

Global Versus Local: A Comparative Study of Cultural Heritage Preservation from Kyoto to Tainan



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Abstract

This thesis explores how Tainan, an ancient city in Taiwan, and Kyoto, a renowned UNESCO World Heritage city in Japan, preserve their rich cultural heritage while adapting to modern life. Tainan, although historically significant, remains relatively unknown compared to Kyoto, which is celebrated globally for its effective heritage conservation practices. By examining these two cities, this study aims to identify lessons that Tainan can learn from Kyoto to improve its own strategies for sustainable cultural heritage preservation.

The research delves into the policies and practices each city employs to maintain the authenticity of their architectural heritage. It includes a detailed analysis of policy frameworks and stakeholder engagement, highlighting how Tainan and Kyoto address the challenges of preserving cultural sites. The study reveals how Kyoto's approach to integrating heritage into contemporary urban life and promoting cultural tourism can serve as a model for Tainan.

The findings suggest that Tainan can enhance its cultural preservation efforts by adopting strategies from Kyoto, such as fostering community involvement and balancing the needs of heritage conservation with urban development. This thesis provides a comprehensive look at how these two ancient capitals manage to protect their cultural legacies while remaining vibrant and relevant in the modern era.

Keywords: cultural heritage preservation, Tainan, Kyoto, UNESCO, policy analysis, stakeholder analysis, cultural authenticity, sustainable preservation, ancient capitals, shrine renewal, adaptive reuse

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When I applied for the GLOCAL program and embarked on this journey of studying in three different countries in 2022, I could not have imagined that this master's journey would lead me to research cultural heritage. As I mentioned in my thesis, education on this topic in Taiwan is not particularly comprehensive. From being a girl who made documentaries about Taiwanese indigenous peoples, I am now writing a master's thesis in the Netherlands—what an unexpected turn of life!

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Ping-Yi Lin

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Topic

Maintaining authenticity within cultural heritage tourism is a complex challenge, especially in the ongoing debate between cultural preservation and commercialization. This research explores the complex relationship between cultural authenticity and heritage preservation in the face of commercialization through a comparative analysis of heritage tourism in Kyoto, Japan, and Tainan, Taiwan. Both cities, each with a rich historical tapestry of ancient capitals, provide fascinating perspectives on the delicate balance between preserving the past and accommodating modern commercial interests. This is especially evident in the realm of architectural heritage, which includes historical sites and renovated old buildings.

Kyoto, known for its exemplary preservation of ancient capital charm and recognized by UNESCO, contrasts with Tainan, a city with significant untapped potential to address the challenges of overtourism, whose preservation efforts operate independently of UNESCO frameworks. This contrast highlights a broader discourse on the value and recognition of cultural heritage on both a local and global scale. The choice of these cities goes beyond their historical importance; it touches upon their shared narratives and divergent paths within the field of cultural heritage management.

The comparative analysis of Kyoto and Tainan is significant for several reasons. Firstly, both cities are ancient capitals, imbued with the cultural heritage that defines the historical and cultural identity of their respective countries. Secondly, Japan's colonization of Taiwan introduced a period where both regions shared a governance system, leaving a lasting impact on Taiwan's cultural landscape. This shared history provides a unique lens through which to examine heritage preservation across different political and cultural contexts. Thirdly, the distinction that Kyoto is a UNESCO member while Tainan is not allows for an exploration of the differing impacts of international recognition and local conservation efforts. International standards guide Kyoto's practices, while Tainan's strategies reflect local priorities and national policies, providing a comparative perspective that goes beyond Eurocentric criteria.

This investigation is centered around a set of research questions that seek to analyze the effects of commercialization on the authenticity and preservation of culture. It investigates the roles of government institutions, private enterprises, and local communities of cultural authenticity in both Kyoto and Tainan. By analyzing how these cities, embedded within different historical and cultural narratives, respond to the challenges of preserving cultural authenticity while managing the impacts of commercialization and tourism, this research seeks to uncover the effectiveness and scope of various heritage protection mechanisms. Additionally, the study examines the influence of UNESCO in Kyoto compared to Tainan's independent conservation strategies, offering insights into the practical implications of heritage

preservation at both local and global levels.

Adopting a constructivist lens to define authenticity, this research employs stakeholder interviews to capture a multifaceted understanding of cultural and heritage tourism experiences. This methodological approach facilitates a deeper comprehension of the social constructions of authenticity, influenced by personal and collective perspectives, thereby enriching the discourse on cultural heritage preservation in the face of commercialization. The research aims to challenge Eurocentric criteria through this comparative study, providing a nuanced understanding of how to preserve and celebrate cultural heritage in diverse contexts.

1.1.1 Research Question and Objectives

Building upon the foundational exploration of cultural heritage preservation amid the forces of commercialization, this study centers on a pivotal inquiry: **How do cultural authenticity and the preservation of cultural heritage get impacted by the commercialization and commodification of culture?** This primary research question serves as the cornerstone of a comparative analysis, scrutinizing the effects of commercial dynamics on cultural heritage within the distinct contexts of Kyoto, Japan, and Tainan, Taiwan. Both cities, with their rich historical and cultural legacies, provide a unique backdrop for investigating the nuanced interplay between preservation efforts and commercial influences, particularly within the realm of architectural heritage, encompassing historical sites and renovated old buildings.

The primary objective of this research is to explore how Tainan can benefit from Kyoto's exemplary heritage conservation practices to enhance its own efforts, focusing on improving cultural authenticity and effectively managing the impacts of commercialization. This objective underpins the comparative framework of the study and aims to draw actionable insights that can be applied in Tainan based on Kyoto's established practices. To dissect this overarching question, the research is further guided by three critical sub-questions, each designed to illuminate different facets of the cultural preservation-commercialization nexus:

Sub-Q1:

How do the public sector (government) and the private sectors (local communities, NPO, tourists) contribute to heritage preservation in Kyoto and Tainan?

This question aims to unravel the roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders in shaping the heritage conservation landscape in both cities. **Chapter 2** will delve into the complex interactions and strategies employed by these stakeholders within the context of their local cultural policies

and practices. By understanding these dynamics, the analysis will provide a comprehensive view of their collective impact on heritage preservation.

Sub-Q2:

How does UNESCO's framework specifically influence cultural heritage protection and management in Kyoto, and in its absence, what strategies does Tainan employ to safeguard its architectural heritage? How effective are these strategies in comparison?

This question explores the influence of international and local conservation strategies on cultural heritage preservation. **Chapter 3** will evaluate how these frameworks affect management practices in Kyoto and Tainan, assessing their effectiveness in mitigating the impacts of globalization and commercial pressures. This comparative analysis will highlight the differing approaches and their implications for heritage conservation.

Sub-Q3:

What factors contribute to the success of preservation practices in Tainan and Kyoto?

This question seeks to identify the key elements that drive successful heritage preservation in both cities. The research will consider internal factors, such as local practices and policies, and external influences, such as international recognition and support. **Chapter 3** will further analyze these factors, providing insights into the success and challenges faced by each city in maintaining cultural authenticity amidst commercial pressures.

These sub-questions are crucial for navigating the complex field of cultural heritage preservation. They help guide the research towards a comprehensive understanding of how commercialization influences cultural authenticity and what actions can be taken to reduce its effects. This study seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of how Tainan can adopt and adapt successful strategies from Kyoto, developing a robust and sustainable approach to cultural heritage preservation.

1.2 Key Concepts

1.2.1 Cultural Heritage: Concepts and Management Practices

This chapter delves into the complex dimensions of cultural heritage and its management, with a particular focus on UNESCO's role in shaping global heritage practices. As modern societies seek to integrate historical heritage into their contemporary structure for various benefits, this study examines the evolution of the definition of heritage—from tangible monuments to intangible traditions—and how it can be preserved, interpreted, and utilized. The discussion highlights heritage management approaches, particularly those adopted in Kyoto, which have aligned local conservation efforts with global recognition and increased visitor participation.

“What is cultural heritage?”

Cultural heritage, according to the “Recommendation concerning the Protection at National Level of the Cultural and Natural Heritage,” adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on November 16, 1972, refers to the immeasurable heritage of mankind's shared accomplishments.¹ It includes both concrete and abstract aspects that have been transmitted through the ages. This comprehensive concept encompasses varied expressions of culture, objects of cultural significance, customs, and rituals that shape our understanding of who we are and foster a sense of belonging and continuation. The concept of heritage relates to how contemporary society uses the past as a social, political, or economic resource. The term ‘cultural heritage’ has changed content considerably in recent decades, partially owing to the instruments developed by UNESCO. Cultural heritage does not end with monuments and collections of objects. UNESCO proposes the terms “tangible cultural heritage” and “intangible cultural heritage.” Intangible cultural heritage includes traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants,² such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, and knowledge concerning nature and the universe, as well as skills to produce traditional crafts. These intangible elements are equally vital in shaping our cultural identities and strengthening the bonds of communities. They serve as living repositories of knowledge, transmitting values, beliefs, and practices across generations. The preservation of intangible heritage is often complex and delicate, requiring active engagement from communities and individuals to ensure its continued vitality.

¹ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, “Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed June 24, 2024, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>.

² “UNESCO - Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage,” accessed June 24, 2024, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>.

Chiara Bortolotto's paper explores the shift from focusing on tangible objects to intangible processes in cultural heritage preservation.³ Bortolotto acknowledges the importance of UNESCO's shift towards intangible cultural heritage and the recognition of the dynamic nature of cultural expressions. However, she also raises questions about the potential exoticization of cultural expressions and the global enveloping of all tangible and intangible aspects of life under the heritage label. Bortolotto emphasizes the need for critical reflection on the implications of this shift and the development of new strategies for communicating and mediating intangible heritage in a non-traditional world.

Further expanding on the evolution of heritage concepts, the book *Uses of Heritage*, published by Routledge in 2006, challenges the traditional concept of heritage and proposes a new understanding.⁴ It argues that heritage is not a fixed entity but rather a cultural phenomenon shaped by various discourses. The book introduces the term "Authorized Heritage Discourse" (AHD) to describe the dominant discourse surrounding heritage. It reframes heritage as a dynamic cultural process or performance, involving the identification, management, and visitation of heritage places or participation in intangible heritage events, suggesting that all heritage is, therefore, intangible. This broader perspective underscores the fluidity of heritage, contrasting with more static interpretations.

In line with this evolving perspective, Dümcke and Gnedovsky's literature review underscores the multifaceted impact of cultural heritage, particularly in the context of heritage-based strategies.⁵ The authors emphasize the diverse ways in which cultural heritage can drive economic growth and social development, enhance tourism, stimulate job creation, and contribute to sustainable economic growth. Their work highlights the need for further research to understand the complex relationships between cultural heritage, social dynamics, and economic development comprehensively, encouraging scholars to explore heritage's potential as an engine for economic and social advancement.

Building on the discussions of cultural heritage as an economic driver, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's book, "Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage," offers critical insights into the commodification of cultural heritage within the realm of tourism.⁶ The author delves into the transformation of cultural expressions into tourist attractions, highlighting the complexities of cultural commodification where heritage is marketed and consumed. This commodification presents ethical and representational challenges, especially concerning authenticity and the preservation of cultural identity.

³ Chiara Bortolotto, "From Objects to Processes: Unesco's 'Intangible Cultural Heritage,'" *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 19 (2007): 21–33.

⁴ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006).

⁵ Cornelia Dümcke and Mikhail Gnedovsky, "The Social and Economic Value of Cultural Heritage: Literature Review," 2013, <https://www.interarts.net/descargas/interarts2557.pdf>.

⁶ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

By examining how heritage is turned into a product, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett emphasizes the need to balance economic interests with the preservation of cultural values.

Kyoto's participation in UNESCO's heritage management strategy highlights its role in the evolving arena of cultural heritage conservation.⁷ The inscription of Kyoto on the World Heritage List in 1994 and the recognition of seventeen sites as "Historic Monuments of Ancient Kyoto" not only provided international recognition of Kyoto but also reinforced local conservation practices in line with global standards. The adoption of the Nara Document of Authenticity in 1994 underscored this synergy.⁸ This synergy is highlighted by the Document on Authenticity, which was developed in collaboration with UNESCO and the International Council on Monuments and Sites in 1994. This document, ratified by the World Heritage Committee General Assembly in 1999, advocates a broader understanding of heritage authenticity, emphasizing respect for local traditions and materials such as wood and paper, which are prevalent in Japanese architecture and are particularly vulnerable to natural degradation.

Kyoto's approach to heritage conservation reflects a deep-rooted traditional philosophy of renewal and living, which is reflected in the daily restoration of important sites such as Ise Grand Shrine and Shimogamo Shrine.⁹ These practices emphasize a dynamic interpretation of original authenticity, ensuring that buildings maintain their historical integrity, functionality, and relevance to contemporary society. This approach aligns with UNESCO's heritage conservation mandate, which seeks to conserve both the physical buildings and the intangible cultural practices that endow these sites with enduring value. Kyoto's model demonstrates the potential for integrating traditional practices with modern conservation efforts to sustain cultural heritage in a meaningful and inclusive way.

