Rehabilitation Methods and Revitalization Strategies in the Old Inner-City

Areas of Rapid Growth Cities in Asia

A comparison of four cities: Penang, Hanoi, Shanghai, and Tokyo

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Abstract:

Rapid population growth is putting increasing pressure on Asian countries. Rehabilitating and revitalizing old inner-city areas in Asian countries have become essential to preserving cultural assets. With the development of old inner-city areas as urban heritage sites, determining which sustainability approach is optimal has also been a concern. Many countries in Asia have aggressively developed unique strategies for heritage conservation. In order to define the differences of rehabilitation methods and revitalization strategies in different cities and determine the implication to the area, this study is conducted for the following aims: i) To compare rehabilitation methods and revitalization policies and strategies in the old inner-city areas of rapidly growing cities in Asia by referring to four cases: Penang (George Town), Hanoi (Ancient Quarter), Shanghai (Tianzifang and Xintiandi), and Tokyo (Yanaka District); ii) To study the trends in the use of historical buildings in the cities. Target comparative in this study are “physical and manmade environment”, “sociocultural environment”, and “economic environment” in the four cities. This research uses primary data obtained in site visits and secondary data collected from archive departments, libraries, online database and local authorities. Site survey was conducted to observe the site according to the elements of the current condition and impact of heritage conservation and tourist. Observation was done by watching the site condition, and recorded in qualitative format (note-taking and photographing for case study). In addition, short interviews were engaged with local authorities and related organizations, residents and shop owner or staffs as well. In conclusion, two types of methods have generated different results. Firstly, by preserving the building structure with strict conservation rules and regulations, it has sustained a distinguishable identity and landscape feature for the places. Proper physical spatial planning and environment preservation framework are implemented. These cities specialize in tourism sector with new and creative commercial activities. It has encouraged the development of traditional craft industry through the production of innovative products. Consequently, job opportunities for local people have increased and thus boosted the local economy. However, conflict between tourism activities and the lifestyle of local community has occurred. Secondly, preserving the entire environment by using management or control of urban planning / land use method, and consensus building method have encouraged community activities and generated authentic ambience in the cities. Socio cultural elements that are compatible and harmonized with local business (traditional industry) remain as the main attraction for tourists. However, issues related to living condition and the inconsistency in implementing the preservation effort need to be tackled. Therefore, this study has concluded that both preservation methods have brought different kinds of tourism effect for the cities. It could be a reference for other cities when making decision to preserve its cultural heritage site.

Keywords: Old inner-city areas, rehabilitation, use, historic building, tourism

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1. INTRODUCTION

According to ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) Burra Charter¹⁾, conservation is based on a respect for the existing fabric, use, associations and meanings; cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Rehabilitation and revitalization strategies for the old inner-city areas of rapid growth cities in Asia have changed; since the 1980s, when it was realized that conservation must preserve not only individual objects but the ambience that surrounds such objects, rehabilitation and revitalization strategies have emphasized designated heritage zoning rather than the designation of individual monuments. Furthermore, the notion has been raised that the main concern in the conservation process must be the living environment of the local community. Heritage conservation is not merely about preserving the physicality and character of an area but also its social fabric; traditional functions must be protected and conserved²⁾. Moreover, historic cities are host to exciting historical sites, outstanding heritage buildings, and unique local cultures; these represent a country and can be a source of pride. Although many countries have done much in the past to preserve the heritage of their inner-city areas, a strong will and vision are necessary to ensure that efforts are efficacious. Through time and experience, cities can learn how to effectively preserve their heritage, particularly that in inner cities, which face developmental pressure from surrounding areas; in such areas, the problem of the preservation of heritage must be addressed as early as possible, before the historical elements in the inner-city area disappear. Considering the living environments of inhabitants first and foremost is a conservation principle that should not be ignored. Furthermore, paralleled with the advance technology and changing lifestyle, nowadays it is undeniable that modernization could provide safer (e.g. disaster prevention technologies), better and comfortable living condition for people. With the increasing of urbanization, how to balance between the preservation of heritage assets with development has become a pressing question.

Rapid population growth is putting increasing pressure on Asian countries. Rehabilitating and revitalizing old inner-city areas in Asian countries have become essential to preserving cultural assets. With the development of old inner-city areas as urban heritage sites, determining which sustainability approach is optimal has also been a concern. Many countries in Asia have aggressively developed unique strategies for heritage conservation. "The process through which the mismatch between the services offered by the fabric of the historic quarters and the contemporary needs can be reconciled"³⁾. There are two different types of mismatch that entail different measures towards revitalization, namely physical revitalization and economic revitalization⁴⁾. Physical revitalization applied to urban decay or obsolescence issue due to development pressure from surrounding. Maintaining its physical structure of building is the main concern. Thus, functional diversification approach is taken to maximize the use and profit from the physical elements and sustain its lifespan in inner city along with economic revitalization. Restructuring also makes it necessary to distinguish between functional and physical conservation⁵⁾. Physical revitalization is a short-term measure but economic revitalization is taken as a long-term measure. Economic revitalization is considered as one of the method that is closely applied with physical revitalization. The cases of Hanoi, Jakarta, and Manila presented by Steinberg in 2008 has demonstrated that inner city areas and urban heritage assets can become important opportunities for public and private investments with a good potential for bankable and profitable opportunities for public-private partnership projects⁶⁾. Meanwhile, treating cultural heritage assets as products for tourists' consumption has been discussed theoretically in previous studies, as has the creation of heritage and cultural tourism networks for socio-economic development, and challenges in developing these cultural tourism assets as products^{7),8)}. Cultural development strategies have acquired significance in the economic development plans of cities, because cultural activities are considered as urban tourist draws⁹⁾. There is a research discusses the development of municipal cultural strategies and draws from the literature to outline the characteristics of three different models of such

strategies related to cultural development strategies and urban revitalization¹⁰⁾.

Despite that, previous studies on rehabilitation methods and revitalization strategies in the old inner-city were conducted based on limited case studies, and analysis related to multi-scopes are inadequate, for example “physical and manmade environment”, “sociocultural environment”, and “economic environment, especially Asian countries which are undergoing rapid growth due to globalization and the impact. Therefore, this study focuses on comparison of the four case studies to learn the experience gain from each other.

