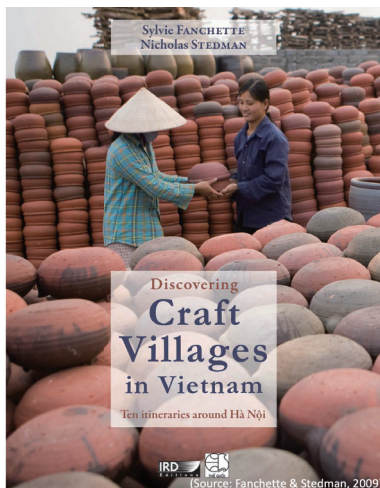
The connection between craft village and street is crucial in understanding the ICH value of the Ancient Quarter. When the villagers arrived at the urban area, they also brought their traditional craft skills and their belief system. Therefore, the guilds used to play the key role in inheriting these traditional craft skills with connection to craft villages together with the social customs and their festival rituals. Moreover, they acted as a quality controller of their guild products. It was not a one-way ticket from craft village to craft street, but after they moved into Ancient Quarter, they maintained their connection with the craft villages. This is evident in the homecoming at the festival occasion in the village.

Craft Village

- Guilds used to play the key role in inheriting traditional craft skills with connection to craft villages



- 1954: Socialisation → guilds were disbanded



This was the original story. However, in 1954, when the North Vietnam was socialised, the guilds were disbanded because all the production and distribution were controlled by the national government. That was a crucial turning point for craft streets, and I created these maps to determine how the craft streets were maintained or dissolved. Based on bibliographical materials and statistical documents, these depict streets where trade clusters were observed or identified. The grey lines denote the streets with some type of trade clusters.

As the maps depict, the trading style of selling or manufacturing in cluster survived despite the socialisation in 1954, when the guilds were disbanded. Here I have the question: How did the clusters survive when there was no basic community to continue the trade cluster? Thereafter, I considered the possibility that the craft street is the system. There seems a type of system working to maintain the area's identity while they were evolving. In this way, the craft streets can be considered as a dynamic ICH. In 2013, the Hanoi City designated seven traditional craft streets as ICH that continue to have manufacturing activities, which are depicted by the dotted lines demonstrated here.

7 Traditional Craft Streets were Designated as ICH

- 2013: Hanoi City designated 7 traditional craft streets as CH that still have manufacturing activities
- Among them, as of 2023, **only 4** streets maintain manufacturing
- Past surveys focused on traditional products, and **not modernised** ones

Legend: Traditional craft streets (dotted lines)

Scale: 0, 50m, 100m, 200m

(Source: Compiled from Hanoi Ancient Quarter Architectural Planning Regulation No. 6398/QĐ-UBND)

Although they were designated as ICH in 2013, after a decade, only four of those seven actually maintain manufacturing activities. Past surveys on craft streets focused on the traditional products such as Chinese herb shop street called Lan Ong Street, and the traditional jewellery street called Hang Bac Street. Clearly, Chinese herbs and these jewellery are traditional crafts. However, to my understanding, the other two streets highlighted in yellow have not been surveyed in detail.



Traditional products: Chinese herb shops in Lan Ong St



• Traditional products: Jewellers in Hàng Bạc Street (silver)

Among the non-surveyed streets, these two streets continue to have manufacturing activity of metal products. These two streets were not surveyed possibly because they no longer produce 'traditional' crafts but produce modernised crafts. Hence, I decided to conduct a detailed survey of this street, known as Hang Thiec Street. This street produces and sells modernised metal products.



• Modernised metal products in Hàng Thiếc Street (Tin)
 • Still keep metal manufacturing and connection with craft village
 • Colonial time: tin-plated objects: lamps, kettle, tray, tea pot (Nguyen, 2004)

The survey revealed that they maintained the connection with the craft village. During the colonial time, they made tin plated objects such as lamps, kettles, trays, and tea pots.

Further, the taxpayers list from the French colonial period recorded many tinsmiths on Hang Thiec Street.

I conducted the survey from 14 to 16 March 2024. Along the street are 68 buildings and 67 operating shops and workshops. Among the 67 shops, 53 shops (approximately 80%) were engaged in metal related businesses. Of the 53 shops, 12 only manufactured, 15 manufactured and engaged in wholesale/retail, and 26 only sold products.