The integration of such localized, flexible conservation practices within the global framework set by UNESCO illustrates Kyoto's role in shaping international heritage policies, making its interpretation of cultural authenticity more inclusive and diverse. This has allowed for a greater representation of non-European heritage sites on the World Heritage List, reflecting a richer, more varied human history. Kyoto's example demonstrates the potential for local heritage practices to influence global conservation strategies, ensuring that heritage preservation is adaptable to various cultural contexts and capable of honoring both tangible and intangible heritage elements.

⁷ Jennifer S. Prough, *Kyoto Revisited: Heritage Tourism in Contemporary Japan* (University of Hawaii Press, 2022).

⁸ "The NARA Document on Authenticity (1994) - International Council on Monuments and Sites," 1994, <https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/386-the-nara-document-on-authenticity-1994>.

⁹ Herb Stovel, "Origins and Influence of the Nara Document on Authenticity," *APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preservation Technology* 39, no. 2/3 (2008): 9–17.

1.2.2 Cultural Authenticity

Research into authenticity has a long history; it has generated numerous and diverse discussions over the past 60 decades. Reisinger and Steiner, in their paper "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity," explore the complex and multifaceted nature of authenticity in the context of tourism.¹⁰ They mentioned that scholars have different definitions of authenticity. The discussions and analyzes of authenticity emerged during the 1970s. Trilling explains that the initial purpose of authenticity in the context of tourism was primarily observed within museums.¹¹ The aim was for experts to assess if art objects genuinely reflect their claimed identity and value, be it in terms of their monetary worth or the admiration they receive. Boorstin was among the pioneers in discussing the topic of authenticity in the field of tourism.¹² He adopted a predominantly negative perspective, arguing that due to the sheer volume of tourists visiting various destinations, it becomes challenging for them to truly immerse themselves in and encounter genuine foreign cultures. Boorstin strongly criticized mass tourism, asserting that it fosters the creation of artificial events and the commodification of cultures, leading to a homogenization and standardization of experiences. Consequently, the concept of authenticity becomes questionable and uncertain. In their analysis, Register and Steiner explore various ideologies such as modernism/realism, constructivism, and postmodernism. The concept of authenticity is examined under these ideologies. Modernism and realism view authenticity as inherent and objective. On the other hand, constructivism sees authenticity as a socially constructed concept, shaped by cultural and individual perceptions and values. Postmodernism suggests that there can be multiple authenticities, reflecting diverse interpretations and experiences. The authors emphasize that authenticity is a complex and multifaceted concept that cannot be fully understood through a single theoretical approach.

*"It is not appropriate to ask a single term to represent myriad conflicting and irreconcilable meanings."*¹³

They highlight its subjective and negotiated nature, influenced by personal, social, and cultural factors. This nuanced understanding of authenticity is crucial for comprehending its role in cultural tourism and the commodification of cultural heritage. If attention shifts from systematically studying the authenticity of tourist experiences to considering the diverse and personal nature of these experiences, we

¹⁰ Yvette Reisinger and Carol J. Steiner, "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity," *Annals of Tourism Research* 33, no. 1 (January 2006): 65–86, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2005.04.003>.

¹¹ Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr, 1972).

¹² Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, 50th Anniversary Edition (New York: Vintage Books, a division of Random House, Inc, 2012).

¹³ Reisinger and Steiner, "Reconceptualizing Object Authenticity."

can gain valuable insights into tourists and tourism. Although under the classification of Register and Steiner, Littel, and Cohen are both scholars of constructivism, I want to elaborate on the differences between them, especially Littel, Anderson, and Brown's souvenir authenticity, which offers a fresh and distinct approach to understanding authenticity. The study conducted by Littrell, Anderson, and Brown, "What Makes a Craft Souvenir Authentic?" provides a significant investigation into the way in which tourists perceive the genuineness of craft souvenirs.¹⁴ By analyzing the feedback from 385 tourists from the Midwestern United States, the researchers discover that genuineness is evaluated based on multiple factors, including originality, skillfulness, visual appeal, cultural and historical significance, and authenticity. This comprehensive comprehension of genuineness emphasizes that it is not a simplistic notion but rather varies depending on personal viewpoints and cultural heritage.

Cohen's "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism" argues against the notion by challenging the assumption that commercialization erodes cultural authenticity.¹⁵ Cohen posits that authenticity is a fluid, socially constructed concept that can evolve, introducing the idea of "emergent authenticity," where new cultural expressions can gain authentic status over time. He argues that commercialization can alter or add meaning to cultural products rather than stripping them of authenticity. Further, in "The Commercialization of Ethnic Crafts," Cohen explores how ethnic crafts transform under commercial pressures.¹⁶

The contrasting perspectives from these two academic viewpoints offer a deep comprehension of the concept of authenticity within the realm of cultural tourism. Littrell, Anderson, and Brown emphasize the role of personal and cultural influences in tourists' subjective evaluation of authenticity in craft souvenirs. They highlight the significance of individual perceptions in shaping these criteria. Conversely, Cohen's viewpoint prompts a wider exploration of how commercialization affects cultural products and experiences. It suggests that the notion of authenticity in tourism is dynamic and subject to influence from societal norms and market dynamics.

The research in this thesis adopts a constructivist perspective to understand authenticity, viewing it as a socially constructed concept shaped by personal and social contexts. This perspective guides the examination of stakeholder perspectives in heritage conservation, providing a comprehensive view of how authenticity is perceived and maintained across different cultural contexts. In the context of architectural cultural heritage, the Nara Document's emphasis on respecting original materials and

¹⁴ Mary Ann Littrell, Luella F. Anderson, and Pamela J. Brown, "What Makes a Craft Souvenir Authentic?," *Annals of Tourism Research* 20, no. 1 (January 1993): 197–215, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(93\)90118-M](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(93)90118-M).

¹⁵ Erik Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 3 (January 1988): 371–86, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(88\)90028-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(88)90028-X).

¹⁶ E. Cohen, "The Commercialization of Ethnic Crafts," *Journal of Design History* 2, no. 2 and 3 (February 1, 1989): 161–68, https://doi.org/10.1093/jdh/2.2_and_3.161.

techniques is particularly relevant, guiding the conservation practices that ensure the preservation of both tangible and intangible aspects of heritage.

1.2.3 Commercialization and Commodification of Culture

The interaction between culture and commerce has sparked extensive scholarly discussion, focusing on its influence on societal values and the integrity of art. This review of literature examines the intricate dynamics of cultural commercialization, which has received both praise for democratizing art and criticism for potentially undermining cultural authenticity.

Adorno and Horkheimer's groundbreaking publication, "Dialectic of Enlightenment", marked the initiation of discussions among Western intellectuals regarding the commercialization of culture post-war.¹⁷ Their contention is that the transformation of culture into a commodity within capitalist societies results in the standardization of artistic expression and a decrease in its ability to challenge established norms. This perspective provides the foundation for comprehending the concerns associated with commercialization. Theodor Adorno's theory of pseudo-culture in 1959 forms a critical part of his wider critique of popular culture and the culture industry.¹⁸ Adorno argued that mass-produced culture in capitalist societies creates a pseudo-culture, which lacks the authenticity and intrinsic value of genuine cultural works.

Conversely, in his work "In Praise of Commercial Culture" Cowen presents a compelling argument highlighting the positive aspects of cultural commercialization.¹⁹ He argues that the capitalist market, often seen as incompatible with genuine cultural expression, actually plays a crucial role in fostering both high and low forms of culture. Cowen aims to address the prevailing perceptions in the late 1990s that linked the commercialization of culture with modernity. According to Cowen, the capitalist market economy not only supports high and low culture but also contributes to the development of refined tastes and the preservation and dissemination of cultural heritage. This perspective offered by Cowen offers valuable insights into the influence of economic systems on the production and consumption of culture.

In recent times, researchers such as David Hesmondhalgh in his work "The Cultural Industries" have delved into the intricate dynamics of culture commodification, considering the impact of digitalization and globalization.²⁰ Hesmondhalgh examines the complexities, both positive and negative,

¹⁷ Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, and Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, Cultural Memory in the Present (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2002).

¹⁸ T. W. Adorno, "Theory of Pseudo-Culture (1959)," *Telos* 1993, no. 95 (April 1, 1993): 15–38, <https://doi.org/10.3817/0393095015>.

¹⁹ Tyler Cowen, *In Praise of Commercial Culture*, 2. print (Cambridge, Mass. London: Harvard University Press, 2000).

²⁰ David Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, 4th edition (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2018).

that arise from these phenomena in relation to cultural diversity and artistic creativity. The delicate relationship between commercialization and cultural integrity is further explored in the context of heritage tourism. Evangelos Christou, in his research “Heritage and Cultural Tourism: A Marketing-Focused Approach”, describes tourism as a dual force²¹. It is not only an economic driver, but also supports the preservation and interpretation of cultural heritage. This view coincides with that of researchers such as Richards, who notes that tourism is uniquely placed to generate the necessary funds for the maintenance of heritage sites, which in turn helps to preserve cultural traditions and architecture.²² However, the very act of marketing heritage can also lead to commodification, whereby the authenticity of a cultural site is adapted to meet the expectations of tourists, potentially depriving the site of its true cultural essence.

This commoditization often leads to a carefully curated cultural experience that may not be fully representative of the diversity and depth of the actual heritage. Christou points out that the intersection of economic activity and cultural preservation requires a delicate balance to ensure that commercial pressures do not undermine the authenticity that heritage sites strive to maintain. In addition, the complexity of heritage tourism involves multiple stakeholders, each with different interests, which can complicate the management and representation of heritage sites. The challenge is to utilize tourism as a conservation tool while carefully managing its impacts to avoid weakening the culture it is designed to protect.

1.2.4 Heritage Tourism: Dynamics and Impacts

The historiography of heritage tourism is intertwined with the commercialization and preservation of heritage, from an initial emphasis on economic value to a contemporary understanding that seeks a balanced blend of economic, social and cultural objectives. scholars such as Smith and Mathieson & Wall emphasize that early discussions focused on the economic potential of heritage sites to attract tourism and generate income, often ignoring social and cultural impacts.²³²⁴ This economic perspective was critiqued by late 20th-century scholars like Ashworth & Tunbridge and Cohen, who argued for the need to consider the cultural commodification and erosion of authenticity, shifting the discourse towards the intrinsic value of cultural heritage beyond its economic utility.²⁵²⁶

This critical shift paved the way for the concept of sustainable tourism, emphasizing

²¹ E Christou, “Heritage and Cultural Tourism: A Marketing-Focused Approach,” in *International Cultural Tourism* (Elsevier, 2005), 3–15, <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-7506-6312-0.50004-2>.

²² Christou; Greg Richards, ed., *Cultural Tourism in Europe* (Wallingford, UK: CAB International, 1996).

²³ Valene L. Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, 2nd ed (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

²⁴ Alister Mathieson and Geoffrey Wall, *Tourism: Economic, Physical, and Social Impacts* (London ; New York: Longman, 1982).

²⁵ G. J. Ashworth and J. E. Tunbridge, *The Tourist-Historic City* (Routledge, 2000).

²⁶ Cohen, “Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism.”

environmental constraints and the importance of community involvement in tourism planning and heritage preservation. Mowforth & Muntand Richards & Hall contribute to this discussion by exploring how tourism can be developed in a way that respects both environmental constraints and social and cultural values, emphasizing the role of community stakeholders in determining how their cultural heritage is utilized and presented.²⁷²⁸ As discussed in the works of Timothy & Boyd this era underscored the importance of an integrated approach to accommodating tourism without compromising heritage values, promoting frameworks that simultaneously address economic development,²⁹ cultural preservation, and the promotion of social values.

In the contemporary context, discussions around heritage tourism are distinctly interdisciplinary, benefiting from insights from multiple fields. The interplay between tourism, heritage conservation and cultural authenticity is recognized as complex, requiring an overall strategy to address the multifaceted challenges and opportunities presented by tourism. This complex crossover is further explored in the analysis of Evangelos Christou, who describes how heritage tourism can provide an economic rationale for heritage preservation while at the same time potentially leading to a reinterpretation of heritage in a way that does not always maintain the authenticity of heritage.³⁰

Furthermore, the role of digital technologies in transforming heritage tourism is increasingly recognized. Innovative technologies such as Augmented Reality (AR) and Virtual Reality (VR) are increasing the accessibility of heritage sites and deepening visitor engagement, providing immersive and personalized experiences and enriching visitors' interactions with their cultural and historical contexts.³¹ These technologies represent a significant shift in the way heritage sites are presented and experienced, and promise to lead to a richer and more engaging visitor experience, while also serving education and entertainment.

In conclusion, heritage tourism is an appealing field that displays the intricate relationship between history and contemporary society, capturing the evolution of societal values and academic thought. The ongoing discussion among scholars regarding how to best manage and accessibility of cultural heritage in a world that is becoming more interrelated emphasizes the ongoing balancing act between the demands of tourism and the imperative to safeguard cultural heritage. Continual exploration

²⁷ Martin Mowforth and Ian Munt, *Tourism and Sustainability*, Fourth edition (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an Informa business, 2016).