2. OBJECTIVES AND METHOD

In order to define the differences of rehabilitation methods and revitalization strategies in different cities and determine the implication to the area, this study is conducted for the following aims:

- i) To compare rehabilitation methods and revitalization policies and strategies in the old inner-city areas of rapidly growing cities in Asia by referring to four cases: Penang (George Town), Hanoi (Ancient Quarter), Shanghai (Tianzifang and Xintiandi), and Tokyo (Yanaka District);
- ii) To study the trends in the use of historical buildings in these regions. Target comparative in this study are “physical and manmade environment”, “sociocultural environment”, and “economic environment” in the cities.

This research uses primary data obtained in site visits and secondary data collected from archive departments, libraries, online database and local authorities. Site visits were conducted as follows: i) Penang (George Town) on 18-28 November 2013, Hanoi (Ancient Quarter) on 1-10 September 2010, Shanghai (Tianzifang and Xintiandi) on 22-24 May 2008, and Tokyo (Yanaka District) on 20-25 May 2014. Site survey was conducted to observe the site according to the elements of the current condition and impact of heritage conservation and tourism as shown in **Table 1**. Observation was done by watching the site condition, and recorded in qualitative format (note-taking and photographing for case study). In addition, short interviews were engaged with local authorities and related organizations, residents and shop owner or staffs as well.

TABLE 1: Comparative Elements on Current Condition and Impact of Heritage Conservation and Tourism

ASPECT	Physical and Man-made Environment		Socio-cultural Environment		Economic Environment	
	Urban Fabric	Use	Living Condition	Local Culture	Tourism	Traditional Trade
Elements	- Pattern, style and historic background of building - Street pattern and ambience	Building use and pattern of use	- Hygiene - Facilities and Infrastructure	- Significant culture - Inherit of local culture	- Tourism activity - Facilities and Infrastructure	- Existing traditional trade - Prospect of traditional trade

Rapid growth of the area has led to the collapse of the historic urban cores in large cities when urbanization occurs at a more rapid pace at the urban periphery than in the city center⁶⁾. Four cities: Penang (George Town), Hanoi (Ancient Quarter), Shanghai (Tianzifang and Xintiandi), and Tokyo (Yanaka District) are chosen because they share a common situation. All four cities are facing urban obsolesces due to development dynamic, for example, in the 1960s and 1970s, Japan experienced rapid economic growth, it has led to serious social problems and rapid urbanization and economic development destroyed historic towns¹¹⁾. Japanese government has implemented protection laws and regulations for tangible and intangible cultural heritage asset to protect their cultural heritage asset. Shanghai also tried to generate as much prosperity as possible since Deng Xiaoping announced the “open door” policy in 1978 to welcome foreign investment¹²⁾. Consequently, the awareness of historic preservation has increased in Shanghai

due to the pressure of urban landscape transformation caused by rapid development of the inner-city areas. Hence, the preservation of historic modern buildings in Shanghai was commenced. The same issue has occurred in Penang when urban renewal schemes were implemented in George Town. In order to protect the heritage building, policies pertaining to conservation areas were introduced in 1970s¹³⁾. In Hanoi, the Doi Moi government has undertaken substantial effort to reform the economy by targeting developmental growth after the war of independence in early 1990s¹⁴⁾. The increasing of population density has jeopardized the heritage buildings, prompted the government to undertake the measure to preserve heritage in Hanoi. In a nutshell, the cities are facing the challenge to balance the rapid economic growth and conserving the urban heritage in city centers while coping with globalization.

In addition, downtown in city center has high population density. Highly dense residential and commercial area, small and discrete business activities are the common characteristics of these four cities. Shop houses in George Town, tube house in Hanoi, *lilong* residences in Shanghai and Japanese traditional house in Tokyo are similar in terms of the type of building and scale. They are multi-functional, combination of residence and commercial use, conversion from previous commercial use to residence and vice versa. The two-three-floor-buildings are built in row and the ground floors are used for business and trading purpose. Furthermore, all four cities have rich historical background. The efforts made for urban heritage preservation have significant outcome and sustained some history values amidst globalization.

Although these four cities have similarities as mentioned above, different rehabilitation methods and revitalization strategies to preserve urban cultural heritage are applied. Penang (George Town) and Shanghai (Tianzifang and Xintiandi) mainly focusing on the preservation of physical element of historic urban structure by implementing a set of legal framework. On the other hand, Hanoi (Ancient Quarter), and Tokyo (Yanaka District) have not implemented strict legal framework for physical element of historic urban structure preservation but focusing on the community activities and its original vernacular ambience. Therefore, these four cities are chosen as the subjects of this study.

3. HERITAGE CONSERVATION FACTORS AND ELEMENTS

Table 2 shows the summaries of the factors and elements pertaining to heritage conservation based on the general framework in heritage preservation, which is considered as the indicator for this comparative study on the four cities.

Rehabilitation and conservation initiatives in inner cities have generally been catalyzed by urban development pressure from surrounding areas or by inner-city urban decay. Conservation is typically pioneered by governmental bodies such as federal governments, state governments, and local governments; stakeholders; residents; and professional and non-profit organizations. These entities play an important role in conservation planning. Conservation methods vary by area and implementation, depending on whether they are stipulated by laws or enactments or promoted through community activities or funds and incentives. Preservation type may involve the physical preservation of individual buildings, by which changes to the building's façade or to the entire structure of the building are prohibited, as well as the preservation of the land use and functions of individual buildings by facilitating successive occupancies while restoring the building or adaptively reusing it, either with a change in owner or no change in owner. In addition to preserving actual buildings, entire heritage environments may be preserved through heritage zoning and by preserving streetscapes in whole or in part to retain ambience and area characteristics.

In certain areas, area cultures have also been preserved. Residents' perceptions and basic needs are the key elements that must be considered in conservation planning. Some areas have

been preserved as national heritage sites or have achieved World Heritage City status whereas others are important for tourism, the economy, or as community living environments. Internal and external implications that affect local communities, such as improving living environments and the appropriateness of international regulations in light of local and international pressure, should be considered.

