Understanding Trends on Urban Heritage Research in Asia

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ABSTRACT

Asian cities are experiencing rapid growth. In 2011, 13 of the 23 megacities in the world have been identified to be in Asia. Understanding how heritage plays a role in the rapid changes of city development require critical observation because its degradation is expected to impact on the quality of life of millions of individuals. This paper focuses on documenting the state of the art on research focused on heritage and development in Asia, as well as, to discuss the main findings and gaps. It also strives to identify Asian countries, cities and heritage properties where a great body of knowledge is already available. Notably, heritage properties are being set strategically as an anchor for sustainable urban development. However, they also seem to be suffering from the unsustainable growth of Asian cities. This paper abridges the criticisms on current practices, guidelines for best practices and sustaining theories developed by scholars in the field of urban heritage in Asia. This paper also looks into how the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape can be integrated to the urban development framework of Asian cities, amidst these changes.

KEYWORDS: Historic Urban Landscape; urban conservation; sustainable urban development; cultural heritage; Asia

INTRODUCTION

For the first time in human history, more than half of the world population, 3.6 billion in 2011, lives in cities (UN-DESA, 2012, p.1). This number is expected to increase to 6.3 billion by 2050. In 2011, 13 of the 23 megacities with a population of more than 10 million citizens have been identified to be in Asia (UN-DESA, 2012, p.7). It was predicted that by 2025, 22 of the 37 megacities of the world would be located in Asia. Tokyo, Japan topped the cities with the highest population. China will have seven megacities, being Shanghai, Beijing, Shenzhen, Guagzhou, Chongqing, Wuhan and Tianjin. India will have six megacities, being Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta, Bangalore, Chennai and Hyderabad. Cities such as New Delhi, Beijing, Manila and Lahore are established capitals and most of them also include protected areas

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inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List, thus having protected urban areas of outstanding universal value (UNESCO, 2013).

The importance of understanding the role of heritage in urban development is of great relevance for those active in the sustainable urban development of Asian cities. Now more than ever, the migration of rural dwellers to major cities in Asia, due to better chances for employment and life satisfaction, is exponentially increasing urban sprawl, exacerbating the destruction of older built environments (Jones, 2000; Berry & Okulicz-Kozaryn, 2009). The increase in urban population and the insufficient protection and urban development policies that integrate the sustainable use of the built environment, including heritage areas, has long been warned and expected to create pressures on historic cities (Van Oers, 2007). Such rapid transformation contributes to the development of estranged places, 'geographies of everywhere and nowhere' (Chang and Huang, 2008). Some cities no longer encounter the "historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes" and the evolution on the "urban context and its geographical setting," as expected in historic urban landscapes (UNESCO, 2011; Bandarin & van Oers, 2012) of related periods. These places become globalized cities that have homogenous and characterless spaces. Asian cities are at the forefront of this tendency, risking to lose touch with their past, tangible and intangible heritage, for the sake of rapid growth and unsustainable urban development.

This paper recognizes the need to look into the field of heritage as a whole, documenting the state of the art on recent research focused on heritage and development in Asia. It aims to identify critical issues that are discussed and it directs to concepts and theories that try to mitigate or explain practices. Most of the literature explored critical perspectives from varied fields of knowledge such as tourism, sustainability, urban design and policy, conservation, sociology, and natural sciences. Such an interdisciplinary understanding is important to give a broader overview on the problem field, how it has evolved in time, together with the varied approaches defined to mitigate it in the past, present and future.

HERITAGE ISSUES IN ASIA

Five major themes emerged bridging heritage conservation and urban development in Asia, while exploring the notions of "heritage" "cities" "Asia" and "development" simultaneously throughout scientific literature. The fields of knowledge were ordered according to the level of attention by the Asian scholarship and shall head the structure of this paper. Those are respectively:

- Urban development versus heritage conservation;
- Sustainable development and urban regeneration;
- Tourism strategies and impacts;
- Natural attributes in urban areas; and
- Socio-cultural aspects of cities