²⁸ Greg Richards and Derek Hall, eds., *Tourism and Sustainable Community Development*, Routledge Advances in Tourism (London: Routledge, 2003).

²⁹ Dallen J. Timothy and Stephen W. Boyd, *Heritage Tourism*, 1st ed, Themes in Tourism (New York: Prentice Hall, 2003).

³⁰ Christou, "Heritage and Cultural Tourism."

³¹ Alexandra Bec et al., "Management of Immersive Heritage Tourism Experiences: A Conceptual Model," *Tourism Management* 72 (June 2019): 117–20, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2018.10.033>.

and adaptation are necessary to ensure that heritage tourism has a positive impact on local economies and the preservation of cultural authenticity.

1.2.5 Stakeholder Perspectives in Heritage Conservation

Effective collaboration among stakeholders has become crucial in heritage conservation for balancing the different needs of local communities, the government, and private enterprises. Numerous studies have highlighted the significance of stakeholders in the preservation of heritage. May-Chiun Lo et al. highlight the value of rural communities' perceptions in sustainable tourism development,³² particularly in supporting conservation efforts. Their perspectives play an important part when considering the environmental consequences and guaranteeing the sustainability of tourism initiatives. In the same direction, K. Ashley et al.³³ highlight the need for effective collaboration among various stakeholders, including international experts in Suakin, Sudan. It has been emphasized by Mi Tian et al. that having a clear definition of stakeholder roles is crucial to ensure agreement with conservation objectives.³⁴ This viewpoint is supported by Filareti Kotsi et al.³⁵ in their study on place branding, which highlights the diverse stakeholder perceptions that influence the branding of a heritage site.

Christina Aas, Adele Ladkin and John Fletcher explored these dynamics in a collaborative UNESCO project in Luang Prabang, Laos,³⁶ emphasizing the need to coordinate efforts between heritage and tourism for mutual benefit. They argue that effective communication channels between stakeholders not only facilitate better management practices, but also enhance the tourism experience, which in turn generates economic benefits and supports conservation activities. Such a collaborative framework is essential for managing the delicate balance between conservation and tourism to ensure that both sectors can flourish without compromising heritage values. As defined by Jamal and Getz,³⁷ the concept of collaboration goes beyond mere cooperation and involves the strategic coordination of objectives, requiring the active participation and joint decision-making of all stakeholders.

³² May-Chiun Lo, T. Ramayah, and Helen Lee Hui Hui, "Rural Communities Perceptions and Attitudes towards Environment Tourism Development," *Journal of Sustainable Development* 7, no. 4 (July 31, 2014): p84, <https://doi.org/10.5539/jsd.v7n4p84>.

³³ Katherine Sarah Ashley et al., "Assessing Stakeholders' Perspectives towards the Conservation of the Built Heritage of Suakin, Sudan," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21, no. 7 (August 9, 2015): 674–97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2014.985696.a>

³⁴ Mi Tian et al., "Agricultural Heritage Systems Tourism: Definition, Characteristics and Development Framework," *Journal of Mountain Science* 13, no. 3 (March 2016): 440–54, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11629-015-3724-2>.

³⁵ Filareti Kotsi et al., "Place Branding: Aligning Multiple Stakeholder Perception of Visual and Auditory Communication Elements," *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management* 7 (March 2018): 112–30, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2016.08.006>.

³⁶ Christina Aas, Adele Ladkin, and John Fletcher, "Stakeholder Collaboration and Heritage Management," *Annals of Tourism Research* 32, no. 1 (January 2005): 28–48, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2004.04.005>.

³⁷ Tazim B. Jamal and Donald Getz, "Collaboration Theory and Community Tourism Planning," *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no. 1 (January 1995): 186–204, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(94\)00067-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(94)00067-3).

However, the task of identifying and engaging stakeholders is intricate, especially when it comes to determining the exact definition of 'community'. Abercrombie, Hill and Turner note that communities can be categorized by geographic location or interest.³⁸ Such categorization is often controversial, especially when economic factors are prioritized over cultural values. Despite these difficulties, as Bramwell and Lane argue,³⁹ the benefits of reaching consensus are significant as it helps to resolve conflicts and pool resources to solve problems efficiently and economically. In addition, adopting a collaborative strategy promotes a democratic process that validates the participation of many groups and ensures that choices are based on comprehensive knowledge and cultural appropriateness, thereby enhancing the long-term viability of heritage assets. Such an integrated approach not only promotes the preservation of cultural assets, but also establishes a solid foundation for future generations to understand and maintain their cultural heritage.

The importance of stakeholder perspectives in heritage conservation cannot be overemphasized. This study shows that the involvement of different stakeholders, including local communities, government agencies, private enterprises and tourists, is crucial in shaping effective heritage management practices. Their insights and active participation ensure that conservation efforts are comprehensive, culturally sensitive and sustainable. By fostering a collaborative environment, stakeholders not only enhance the tourism experience, but also promote socio-economic benefits and support conservation measures. Therefore, achieving a balanced approach to heritage conservation that respects cultural values while promoting economic growth requires recognizing and integrating the perspectives of all stakeholders. Such comprehensive engagement is essential for the lasting protection and appreciation of cultural heritage, ensuring that it continues to be a cornerstone of community identity and global cultural understanding.

1.2.6 Gaps in the Literature

In the field of cultural heritage management, there is a notable gap in understanding the lasting impact of commodification on local communities and the preservation of cultural integrity, especially in non-Western cities such as Tainan. Existing research frequently focuses on the economic benefits and visitor experiences, often overlooking the significant social and cultural impacts on the communities that interact with this heritage every day. This dissertation seeks to address the lack of research by examining how Tainan's communities navigate the difficulties presented by the commercialization of heritage. This

³⁸ Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill, and Bryan S. Turner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, 5th ed (London ; New York: Penguin, 2006).

³⁹ Bill Bramwell and Bernard Lane, "Collaboration and Partnerships in Tourism Planning," in *Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships*, ed. Bill Bramwell and Bernard Lane (Multilingual Matters, 2000), 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.21832/9780585354224-003>.

research aims to provide valuable insights into the differences and similarities in heritage management approaches by examining the extensive studies conducted in Kyoto.

In addition, this study will examine the unique challenges and opportunities that arise in cities such as Tainan, where they manage their cultural heritage independently of the UNESCO framework. This lays the foundation for a fascinating comparison with Kyoto, which adheres to UNESCO's guidelines. The research aims to explore the impact of local governance and cultural policies in Tainan on heritage preservation. It offers a distinct perspective on the differences between local and global approaches to heritage management, without relying on international standards.

The research will also consider the viewpoints of local stakeholders in Tainan, which is a crucial yet frequently disregarded aspect of cultural heritage studies. This approach will examine the evolution of community narratives and conservation strategies in response to commercial pressures, questioning the prevailing Eurocentric narrative in heritage conservation. This study seeks to explore the intricate ways in which communities engage in and influence heritage conservation efforts. By comparing these findings with those from Kyoto, it aims to provide fresh perspectives on the complex dynamics of managing cultural heritage in modern urban environments.

1.3 Theoretical framework

In the study of cultural heritage preservation, the theoretical framework serves as a critical foundation that supports the analysis of how heritage can be maintained and leveraged for both cultural and economic benefits. This framework integrates theories from cultural heritage management, urban regeneration, and tourism management studies, offering a multifaceted approach to understanding the dynamics of heritage conservation in Kyoto and Tainan.

1.3.1 Cultural Heritage Management and Authenticity

Cultural Heritage Management (CHM) involves various actors, each pursuing distinct goals. The private sector typically focuses on economic gains through tourism, viewing heritage sites as resources for cultural tourism that can stimulate revenue and economic development.⁴⁰ In contrast, the public sector prioritizes social benefits, aiming to preserve and maintain heritage for future generations, ensuring these sites' accessibility and cultural significance.⁴¹

The Nara Document on Authenticity broadens the concept of authenticity, emphasizing the importance of local traditions and materials in heritage conservation. This expanded definition is crucial

⁴⁰ Bec et al., "Management of Immersive Heritage Tourism Experiences."

⁴¹ Bec et al.

for understanding the complexities of preserving cultural heritage in modern contexts, where commercial pressures often threaten the integrity of historical sites. In Kyoto, this approach is evident in the preservation of ancient structures and practices like the Shikinen Sengu at Shimogamo Shrine. These practices ensure that heritage conservation goes beyond physical restoration to include the transmission of traditional craftsmanship, thereby maintaining cultural integrity.

Tainan, though not operating under the UNESCO framework, adopts a similar approach. The city integrates local cultural practices into its preservation efforts, as seen in the restoration of Minnan architecture and historical sites like Anping Old Fort. These efforts reflect a commitment to preserving both tangible and intangible heritage elements, aligning with the principles of the Nara Document and ensuring that cultural heritage conservation respects and sustains the local cultural context.

1.3.2 Urban Regeneration and Adaptive Reuse

Urban regeneration theories highlight the importance of adaptive reuse,⁴² which involves transforming underused buildings into spaces with new functions. This process not only preserves architectural heritage but also fosters economic development by integrating historical elements into the urban fabric. Adaptive reuse is particularly relevant in Tainan, where repurposing historical buildings for contemporary uses, such as cultural hubs and community centers, helps maintain cultural heritage while supporting economic viability.

Kyoto also exemplifies adaptive reuse, where traditional machiya houses are preserved and adapted for modern purposes, such as cafes and shops. This approach ensures that these historical structures remain functional and relevant, contributing to the city's cultural landscape and economic vitality. The preservation of these buildings supports the local economy by attracting tourists and providing spaces for both cultural and commercial activities, thus balancing heritage conservation with economic development.

1.3.3 Tourism Management Theory

Tourism management theory offers a critical perspective for understanding the impacts of tourism on cultural heritage sites and the strategies for sustainable tourism development. It focuses on key areas such as visitor management, interpretation, and harnessing the economic benefits of tourism for heritage conservation. Effective tourism management is essential in balancing the economic advantages gained from tourism with the imperative to preserve cultural authenticity and integrity. In Kyoto, the issue of

⁴² Fatemeh Vafaie, Hilde Remøy, and Vincent Gruis, "Adaptive Reuse of Heritage Buildings; a Systematic Literature Review of Success Factors," *Habitat International* 142 (December 1, 2023): 102926, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2023.102926>.

over-tourism poses a significant challenge, as the heavy influx of visitors can place a strain on cultural sites and disrupt the lives of local communities. To address these issues, Kyoto has implemented various tourism management strategies, including regulating visitor numbers, promoting lesser-known attractions, and encouraging off-peak tourism to alleviate pressure on popular sites. These measures aim to distribute the tourism load more evenly across the city, thereby preserving the quality of visitor experiences while safeguarding the integrity of cultural heritage sites.

In Tainan, tourism management is integrated with broader economic development strategies, enhancing local economies while simultaneously preserving cultural assets. Initiatives like the "Tainan 400" the celebration effectively highlights the city's rich historical narrative,⁴³ attracting tourists and supporting the maintenance and promotion of cultural sites. Tainan's approach demonstrates how tourism can serve as a crucial tool for heritage conservation, providing the necessary economic support for the sustainable preservation of cultural heritage. By weaving cultural heritage into its tourism strategies, Tainan not only boosts local economic activity but also ensures that cultural assets are preserved and celebrated, creating a model of how tourism can contribute positively to heritage conservation.

1.3.4 Application in Kyoto and Tainan

By integrating cultural heritage management, urban regeneration, and tourism management theories, this framework offers a comprehensive approach to analyzing the impacts of commercialization on cultural heritage in Kyoto and Tainan. The focus on local traditions, community involvement, and effective tourism management in both cities provides a model for understanding how to preserve cultural authenticity while accommodating economic pressures. Kyoto's experience underscores the importance of aligning traditional practices with modern conservation efforts to ensure the sustainable preservation of cultural heritage. The city's approach demonstrates the potential of combining local and global conservation practices to maintain cultural sites' relevance and integrity. Tainan, with its emphasis on adaptive reuse and community engagement, illustrates how historical buildings can be repurposed to support economic development while preserving cultural heritage.

Through a comparative analysis, this study identifies effective strategies for heritage preservation that can be adapted and applied in various contexts. The integration of these theoretical perspectives provides a holistic framework for understanding the complex dynamics of heritage conservation. This research offers valuable insights for policymakers and cultural heritage managers on navigating the challenges of commercialization while ensuring the sustainable preservation of cultural heritage. By drawing on the experiences of Kyoto and Tainan, this study contributes to the broader discourse on

⁴³ “‘Tainan 400’ 臺南 400 - 一起臺南 世界交陪,” 臺南 400 - 一起臺南 世界交陪, accessed June 24, 2024, <https://www.tainan-400.tw/>.

cultural heritage management, emphasizing the importance of maintaining cultural authenticity in the face of economic pressures and providing practical strategies for sustainable heritage preservation.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Research Design

This study employs a comparative analysis of cultural heritage preservation in Kyoto, Japan, and Tainan, Taiwan, exploring the intersection of heritage conservation and the dynamics of commercialization and commodification. These cities, both culturally rich and historically significant, serve as case studies to understand how heritage tourism can harmonize economic incentives with the preservation of cultural authenticity and social values.