TABLE 2: Heritage Conservation Factors and Elements

Rehabilitation and Conservation Initiatives For Inner-City Areas	Entities That Pioneer Conservation Initiatives	Methods for Implementing Conservation	Preservation Types	Achievements and Current Status	Implications
- Urban Development Pressure - Urban Decay	- Governments - Federal - State - Local - Stakeholders - Residents - Professional and non-profit organizations	- Laws and enactments - Community activities - Funds and incentives	- Individual building preservation (physical) - Strict prohibitions on changes to buildings - Façade only - Whole structure - Individual building preservation (land use/function) - Successive occupancy while restoring the building - Adaptive use/reuse (Either with a change in owner to achieve the purposes of use or no change in owner) - Zoning heritage areas to emphasize entire heritage environments - Whole and partial streetscapes and ambience (preserving area characteristics) - Preserving culture - Residents' perceptions and basic needs	- Tourism - Economy - Social: community living environments and culture - National Heritage - World Heritage City	- Internal impact - Social (quality of life) - External impact - Appropriateness in adopting the international regulations according to local and international pressure

Source: Doratli, 2001⁴⁾; Nishimura, 2004¹⁵⁾

4. URBAN CONSERVATION PROCESS IN THE AREAS OF STUDY

Conservation in Malaysia can be classified into three main categories: i) building conservation, ii) area conservation, and iii) cultural conservation¹⁶⁾. Nishimura (2004) classified cultural assets in Japan into six main categories: i) tangible cultural assets, ii) intangible cultural assets, iii) ethnic cultural assets, iv) monuments, v) cultural landscapes, and vi) groups of traditional buildings¹⁵⁾. Among these cultural assets are the important assets are designated and preserved as the Tangible Cultural Properties of Japan and the Intangible Cultural Properties of Japan by the government.

Places vary in conservation planning methodologies. The conservation efforts and preservation methods in the four cities under study are discussed in this chapter. Since World War II, Asian countries have undergone substantial urban development. Four case studies are discussed in this paper (*Table 3*):

TABLE 3: Map of Four Cities and Locations of Study Areas

Map	Description
A map of George Town, Penang, showing the Core Zone and Buffer Zone. The Core Zone is a small area in the center, and the Buffer Zone is a larger area surrounding it. The map includes a scale bar (0 to 500 m) and a north arrow.	i) Historic City of George Town, Boundary of the Core and Buffer Zone, Penang - The capital city of Penang is well known for its heritage, including the architecture of about 5,000 pre-war buildings in George Town's inner city. - George Town has a designated heritage core and buffer zone. - George Town was placed on UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage List on July 7, 2008.
A map of Hanoi, Vietnam, showing the Ancient District (36 Old Streets). The district is a small area in the center, surrounded by the city. The map includes a scale bar (0 to 500 m) and a north arrow.	ii) Hanoi Ancient District (36 Old Streets), Hanoi - The Hanoi Ancient District is an ancient, 1,000-year-old quarter in Hanoi. - The district comprises 36 old streets that were originally a group of workshop villages surrounding the royal palace. - The district has been an important marketplace since the French colonial period.
A map of Shanghai, China, showing the Old City, French Concession, Xintiandi, and Tianzifang. The map includes a scale bar (0 to 500 m) and a north arrow.	iii) Shanghai Old City, French Concession, and Xintiandi and Tianzifang, Shanghai - The traditional urban core of Shanghai, this area saw the establishment of various foreign concessions following the Opium War in 1842. Shanghai is the first Chinese city to survey and conserve industrial heritage in China. - Forces of change: - Tianzifang: Bottom-Up Movement - Xintiandi: Top-Down Movement
A map of Tokyo, Japan, showing the Yanaka District, Nezu District, and Sendagi District. The map includes a scale bar (0 to 500 m) and a north arrow.	iv) Yanaka District, Nezu District, and Sendagi District (Yanesen), Tokyo - These are prominent historical districts in Tokyo. - The area was developed as a temple town in the Edo period (1603–1868). - The area escaped damage in the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 and in WWII. - A grassroots movement has emerged that aims to preserve the living environment.

Source Map: Adapted and modified from Google Maps, 2014

4.1 George Town, Penang: Transition from a British Trade Port to a World Heritage City in a Decade

In Malaysia, the early conservation movement was initiated in 1976 when the Antiquities Act of 1976 (Act 168) was adopted for conserving and preserving Malaysia's national heritage, including valuable objects, monuments, and cultural heritage sites. The symbolic heritage asset was being preserved in individual unit without much concern put on the surrounding element. In December 2005, the Antiquities Act of 1976 was replaced by the National Heritage Act of 2005¹⁷⁾. The act contains only one specific statute on the preservation of cultural heritage, which defines cultural heritage as narrow in scope.

As one of the most rapidly developing states in Malaysia, policies pertaining to conservation areas were introduced in the early 1970s in Penang in order to preserve heritage sites in Penang's capital city: the historic area of George Town¹⁸⁾. To implement an ambitious urban renewal scheme, KOMTAR (Kompleks Tun Razak), 11 acres that were largely comprised of traditional pre-war shop houses were to be demolished make way for development. Objections burst forth, raising awareness among heritage conservation organizations, stakeholders, and the local community. With the collaboration of these entities, a series of conservation campaigns has urged the local government to take action to solve current conservation issues. At the end of the 1970s, a town plan was formulated for first time that was inclusive of a conservation plan¹⁷⁾. Rapid urban changes on Penang Island fostered a public conservation movement. An International Conference on Urban Conservation and Planning helped to raise awareness in the mid-1980s. In 1985, the local government developed guidelines to prevent the destruction of properties with heritage value although conscious conservation efforts were initiated in the 1970s in the form of policy statements.

In the early 1990s, some demolition and conservation projects attracted attention. In early 2008, the Management Plan was approved¹⁹⁾. Changes to the structures and physical elements of buildings have become more restricted through rules and enactments: Currently, no building of structure can be altered or demolished if there is any conceivable way of preserving it in its original or current condition. This has placed emphasis on the living environment of heritage areas through preserving the physical structure and living activities of such areas in a designated core heritage zone. In July 2008, George Town was placed on UNESCO's World Heritage City list together with Melaka City. The designation of George Town as a World Heritage City by UNESCO in July 2008 indicated that the definition of heritage conservation has caught on. Designated core zones and buffer zones have been identified to preserve heritage buildings within the heritage core zone comprising an area of approximately 109.38 ha (2,344 pre-war shop houses)²⁰⁾.