Urban Development and Heritage Conservation

The dramatic changes caused by the industrial economies in Asian cities like Hong Kong and Singapore, and on other rapidly developing cities like Bangkok, Jakarta and Shanghai have created extensive metropolitan regions, sometimes extending far beyond the officially designated urban areas (Jones, 2000). Such extensive developments lead to challenges such as colliding needs for new infrastructure and the preservation of historic areas (Thi Hong Hanh, 2006 p.168), gentrification of old quarters (Acharya, 2005 p.233), limited connection between building conservation with the wider historic and geographic environments (Whitehand & Gu, 2007), and fragmentation of urban areas (Sirisrisak, 2009 p. 407). Thi Hong Hanh (2006) highlights that in countries like Vietnam, heritage protection only becomes a concern if it supports the national economic development. Ng (2009) questions the gap between economic and urban development versus the conservation of the built heritage in China. Accordingly, globalized cities in Asia are becoming filled with skyscrapers, which may seem on the short term quite attractive for global investments, as they also capture a highly skilled work force and facilitates tourism growth. However, without cultural and historical anchor and a unique sense-of-place, such cities are expected to lose competitiveness on the long term (Chang and Huang, 2008).

There is an overall claim that historic urban landscapes are in need of physical and economic development to meet contemporary needs (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012). However, there is a lack of strategies on how to meet such needs, what should be retained and what should be considered to be the essential significance of urban heritage areas. There is, though, a great criticism on condemning these places to become open-air museums, without their communities and traditions (Steinberg, 1996; Acharya, 2005; Reeves & Long, 2011; Sirisrisak, 2009, p.410). Most arguments on urban development and heritage conservation were found complimentary, rather than contradictory. Still, most were critical perspectives on the current state of the practice, urging for the implementation of more holistic approaches in order to facilitate the balance between urban development and heritage conservation.

Sustainable Development and Urban Regeneration

Traditional systems, ancient cultural patterns and religious practices are perceived as a source of inspiration for sustainable development. Patra (2009) pleas for the use of Vaastu Shastra, the ancient Indian knowledge in architecture, as a model for sustainable city planning. The concept developed in the 1500-1000 B.C. implemented the development of self-sufficient, culturally rich and ecologically sound communities based on a philosophical system of spatial planning called Vaastu Purusha Mandala. Looking at strategies and challenges of historic cities while they face rapid population growth with the changing economic, social and ecological patterns are crucial in developing techniques for sustainability (Paliwal, 2005; Acharya, 2005). The city of Udaipur in India was founded in 1568 as an agrarian-commercial city but it has been transformed over the last 50 years into a city of tourism and mining (Paliwal, 2005). Traditional knowledge and craftsmanship to build and maintain balance with its natural context has been lost in Udaipur. However, Paliwal (2005) believed that the restoration of such balance would occur through community participation.

Urban regeneration of inactive industrial areas is also taking place in Asia. The introduction of creative industries in the Suzhou Creek warehouses (Wang, 2009) and the Red Town in Shanghai (Zhong & Zhou, 2011) is seen as a positive contribution to their economic viability. Although these two development projects are often hailed as best practice examples of adaptive re-use of industrial heritage, Wang (2009) critically questions the motives to conserve these heritage areas, arguing between preserving the area's history and/or gaining economic returns. The growth of cities and the importance of meeting housing demands that respects carrying capacity of the natural environment is explored by Chiu (2006). The creation of housing that is both socially and culturally sustainable is weighted as important as its ecological and economic sustainability. Chiu (2006, p.75) argued that the conservation of residential buildings enhances the continuity of a culture and contemporary design solutions that integrate local aesthetic values enrich the cultural identity of a place.

Tourism strategies and impacts

Tourism is a driving force for the economy of many Asian countries. The impacts of this massive industry are being seen simultaneously as opportunities and threats to heritage conservation. It only depends on the urban development priorities of each city. Li, Wu and Cai (2008) have identified the effects of heritage tourism in China in their study, wherein they analyzed World Heritage properties by applying tools such as geo-mathematics and geographic information systems (GIS). They have discovered the World Heritage properties in the Greater Beijing region are those most affected by high tourism visitation. In another study, opportunities to create 'Recreation Business Districts' to capture economic benefits of tourism spending was explored by Li Li and Tao (2003) in the historic city of Suzhou, China. Thematic tourism such as food tourism in Singapore (Henderson et al, 2012) and heritage tourism in Macau (Tze-Ngai Vong & Ung, 2012) are seen as a means of capturing economic benefits from the tourism industry. The effect of tourism to smaller cities peripheral to major historic cities are also a topic of research. Wanting to gain more authentic experiences, tourists from Taiwan and Europe now visit smaller cities in Japan such as the settlements in Kanazawa and Takayama (Kitada, 2011). Also, a backpacker enclave has been formed in Vang Vieng, a rural town outside Luang Prabang, Laos, which changed the lives of local farmers and created social problems (Yokoyama, 2007). In many developing countries, funds to development projects targeting historic areas are being based on their tourism potential, but the negative impacts of such projects on the local community are being neglected (Sirisrisak, 2009). Managing the tourism impacts targeted with the nomination and subsequent inscription of cultural heritage at the World Heritage List seems complex, and holistic solutions are recommended to look beyond the physical boundaries of the property (Reeves & Long, 2011; Starin, 2008; Yamamura et al, 2006; Li, Wu and Cai, 2008).