Kyoto, a UNESCO World Heritage site, provides a context where global recognition intersects with local conservation efforts. In contrast, Tainan, not part of the UNESCO framework, operates under local initiatives and national policies. The study seeks to analyze government policies, stakeholder involvement to understand how these elements influence the conservation and commercialization of cultural heritage. By examining these factors, the research aims to assess whether social values can coexist with economic exploitation and to evaluate the effectiveness of policies in mediating this relationship.

A mixed-methods approach is adopted to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the factors affecting cultural heritage preservation amid commercial pressures. This includes qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews and document analysis, alongside quantitative data collection like tourism statistics and economic impact assessments. The comparative analysis of Kyoto and Tainan contributes to the broader discourse on sustainable heritage tourism, offering insights for policy, practice, and future research in cultural preservation.

1.4.2 Data Collection Methods

This research employs a mixed-methods approach, integrating both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques to explore the impacts of commercialization on cultural heritage preservation in Kyoto and Tainan.

Quantitative data is sourced from the Tainan City Government, Kyoto Prefectural Government, and economic impact studies conducted by local universities and research institutions. This data includes visitor numbers, demographics, spending patterns, and contributions to local economies, providing a quantitative foundation for understanding the economic impacts of tourism on cultural heritage sites.

Qualitative data is collected through site visits, semi-structured interviews, and document

analysis. Site visits to locations such as Anping Old Fort and Tainan Confucius Temple offer direct observation of interactions between tourists and heritage settings, insights into the physical condition of the sites, and the effectiveness of interpretative materials. Semi-structured interviews are conducted with a diverse range of stakeholders, including government officials, local architects, and cultural heritage experts. These interviews aim to gather in-depth insights into the stakeholders' roles, perceptions, and strategies regarding heritage preservation and tourism. Document analysis complements these methods, focusing on policy documents, planning records, and historical texts to contextualize the current policy landscape and its influence on heritage conservation and tourism development.

1.4.3 Analytical Framework

The analysis is guided by research questions and sub-questions, which are examined through various indicators derived from the data collection methods. The study focuses on participants directly involved in cultural heritage management to ensure relevant and informed insights. This includes government officials responsible for policy implementation, cultural experts and local architects with expertise in heritage preservation, and community representatives who offer perspectives on community impacts and perceptions.

The analysis employs thematic analysis to identify and interpret patterns related to commercialization impacts, stakeholder roles, and policy effectiveness. This process involves an initial coding of data, development of overarching themes from these codes, and a synthesis of these themes to provide a comprehensive understanding of the overarching research questions. Comparative analysis is also conducted, using a systematic framework to highlight effective practices and areas needing improvement between the two cities. Additionally, policy analysis involves a detailed review of existing policies to evaluate their alignment with preservation goals and their effectiveness in handling commercial pressures.

By integrating cultural heritage management, urban regeneration, and tourism management theories, this methodology provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the complex dynamics of heritage conservation. This research offers valuable insights for policymakers and cultural heritage managers on how to navigate the challenges of commercialization while ensuring sustainable preservation of cultural heritage in Kyoto and Tainan.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study is significant because it provides a critical examination of cultural heritage preservation in Tainan, Taiwan, offering a distinct perspective on heritage management in a context that operates outside

the purview of UNESCO's frameworks. Unlike Kyoto, Japan, which benefits from established international guidelines and recognition, Tainan's approach highlights the importance of local initiatives and national policies in heritage conservation. This research sheds light on the complex dynamics between cultural authenticity and economic development, particularly in a city with a rich historical tapestry like Tainan. Tainan's evolving approach to authenticity and reuse of historical sites, contrasted with Japan's well-established practices as outlined in the Nara Document on Authenticity, underscores the pressing need for tailored conservation strategies that respect local cultural contexts. The insights gained from this study contribute to the ongoing discourse in Taiwan, where controversies over heritage preservation have been exacerbated by a lack of clear focus on authenticity. By exploring the perspectives of various stakeholders, the research aims to provide a nuanced understanding that can inform policy development and promote effective heritage conservation.

The study's findings are crucial not only for enhancing heritage preservation in Tainan but also for offering a model that can be applied to other non-UNESCO cities facing similar challenges. By emphasizing the importance of maintaining the balance between cultural heritage and economic interests, this research advocates for sustainable practices that ensure the long-term integrity and vitality of historical sites. Ultimately, the study aims to preserve the intrinsic value of Tainan's cultural assets, ensuring that they are not only protected but also celebrated for future generations. This approach aligns with global standards of heritage conservation, providing actionable insights that reinforce the significance of cultural authenticity in the face of modernization and economic pressures.

1.6 Scope and Delimitations

This study examines the cultural heritage preservation strategies in Tainan, Taiwan, with comparative insights from Kyoto, Japan. It focuses on how these cities manage the challenges of heritage conservation amidst modernization and tourism pressures. The research primarily uses qualitative methods, including literature reviews, semi-structured interviews, and policy analysis, supplemented by secondary quantitative data such as tourism statistics and economic impacts. The scope is geographically limited to Tainan and Kyoto, making the findings specific to these locales and not directly applicable to other regions without contextual adjustments. The temporal scope focuses on current and historical data, avoiding future projections to ensure the analysis is grounded in observable realities.

Key delimitations include the reliance on secondary data for economic analysis, which may not capture real-time nuances, and the qualitative emphasis, which provides depth but not the broad statistical coverage of primary economic data collection. This study aims to offer actionable insights for policymakers and cultural heritage managers in Tainan, highlighting effective practices from Kyoto that

can be adapted to enhance local heritage preservation efforts while balancing economic development and cultural integrity.

1.7 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organized to systematically explore the dynamics of cultural heritage preservation and commercialization in Tainan, Taiwan, with a comparative perspective from Kyoto, Japan. **Chapter 1** introduces the research topic, outlines key questions and objectives, and discusses the theoretical framework and methodology, setting the stage for an in-depth investigation. **Chapter 2** focuses on Tainan, providing a historical overview and examining current heritage management practices. It analyzes local policies and stakeholder involvement, highlighting case studies like Anping Old Fort and the Artdeconer initiative to illustrate the city's strategies for cultural preservation amid modernization pressures.

Chapter 3 shifts the lens to Kyoto, offering a comparative analysis of heritage management. It reviews Kyoto's historical context and current practices, emphasizing the integration of local and international conservation efforts. A detailed case study on Shimogamo Shrine highlights Kyoto's approach to balancing authenticity and economic interests. **Chapter 4** discusses key findings, addressing challenges in heritage management and proposing recommendations for sustainable practices in both cities. The thesis concludes in **Chapter 5**, summarizing findings, acknowledging study limitations, and suggesting future research directions. This structured approach ensures a comprehensive understanding of the intricate relationship between cultural heritage and economic development.

Chapter 2: Cultural Heritage Management in Tainan

2.1 Historical Overview

Tainan, known as Taiwan's ancient capital, is a city with a rich history and an important subject for cultural heritage management research. The city's rich tapestry of history and culture offers a unique lens through which we can explore the evolution and preservation of cultural heritage. Tainan's cultural heritage is shaped by various ruling powers. Tainan's history is marked by its strategic importance in regional trade and its role in the cultural fusion seen in Taiwan today. Originally settled by the indigenous Siraya people, Tainan's strategic significance grew during the Dutch colonial period from 1624 to 1662, when it served as a vital trading post connecting the East Asia trade networks with European and other Asian markets.

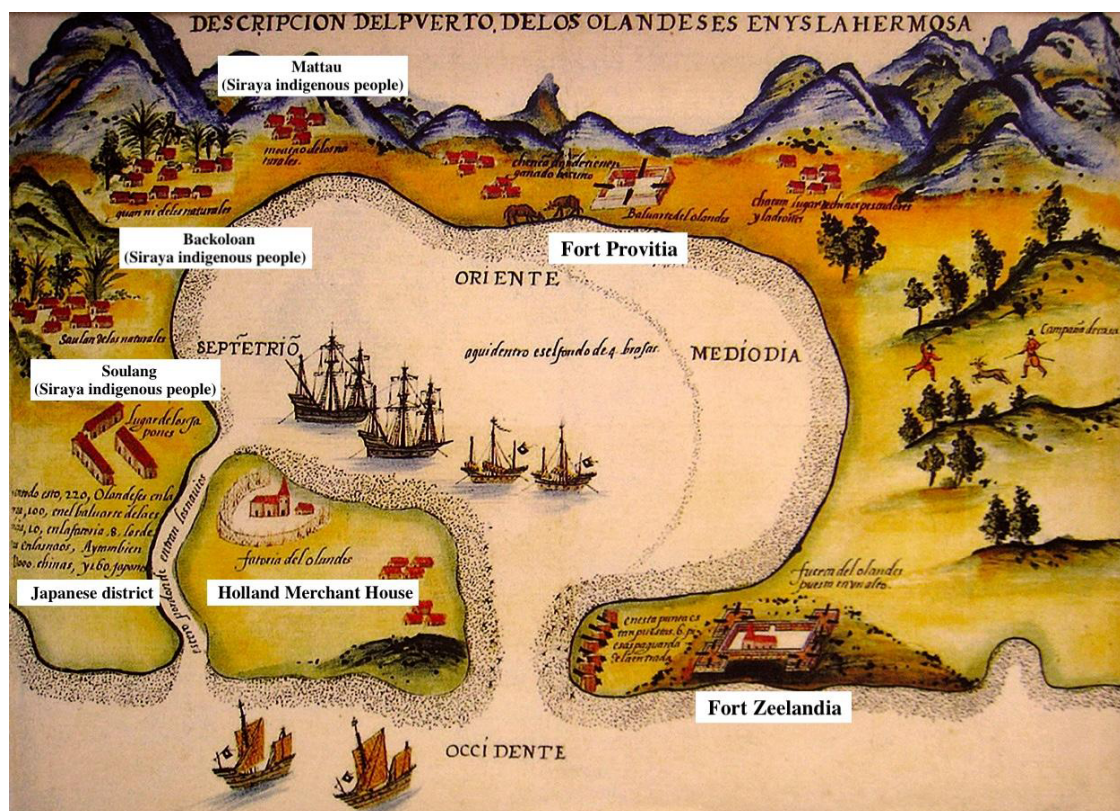


Figure 1. Descripción del puerto de los Olandeses en Ysla Hermosa, 1626. Annotations by the author. Sourced from the National Museum of Taiwan History.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ This is the earliest map in Taiwan's history to depict the distribution and dynamics of ethnic groups, with the city of Fort Zeelandia and the Siraya villages visible in the map produced in 1626. Diaz Salvador, a Han Chinese-Filipino hybrid, was captured by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and later became the VOC's interpreter for Penghu and Ta-yuan (Anping). 1626 Diaz escaped back to Macao in a small boat in the night with several other companions and provided the Portuguese authorities with information about Taiwan, including the presence of many Japanese traders in Ta-yuan and the condition of

The Dutch East India Company established Fort Zeelandia in what is now Anping, turning the area into a bustling trade hub, integrating Chinese and Austronesian influences through both commerce and conflict. This era laid the groundwork for Tainan's multicultural landscape, incorporating architectural styles and urban planning concepts that would influence the city for centuries. Post-Dutch rule, The city's narrative took a significant turn with the arrival of Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong, known as Koxinga, who expelled the Dutch and established a stronghold for Ming loyalists. This period is crucial as it contributed to the Confucius Temple in Tainan and marked a significant demographic shift towards a predominantly Han Chinese population. The influence of these loyalists established a cultural bedrock that leaned heavily on traditional Chinese customs and governance.

Subsequent to the Qing dynasty, Tainan's development as a cultural center was significantly enhanced both administratively and culturally. The Qing rulers restructured the administrative division and consolidated Tainan's position as the provincial capital and center of governance. They promoted Confucianism and kept educational institutions such as the Confucian Temple functioning, which played a key role in spreading cultural and moral values. In addition, the Qing government encouraged Han Chinese to migrate to Taiwan, which further strengthened the Sinicization of the island. The immigrants introduced their knowledge, traditions, and habits, greatly influencing the cultural environment of Tainan. They introduced various Chinese festivals, culinary practices, and traditional arts, which became integrated into the daily lives of the local population and contributed to the cultural mosaic of Tainan. This era incorporated ancient Chinese customs and traditions into the cultural foundation of Tainan, thereby creating its identity as a preserver of Chinese heritage.