Survey in Hang Thiec Street

- March 14-16, 2024
- 68 buildings, 67 shops/workshops
- 53 metal-related businesses (78%)
 - Manufacture-only: 12
 - Manufacture & wholesale/retail: 15
 - Sales only: 26
- Each shop has specialty
 - Cooking equipment (hotel, restaurant, household)
 - Cooking tools (strainers, etc.)
 - Document boxes
 - Joss paper burners
- 11 short-interviews



How do they do their businesses?

Each shop had their speciality products, however, most were cooking-related products such as kitchen equipment for hotels or restaurants and households. In addition, they produced and sold smaller products such as cooking tools including strainers or any metal objects that are used for cooking. Other popular products included document boxes, which was noted as rather new products. Another interesting product was Joss paper burner, which is used to burn the paper money as an offering to the dead people.

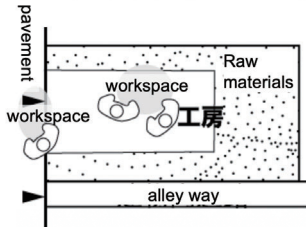
Spaces Related to Businesses on Hang Thiec Street

I conducted short interviews with 11 of these 53 metal related businesses. The key question was about how they conduct their business. These structured interviews involved questions regarding the business flow, where and how they conduct their businesses, and social networks within the street and the network with craft villages. I created this table for each interviewee using the data from the interviews. I will discuss a few to illustrate the activities of the Hang Thiec Street.

調査項目	業務工程	ヒアリング対象者の説明	凡例
店舗の広さ	①原料仕入れ ②存在感確保 ③加工場 ④仕分け場	①原料仕入れは必要に応じて、店舗外に設置する。②存在感確保は、店舗外に設置する。③加工場は、店舗内に設置する。④仕分け場は、店舗内に設置する。	① 完成品 ② 原料 ③ 廃品 ④ 加工品
店舗の用途	①原料仕入れ ②存在感確保 ③加工場 ④仕分け場	①原料仕入れは必要に応じて、店舗外に設置する。②存在感確保は、店舗外に設置する。③加工場は、店舗内に設置する。④仕分け場は、店舗内に設置する。	① 完成品 ② 原料 ③ 廃品 ④ 加工品
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The first business I illustrate is a workshop where they conduct only manufacturing. It was a family business, and the person I interviewed was the third generation in this shop. He does not live here, but commutes to Hang Thiec Street while his employees live on the upper floors. How do they conduct their business? This is a simple plan of the workshop space. Using the roughly 30m² workshop on the first floor and the pavement space, they produce cooking equipment for the restaurants and hotels. First, they buy the raw material and store it in the workshop space, then they accept orders from clients, draw specifications, manufacture the products, and ship them directly. Thus, this is the basic flow of their business.

Manufacture Only: How They Do Their Business (Case B)



1. Stocking raw material
2. Keeping raw material
3. Taking orders from client
4. Draw spec
5. Manufacture
6. Shipping & delivery

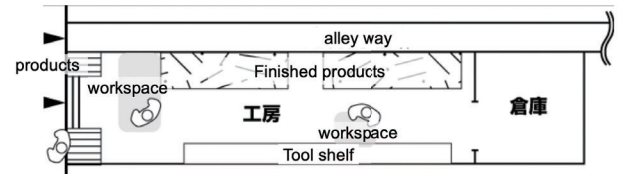
- In approx. 13m² workshop + on the pavement, they produce cooking equipment for restaurants and hotels.
- They use raw material wholesale company (on-demand delivery).
- Due to the limited space, they produce **small to mid-sized products** in the street. Large products are manufactured in their own factory in different place.
- **Not too large products** are delivered using **bike taxis**.

As they do not have any storage space but only this workshop, they order materials from a raw material wholesale company as required. I learned from other interviewees that this particular wholesale company is extremely useful and convenient because the manufacturers can simply place a call when they need materials, and they will be delivered. It is similar to an on-demand delivery system. Owing to the limited space in the workshop on the street, they produce small- to medium-sized products on the street, and large products

are manufactured in their own factory at a different location. I could not identify this location, however, it shows they use different manufacturing bases according to the product size. Another interesting feature is that not-too-large products are delivered using bike taxis. Actually, many shops use bike taxis for logistics.