However, the preservation of structures and façades relates only to the physical preservation of the exteriors of historical buildings. The penetration of liveliness into urban heritage sites is also crucial to revitalize people in particular areas. This was achieved by promoting historical buildings as a multicultural symbol of George Town: the city was thus presented as a living heritage gallery. The liveliness of the area has been sustained as people use the area for living, playing, and working. The form of the living museum is optimal for presenting George Town's past and present as a home to a diverse community. However, the implementation of Control of Rent Act in 1997 caused rent hikes in the area²¹⁾; some tenants have been forced to leave pre-war buildings. Consequently, some buildings have been abandoned, left derelict, or even demolished. Fortunately, the designation of the city as a UNESCO World Heritage Site has generated a positive trend. There have been evident efforts to convert formerly residential buildings for commercial uses such as for cafés, offices, and souvenir shops.

4.2 Ancient Quarter, Hanoi: A High-Density Old Inner-City Area Supporting the Daily Life of One Million Inhabitants

In Vietnam, the Doi Moi government has undertaken substantial effort to reform the economy by targeting developmental growth²²⁾. By the early 1990s, heavy migration from rural provinces during and after the wars of independence had increased the population density. It has constituted a threat to heritage buildings. The Hanoi General Plan of 1992 incorporated heritage preservation. A year later, the government approved the Regulation on the Construction Management and Conservation of the Ancient Quarter²³⁾. In 1995, the government established principles for the conservation and restoration of the Ancient Quarter by introducing the Preservation, Embellishment, and Development Plan. Renovation and development is aimed at sustaining urban development by facilitating partnerships among all actors in the public, private, and non-governmental sectors. The Prime Minister addressed the need to preserve the French Colonial Quarter's unique identity by setting limitations on high-rise buildings in 1996. In 1998, the Department of the Conservation Management of the Ancient Quarter was formed. Hanoi's People's Committee and the office of the Architect-in-Chief are directly in control of development in the Ancient Quarter. The Ancient Quarter was classified as National Historic Heritage by the Vietnamese Ministry for Culture and Information in 2004⁶⁾. In 2011, the 2020 Hanoi General Plan was amended to include heritage protection as one of its principal objectives. In the last 20 years, the government has put substantial efforts in controlling threats to heritage assets in Hanoi. In 2001, Nguyen wrote that the main concerns and aspects of the Hanoi master and detailed plans address the following needs pertaining to preserving the Ancient Quarter and the French Colonial Quarter²⁴⁾:

- i) Reducing the population density;
- ii) Improving the infrastructure;
- iii) Relocating squatter housing and protecting the environment; and
- iv) Restricting the average construction height to 2–3 stories and limiting the number of high-rise buildings.

The amended 2020 Hanoi General Plan is mainly concerned with the management and control of urban planning and land use and the appraisal and approval of urban development projects and foreign investment projects. Spatial revitalization policies are one of the most common approaches to encourage local people to utilize spaces in Ancient Quarter to generate local economic activity²⁵⁾. The government has encouraged local people utilize buildings in ways that facilitate economy activity rather than merely living inside of them and it has benefited local people^{26),27)}. Having been designated National Historic Heritage, this area has become based around tourism.

4.3 Xintiandi and Tianzifang, Shanghai: Fusing East and West to Embrace and Meld the City's Past with the Commercial Realities of Modern Urban Living

Shanghai has a new mission: becoming an advanced metropolis. The city has tried to generate as much prosperity as possible since Deng Xiaoping announced the "open door" policy²⁸⁾. Tsai wrote in 2008 that the planning and governance of Shanghai, driven by the need to achieve goals set for economic development, has exhibited certain characteristics in three areas that have strongly influenced the city's historic fabric: i) market-oriented reform, ii) promotional strategies, and iii) changing urban governance²⁹⁾. With the Chinese "open door" policy and subsequent rapid development of inner-city areas, the issue of historic preservation has emerged in Shanghai because of pressures that have transformed the urban landscape.

In 1988, a document entitled "Concerns regarding important surveys and the protection of historic modern buildings" was issued; this initiated the surveying and preservation of historic modern buildings in Shanghai. A list of heritage buildings was approved. The listed historic buildings have been protected by the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics since 1989²⁹⁾. Starting in the early 90s, historic buildings were recognized as

an individual category of building that required separate management. The government initiated the first project to redevelop and reuse historic buildings on the Bund. Regulations have been refined²⁸⁾. More than 2,000 buildings in the greater Shanghai area were selected for preservation in 1990. In the next year, the Shanghai Municipal People's Government issued the "Measures for the preservation of the historic modern buildings of Shanghai City." In response, the Shanghai Municipal City Planning Administration amended its "Conservation Plan for the Historic City of Shanghai." Later, in 1994, "Interim Provisions of Shanghai Municipality on the Replacement of State-owned Houses in the Bund" was promulgated. Changes in the functions of historic buildings from political use to commercial business began in 1995²⁹⁾. The adaptive reuse of historic buildings has become one of the major approaches in conserving cultural heritage since 1995. In 2000, "Preservation Regulations of Historic and Cultural Districts and Historic Buildings of Shanghai City" were implemented. The government of Shanghai created 12 preservation zones, giving historic neighborhoods a certain level of protection³⁰⁾.

Business activities that have been enabled by the transformation of historical buildings into commercial buildings has generated profits. Areas such as Xintiandi and Tianzifang have garnered recognition of the value of Lilong architecture. The historic and economic value of Lilong architecture has been promoted through the adaptive reuse of vacant and abandoned buildings. The whole area is full of art and traditional retailing activities. Consequently, the significance and characteristics of the entire area have been highlighted. The surroundings of the area have been revitalized by various commercial, art, and traditional industry activities. Most of the historic buildings and old warehouses in the area have been renovated to accommodate commercial activities³¹⁾. However, conflicts occur when local residents become unwilling to cooperate with conservation activities²⁹⁾. Most residents in the vicinity are dissatisfied with the abundance of touristic activities, which have caused the area's quality of life to decrease³²⁾. Xintiandi has been criticized for negative social impacts arising from gentrification: local residents' voices were excluded from the decision-making process, social and geographical segregation has occurred, and local residents have been treated unfairly. However, the area has become active in terms of commercial activity and creative industry.