Natural elements of urban areas

The natural elements situated in urban areas have also been documented, indicating the close connection between natural heritage and the livability of cities. Designating outstanding historical trees as 'Heritage Trees' in cities like Hong Kong, Singapore and Guangzhou reflect the environmental value of trees and their importance to communities, both as cultural and natural heritage (Jim, 2005a). However, in a city like Guangzhou that has over 2500 years of history, heritage trees are threatened by new infrastructure and housing developments (Jim, 2005a). Extremely compact development and poor soil conditions are also deteriorating the quality of heritage trees in Hong Kong (Jim 2005b). Bengston and Youn (2006) contemplate the loss of the city's rich natural heritage and urban ecosystem because of the weakened laws protecting greenbelts in Seoul, South Korea.

Waterscapes are also seen as very important natural elements in Asia. The canals of Ho Chi Minh City, which have been part of the city's trade and transport route since 1698, are now superseded by massive infrastructure developments for land transport (Thi Hong Hanh, 2006). These canals had beautiful waterside houses, vibrant economy and distinguished spiritual attributes but the canals have become polluted and have developed slums (Thi Hong Hanh, 2006). Garden wetlands like what is seen in Suzhou, China are classical representations of Chinese cultural heritage, but they are also perceived as a potential basis for an ecological system and sustainable development (Sun and Wang, 2007). Waterfronts in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia are being regenerated to enhance the city's sense of place and improve the heritage values of riversides and maximize its recreational usage potential (Shamsuddin et al, 2008).

Socio-cultural aspects of cities

Several socio-cultural aspects of city life were found in literature discussing urban heritage in Asia. Dealing with colonialism and its remnants - physical, political, and cultural - are the interest of academics, though primarily researched by international academics coming from outside of Asia (Chaplin, 2010; Jones & Shaw, 2006). The challenges of 'Shared Colonial Heritage' was documented by ICOMOS in 2001 and it has indicated that nationalism and identity formation, economic pressures for urban development and comforts of modern life were some factors contributing to the loss of colonial heritage (Chaplin, 2010). and Jakarta have dealt with the collective memories of colonial heritage areas in different ways, but their preservation are related directly to each country's economic and political regime (Jones & Shaw, 2006). Goh (2010) theorized that Raffles Hotel in Singapore reflects the country's history of colonialism, nationalism, global capitalism and cultural hybridity. He argued that the designated monument is an expression of power and it is used as a tool for spatial-cultural politics. Other types of colonial heritage such as designed colonial police compounds in Macau and Hong Kong were observed by Chaplin (2010) to be left to ruin, threatened by obsolescence.

The growth of various Asian cities have created a myriad of challenges, such as the reduction of quality of life because of urban sprawl, changes in habits and ways of living and poor relationship between historic cores and the wider urban landscape (Sirisrisak, 2009). Berry & Okulicz-Kozaryn (2009) have made an intercontinental study on life dissatisfaction with city living and their study concludes that people living at higher levels of development in large cities have higher life dissatisfaction than those in rural areas, which is a sign that development is not keeping up with rising expectations. However in Asia, life dissatisfaction in big cities is by average lower, except when a person is unemployed (Berry & Okulicz-Kozaryn, 2009, p.122). With the rapid growth in the urban landscape, trends such as local cultures erosion and emotional displacement of local people are argued to be rooted on the loss of familiar places, amidst uncontrollable changes due to unsustainable urban developments (Yuen, 2006). In Singapore, an 'Identity Plan' has been integrated to the Master Plan of 2003 to involve the local communities in defining what they believe as valuable assets of their neighborhoods and historic areas (Yuen, 2006). However, Shaw and Ismail (2006) have observed that dying traditional cultural expressions of specific districts in Singapore were no longer economically viable to the local storeowners and the community welcomed a change of use. Balancing cultural integrity and economic viability needs constant negotiation and conscious evaluation.