The second business I illustrate is engaged in both manufacturing and sales. Thus, this shop is also run as a family business. The interviewee was the third generation and his family also lives in the same building. The workshop space was slightly larger than that of the former. It was around 32m², and they produce cooking equipment for businesses and households. They also order their materials from a raw material wholesale company similar to the previous example. Regarding the business flow, they buy the raw material and store them, then accept orders from clients, draw specifications, and manufacture on site or place orders for manufacturing to different manufacturing bases, as required. After the products are ready, the final steps are shipping and delivery.

Manufacture & Sales: How They Do Their Business (Case D)

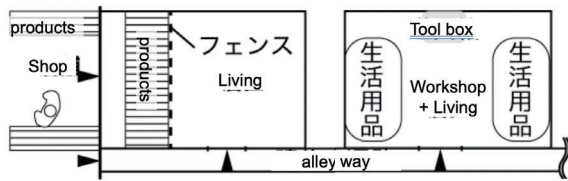


1. Stocking raw material
 2. Keeping raw material
 3. Taking orders from client
 4. Drawing spec
 5. Put order for manufacture
 6. Manufacture
 7. Shipping & delivery
- Workshop is about 32m², and they produce cooking equipment for business and household.
 - They use raw material wholesale company.
 - Within the street, they **take orders from other shops**.
 - They have **family worship house in Tay Mo** craft village.

Regarding the networks, this shop had a network both within the street and with the craft village. Within the street, they accept orders from other shops, indicating that there is some business relationship within the street. Moreover, the families of this shop have their family worship house in a craft village called Tay Mo, and they sometimes go back to the Tay Mo Village. Thus, I could identify that they have a blood connection with their craft village.

The third example I discuss is a shop engaged in both manufacture and sales. This too was a family business, the interviewee is the fifth generation, and his family lived in the same building. The shop space was approximately 13 m². Moreover, they had a workshop/living space of approximately the same size at the back of the building where they manufactured and sold household kitchen tools.

Manufacture & Sales: How They Do Their Business (Case F)

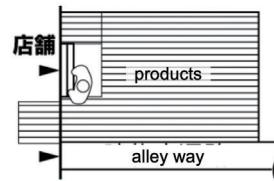


- Shop space is approx. 13m² + 13m² WS, making & selling household kitchen tools.
 - Small things are made in street, **large portion is made in craft village** of Phu Thu.
 - When out of stock, he **borrow**s stock from other shops in the street.
 - Delivery is via bike taxis.
 - **Festival homecoming** in craft village of Phu Thu
1. Stocking from family factory in craft village
 2. Taking orders from client
 3. Drawing specs
 4. Put order for manufacture
 5. Manufacture at workshop or village
 6. Delivery

Although this second space is a ‘workshop’, it was extremely small. Hence, small articles in small quantities are manufactured in this space, whereas larger items are manufactured in the craft village. Similar to the previous family with their roots in Tay Mo, this family is from the craft village of Phu Thu. The festival homecoming is practiced. An interesting feature was that when he is out of stock, he borrows stocks from other shops in the street who sell the same products. It works like this: when his client arrives and if he/she wants to buy and bring back the products, he buys the stock from other shops in the street at wholesale price. This is called ‘borrowing’ the stock. Finally, the products are delivered using bike taxis.

The fourth example I discuss is a retail-only shop. This too was a family business, the person interviewed was the second generation, and lives in the same building. Thus, the shop owner uses a very small, approximately 11 m², shop space, and this hatching shows the products. The shop owner sits here. Hence, the shop space is mostly used to pile up the stock of brass and aluminium products and document boxes. She buys stock from the craft villages of Tay Mo and Cau Dien or places orders to workshops on Hang Thiec Street. Therefore, again the business relationship is within the street. When they are out of stock, she also borrows stock from other shops in the street. The delivery is usually done using the bike taxi. She stated that the bike taxis are equipped with gears that can hold large products. It appears to be a type of customised bike taxi that caters to the street shops and workshops, which is interesting.