During the Japanese colonial period, Tainan's cultural landscape underwent significant changes, marked by advances in modern architecture and education. During this period, the Japanese government actively pursued a policy of assimilation, subtly encouraging Taiwanese to take Japanese citizenship and assimilate into the Japanese cultural milieu, which played an important role in shaping Tainan's urban image. The establishment of the Taiwan Cultural Association in 1921 highlighted this transformation, which aimed to modernize Taiwanese society and subtly resist colonial oppression by fostering a local culture imbued with new political and educational ideals.⁴⁵

The organization was not only a cultural entity but also a beacon of modern Taiwanese identity, symbolizing the birth of modern Taiwan and the complexity of Taiwanese people's identification with

the forts and settlements there. “Descripción del puerto de los Olandeses en Ysla Hermosa, 1626 西班牙人繪製艾爾摩沙島荷蘭港口圖,” 斯土斯民-臺灣的故事, accessed June 24, 2024, <https://the.nmth.gov.tw/nmth/zh-TW/Item/Detail/486a1000-75dd-4949-b37d-0548cfdefee8>.

⁴⁵ Chao-Ching Fu, *閱讀台南市-文化遺產歷史名城 Reading TAINAN - a Historic City of Cultural Heritage* (Taiwan Architecture and Cultural Property Press, Tainan, Taiwan, 2009), https://www.smcbook.com.tw/smc/index.php?route=product/product&product_id=56843.

their own cultural identity. The period also witnessed major urban and educational reforms, as Tainan's historic status as a cultural capital was gradually overshadowed by the new colonial capital, Taipei, reflecting the strategic shift of the administrative center of gravity to the north.



Figure 2. Exhibition hall of Taiwan Cultural 300 Years Commemoration. Source: Sourced from the National Museum of Taiwan History.⁴⁶

The Japanese also commemorated 300 years of history since the construction of Fort Zeelandia with the "Taiwan Cultural 300 Years Commemoration" (台灣文化三百年紀念會) in 1930, emphasizing Taiwan's rich historical tapestry through extensive exhibitions of historical documents and artifacts that linked Tainan's past under Dutch and Qing rule to its present under Japanese governance. This event was a grand affair that involved comprehensive displays across various domains like industry, education, and health, underscoring the colonial government's achievements in Taiwan.

After World War II, the arrival of the national government from China brought another layer of cultural influence. The focus during this period was on incorporating newer elements of Chinese culture into Taiwan, which often conflicted with existing Japanese influences. Each historical period left a unique

⁴⁶ Exhibition hall with a notice on the right-hand bulletin board stating "Postponed for three days: 5th, 6th, and 7th." Figure from "Taiwan Historical Materials" (Source: National Taiwan Museum of History, Collection No. 2001.008.0058) "臺灣文化三百年紀念會編《臺灣史料集成》- 藏品資料 - 國立臺灣歷史博物館典藏網," accessed June 24, 2024, <https://collections.nmth.gov.tw/CollectionContent.aspx?a=132&rno=2001.008.0058>.

mark on Tainan's cultural landscape. The Dutch introduced European architectural styles; the Ming loyalists reinforced traditional Chinese cultural practices; the Qing dynasty expanded these practices; and the Japanese era introduced modernization along with cultural assimilation. Today, these influences are reflected in Tainan's diverse architectural styles, cultural festivals, and daily life.

Currently, Tainan City is a mixture of these different ethnic and cultural influences, presenting challenges and opportunities for managing such a rich heritage. Tainan City's approach to heritage conservation is to embrace this diversity as a strength rather than a challenge. Tainan's cultural heritage management includes not only the preservation of historical sites, but also their integration into modern urban life.

Tainan's unique heritage is also shaped by its response to modern pressures. Unlike Kyoto, which is a UNESCO World Heritage site, Tainan's heritage preservation is driven by local and national initiatives rather than international recognition. This provides a distinctive context for examining how Tainan manages its cultural heritage amidst the challenges posed by modernization and tourism. This exploration into Tainan's past and present sets the stage for a deeper analysis of its cultural heritage management strategies, comparing them with Kyoto's to derive insights beneficial for enhancing Tainan's conservation efforts.

2.2 Current Policies and Practices

This section explores the policies that shape the management of cultural heritage in Tainan. It begins by clarifying the distinction between 'cultural heritage' and 'cultural properties' as used in Taiwan, which lays the foundation for a more in-depth analysis of the changes in legislation and administration in this area. The discussion includes a detailed analysis of the Cultural Property Act and its role in categorizing cultural assets, highlighting the significant steps Taiwan has taken toward prioritizing the preservation of its cultural heritage. This overview sets the foundation for understanding how Tainan has adapted its strategies to safeguard its rich historical heritage.

2.2.1 Cultural heritage v.s. Cultural properties

In Taiwan, the discourse on heritage preservation oscillates between two pivotal terms: "cultural heritage" and "cultural properties." Although these terms may seem interchangeable, they encapsulate distinct ideologies and practices rooted in Taiwan's unique socio-legal landscape. "Cultural heritage" is a broad term used globally to describe assets inherited from the past, both tangible and intangible, such as monuments, traditions, and arts that define a people's identity and history. This term emphasizes the importance of preserving these assets for future generations, transcending mere physical conservation to include the safeguarding of cultural narratives and practices. In contrast, the term "cultural properties,"

preferred in Taiwan, focuses more on the preservation of physical objects and sites that have significant historical, artistic, or scientific value. This recognizing norm follows Taiwan's legislative framework, which strongly advocates for the protection of these assets through strict regulatory measures.

The translation of "cultural heritage" in Taiwanese policy documents as "文化資產" (cultural properties) rather than "文化遺產" (cultural heritage) underscores a strategic cultural and policy-driven preference. This translation aligns with a tangible approach to heritage, focusing on the physical aspects of conservation and management, as seen in Taiwan's detailed policies that govern the protection and use of cultural assets. The specific choice of terminology reflects a broader policy orientation that influences how cultural assets are legally protected and managed. The implications of this focus are significant, affecting how preservation and conservation strategies are developed and implemented in Taiwan, aiming not only to maintain physical continuity but also to integrate historical elements into contemporary societal frameworks. This choice reflects Taiwan's legal and administrative prioritization of physical conservation, which is crucial for the maintenance of national identity and historical continuity.⁴⁷ The implications of this terminological preference are deeply embedded in Taiwan's cultural policies, which are structured around the protection, utilization, and management of tangible cultural resources.⁴⁸

Table 2. The following table outlines the differences between 'heritage' and 'property' as defined by Fang-Chieh Jung.⁴⁹

Chinese Term	English Translation	Heritage	Property
概念	Concept	Dynamic	Static
指涉範圍	Scope of Reference	Diverse references, e.g., World Heritage, Industrial Heritage, Cultural Heritage, Natural Heritage	Values as assets, e.g., personal assets, land assets, real estate

⁴⁷ Kate Macdonald, "Heritage, New Technologies and Local Development: The Enne Charter Conference, Ghent, Belgium, 11–13 September 2002," *Public Archaeology* 3, no. 1 (January 2003): 61–63, <https://doi.org/10.1179/pua.2003.3.1.61>.

⁴⁸ 文芸 and 傅朝卿, "重思文化遺產的真實性概念—從過去到現在的理解," *建築學報*, no. 76_S (June 28, 2011): 23–46, <https://doi.org/10.6377/JA.201106.0008>.

⁴⁹ 蔡芳杰 (Fang-Chieh Jung), "文化遺產管理之常道：一個管理動態變化的維護觀點" (thesis, 2008), <https://nckur.lib.ncku.edu.tw/handle/987654321/260868>.

歷史發展	Historical Development	Predominantly expanded and popularized post-1970s	Long-standing fixed concept
管理方式	Management Approach	Integrative and dynamic management	Singular and routine management
性質	Nature	Conceptual, abstract	Legal, rights-based
商業化	Commercialization	Commodification and trading of imagery	Actual buying and selling, exchange of rights
所屬	Ownership	Inherited, contemporary	Belonging to the owner
地理限制	Geographic Limitations	Transcends geographical and national boundaries	Geographically restricted by law

In the comprehensive discourse on cultural asset and heritage management by Fang-Chieh Jung, the transformation and redefinition of “cultural property” and “cultural heritage” are examined through historical, legal, and societal perspectives. He discussed the distinction between cultural heritage and cultural property, noting that the concept of cultural heritage is relatively modern, emerging after the 1970s. It emphasizes intangible values and intergenerational significance, transcending physical ownership. He highlighted that under legal frameworks, cultural property often focuses on ownership and material transfer, posing challenges to heritage preservation as its value can be constrained by property rights. In Taiwan, discussions on heritage are influenced by Japanese and Western theories, yet local engagement with these concepts is limited, leading to conflicts between ownership and conservation values in heritage management. This reflects a deficiency in cultural preservation education in Taiwan, underscoring the need for a deeper understanding and promotion of the non-material values of cultural heritage.

In practice, Taiwan's approach to managing "cultural properties" involves not just preserving the physical artifacts but also ensuring that these tangible elements of the past are seamlessly integrated into the present and future cultural and social landscapes. This methodology demonstrates a dynamic interaction between maintaining the historical narrative and adapting to contemporary needs and global

standards in heritage management. Taiwan's example illustrates a distinctive blend of historical influences and contemporary necessities that shape the nation's policies on heritage preservation, showcasing a unique approach to sustaining its cultural legacy in a global context.

2.2.2 Taiwan's Cultural Preservation History



Figure 3. Timeline of Historic Preservation in Tainan. Source: Created by the author.⁵⁰

Taiwan's journey towards the preservation of cultural heritage and the establishment of cultural heritage offices is a multifaceted narrative that reflects a gradual but significant shift in policy and public awareness regarding the value and management of cultural heritage. Initially, the concept of cultural heritage preservation in Taiwan was influenced by the Japanese colonial administration's methodical documentation and survey techniques (see Figure 3). However, despite international movements towards cultural preservation emerging in the 1970s, Taiwan's simultaneous withdrawal from the United Nations and other international platforms significantly delayed the adoption and development of these global perspectives. It wasn't until the economic, social, and political stabilization of the 1970s that Taiwan began to reassess the importance of culture in national and cultural identity. This led to a period of awakening and the establishment of the Council for Cultural Affairs (文化建設委員會) in 1981, marking a foundational shift towards a structured approach to cultural heritage.

From 1982 to 1996, during what is termed the "Preservation Trial Period," Taiwan began to

⁵⁰ This figure illustrates the major legal and institutional milestones in the preservation of historic sites in Tainan, Taiwan, from 1928 to 2011.

formalize its approach to cultural preservation with the adoption of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act. This period was characterized by an emphasis on restoration, influenced by Taiwan's interactions with Japanese experts. This approach, however, often led to a focus on architectural aesthetics rather than sustainable heritage management, leading to practices that at times diverged from international conservation norms, such as those outlined in the Venice Charter. Despite these challenges, this era laid the groundwork for a more comprehensive understanding of heritage preservation within the Taiwanese context.

The transformative years between 1996 and 2005 saw significant legislative revisions, reflecting a maturing approach to cultural asset management. The devastating impact of the 921 earthquakes in 1999 catalyzed further legislative changes that incorporated modern technology and emphasized the reversibility of restoration efforts. During this period, Taiwan also began to decentralize cultural heritage management, empowering local governments through legislation that allowed for financial autonomy and local governance in heritage conservation. This shift marked a significant step towards engaging local communities in the preservation process.

Since 2005, Taiwan has entered a "Management-Oriented Period," marked by an increased focus on community and private sector involvement in managing cultural properties. It was also during this period that Taiwan actively began to identify and promote its Potential World Heritage Sites in Taiwan,⁵¹ aligning with global preservation standards despite political limitations. Significant in this regard was the establishment of a list of Taiwan's potential World Heritage sites in 2002, which included culturally and naturally significant locations such as Taroko National Park, Alishan Forest Railway, and the Penghu Basalt Island. The list expanded over the years to include 18 sites by 2011, reflecting a diverse representation of Taiwan's cultural and natural heritage, from the historical architectures of Kinmen and Matsu to the traditional settlements of the Paiwan and Rukai tribes. This proactive initiative not only showcases Taiwan's rich heritage but also highlights its commitment to integrating these sites into a global framework that emphasizes conservation and international cooperation. This strategic move towards global recognition aims to ensure that Taiwan's valuable cultural and natural sites receive the recognition and protection they deserve, enhancing both national pride and international cultural exchange.

The establishment of the Tainan Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage symbolizes Taiwan's increasing recognition of the need for specialized departments to oversee the preservation and management of cultural assets. This initiative underscores the evolving understanding of cultural heritage as a dynamic and multifaceted public affair, intertwined with human rights and sustainable development

⁵¹ "Potential World Heritage Sites in Taiwan," accessed June 24, 2024, https://twh.boch.gov.tw/taiwan/index.aspx?lang=en_us.

as emphasized by UNESCO. By framing cultural preservation within the context of human rights, as outlined in the "International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights," and sustainable development from the 1987 report "Our Common Future," Taiwan aligns its cultural preservation efforts with global standards. The broad approach taken by Tainan's office, which encompasses not only tangible heritage like historical buildings and sites but also intangible aspects such as traditional arts and cultural practices, illustrates a comprehensive strategy that respects cultural diversity and promotes social cohesion and environmental responsibility. This reflects a mature understanding of heritage management, integrating legal frameworks, academic research, community engagement, and cross-sectoral initiatives to safeguard and enhance Taiwan's rich cultural legacy as a cornerstone of its societal development.