4.4 Yanaka District, Tokyo: Residents as the Main Decision-Makers Driving the Development Vision of a Remarkable Historic District in Tokyo

The most prominent historical district in Tokyo is Yanaka District. In the Tokyo region, a consensus has been reached between the public and the authorities to ensure heritage conservation in Tokyo's central downtown area. Although there is no specific preservation law regarding heritage districts, the will of local people has always been prioritized in development projects. Since the introduction of the Traditional Architecture Preservation District System in 1975, 104 districts have been designated preservation districts. Preservation has emphasized revitalizing the authenticity of areas and protecting original historical structures. However, Yanaka District has not been preserved based on the legal system.

In 1979, the Yanaka Community Center was established to facilitate local community planning in Yanaka District. The Yanaka Community Center has welcomed the public's participation in *machizukuri* ("town-planning") discussions and meetings since 1979. Grassroots movements for townscape preservation started in the 1980s³³⁾. The Yanaka Community Committee and Youth Solution Committee were subsequently established to incorporate the local community into the *machizukuri* process. In this process, the local community shares in decision-making with the local government and other stakeholders. In the *machizukuri* planning process, the voice of local community is foundational and considered early on. In 1984, the local community began to publish a magazine called *YaNeSen* that was themed around the rediscovery of the local resources of Yanaka District, Nezu District, and Sendagi District. One distinctive event, which involved a revival of a local festival called the Chrysanthemum Festival, was indicative of the movement in the local community toward cultural heritage conservation.

The Tokyo area, along with the rest of Japan, was economically booming between 1986 and 1989; in this period, the Yanaka area was under developmental pressure from surrounding areas. In July 1989, a local volunteer group established the *Yanaka Gakko* (Yanaka School) with the collaboration of local residents, professors, and university students. This movement evidences that not only was the local community actively involved in the community planning process but outsiders were encouraged to contribute their knowledge and efforts to Yanaka District. The *Yanaka Gakko* was established for the following purposes³⁴⁾:

- i) To rediscover local resources: through a cultural exhibition gallery and a display of handicrafts made by local residents, the cultural value of Yanaka was reinforced. The school encouraged cultural interaction and facilitated the rediscovery of the area's greenery, water resources, and space. Historical studies, building surveys, the provision of information regarding the area, learning, and road awareness were also organized to deepen the understanding of the public regarding the area.
- ii) To formulate proposals for the community: the conservation and utilization of historic buildings, streets, and landscapes were proposed. Professionals and volunteer involved with the *Yanaka Gakko* provided support and proposed the utilization of heritage buildings as well as transport solutions.
- iii) To make connections with the community: activities that connected the group and local people were facilitated, including seminars, fora, children's courses, festivals, flea markets, and cultural experiences.

Neighborhood organizations and the *Yanaka Gakko* began to collaborate together in preserving the physical features of the area in 1998. These groups played an important role in opposing a large-scale apartment complex proposed in the area. However, in the end, both community groups and developers were satisfied with the resultant proposals. The process encouraged the local community to become involved in planning process; at the same time, the local community obtained an agreement to preserve the cultural landscape through the adoption of a "community-building charter". At the end of 2003, the *Yanaka Gakko* was divided into two non-profit organizations: one supports *machizukuri* activities and the other develops cooperative housing projects suitable to Yanaka District. The conservation system in Yanaka District is the product of the awareness of the local community regarding heritage assets and collaboration with professors and university students³⁵⁾. As the establishment of non-profit organizations for heritage and cultural preservation and the proposal of solutions for the living environment indicate, the local community has positive perceptions regarding their living environment and the preservation of heritage assets. In Yanaka District, the preservation of local community life and culture is seen as foundational and the basic needs of the local community are a main concern.

4.5 Factors and Elements in the Path to Heritage Conservation in Inner-City Areas in Penang, Hanoi, Shanghai, and Tokyo

Table 4 shows factors and elements in the path to heritage conservation in inner-city areas in Penang, Hanoi, Shanghai, and Tokyo. The table also shows the reasons for rehabilitation and the why conservation initiatives or intentions were advanced in the four study areas. The involved entities are shown. As the table shows, the implementation of conservation planning in the four cities clearly differs. In comparison with Penang, Hanoi, and Tokyo, Shanghai has shown a stronger tendency to utilize heritage assets for commercial purposes and to promote the charm of diversity. Whereas Tokyo has tended to conserve the lifestyle of the communities that live in such areas rather than merely preserve the exteriors of historic buildings, Penang has tended to conserve the entirety of its urban heritage as a living museum. Hanoi remains conflicted between the conservation of its heritage and tourism.

TABLE 4: Factors and Elements in the Path to Heritage Conservation in Inner-City Areas in Penang, Hanoi, Shanghai, and Tokyo

Cities	Rehabilitation and Conservation Initiatives and Intentions	Entities Involved	Method	Preservation Type	Achievements and Current Status
George Town, Penang	1970s - Implementation of KOMTAR, an ambitious urban renewal scheme. - Demolition of 11 acres largely comprised of traditional shop houses to make way for development.	- Heritage conservation organizations, etc. - Local government - Stakeholders	- Restriction by rules and enactments. - No building structure shall be altered or demolished if there is any conceivable way of preserving it in its original or current condition. - Emphasis on the living environment at heritage sites through the preservation of physical structures and living activities in designated zones.	Interim conservation zones to facilitate multicultural living environments.	2008- UNESCO World Heritage City
Ancient Quarter, Hanoi	1990s Heavy immigration from rural provinces during and after the wars of independence has increased the population density and has threatened heritage buildings.	- Local government - Local community	- Regulations were established; a preservation plan was included in the development plan - Reduction of population density. - Improvement of infrastructure. - Relocation of squatter housing and protection of the environment. - Restriction of the average construction height to 2–3 stories and limitations on the number of high-rise buildings.	Encouragement of the economic, rather than merely residential, utilization of buildings.	2004- - National Historic Heritage - Tourism-based heritage area
Lilong, (Xintiandi and Tianzifang) Shanghai	1970s With the Chinese “open door” policy and consequent rapid development in the inner-city area, the issue of historic preservation has emerged because of pressures that have changed the urban landscape.	- Local government - Various related industries	- Preservation of building heritage by implementing restriction and guide in restoration work. - Presentation of the historic and economic value of Lilong architecture. - Significance and unique characteristics of the entire area are enhanced. - Revitalization of the surrounding environment with various commercial, art, and traditional industry activities.	- Preservation of individual buildings individually. - Adaptive utilization of heritage buildings.	1995- Generation of an active commercial and creative industry area.
Yanaka, Tokyo	1970s Yanaka District has not been preserved under any legal system. Development in Tokyo was boosted after WWII, especially during the Olympic Games in 1964.	Local volunteers: local residents, professors, and university students	- Establishment of non-profit organizations for heritage and cultural preservation and the proposal of solutions for the living environment - Encouragement of the participation of the local community	- Preservation of local community life and culture - Consideration of the basic needs of the local community	1998- Significant historical residential area surrounded by rapid development.