Retail Only: How They Do Their Business (Case J)



1. Stocking from craft village
 2. Piling up & exhibit products
 3. Taking orders from client
 4. Drawing spec if necessary
 5. Put manufacturing order in st.
 6. Shipping & delivery
- The shop owner uses the approx. 11m² shop space to pile up the stock of glass and aluminium products and document box.
 - She **buys stock from craft villages** of Tay Mo and Cau Dien.
 - Or she **puts orders to workshops in Hang Thiec Street**.
 - When out of stock, she **borrow**s stock from other shops in the street.
 - Delivery is via **bike taxis** that she usually uses. They are equipped with gears that can hold the products.

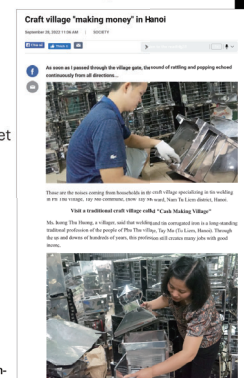
Networks Within or Outside the Craft Street

Thus, this information was obtained from 11 interviewees. Major findings were that shops owners on Hang Thiec Street maintained connection with the craft villages. In fact, 8 out of 11 interviewees indicated networks with craft villages in the western part of Hanoi. These craft villages served as manufacturing places for large products. As the space in the houses on Hang Thiec Street is limited, they may use different locations for manufacturing depending on the size of the products. Additionally, for the sales-only shops as well as other shops engaged in manufacturing and sales, the craft villages acted as supply centres. This is an Internet article about the craft village of Tay Mo and their operations. In addition, the craft villages were the roots of some families.

Connection with Craft Villages

- 8 out of 11 interviewees indicated network with craft villages in the west of Hanoi (Tay Mo, Phu Thu).
- Craft villages are...
 - manufacturing place of large products
 - Small to mid-sized products are made in the street
 - supply source of products
 - roots of some families

(Source: Cafebiz Sep 28, 2022: <https://cafebiz.vn/lang-nghe-go-ra-tien-o-ha-noi-176220928110427455.chn>)



All the interviewees stated that there was no guild. However, the mutual help in business was suggested. Thus, 5 out of 9 shops indicated ‘borrowing stocks’ from neighbouring shops that sell the same products. Interestingly, all these people actually lived on the street, and this activity was described as a form of mutual help among the neighbours. Moreover, another way of

business relationship is accepting and placing manufacturing orders within the street, which was mentioned by three shops or workshops.

No Guild, but Mutual Help in Business Exists

- **Borrowing stocks**
 - 5 shops (wholesale/retail) out of 9 indicated they borrow stocks from neighbouring shops that sell the same products
 - All lived in the street, and this borrowing was mentioned as mutual help among the neighbours
- **Taking & putting manufacturing orders**
 - 3 shops/workshops take/put orders of manufacturing

Another interesting aspect was that there were some logistics enablers for businesses in the street. This is seen in the motorbikes equipped with the gear for carrying products. In this photograph, they are trying to load this large product on the bike taxi, and presumably, they have some gears to hold them. I believe it enables the businesses to work on this street. The material wholesaler to deliver the raw materials on demand also appears to be an important element for the manufacturers on Hang Thiec Street. Although the space in the street shop houses is limited, there is no need for storage space. Many of the interviewed manufacturers stated that there was no storage, and they simply placed the raw materials against the walls. Thus, shops and workshops on Hang Thiec Street are not producing traditional crafts, but still their businesses are working like this.

Logistics Enablers of Businesses in Hang Thiec St.