Studies have also identified the use of culture in the definition of long-term goals for the city development and urban planning strategies. The city of Gwangju in South Korea used the Biennale exhibition from 1995 to 2002 to change the troubling image of the city, from a 'city of resistance' to a 'city of art' (Shin, 2004). Such strategy used culture as a tool for economic growth and it reshaped the city's political and spatial identity. Aside from that, Shin (2004) observed that the local citizens also used the Biennale to reevaluate the meaning of their past. In Bhutan's case, the Buddhist concept of the 'middle path' that advocates 'the neutral, upright and centered' is also being integrated to its national tourism strategy (Rinzin, 2006). Although tourism is fast becoming a contributor to the economy, there is a clear idea of being selective with the type of tourists that can come to Bhutan. Only "high value, low impact" tourism activities that do not disrupt local culture are promoted by the government in their development strategy (Rinzin, 2006). Culture and heritage, their manifestations in the past and their advancements in the present are important aspects of urban development strategies in some cities in Asia.

THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE APPROACH

In 2011, UNESCO Member States adopted the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (hereinafter referred to as the HUL Approach) as part of a shared effort to holistically integrate heritage conservation and sustainable development of historic urban landscapes. The HUL Approach perceives cities as both carriers of collective memory, meaning, architectural and artistic achievements, and also as dynamic organisms that continuously evolve (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012). Recognizing heritage as a resource to the city and its communities, both intangible and tangible components, the HUL approach is aiming to support the perception of heritage as a driving force for economic, environmental, social and cultural improvements to cities (WHC, 2013). The HUL Approach also calls upon the inputs of various actors from the public, private, national and international sectors to create or enhance existing management tools and regulation systems that deal with communities, urban planning and heritage conservation techniques and finances (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012). Being a "soft-law", it is up to the Member States on a voluntary basis to stimulate local governments on its adaptation and adoption. Member States have agreed to develop over the following years their framework in supporting policies and monitoring systems to facilitate its implementation (UNESCO 36C/23 Resolution, 2011).

The HUL Approach hopes to be integrated with the cultural diversity of heritage management worldwide. Thus, not superseding current laws and strategies of different nations, but serve as an additional tool to integrate existing policies (Bandarin & van Oers, 2012). UNESCO has provided six critical steps to help implement the HUL Approach, simplified here as follows:

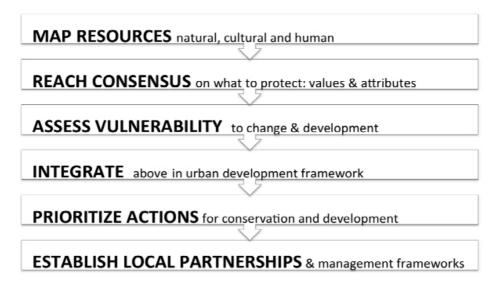


Figure 1. Critical Steps of the HUL Approach. (UNESCO 36C/23 Resolution, 2011; Veldpaus et al., 2013)

The UNESCO World Heritage Center has recently organized initial studies in the implementation of the HUL Approach in Baku, Azerbaijan and at the Swahili Coast in the countries of Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique (Rao, 2012). In all four cases, gaps and overlaps in conservation and management strategies have been identified and knowledge that was acquired in this process was used as a means of prioritizing actions to further develop these historic urban landscapes (Rao, 2012). To increase the awareness of the HUL Approach, UNESCO planned actions that will benefit the Member States in fostering its implementation. These actions include the creation of a website for the exchange of communication, creation of specialist working groups, development of technical and financial assistance packages, fostering scientific research on the specifics of HUL, organization of conferences to foster discussion and disseminate information, support the creation of educational tools and formation of a monitoring process for its implementation (UNESCO Bangkok, 2011).

HUL Implementation in Asia

In 2012, the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Mayors' Forum for World Heritage Cities held in Gyeongju, South Korea discussed the HUL Approach and the challenge of integrating sustainable development and urban conservation (UNESCO Bangkok, 2012). The themes identified in this forum were the economics of urban heritage, partnerships with the private sector and the engagement of local communities and lastly, conservation of heritage and urban sustainability. At the end of the forum, the Gyeongju Recommendation was drafted, recognizing the importance of political awareness and commitment to identify and protect the multiple values of historic urban landscapes (UNESCO Bangkok, 2012).