2.2.3 The Impact of the Cultural Property Act

This part delves into the profound impacts of Taiwan's Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, established in 1982, focusing particularly on its legal definitions and the practical implications of these categorizations for heritage management.⁵² The act distinguishes between "registered cultural assets" and "non-registered cultural assets," a distinction that has significant ramifications for preservation strategies and the allocation of funding. Registered assets receive legal protection, funding, and attention from both government and preservation bodies, ensuring their maintenance and public accessibility. Non-registered assets, while potentially possessing cultural value, do not receive the same level of protection or public investment, making them vulnerable to neglect or destruction in the face of urban development and economic pressures.

The consequences of this bifurcation are particularly evident in urban areas like Tainan or Hsinchu, where older structures can only be preserved if designated as historic monuments. This selective preservation leads to a piecemeal approach that fails to protect the broader historical texture of these cities.

“In European countries, in Florence, the whole city is called historical city, the whole city will be regulated, cannot build high buildings, the slope of the roof, the color are all regulated. In Taiwan there is no way to do this.”⁵³

⁵² “文化資產保存法-全國法規資料庫,” accessed June 24, 2024, <https://law.moj.gov.tw/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=H0170001>.

⁵³ Fang-Jay Rong, Expert interview, May 9, 2024.

Taiwanese cities, unlike Florence, where the city planning framework embeds comprehensive urban heritage conservation practices, struggle to implement similar protective measures across undesignated yet culturally significant areas. The lack of tools for broader preservation not only highlights the limitations of current legislation but also underscores the challenges posed by the island's intense urbanization and real estate dynamics.

Further complicating the situation are public perceptions and legal battles surrounding property rights. People in Taiwan often perceive cultural heritage laws as an infringement on private property rights, resulting in conflicts that may lead to the destruction of potential cultural assets. The legal framework, while designed to protect cultural assets, is frequently challenged by property owners and developers, who view these protections as obstacles to economic gain. The discussion also touches upon the broader socio-economic context, where the surge in property values driven by speculative real estate practices benefits a few, leaving the public to grapple with high housing costs and a rapidly changing urban landscape. This market-driven approach to urban development often places economic interests above cultural heritage preservation, leading to the demolition of culturally significant yet economically undervalued properties.

The enactment of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was a critical step toward safeguarding Taiwan's cultural heritage, yet its implementation reveals significant gaps. The act's emphasis on registered assets can inadvertently lead to the neglect of non-registered assets, contributing to a loss of cultural continuity in urban environments. This selective approach also impacts public perception, where the value of preserving cultural heritage must compete with the strong cultural emphasis on property ownership and economic development. In response to these challenges, initiatives such as the Old House Renewal Project and subsidies for historical districts have been introduced. These programs aim to incentivize the preservation of non-registered assets by providing financial support and technical assistance to property owners. By fostering a cooperative approach between the government, property owners, and the community, these initiatives strive to balance economic development with cultural preservation. Thus, while the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act has laid the foundational legal framework for heritage conservation in Taiwan, its practical impact is nuanced by economic, legal, and social dynamics. The ongoing challenge for Taiwan is to refine its approach to cultural heritage management, ensuring that both registered and non-registered assets receive the protection and appreciation they warrant. This requires a multifaceted strategy that integrates legal, economic, and community-oriented approaches to preserve the rich tapestry of Taiwan's cultural heritage for future generations.

2.3 Stakeholder Analysis

2.3.1 Tainan Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage (Government body)

The Tainan Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage, led by Director Lin Chiao-Ping (林喬彬), is dedicated to a comprehensive approach to cultural preservation that carefully balances the needs of heritage conservation, community interests, and modern urban demands. The administration actively supports property owners through financial and technical assistance to maintain and restore historical buildings. This effort is vital in a city like Tainan, where the architectural heritage spans centuries and includes a diverse array of styles reflecting various historical epochs. To maintain the authenticity and integrity of these structures, the administration provides subsidies for both small-scale repairs and large-scale restorations.

"We offer financial aid and professional consultations to ensure the ongoing preservation and revitalization of our cultural assets."⁵⁴

One of the administration's notable initiatives is the establishment of a 'Cultural Materials Bank,' which supplies reclaimed and recycled materials for restoration projects, ensuring that renovations adhere to the historical context of the buildings. This initiative promotes sustainable practices in cultural preservation, ensuring the appropriate use of materials and extending the lifespan of heritage sites. The administration also conducts regular inspections and provides consultations through the Tainan Cultural Heritage Protection Professional Service Team, which plays a crucial role in the early detection and prevention of deterioration in heritage properties.

Implementing these policies is not without challenges. The complex ownership structures of many historical properties often lead to difficulties in building consensus and making decisions regarding their preservation. To address these issues, the administration acts as a mediator, helping to align the interests of various stakeholders. This involves facilitating cooperation among property owners, users, and government entities to promote cohesive preservation efforts.

"Balancing the diverse interests involved in heritage conservation requires careful negotiation and a deep understanding of the local context."

In addition to physical restoration, the administration places significant emphasis on community engagement and education to foster a collective sense of responsibility for heritage preservation. Through workshops, seminars, and public outreach programs, the administration aims to embed heritage

⁵⁴ Chiao-Ping Lin, Director of Tainan Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage, May 7, 2024.

conservation into the daily lives of local residents, encouraging a sense of civic pride and involvement in maintaining the city's cultural legacy. The administration's comprehensive approach, which integrates financial, material, and social dimensions of heritage conservation, serves as a model for other cities facing similar challenges in cultural preservation.

2.3.2 Foundation of Historic City Conservation and Regeneration (Non-Profit Organization)

The Foundation for Historic City Conservation and Regeneration (FHCCR), under the leadership of CEO Yen Shih-Hua (顏世樺), has become a pivotal force in Tainan's cultural heritage conservation efforts.

The foundation's work emphasizes a community-centric approach to preservation, aiming to involve local stakeholders in every project.

"Engaging local stakeholders in heritage conservation projects fosters a sense of ownership and responsibility, which is crucial for sustainable preservation."⁵⁵

This approach has been instrumental in revitalizing numerous old buildings and turning them into active cultural spaces that contribute to the local economy. However, the foundation faces significant financial constraints, as public donations for heritage conservation are relatively rare in Taiwan. As a result, the FHCCR often relies on government grants, which can be limited and may restrict the foundation's ability to advocate for necessary policy changes.

"Funding is a constant challenge. We rely heavily on government grants, but these are not always sufficient or sustainable, and they sometimes limit our capacity to push for essential policy reforms."

In addition to financial challenges, there is a shortage of skilled artisans capable of working with traditional materials and techniques, as many older craftsmen are retiring, and fewer young people are taking up these trades. To address this issue, the FHCCR has established training programs aimed at preserving these invaluable skills and passing them on to a new generation. The foundation's commitment to "adaptive reuse" of historic buildings—repurposing them for modern uses while maintaining their historical integrity—serves as a sustainable model for urban cultural heritage management. By transforming these buildings into functional spaces like bookstores, cafes, and cultural centers, the FHCCR not only preserves the architectural heritage of Tainan but also promotes a vibrant cultural life that integrates the old with the new.

⁵⁵ Shih-Hua Yen, Chief Executive Officer from Foundation of Historic City Conservation and Regeneration, May 6, 2024.

2.3.3 小轉角 Artdeconer (local communities)

Architects Huang Chieh-Erh (黃介二) and Zhong Hsin-Yi (鍾心怡), the married couple behind "Artdeconer," are dedicated to preserving Tainan's architectural heritage through innovative restoration projects.⁵⁶ They focus on buildings that lack official recognition but are significant to the local cultural landscape. Their approach is part of a broader trend in cultural preservation that values community involvement and economic sustainability. Huang explained,

"Many of the buildings we work on are not formally recognized as heritage sites, but they are integral to the cultural fabric of Tainan. Our goal is to restore these spaces and make them relevant to the community today."

Artdeconer's projects, supported by government subsidies, emphasize restoring the physical structure of old buildings while adapting them for contemporary use. This involves delicate negotiations between preserving historical integrity and meeting modern safety standards. The couple shared that discovering hidden architectural features under layers of modern modifications often reveals the rich history and significance of these buildings. Zhong emphasized,

"Every building tells a unique story, and part of our work is to listen to that story and ensure it continues to be told in a way that resonates with the present and future generations."

The architects' efforts have significantly impacted the local community, creating a sense of pride and ownership over their cultural heritage. Their projects demonstrate how thoughtful, community-focused preservation can enrich urban environments and educate future generations about the value of their cultural heritage. The couple's dedication to blending historical preservation with modern functionality showcases a promising path for other communities seeking to balance cultural heritage with contemporary needs.

2.4 Case Studies

2.4.1 Anping Old Fort

Anping Old Fort, originally known as Fort Zeelandia,⁵⁷ serves as a focal case study for several compelling reasons. This fort is not just a national monument operated directly by the Tainan City Government's

⁵⁶ Chieh-Erh Huang and Hsin-Yi Zhong, Local architect interview, April 12, 2024.

⁵⁷ Fu, 閱讀台南市-文化遺產歷史名城 *Reading TAINAN - a Historic City of Cultural Heritage*.

Cultural Affairs Bureau, but it is also an embodiment of Taiwan's 400-year cultural narrative. The choice of Anping Old Fort is strategic, leveraging its rich historical significance and unique status as a state-operated heritage site to foster cultural tourism under the "Tainan 400" initiative. This initiative aims to celebrate and promote four centuries of Tainan's history and culture, making Anping Old Fort an ideal representative of this long-term heritage engagement.

2.4.1.1 Historical Significance and Selection Rationale

Anping Old Fort stands as one of Taiwan's oldest and most historically significant structures, having witnessed the ebb and flow of various ruling powers—from the Dutch East India Company, through the Ming and Qing dynasties, to the Japanese colonial period, and finally, the Republic of China. Its inception dates back to 1624 when the Dutch, following their strategic retreat from the Pescadores, chose the sandy shores of Anping as their new stronghold to control maritime trade routes.

This fort's location and construction were essential in establishing Dutch dominance over the region, enabling them to engage effectively in trade with local tribes, Chinese pirates, and Japanese merchants. However, Anping Old Fort was not merely a commercial or military outpost; it evolved into the administrative and trading center of Taiwan during the Dutch era, incorporating advanced Renaissance military architecture that distinguished it from local fortifications of the time.

2.4.1.2 Cultural and Touristic Impact

The fort's direct administration by the national government rather than outsourcing to private sectors ensures that its preservation and the authenticity of its narrative remain intact. This aspect is crucial for heritage sites, as it maintains historical accuracy and enhances visitor experience. Annually, Anping Old Fort attracts numerous visitors, both local and international, making it a significant contributor to the cultural tourism and local economy of Tainan. Its presence boosts business for the nearby Anping Old Street, where the layout still reflects the urban planning of the Dutch colonial period, offering a direct link to the past for visitors.

One of the highlights of the cultural and touristic impact of Anping Old Fort is its influence on the nearby Anping Old Street.⁵⁸ This area is a living museum, with a layout that still reflects the urban planning of the Dutch colonial period. Walking down Anping Old Street, visitors can experience the blend of historical architecture and vibrant local commerce. The street, lined with traditional houses, shops, and food stalls, offers a direct link to the past, providing an immersive experience that complements a visit to the fort. The historical street not only adds depth to the visitor experience but also

⁵⁸ “台灣的故事從安平開始 - 大紀元,” 大紀元 www.epochtimes.com, June 18, 2012, <https://www.epochtimes.com/b5/12/6/18/n3615196.htm>.

boosts local businesses by drawing in tourists who come to explore the heritage and enjoy the traditional offerings.

The "Tainan 400" initiative capitalizes on this historic milestone of 400 years,⁵⁹ promoting Anping Old Fort not just as a relic of the past but as a vibrant cultural landmark. Through this initiative, the Tainan City Government facilitates various cultural tourism activities that draw on the fort's rich historical tapestry to enhance visitor engagement and educational outreach. This strategic use of the fort in cultural tourism exemplifies a model for heritage management that other historical sites can emulate to boost their cultural and economic viability.

2.4.1.3 Challenges and Opportunities

Managing a heritage site like Anping Old Fort involves balancing preservation with accessibility. The fort's structures have undergone numerous changes through the centuries, each phase of its history leaving its mark on the architecture and the site's overall character. The challenge lies in preserving these layers of history while making them comprehensible and engaging for visitors. Moreover, the success of Anping Old Fort as a heritage site brings its own set of challenges, such as managing the impact of high tourist footfall which can lead to wear and tear on the ancient structures. The management must, therefore, implement sustainable tourism practices that protect the integrity of the fort while accommodating growing numbers of visitors.