- Motorbikes equipped with gear for carrying heavy loads (for delivery)
- Material wholesaler to deliver raw materials on-demand (no need for storage space)



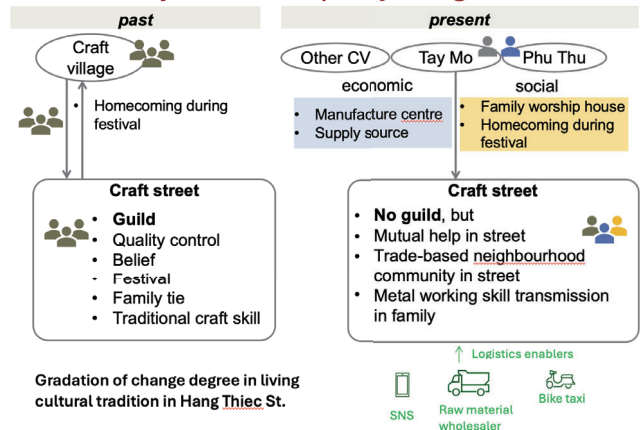
Craft Street Systems as a Combination of Traditional and Modern Elements

Now, I will present my ongoing analysis. I believe the craft street system has adaptively changed from the past to the present. In the past, the guilds were acting as key

players to continue the economic and social ties between craft villages and craft streets. However, even after the guilds disappeared, the case of Hang Thiec Street demonstrates that the craft street continues working, although in a different manner. Thus, there is no longer a proper guild in terms of social and economic aspect, however, mutual help continues on this street, which may be translated as a trade-based neighbourhood community on the street.

Analysis is on the way...

Craft Street System Has Adaptively Changed?



Additionally, guilds were responsible for skill transmission. The survey revealed that now the metal working skill is transmitted within the family. Therefore, in many cases, the workshops are practiced as family businesses, and second or third generation descendants are inheriting these skills from their grandparents or parents. Thus, this traditional craft skill may not be the 'traditional' craft skill, however, transmission occurs, and remains in the family and not in the guild. Regarding the social relationship with the craft villages, I could find only three cases, but they had family worship house in the village, and homecoming during the festival was performed in some families.

Regarding the economic aspect, the craft village acted as the manufacturing centre and also the supply source. Thus, the business relationship with craft village is alive, while it may have changed from the traditional way. Moreover, some modern logistics enablers make the businesses on craft street actually work. This information leads me to believe that there may be a gradation in change in living cultural tradition on Hang Thiec Street. Maybe this social relationship between the craft village and craft street is more traditional, but the economic relationship is more modernised. Moreover, how they conduct the business is modernised according to changing times. I will need to elaborate more on this, but this is something I was

considering about Hang Thiec Street.

This is the last slide. I think that, for a long time, the focus has been placed on the traditional crafts or commodities for the trade streets and craft streets of Ancient Quarter. However, most of the sold commodities have already modernised. Examining Hang Thiec Street from the perspective of ICH or living heritage, the craft street system, keeping the trades in cluster, appears as a combination of traditional and modern elements.

Hang Thiec St. and ICH/Living Heritage Perspective

- **Manufactured commodities have modernised (i.e., not traditional product), but the craft street system, keeping trade in cluster, seems a mix of traditional and modern elements, which have evolved in response to their environment**
- **Not only the traditional craft itself or guilds, but also the system to make the trade cluster work is important in shaping HAQ's identity**
- **The current craft/trade street system in other streets?**

This is something that has evolved in response to their environment, which is stated in the ICH definitions. Not only the traditional craft itself or guilds, but also the system to make the trade cluster work is important in constantly shaping the Ancient Quarter's identity. This is a rough analysis from one case street, however, it should be elaborated by using more case studies. For example, examining the current craft street system in other streets and how they are working to promote the ICH value of craft streets in Hanoi Ancient Quarter.

Thus, this was a different case study compared with George Town. However, probably the Ancient Quarter continues to offer strong business for the local people, and how they are working may be interesting to compare. Thank you for your attention.

DISCUSSION

Saori Kashihara:

Now, let us proceed to discussions. I would like to open the floor to the audiences for questions to Suet Leng Sensei or me. Please feel free to unmute yourself and speak up, or you can also write into the chat box.

Suzie:

Hello. I am Suzie from USM. I enjoyed the presentation throughout, and it made me aware of the issues in the urban centres. The vibes in the Hanoi Ancient Quarter really interested me. My question to Saori is: Comparing with George Town, the local people left the George Town, thus, what makes these local people stay and run the business as a family business, not leaving their local places?

My second question is to Dr. Khoo Suet Leng: What are the challenges? There are two aspects about the population in the city. One is maintaining the tangible culture within the global era where we cannot avoid the out-migration or in-migration. Therefore, it is whether we have to integrate the culture or separate the migrants' culture. These are the two questions to the panel. Thank you.