In the same year, the World Heritage Institute of Training in Research for Asia and the Pacific (WHITRAP) started the HUL Research Programme that aims to develop a Asian-based theories and assessment frameworks to document best practices (Zhou & van Oers, 2013). It also wants to create a "Road Map" to be used as a toolkit at the local level for cities in China (van Oers & Pereira Roders, 2013). Pilot cities in the Asia-Pacific region will then be selected to explore the lessons learned from the WHITRAP studies, and these historic urban landscapes will be primarily selected based on the following criteria (Zhou & van Oers, 2013):

- Conservation and development challenges and needs in the next 3 years;
- Local Government buy-in and commitment to follow up on the outcomes of the research and technical advice provided; and
- Site conditions (State of Conservation) and potential improvements

For the moment, there are no Asian-based guidelines yet developed. There seems to be no comparison in history on how to deal with the scale and speed of urbanization of Asian cities, especially in China (van Oers & Pereira Roders, 2013). Current documentation focused on the conflicts of urban development and heritage conservation suggests that there is limited dialogue between what is still believed to be two opposite perspectives to develop the city (Chen & Romice, 2009).

Developing an all-encompassing toolkit for the implementation of the HUL Approach in Asian cities should be sensitive to their prominent urban development typologies. WHITRAP's idea of starting the investigation process in China seems, indeed logical. As revealed in this paper, there is a vast amount of urban heritage research focused on Chinese cities (e.g. Acharya, 2005; Whitehand & Gu, 2007; Li, Wu and Cai, 2008). However, there are many other cities and other Asian countries that could be used as pilot cities. Few even include urban areas designated as UNESCO World Heritage. Each Asian city needs to adapt the HUL Approach to their local context. For example, although they can be considered small in size, historic settlements such as Kanazawa and Takayama in Japan, as well as the rural town of Viang Veng in Laos are not less relevant for such exploratory pilots. They are also in need of strategies to bridge heritage conservation and urban development. Singapore and Hong Kong have not inscribed sites in the World Heritage List, but they seem also relevant, given their rapid urban development process in the last couple of decades. They are referenced as global cities with diminishing unique identities. Strategies that integrate tangible and intangible heritage to a bigger planning framework can be crucial in such cities,

probably more than other more culturally aware cities. The strategies to understand megacities like Shanghai and Kuala Lumpur may also not be suitable to smaller historic cities like Udaipur and Luang Prabang. Therefore, rather than one country, the selection of pilot cities in Asia could benefit in diversity of scale, typology and nationality.

The Six Critical Steps of the HUL Approach

This study observed that Asian cities are still at an initial stage in implementing the six critical steps of the HUL Approach. Looking at the concerns of different scholars on urban heritage, it seems that some steps might be easier to do than others, depending on the framework that is currently in place in each city. Much of the current literature is focused on different aspects of urban heritage and an integrated framework where heritage protection, urban development, economic gains and cultural preservation are still seen as different spheres of knowledge. Most articles have begun the first step of mapping cultural or natural resources that are important for the city, or at least the part of the city within the scope of each author's specific research. This however, is in no way comprehensive enough for the HUL Approach because there is still a perceivable focus on either natural, cultural or intangible heritage in many articles, rather than understanding it as a whole. The second step of reaching consensus on what needs to be protected is being implemented in cities such as Singapore, with its Identity Plan integrating residents to the urban planning process (Yuen, 2006), and also in Shanghai Red Town where local artists, developers, ICOMOS and the government have developed the 'China Principle' on the adaptive reuse of industrial heritage (Wang, 2009). Academics however, have highlighted the need for participatory planning process in cities like Bangkok (Sirisrisak, 2009) and Ho Chi Minh City (Thi Hong Hanh, 2006) to save its urban heritage. The third step of assessing heritage vulnerabilities have been seen in different cities and primarily concerned with rapid urban development (Feng & Wang, 2011; Acharya, 2005; Thi Hong Hanh, 2006), population growth (Paliwal, 2005; Li, Wu and Cai, 2008), problems with the political systems (Reeves & Long, 2011; Jones & Shaw, 2006; Chaplin, 2010), excessive tourism (Sirisrisak, 2009; Starin, 2008) and deficiencies of existing planning laws and processes (Shaw & Ismail, 2006; Wong, 2007). Other vulnerabilities such as the effects of climate change and disaster risk preparedness are lacking attention. Similar ideas of creating the fourth step, of having an integrated approach, have been advocated by some scholars. Principles such as the Recreational Business District (Li Li & Tao, 2003), Vaastu Shastra (Patra, 2009), CATWOE (Paliwal, 2005) and the Conzenian morphological approach (Whitehand & Gu, 2007) are looking at heritage in a landscape level. All these different specialized theoretical approaches can be tested in different cities where the authors have proposed them and these ideas may even enhance the effective integration the HUL Approach to local planning frameworks. The fifth step of prioritizing actions for conservation and development is seldom discussed by academics. Though, actions and comprehensive master plans have been conceptualized for some Asian cities, different bodies from the private and public sector are usually only concerned with their specific scope of work. Special priorities are also given to projects that are economically important to cities, but a balance needs to be struck to incorporate the importance of heritage for the health of