Source: Summarized from the primary data and secondary data collected (refer Table 1)

5. ROLE OF THE TOURISM SECTOR AND IMPLICATIONS FOR URBAN CONSERVATION

Tourism has become a significant alternative to generate local economy and sustain the place because it helps to promote the place and create job opportunities, earn much-needed foreign exchange and contribute to the conservation of natural and cultural resources³⁵⁾. As George Town, Hanoi, and Shanghai have achieved its benchmark status, rehabilitation and regeneration of historical centers through heritage tourism development are recognized as one of the most efficient strategies to sustain inner cities. Nevertheless, as the most phenomenal historic residential areas in Tokyo, Yanaka still sustain certain levels of its historical and vernacular environment. Until today, the Yanaka residents do not rely much on tourism activities

to generate their income. The most noteworthy point is that this area is being preserved without any legal regulations. Thus, the significance of tourism activities and its implications for urban conservation of an inner city have to be defined by considering the aspects of physical/man-made environment (urban fabric and use), socio-cultural (living condition and local culture) and economic (tourism and traditional trade)

5.1 World Heritage Site Status Inspires Penang's Cultural Heritage Tourism Sector

The placement of George Town and Melaka on the UNESCO World Heritage Site List has boosted tourism since 2008. The number of tourist arrivals in George Town has increased rapidly; to support the tourism market in George Town, new shops, restaurants, galleries, hotels, and other creative commercial sector businesses have emerged in George Town in recent years. Domestic and foreign investment have grown due to the growing interest among Malaysians and foreigners in historic areas since their reputation and status were recognized by UNESCO. The adaptive reuse of heritage buildings is a primary method to preserve heritage while promoting new leisure and entertainment elements to support the needs of tourists. The fusion of local culture and colonial style, contemporary design, and invented themes and images has become a trend to attract the tourists, especially those of the younger generation (*Fig. 1*). Notably, buildings have been converted to cafés, restaurants, and hotels and budget guesthouses. Boutique heritage hotels are becoming more popular and becoming a primary choice for international tourists in particular; by contrast, budget guesthouses target foreign backpackers in particular. Themed cafés and restaurants either retain the traditional heritage style or integrate contemporary design into their operations while retaining heritage elements in terms of physical structure.

However, there are more shops targeted for tourist purposes than those that can fulfill the needs of the local community in daily life. Most of the old businesses pertaining to traditional trade and crafts have moved away from the area because they have failed to target their businesses to tourists from outside. Some parts of the city are now quiet at night and become lively during day when tourists visit. With the cooperation of the local government, non-profit organizations, and the local community, a series of night events is now being actively held to liven up the street at night. The state government has an aspiration to develop the historical center of the city of George Town as a true "Living Heritage City." The Car-Free Sunday Campaign was launched by the Penang State Government in certain parts of the heritage core zone as a part of a cleanliness and greening campaign. A cultural event, "Armenian Street's Got Talent," is held to promote traditional culture and art; it provides exposure for the working class and a platform for them to show off their talent to the public (*Fig. 2*). However, the people who are key to this are those who live in the city itself, including those who live in pre-war buildings and require living environments that are fully supportive of daily life even at night.

Fig. 1: Fusing local culture and colonial style, contemporary design, and invented themes and images have become a trend in the adaptive reuse of heritage buildings in George Town.

Fig. 2: A cultural event, "Armenian Street's Got Talent," promotes traditional culture and art and provides exposure for the working class and a platform for them to show off their talent (Photo: a performance in Khoo Kongsi).

5.2 Economic and Spatial Revitalization in the Ancient Quarter, Hanoi

The Ancient Quarter in Hanoi has been substantially revitalized in both spatial and economic terms²⁷⁾; this revitalization has taken place in particular since 2011, when the 2020 General Plan was amended to include heritage protection as a principal objective. Frontages are used for retail in most of the houses in the central streets of the Ancient Quarter²⁵⁾; these buildings are thus multifunctional and simultaneously used for residential and retail purposes. Retailers, traders, their families, and the residents play important roles in the development of the Ancient Quarter. By utilizing space in historical buildings, business activities have become a significant way to boost the local economy. Business has been transformed rapidly and dynamically at the national scale. In the early stages of the transitional phase (i.e., 1987–1992), a private-sector boom in retailing was initiated by local residents, who transformed their tube-like living quarters into private retail outlets. The area also became a main location for street hawkers, who commuted daily from the suburban countryside to sell goods. High commercial attractiveness characterizes the quarter: business activities take place in front of houses and on the pavement (**Fig. 3**). The establishment of the quarter has engendered significant effects in the tourism sector. According to Lim (2003), more than half a million people move in and out of the Ancient Quarter daily (**Fig. 4**)²⁶⁾.

Fig.3: Local people utilize space in front of their houses to engage in business activity. This is an attraction for tourists.

Fig.4: Hawkers carry items to sell every day from outside of the Ancient Quarter and do business in the empty spaces they find in the quarter.

The unique streetscape of the quarter has since become an attraction for tourists, bringing prospective customers to local retailers. In short, the transformation of the historical buildings into long, tube-like buildings has boosted tourism and indirectly encouraged small- and medium-sized businesses in the quarter. Consequently, local people have benefitted the most from the revitalization policy. The living streetscape mix has become an attraction for tourists, encouraging many to explore this old area. Various Western-style shops can be seen in the main

tourist area. The establishment of shops, restaurants, cafés, and art galleries that fuse Western and local style is becoming a trend: while the fronts of houses are rented and renovated to shops that exhibit fusion and modern styles, the other sides of the house retain their original features. However, excessive extension and renovation activities could jeopardize the quality of life in the quarter by increasing its density and the possibility of hygiene problems.