Saori Kashihara:

Thank you for your question. Actually, I forgot to ask the interviewees in Hang Thiec Street regarding why they continue with their businesses there, however, some people stated that it was their own building. Therefore, I suppose one reason could be because it is a family property, and they were leading family business there. Thus, maybe the attachment to their house and their ancestors is a reason. When I enquired about any hope for their shop spaces, some people complained about the small shop space to display many products. However, this is only my assessment and now I would like to put this question to Le Quynh Chi Sensei from Hanoi University of Civil Engineering. Chi Sensei, if you have any response to Suzie's question, that would be really appreciated.

Le Quynh Chi:

Yes. Thank you, Saori-San, for an interesting perspective on the Hanoi Ancient Quarter from outside. I believe in many streets in Hanoi Ancient Quarter, we also lost population. Many local people leave the Hanoi Ancient Quarter to have a better living environment.

However, on Hang Thiec Street, we need to do the survey, but I believe that Hanoi Ancient Quarter not only contributes to tourism, but it is also the local hub for Hanoi. Therefore, the demand is large for many businesses, and we continue to visit Hanoi Ancient Quarter to buy and check articles with a cheaper price compared with other areas. This is why streets such as Hang Thiec Street continue to survive, and people continue such business activities. Moreover, if one has a house in Hanoi Ancient Quarter, one can earn considerable amount of money from renting it. This is my answer.

Saori Kashihara:

Thank you, Chi Sensei. Sorry for asking abruptly. Thank you.

Le Quynh Chi:

You are welcome.

Saori Kashihara:

Suet Leng Sensei, can you reply to the question?

Khoo Suet Leng:

Thank you, Saori Sensei. Thank you Dr. Suzie, for the interesting question. To respond to your question, I would offer two explanations and justifications currently underway to bring people back into the city, which is part of the repopulation strategy by the Penang State Government. They have actually created this, and also a place making initiative, the Creative and Digital District, where they have the creative industries, the modern ones, and also attempting to innovate the traditional ones, and also to bring in the educational sector. Therefore, you can see Wawasan Open University at China Street Ghaut, and also Forward School (now known as Forward College) opening up in the Lebuah Acheh area. These are the initiatives by the state government attempting to attract the younger population to come back and live in the city.

Regarding the other question, which is interesting and pertinent, whether to integrate or separate the migrant culture, do not forget that if you review what I have shared today, we began as a historic port city. If you observe Criteria 2, 3, and even 4, the multiculturalism and the plurality are so distinctive. Moreover, another of my project exploring Agenda 21 for culture examines the extend upon which cultural diversity is accepted and respected with new waves of migrants entering our cities nowadays. Thus, I would argue that we should examine

the new waves of the migrant's culture, and how they can be assimilated, and further expand the notions of multiculturalism and plurality.

I mean not only the Malays, Indians and the Chinese that we know, as I presented the Chinatown, the Malay Mosque area, or Little India, but also if you closely examine the Gurdwara and even Dato' Keramat area, although it is at the fringe of the World Heritage Site, certain parts, you can see the influx of migrant groups from other countries, particularly the South Asian countries, like India, Bangladesh. Thus, remember the slide that I presented just now? Whose culture? Therefore, if you are going to talk about cultural inclusion, cultural rights, cultural democratisation, we have to also include the cultures of these people as the new wave of migrants, considering that a city is not static. It is in a state of constant change. Therefore, we have to come to terms with these aspects. Next to the quintuple helix model, the different lenses and the different hats and the different stakeholders, they will have to bring in all these aspects when they come to terms with more inclusive urban governance. I hope that answers your question. Thank you.

Saori Kashihara:

Thank you. I also have a question to Suet Leng Sensei. First, thank you for the informative presentation. I was curious about your survey in George Town during the pandemic, and were your respondents from George Town or from different places?

Khoo Suet Leng:

We attempted as much as possible to include people who were living in George Town. Thus, as I presented in the slide, we attempted first, because it was a lockdown. During the lockdown periods, we actually used online survey. Subsequently, when the lockdowns were lifted, we promptly visited the World Heritage Site to conduct face-to-face surveys as far as possible. Moreover, we complemented with eight interviews and one focus group discussion. Hence, it was a combined method. However, considering the time constraint, I have only presented the quantitative data just now.