Anping Old Fort serves as a sterling example of how a historical site can be leveraged not only as a window to the past but also as a vital component of contemporary cultural identity and economic development. Its role in Tainan's "Tainan 400" initiative underscores the potential of heritage sites to act as catalysts for cultural education and economic vitality. By focusing on comprehensive heritage management that includes community involvement and sustainable tourism, Anping Old Fort continues to contribute to the cultural richness and economic health of Tainan, making it a model for heritage conservation and utilization worldwide.

⁵⁹ “‘Tainan 400’ 臺南 400 - 一起臺南 世界交陪。”

2.4.2 小轉角 Artdeconer

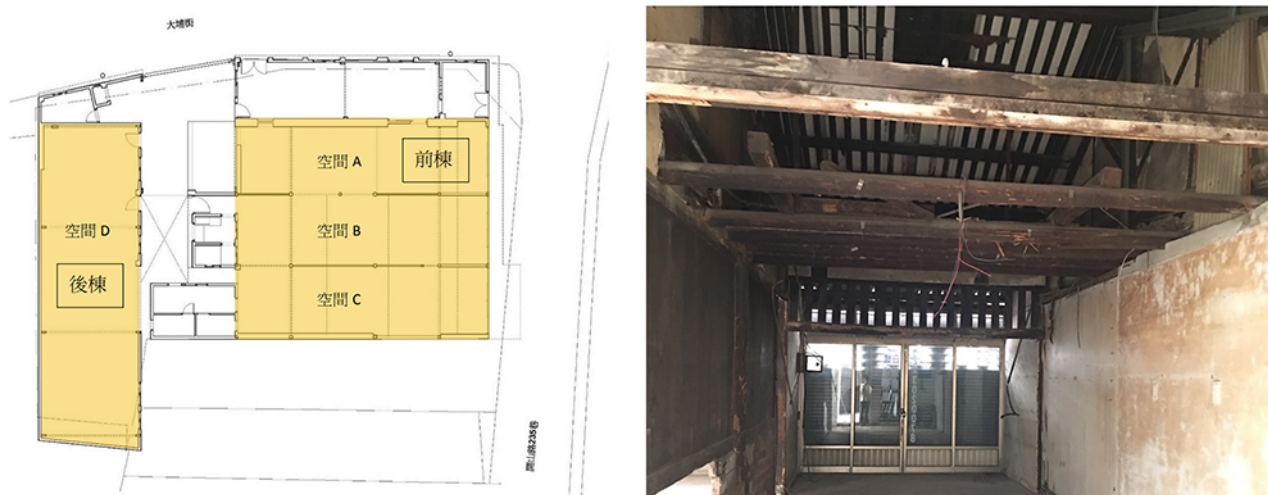


Figure 4. Floor plan of Artdeconer before renovation. Source from Old is good website.⁶⁰

The case of "小轉角" (Artdeconer) exemplifies a compelling blend of cultural preservation and modern utility, showcasing the intricate balance between conserving historical integrity and adapting to contemporary needs. This initiative not only revitalizes a historical structure but also enriches the local community by fostering a deeper connection with their cultural heritage.

The architectural project of Artdeconer, supported by Taiwan's Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, illustrates how government-funded programs can effectively contribute to the restoration of cultural assets that lack a clear identity. This approach is particularly significant in Taiwan, where many buildings from the Japanese colonial era and other historical periods often lie neglected or underappreciated. The government plays a crucial role in safeguarding these cultural relics, ensuring their preservation for future generations and their continued functionality and relevance in today's society, by providing financial assistance and expert guidance.

One of the critical aspects of Artdeconer is the preservation of original materials and architectural features. The restoration team took great care to maintain the traditional Minnan (Southern Fujian) architectural elements, such as the wooden structures and sugarcane mud walls, which are characteristic of Tainan's historical buildings. This attention to detail not only preserves the building's cultural authenticity but also educates the public about traditional construction techniques and materials, thus maintaining a tangible link to the past.

⁶⁰ “小轉角 Artdeconer-好舊。好-臺南市歷史街區振興補助計畫,” accessed June 24, 2024, <https://oldisgood.tainan.gov.tw/index.php?option=module&lang=cht&task=pageinfo&id=547&index=1>.



Figure 5. Left is The old 管蓁牆(kanreki-kabe), Right is the imitation of it.

Source from Old is good website.⁶¹

Artdeconer not only showcases an admirable synthesis of cultural preservation and modern utility but also illustrates the careful attention to detail in conserving original materials, particularly in the restoration of the traditional sugarcane mud wall, known as 管蓁牆 (Kanreki-kabe). This element plays a crucial role in maintaining the building's cultural authenticity and provides a tactile connection to the architectural practices of Tainan's past. The Kanreki-kabe, a hallmark of traditional Minnan architecture, was meticulously preserved during the renovation of Artdeconer. This type of wall construction, which utilizes the weaving of sugarcane bagasse into a lattice framework filled with mud, represents a construction technique unique to the region and period. The preservation efforts included scraping off old layers to reveal the underlying structure, allowing visitors to see and appreciate the craftsmanship and natural materials that characterize traditional Taiwanese buildings.

The integration of Kanreki-kabe into the modern refurbishment of Artdeconer is a prime example of adaptive reuse, in which historical elements are not only preserved but also made relevant to contemporary use. This approach allows the building to serve as a dynamic cultural hub, hosting events and activities that engage the community, while the walls themselves serve as educational tools, illustrating traditional building techniques to visitors. However, the project does not merely aim to freeze the building in time. It seeks to integrate these traditional elements with modern enhancements that ensure the structure's longevity and usability. For example, the introduction of new materials and construction methods that do not compromise the building's historical integrity but enhance its functionality and

⁶¹“小轉角 Artdeconer-好舊。好-臺南市歷史街區振興補助計畫。”

safety. This approach reflects a broader trend in heritage conservation known as "adaptive reuse," which allows historical buildings to serve contemporary purposes while preserving their cultural significance.

The community engagement aspect of Artdeconer is equally noteworthy. By transforming the space into a cultural hub that hosts events, workshops, and exhibitions, the project fosters a vibrant community center that draws people together and stimulates local economic activity. This community-oriented approach not only enhances the space's social value, but also ensures that the revitalization project directly benefits local residents, making cultural heritage a living part of their daily lives. It demonstrates that with thoughtful planning and community involvement, it is possible to breathe new life into old structures, making them relevant and useful while still honoring their historical and cultural significance.

In summary, Artdeconer is a great example of how heritage sites can be restored and used for modern purposes while keeping their historical charm. This project highlights how crucial government support is for such efforts, showing that public funding and expert advice can turn neglected historical buildings into vibrant community spaces that honor and continue the cultural heritage. The success of Artdeconer provides important lessons on how to sustainably preserve cultural heritage, mixing old traditions with modern needs to enrich community life and cultural awareness.

Chapter 3: Comparative Analysis with Kyoto

3.1 Cultural Heritage Management in Kyoto: Historical and Current Practices

Kyoto, often revered as the cultural heart of Japan, reflecting over a millennium of continuous preservation efforts on cultural heritage.⁶² Its historical evolution as an ancient capital and its contemporary status as a leading destination for heritage tourism illustrate the complex dynamics between preservation and modernization. This section explores the historical context and current practices of heritage management in Kyoto, highlighting the city's strategies for balancing cultural preservation with the pressures of modernity and tourism.

3.1.1 Historical Context of Heritage Management

Kyoto's importance as a cultural epicenter dates back over a millennium to its founding as Japan's capital in 794 AD, a status it maintained until 1868. During this time, the city became a central repository of Japanese culture, home to countless temples, shrines, and traditional wooden townhouses known as "machiya." The city's deliberate urban planning and architectural preservation efforts reflect its long-

⁶² "About Kyoto," Kyoto City Official Travel Guide, accessed June 19, 2024, https://kyoto.travel/en/about_kyoto.html.

standing historical and cultural significance. As noted by Jennifer S. Prough,⁶³ Kyoto's rich historical context and its role as a cultural hub are vital to understanding its modern heritage management practices.

The systematic preservation of Kyoto's cultural heritage began in earnest during the Meiji period (1868–1912), a time when Japan faced immense pressure to modernize. Recognizing the value of cultural heritage, the Meiji government enacted the Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Law in 1897, marking the start of formal conservation efforts. This initiative set the stage for future policies aimed at safeguarding Japan's cultural assets. Significant progress was made with the enactment of the Historic-Relics Scenic Spot Natural Treasure Conservation Act in 1919, the National Treasure Conservation Act in 1929, and the Law about Preservation of an Important Art Object in 1933, each expanding the scope and depth of heritage preservation .

Kyoto's cultural heritage was further bolstered by the Cultural Properties Protection Law of 1950, which unified various preservation laws and provided a comprehensive framework for protecting both tangible and intangible heritage . This law laid the foundation for the city's robust preservation strategies, ensuring the protection of numerous temples, shrines, and machiya. The city's historical value was internationally recognized with the ratification of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1992 and the subsequent inscription of the Historic Monuments of Ancient Kyoto in 1994, which includes seventeen sites across Kyoto, Uji, and Otsu. The establishment of the Agency for Cultural Affairs in 1968 further strengthened these efforts by introducing and enforcing laws that protect Japan's cultural heritage from the threats of rapid urbanization and modernization.

Table 3: Timeline of Cultural Heritage Laws in Japan (1919–2018). Source: Created by the author.

Year	Law/Initiative	Description
1919	Historic-Relics Scenic Spot Natural Treasure Conservation Act	Protects important cultural and natural sites across Japan.
1929	National Treasure Conservation Act	Safeguards Japan's most valuable cultural assets
1933	Law about Preservation of an Important Art Object	Protects significant artistic works

⁶³ Prough, *Kyoto Revisited*.

1950	Cultural Properties Protection Law	Provides comprehensive protection for both tangible and intangible cultural properties.
1966	Law for Preservation of Ancient Capitals	Protects historical sites in cities that have served as ancient capitals of Japan, such as Kyoto and Nara.
1979	Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties	Refines and expands the scope of protection for cultural assets across Japan.
1992	Japan Ratified the UNESCO World Heritage Convention	Formalizes Japan's commitment to global heritage conservation, allowing Japanese sites to be recognized globally.
1994	Historic Monuments of Ancient Kyoto (Kyoto, Uji, and Otsu Cities) - UNESCO	Seventeen historic monuments in Kyoto, Uji, and Otsu Cities were inscribed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites, recognizing their cultural and historical significance.
1994	Nara Document on Authenticity	This document broadened the definition of authenticity in cultural heritage conservation, emphasizing the importance of cultural context and diverse expressions of cultural value.
2001	Fundamental Law for the Promotion of Culture and Arts	Supports the development and promotion of cultural and artistic activities throughout Japan.

3.1.2 Current Heritage Management Practices

Contemporary heritage management in Kyoto is defined by a sophisticated framework that integrates government policies, community involvement, and sustainable tourism practices. This comprehensive approach addresses the challenges posed by rising tourism while striving to maintain cultural authenticity. Insights provided by Professor Kazuko Goto, a prominent economist based in Kyoto, significantly enhance the understanding of these practices. The interaction between municipal authorities, tourists, and local residents, as analyzed by Prough, reveals a complex dynamic. The government is focused on increasing tax revenue, tourists seek genuine cultural experiences, and residents balance the preservation of community pride with concerns over the impacts of overtourism.

3.1.2.1 Government Policies and Frameworks

The Japanese government, through the Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA), plays a crucial role in preserving and managing Kyoto's cultural heritage. Central to these efforts is the Cultural Properties Protection Law of 1950, which provides a robust legal framework for the protection and maintenance of significant cultural sites. In Kyoto alone, over 2,000 cultural properties, including 198 National Treasures and 414 Important Cultural Properties,⁶⁴ benefit from these protections. The ACA's strategies include the designation of important cultural properties and the enforcement of strict regulations to prevent unauthorized alterations, ensuring the careful preservation of temples, shrines, and traditional wooden townhouses (*machiya*)⁶⁵. This comprehensive approach allows for public access and appreciation while safeguarding these sites from the adverse impacts of commercialization and modernization.

However, financial support for heritage conservation is relatively limited. The ACA's budget has consistently remained around 0.1% of the total national budget for several decades, reflecting a modest allocation of funds for culture and heritage. Approximately 60% of the ACA budget is allocated to heritage, with around 40% dedicated to heritage protection and 15% to the maintenance and management of national museums and theaters.⁶⁶ This limited budget necessitates that a significant portion of the funding for cultural heritage conservation comes from local governments. Consequently, the central government often serves more as a technical advisor and supporter rather than a primary financier.

In 2007, Kyoto City implemented a comprehensive landscape policy to enhance the city's unique character and manage the impacts of tourism and urban development. This policy includes regulations on building heights, architectural designs, and the preservation of scenic views and historic streetscapes, ensuring that Kyoto's cultural landscape is maintained amidst the pressures of urbanization. Professor Kazuko Goto pointed out that while these policies are crucial, the concept of cultural heritage as a "public good" complicates funding efforts, as it is difficult to generate revenue directly from heritage sites. This has led to challenges in adequately funding preservation efforts.⁶⁷

3.1.2.2 Community Involvement and Local Initiatives

Community involvement is crucial for the preservation of Kyoto's cultural heritage, with local residents and organizations playing significant roles in safeguarding both tangible and intangible assets. Events

⁶⁴ "About Kyoto," Kyoto City Official Travel Guide, accessed June 24, 2024, https://kyoto.travel/en/about_kyoto.html.