Asian cities (Thi Hong Hanh, 2006). The last step of establishing local partnerships and management framework has been seen in many cities, where the second step of reaching consensus through participatory planning has already been established. There are notable partnerships with the creative industry in Shanghai (Feng & Wang, 2011; Wang, 2009), tourism operators in Bhutan (Rinzin, 2006), local communities in Gwangju (Shin, 2004) and community watch groups in Joo Chiat Road in Singapore (Shaw & Ismail, 2006). Li Li & Tao (2003) also recognized the possibility of creating partnerships with other property developers who have, over the last years, acquired land near heritage areas.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research has shown that the issues on urban heritage in Asia are diverse and covering seemingly separate realms of knowledge. However, all these issues are connected to a wider perspective and are interdisciplinary, if seen in the lens of the historic urban landscape. To recognize that Asian cities are dynamic organisms that continuously evolve means that the past, the present and the future are important considerations for their vital existence. The pressures that megacities are creating to the health of cities need to be addressed in different fronts, not just advocating developments to ease the need for more housing and infrastructure, but also to improve the quality of peoples lives, which is strongly rooted on their identity and consequently, also on their heritage, tangible and intangible, cultural and natural, movable and immovable.

The implementation of the HUL Approach in Asia seems to be taking its first steps but there is still much to do. Countries such as Thailand, Singapore and Bhutan already developed masterplans for their cities, integrating tangible and/or intangible heritage as part of the varied layers of the cultural significance of their city, and seen as a part of the greater whole. Countries such as Laos, the Philippines and India have already established a register of national tangible heritage properties and some documentation are also done for intangible heritage resources. Thus, the task still missing is to introduce these data to the planning process. Participatory planning and the creation of partnerships with local stakeholders is very much linked with sustainable development. This task requires transparency and foments a bottom-up approach not all governments are ready to enroll. The active participation of NGO's local community groups and businesses to the planning process remains largely unstudied. Commitments and concrete actions from different levels of society are required. The main challenge of the HUL Approach lies on how traditional political structures and planning processes will be integrated to form a cohesive framework where different parties can work complimentary to each other, in which actions can be designated and monitored more effectively. Such a task might be easier for smaller locations, such as those inscribed on the World Heritage List, where there are often designated management structures in place to manage the entire property. Lastly, because the HUL Approach is intrinsically embedded in the idea that cities are organisms that change, a cyclical evaluation process needs to be established for cities that will implement it. The HUL Approach will also need to be consistently analyzed and improved so it remains relevant to current perceptions. This can contribute to a more sustainable management of change, while addressing new concerns as they emerge.

This research has identified that the HUL Approach, or at least few of its critical steps, are already target of attention by different scholars doing research in Asian cities, even though none have referenced the HUL Approach. Thus, this paper also validates the assumption that the HUL Approach is not a new tool, but an evolution of knowledge, adapting with the trends of current thinking on heritage. Further research is urgently needed in Asian cities, in order to question unsustained assumptions, compare results and validate conclusions. WHITRAP's selection process in identifying pilot cities is crucial, which could benefit from a tailored selection criteria that capture more considerations. Choosing cities where the local governments are already committed to pursue the outcomes of the pilot research and technical advice to be provided, might indeed anticipate that the management framework of these cities are more open for modifications and improvements. However, the HUL Approach needs to be broadly tested in more countries, before taking any global conclusions concerning Asian cities and the implementation of the HUL Approach. This process is expected to change development paradigms of Asian cities, and hopefully contribute to their sustainable development. Time and further research will confirm.

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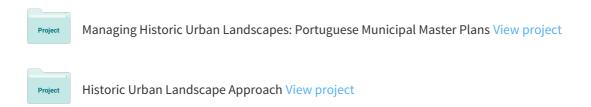
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Stelios Lekakis (Greece) – Centre for Applied Archaeology, University

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