5.3 Creative Industries as a Heritage Tourism Attraction and Adaptive Use as a Conservation Strategy in Xintiandi, Shanghai

Shanghai was the cradle of modern industry in China in past decades. Shanghai was the first Chinese city to survey and conserve industrial heritage in China. In Shanghai, the rehabilitation of dilapidated factories, warehouses, and residential houses for commercial mixed use and creative industry has become a trend to preserve historical monuments and heritage buildings (*Fig. 5* and *Fig. 6*). This trend is evidenced in the old districts of Tianzifang and Xintiandi.

Compared with demolished neighborhoods, the development of Xintiandi and Tianzifang reflect an effort to prevent the destruction of Lilong buildings and bustling with tourism activities by facilitating commercial activities and creative industry. Both are also profit-making endeavors. As the most famous commercial plaza in Shanghai, Xintiandi was a significant outcome for conservation efforts. It is an adaptive reuse project in which Lilong residential buildings were transformed for mixed commercial use. The Xintiandi rejuvenation project has been said to have been based on the concept of adaptive reuse. Adaptive reuse has mainly been recognized as a viable option in relation to industrial structures and the creative industries in accordance with a “new marketing method.” Thus, Shanghai adaptive reuse has been defined as a viable option for industrial heritage and the “twin goals of cultural innovations and economic development”³¹⁾. The transformation of historical areas in megacities is difficult because of modernization. Shanghai has exhibited a strong intention to utilize heritage assets to market an authentic international identity that melds West and East. However, in regard to the area’s quality of life, gentrification has become an issue³⁶⁾. Residents’ voices are not really considered a key element for development planning in the area. The relocation of residents and conversion of the residential use to commercial use has aroused strong public attention. Gentrification method has been questioned due to the destruction of social and cultural identities of the local community. The immense threat to the social fabric of the historical district is evident. Therefore, the challenge in implementing the sustainable concept has yet to be resolved in the area.

5.4 Considering Both Heritage Conservation and Improving People's Quality of Life in Yanaka District, Tokyo

Preservation in Yanaka District extends beyond single building units to encompass heritage assets as a whole. In Yanaka District, historic buildings are well preserved for residential use and have a relatively higher value as residential buildings than as commercial buildings. The area escaped damage from the Great Kanto Earthquake 1923 and World War II and the building and streetscape retain their original structure and features (*Fig. 7*). The area is defined by narrow backstreets dotted with small temples and shrines, old residences, and a traditional working-class community.

Fig.7: The neighborhoods of Yanaka still retain the charm and warmth of the past with many historic, and traditional-style wooden houses.

Fig.8: Yanaka, Ginza, a famous shopping street that meets the needs of locals and tourists.

Yanaka District is not as famous as other downtown areas in Tokyo along the Yamanote Line, such as Asakusa for international tourists. Asakusa is a key tourist destination that offers a mixture of modernity, tradition, and nature (for example, the Sumida River, Tokyo Skytree, and Sakusa Temple). However, Yanaka District still retains interest for those who are interested in traditional Japanese downtown areas. The traditional wooden buildings built about 100 years ago are in good condition. Some of the shops are targeted to tourists, but compared to George Town, Hanoi, and Shanghai, there are still numerous local businesses that mainly provide for the daily needs of the local community. The commercial neighborhoods in Yanaka District, for example, the business shopping street in Yanaka, Ginza, still offers plenty of local businesses for the local community (*Fig. 8*). Notably, the owners of shops and restaurants are mostly elderly people who have operated their businesses for many years and have a clientele in the local community. In recent years, young people tend to run their own businesses in Yanaka, such as art gallery, craft shop, fusion café and etc. The historical identity of Yanaka has turned it into a platform for young entrepreneur who appreciates traditional downtown. In the meantime, this area provides originality that enable tourists to experience its humbleness. Tourists come and leave in a way that is not fundamentally differently from members of the local community. The area hosts traditional trade activities rather than tourism-based commercial activities. The area is not fully dependent on the tourism industry. In response to developmental pressure from surrounding areas, the local community made its voice heard and decided upon a vision for the area.

5.5 Summarize of Current Condition and Impact of Heritage Conservation and Tourism in Study Areas

There is a vital connection between heritage and conservation. *Table 5* shows the current condition of the four areas and three closely related main aspects.

- i) Physical and man-made environment
  - Urban fabric and use
- ii) Socio-cultural environment
  - Living conditions and local culture
- iii) Economic environment
  - Tourism and traditional trade

TABLE 5: *Current Condition of the Physical and Man-made Environment, Socio-cultural Environment, and Economic Environment in the Four Areas*