Saori Kashihara:

Are those people living in the core zone or buffer zone?

Khoo Suet Leng:

Both core and buffer zones; there were people working as well as living and visiting those places. We actually asked them those questions. Further, we had the

screening questions, those who have been working and staying there for at least five years were shortlisted for the interviews.

Saori Kashihara:

I see, because while walking around George Town, particularly the heavily touristified places, I contemplated whether people were actually living there. However, from your presentation, the Little India and Chinatown appear more 'living' compared with Armenian Street or different places. Therefore, do you believe the touristification is occurring partially in George Town or is it spreading further and actually pressing people's lives?

Khoo Suet Leng:

Okay, let me present it this way: unlike Hoi An or Hue, our George Town World Heritage Site is very extensive in size. The core area is close to 110 hectares and the buffer is 150 hectares. Therefore, we have a large area and the challenges of managing it are significant. I would say that touristification is unevenly spreaded. Hence, when you visited you could see that it was very distinctive, particularly in the Armenian Street enclave.

Coincidentally, as I mentioned, that is the special zone area. Special zone area implies that it is high in the OUV and Category 1 buildings. That is why tourists love to go there. All the clan houses are there. Subsequently, I would say that it is an urban economic geography agglomeration effect; similar to a magnet. When you have more people going there, more and more people will continue to go there too. Therefore, if you ask me regarding touristification, I would say that it is unevenly happening across the heritage site as well as the island.

Saori Kashihara:

I see. That is similar to Ancient Quarter, however, that maybe the scale or the number of tourists may be different for Hanoi and George Town.

Khoo Suet Leng:

Certainly, because we have an institution known as Penang Global Tourism, and they have got many trails: the heritage trail, the mural trail, the caricature trail, the food trail. People tend to follow these trails and in those specific areas, as I mentioned, the 52 caricatures, you will find the concentration of tourists there. Hence, it is 'I've been there', 'I've done that', 'I want to do that'; you know, the must-sees at the heritage site.

Saori Kashihara:

I see. May I ask you another question; you mentioned about the adaptive reuses after the COVID-19 pandemic and presented some photographs of adaptive reuses, including tourist attraction or tourist uses. However, are there other types of adaptive reuses other than tourism industry?

Khoo Suet Leng:

If you examine the plans that I presented, the permissible and non-permissible activities. There is the enterprise zone. It is strange that when discussing F&B, everybody will always consider cafés and bistros. They are opening up the same thing. It is similar to the red ocean. During the multiple workshops that we have attended, we always find that we need to do the carrying capacity calculation, which can be done. There is a formula for it. The perceived, real, and actual carrying capacity for the site, that is, each user per space, which can be calculated out. However, that is again the challenge because the cafes and bistros, some of them, they open and close rapidly. Some are more sustainable, and they can survive. Hence, that is also challenging.

Hence, constant mapping is required, which is important. So, I appreciate your work on the mapping. Thus, when we discuss cultural heritage conservation, the mapping part is significant because mapping actually provides the baseline data. However, the only challenge is that it has to be continuously updated.

Saori Kashihara:

Yes. In my recent paper under review, co-authored with Dr. Chi, we conducted observation surveys of two-year intervals on one street. We traced the change degrees of façade and trade of each shop. Through mapping the changes, we could identify that the street itself was not really touristified earlier, but the touristification partially spread at the intersection with the heavily touristified street. So, that is something we did with the mapping in Ancient Quarter.

I have a chat message here. 'A similar trend is occurring in the China Town in KL, now primarily occupied by migrants from South Asia. The local responses are diverse, there are certainly xenophobic responses, there are also pro-diversity and pro-migrant voices.'

Khoo Suet Leng:

Yes. Thank you.

Saori Kashihara:

I see. Thank you for your inputs. If there is no more question, I would like to end this session. Suet Leng Sensei, thank you again for your valuable inputs for this seminar. I would also like to thank everyone participating today. If we have any other opportunity, I hope that we can do something together. Thank you!