ASPECT CITIES	Physical and Man-made Environment		Socio-cultural Environment		Economic Environment	
	Urban Fabric	Use	Living Condition	Local Culture	Tourism	Traditional Trade
George Town, Penang	• Multicultural-style heritage buildings. • Pre-war shop houses of 2–3 stories. • The architectural typologies of the buildings can be clarified easily according to area because of boundary planning by the British.	• Adaptive reuse of heritage buildings. • Penetration by new elements of leisure and entertainment to support the needs of tourists. • Fusion of local culture and colonial style, contemporary design, and invented themes and images.	• Unaffordable rentals. • People have increasingly moved away from the core zone.	• Multicultural community. • Successfully promotion of awareness about local culture. • The raising of awareness regarding the continuity of history.	• The tourism sector is becoming more active. • Facilities and infrastructure for tourists have been improved. • Tourist attractions are getting stale and beginning to lose their relevance to modern visitors.	• The replacement of traditional trade with tourist-oriented businesses has become a trend in the historical area. • Traditional trade and business are under threat.
Ancient Quarter, Hanoi	• Composed of a series of long, parallel, tube-like houses with a north-south orientation. • The area is high-density.	• The extension of business activities in front of houses and on the pavement. • Building frontages as retailing outlets.	• Empty spaces are gradually filled from bottom to top and front to back between the orderly arrays of building blocks with small-scale expansions. • Excessively high density. • Hygiene problems.	• People in Hanoi are attached to the history of their city and their heritage that is now deteriorating due to the rapidly changing economic context.	• High commercial attractiveness characterizes the quarter; business activities extend in front of the houses onto the pavement. • Significant effects in the tourism sector have been garnered. • Jobs have been created.	• Shops have been developed along the streets to cater to local residents' diverse routine needs in a more convenient way. • Various job opportunities have been provided for local people as traditional trade has become a tourist attraction.
Lilong (Xintiandi and Tianzifang), Shanghai	• Located in the French Concession, the area comprises various buildings in Western and Eastern architectural styles. • Lilong house architecture. • Shared alleys are places for communicating with neighbors; blocks separate the community from the outside. • Space was designed for efficient use	• Reflects efforts to prevent the destruction of Lilong buildings and successfully preserve liveliness. • The residential functions of Lilong buildings have been changed to mixed commercial use. • Commercial activities and modern urban living.	• The impact of gentrification. • The quality of life has worsened due to the impact of tourism activities. • Conflicts have emerged between residents' willingness and perceptions regarding preservation.	• Modernization and gentrification have brought gradual changes to the local culture.	• The area has become a famous spot for tourism. • Leisure and entertainment facilities. • The identity of the area has been enhanced by the generation of new, creative commercial activity and emergence of the tourism industry.	• Modernization in the area has induced changes: the area has turned from traditional businesses and trade to modern tourism-based activity.
Yanaka, Tokyo	• The Edo-period urban structure, street pattern, and ambience remain. Narrow backstreets dotted with small temples and shrines, old residences, and a traditional working-class community.	• The neighborhoods of Yanaka still retain the charm and warmth of the past with many historic, traditional-style wooden houses.	• A neat and clean environment that has substantially contributed to preserving greenery and traditional elements.	• A significant historical residential area surrounded by rapid development.	• Tourism-based commercial activities are not as much present as traditional trade activities. • Not fully dependent on the tourism industry.	• Numerous local businesses remain that mainly provide for the daily needs of and are targeted to the local community.

6. CONCLUSION

This study is conducted to compare the rehabilitation methods and revitalization policies in the old inner city of rapidly growing Asian cities. The historical buildings are observed from different viewpoints, such as the physical condition, sociocultural, and economical impact. The result shows that each city has differences and similarities in the comparative case study (*Table 4*). The outcome generated from each city is shown in *Table 5*.

George Town and Shanghai share similarities in heritage preservation forms; preserving building structures completely including the details in these areas. With the recognition of UNESCO and strict enforcement of regulations, George Town has moved forward with proper heritage conservation plans. Meanwhile, Shanghai has set a new target to becoming an advanced metropolitan region. Since the “open door” policy was announced, Shanghai’s mission has been to become an advanced metropolis and to generate as much prosperity as possible. Nevertheless, gentrification process has turned the area into a commercial asset rather than a cultural asset. Both cases specialize in tourism or create new and creative commercial activities in the areas. The tourism activities have caused conflicts between tourism and local community. On the other hand, by preserving the whole environment generally, Hanoi and Yanaka are focusing on the community activities and its original ambience. Both areas are similar in terms of compatibility with local business (traditional trade). In Hanoi, the people of Hanoi are attached to the history of their city and their heritage, which is now deteriorating due to the rapidly changing economic context. Many choose to prioritize retail businesses without considering its safety level and hygiene matters. Therefore, improvement of physical living environment is needed. Meanwhile, Yanaka has achieved impressive gains but continuous effort is needed; whether the younger generations will take up preservation efforts is an issue. The biggest challenge for Yanaka is setting a clear direction in preserving the area.

In conclusion, two types of methods have generated different results (*Table 6*). Firstly, by preserving the building structure with strict conservation rules and regulations, it has sustained a distinguishable identity and landscape feature for the places. Proper physical spatial planning and environment preservation framework are implemented. These cities specialize in tourism sector with new and creative commercial activities. It has encouraged the development of traditional craft industry through the production of innovative products. Consequently, job opportunities for local people have increased and thus boosted the local economy. However, conflict between tourism activities and the lifestyle of local community has occurred.

Secondly, preserving the entire environment by using management or control of urban planning / land use method, and consensus building method have encouraged community activities and generated authentic ambience in the cities. Socio cultural elements that are compatible and harmonized with local business (traditional industry) remain as the main attraction for tourists. However, issues related to living condition and the inconsistency in implementing the preservation effort need to be tackled.

Therefore, this study has concluded that both preservation methods have brought different kinds of tourism effect for the cities. It could be a reference for other cities when making decision to preserve its cultural heritage site.

Table 6: Categorization of the Preservation Method Imposed To the Area and Tourism Impact

Preservation Form	Main Method	Core Bodies	Outcome	Tourism Impact
Preserve Building Structure Completely (Physical)	• Implementing the Conservation Rule, Regulation and Guideline Strictly (George Town)	• Local Government • NGO/NPO	• Distinguishable Identity / Characteristic • Landscape Feature	Specialization in tourism sector / new and creative commercial activities ↓ • Conflict between tourism and community
	• Regenerate and Redevelopment / Gentrification (Shanghai)	• Government • Developer	• Physical Spatial Planning • Environment Preservation	
Preserve Entire Environment Generally (e.g. Management and Induction of land use planning)	• Management and control of urban planning and land use (Hanoi)	• Local Government	• Community Activities • Authentic Ambience (lifescape)	Compatible and harmonized with local business (traditional trade) ↓ • Issue of living condition (e.g. disaster prevention) • Uncertainty in preservation of historic element (spatial)
	• Consensus Building (Yanaka)	• Community • NGO/NPO		

The characteristics and functions of heritage zones in inner cities change in accordance with conservation efforts that are implemented; similarly, conservation efforts differ according to the characteristics and functions of the heritage zones that they pertain to. Economic benefits could be gained by promoting the unique heritage assets of inner cities as tourist attractions. The rehabilitation and regeneration of historic centers has been increasingly recognized as an efficient tool for urban development as it enables a synthesis of cultural values with economic opportunities and benefits. Conservation activities facilitate the preservation of these cities' historic character and traditional flavor; this benefits tourism. However, questions remain: which elements, buildings, or areas should be preserved? Who should take responsibility in deciding what is preserved? How can sustainable conservation be implemented? Although economic benefits may be expected from such development, social aspects must also be fully considered. Thus, urban planners and decision-makers must strike a fine balance between modernizing cities and preserving the unique characteristics of urban areas as well as social needs.

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