⁶⁵ A traditional wooden townhouse is considered a "machiya" if it was constructed before 1950, which was before the implementation of the Buildings Standards Act.

⁶⁶ Hoa Nguyen Quynh, "Tourism Impacts on Heritage Sites in Japan: From Government's View to Local People's Awareness," in *Cultural Sustainable Tourism*, ed. Ante Mandić, Rui Alexandre Castanho, and Uglješa Stankov, Advances in Science, Technology & Innovation (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2022), 81–93, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-10800-6_7.

⁶⁷ Kazuko Goto, Expert interview, April 9, 2024.

such as the Gion Festival exemplify robust community support,⁶⁸ with residents actively participating and financially contributing to sustain this centuries-old tradition. Despite limited government support for intangible cultural heritage, Goto emphasizes that local efforts are indispensable for preserving practices that define Kyoto's cultural identity. The conversion of traditional machiya into commercial properties, driven by economic pressures, highlights the importance of community-led initiatives to protect these cultural landmarks.

Local initiatives also focus on the restoration of traditional architecture. For example, the preservation of machiya, traditional wooden townhouses, are supported by local organizations like the Kyoto Machiya Revival Association⁶⁹ and the Kyoto Center for Community Collaboration that provide resources and awareness campaigns to encourage their maintenance and adaptive reuse. These projects not only preserve physical structures but also revitalize traditional neighborhoods, promoting sustainable heritage tourism and strengthening community ties. Prough's analysis reveals the mixed feelings among residents who, while proud of their cultural heritage, are also concerned about the growing impact of tourism. The phenomenon of kimono tourism, where visitors don traditional attire to engage deeply with the culture, underscores the intricate relationship between cultural heritage and tourism.⁷⁰ Understanding this dynamic is essential for appreciating the local community's role in maintaining Kyoto's unique cultural landscape amid increasing tourist numbers.

3.1.2.3 Tourism Management Practices

Tourism is a significant driver of economic activity in Kyoto, but it also presents challenges for heritage conservation. Professor Kazuko Goto has pointed out that excessive tourism leads to issues such as overcrowding, increased living costs, and disruptions to local life. To address these challenges, Kyoto has implemented a range of measures aimed at managing the impact of tourism on cultural heritage sites, with a focus on sustainability and preserving cultural authenticity.

The city has developed comprehensive guidelines for tourists that promote respectful behavior and the protection of cultural sites. These guidelines are disseminated through multiple channels, including tourist information centers and digital platforms, to ensure visitors understand the cultural significance of the sites they visit and the importance of preserving them. To manage the influx of tourists and mitigate its impact on heritage sites, Kyoto employs various crowd management techniques. These include timed entry to popular attractions, promoting lesser-known sites, and encouraging off-peak tourism. Such measures help distribute tourist traffic more evenly across the city and reduce pressure on heavily visited

⁶⁸ "Gion Matsuri Festival," Kyoto City Official Travel Guide, accessed June 18, 2024, https://kyoto.travel/en/season_festivals/gion_matsuri.html.

⁶⁹ "Machiya Vision," accessed June 24, 2024, <http://kyoto-machisen.jp/machiya-vision/>.

⁷⁰ Prough, *Kyoto Revisited*.

areas. This balanced approach not only enhances the visitor experience but also ensures the preservation of Kyoto's heritage for future generations.

3.1.3 Challenges

Despite being recognized as one of the best-preserved ancient capitals by UNESCO, Kyoto's cultural heritage management is confronted with several critical challenges, primarily driven by the impact of over-tourism and the complexities of balancing economic development with cultural preservation. Professor Kazuko Goto highlighted the significant impact that a surge in tourism has had on the city, noting that while it brings considerable economic benefits, these are not evenly distributed within the local community. Many tourism-related businesses in Kyoto, such as hotels and tour operators, are not locally owned, leading to significant economic leakage. For instance, hotels and restaurants often purchase food supplies and retail items, like souvenirs, from suppliers outside Kyoto. This practice reduces the economic benefits retained within the local community. Moreover, many of the tour operators that bring tourists to Kyoto are based in Tokyo or even abroad.

“The land price has dramatically increased because of the demand for Hotel construction. Then, the younger generation can not buy their house in the center of Kyoto city. The Younger generation went out from the city center. Then the Kyoto city government does not get enough tax revenue. For ten years, the quality of life in Kyoto city has been getting worse because of too many tourists. Foreign tourists wear Kimonos when they visit Kyoto. But the kimonos they wear are made in China, which is made by machine. They are not real Kimono. So tourism does not enrich the regional craft industry.”⁷¹

As a result, a significant portion of the revenue generated by tourism is diverted away from Kyoto, reducing the economic benefits for local residents. The outflow of funds leads to higher living expenses, prompting younger populations to move to more affordable regions like Shiga and Osaka. This shift disrupts community cohesion and makes it difficult to sustain the traditional way of life that is central to Kyoto's cultural identity.

In the long run, Kyoto's approach to cultural heritage management provides valuable insights for other cities facing similar challenges. The city's comprehensive strategy, which combines legal measures, sustainable tourism practices and active community participation, serves as a model for effective heritage management. Through continuous innovation and adaptation, Kyoto can protect its rich cultural heritage

⁷¹ Goto, Expert interview.

while meeting the needs of the modern, globalized world and maintaining its position as a pioneer in preserving culture.

3.2 Case study: Shimogamo Shrine

3.2.1 Historical Significance and Contemporary Relevance

Shimogamo Shrine, also known as Kamomioya Shrine, stands as a beacon of Japan's rich cultural heritage and historical continuity.⁷² Located in the Shimogamo district, north part of Kyoto city, it doesn't attract the same massive crowds as the more renowned Kinkaku-ji or Kiyomizu-dera. Nevertheless, this shrine holds profound significance and plays a crucial role in the local community's religious and cultural life. Shimogamo Shrine, along with its sister shrine Kamigamo, forms the Kamo Shrine complex, which is integral to Kyoto's history and is recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Its origins are deeply embedded in the ancient Tadasu-no-Mori, the Forest of Truth, where recent excavations have uncovered artifacts from as far back as the Yayoi period (4 B.C. to 3 A.D.). These artifacts, including well-preserved arrowheads and pottery fragments, tell the tale of a sacred site that has served as a spiritual haven long before Kyoto became the imperial capital. As the city grew around it, the shrine's influence expanded, with significant land grants during the Tempyo Shoho period (749-757), eventually amassing a vast estate that stretched across the country. This deep-rooted presence highlights Shimogamo Shrine's enduring role in the region's spiritual and cultural landscape.

Shimogamo Shrine flourished alongside Kyoto's imperial court during the Heian period (794-1185), enjoying the favor of influential families and emperors. Its zenith came during the reign of Emperor Saga (809-823), who instituted the tradition of dedicating a Sai-in, a shrine maiden, echoing the customs at Ise Shrine. This period also saw the birth of the Aoi Matsuri, an elaborate festival still celebrated today, marked by a grand procession from the Imperial Palace to the shrine. Participants, adorned in traditional Heian attire, carry hollyhock leaves, a symbol of the festival that became so renowned it was simply known as "the festival" throughout Japan. The Aoi Matsuri is mentioned in classic Heian literature like *The Tale of Genji*, illustrating its cultural significance and the enduring allure of Shimogamo Shrine in the hearts of Kyoto's aristocracy. Even as the imperial court's fortunes waned in later centuries, the shrine continued to hold ceremonial importance, maintaining its connection to the spiritual and cultural life of the city.

In contemporary times, Shimogamo Shrine continues to serve as a vital religious and cultural hub. It remains a center for Shinto worship and community activities, hosting numerous traditional festivals

⁷² “下鴨神社トップ,” 下鴨神社, accessed June 24, 2024, <https://www.shimogamo-jinja.or.jp>.

and ceremonies that celebrate Japan's deep cultural heritage. The shrine conducts a variety of ceremonies throughout the year, including the Mitarashi Festival in July, where participants cleanse their feet in the cool waters of the Mitarashi Pond as a form of purification. Additionally, the Tadasu no Mori Art Festival, held annually in autumn, invites both local and international artists to create installations within the sacred forest, blending modern creativity with ancient traditions. Shimogamo Shrine is particularly popular among local residents and university students, partly due to its proximity to the Demachi area,⁷³ known for its vibrant local life and educational institutions. Unlike Kyoto's more tourist-heavy attractions, which draw a high number of international visitors, Shimogamo Shrine primarily attracts domestic tourists and locals seeking a serene and authentic cultural experience. The shrine's emphasis on local engagement is evident in the diverse array of activities it supports, including traditional weddings, various life-stage ceremonies, and community festivals. This focus on community involvement not only preserves the cultural heritage of the area but also strengthens the social fabric, making Shimogamo Shrine a cornerstone of local life.

3.2.2 Practices for Maintaining Authenticity and Addressing Commercialization

Shimogamo Shrine is one of the oldest and most revered shrines in Kyoto. Despite the challenges posed by commercialization and the need for financial sustainability, the shrine has managed to maintain its authenticity by carefully balancing tradition and innovation. One of the practices that best exemplifies this balance is "Shikinen Sengu," a regular renewal ceremony. This age-old tradition plays a key role in ensuring the continuity of the shrine's physical structure and cultural heritage, making Shimogamo Shrine an important part of Kyoto's historical and spiritual landscape.

3.2.2.1 Shikinen Sengu: Tradition and Renewal

The Shikinen Sengu, or periodic renewal, is a unique and profound tradition observed at Shimogamo Shrine and a select few other significant shrines in Japan. This practice involves the complete or partial reconstruction of shrine buildings at regular intervals, traditionally every 21 years in Shimogamo Shrine.⁷⁴ The primary purpose of Shikinen Sengu is twofold: to facilitate spiritual renewal and to preserve cultural heritage. During the renewal process, the deities enshrined at Shimogamo are temporarily moved to specially constructed auxiliary buildings. This allows the main shrine buildings to undergo meticulous

⁷³ "Demachi: A place for open coverstaion between students and the community.," Guide de voyage officiel de la ville de Kyoto, November 6, 2015, <https://kyoto.travel/fr/see-and-do/demachi.html>.

⁷⁴ "English | 下鴨神社 | 賀茂御祖神社 kamomioya jinjya (かもみおやじんじや)," 下鴨神社, accessed June 24, 2024, <https://www.shimogamo-jinja.or.jp/english>.

renovations, ensuring that they are restored to their original condition. Once the renovations are complete, the deities are ceremoniously returned to their newly restored main halls, marking a symbolic fresh start and reaffirming the continuity of tradition.

The origins of Shikinen Sengu can be traced back to the mid-Heian period, with the first recorded event occurring in the ninth year of the Chōgen era (1036). The purpose of this ritual was to prevent the gods from experiencing any inconvenience due to the deterioration of their sacred dwellings. Initially, Shikinen Sengu involved the complete reconstruction of all shrine buildings and sacred objects, excluding the main deity, every 20 years. However, due to various historical challenges such as wars, famines, and natural disasters, the interval between reconstructions sometimes extended to 30 or even 50 years. Despite these challenges, the practice of Shikinen Sengu has been consistently upheld, adapting to changing times while preserving its essential purpose and significance.

One of the key aspects of Shikinen Sengu is its role in passing down traditional craftsmanship. The act of rebuilding the shrine is not merely a physical task; it is a deeply spiritual and cultural endeavor that ensures the transmission of specialized construction techniques from generation to generation. This practice has helped preserve the essence of traditional Japanese architecture, allowing knowledge and skills to be handed down through centuries. Unlike static monuments such as the pyramids of Egypt or the Roman Colosseum, which remain unchanged over time, the continuous renewal of Shikinen Sengu has enabled the preservation of both tangible and intangible aspects of cultural heritage. This living tradition ensures that the shrine remains vibrant and relevant, maintaining its historical integrity and spiritual significance. At Shimogamo Shrine, the Shikinen Sengu process has evolved to focus primarily on renovation rather than complete reconstruction, largely due to the significant costs involved and the designation of the buildings as National Treasures and Important Cultural Assets. The modern practice involves repairing and restoring damaged areas of the shrine every 21 years. For example, significant work is done to replace the hinoki bark thatch on the roofs of over 70 buildings, a material that requires renewal due to its 30-40 year lifespan. Other tasks include repairing decorative metal fittings, restoring worn lacquer, and repainting faded sections. Additionally, sacred objects such as the deities' garments and treasures, known as Gohō or Gosai, are either repaired or newly crafted, ensuring that traditional craftsmanship continues to thrive.⁷⁵

3.2.2.2 Modern Challenges and Adaptations

In modern times, maintaining the tradition of Shikinen Sengu at Shimogamo Shrine presents significant financial challenges. The costs associated with the 21-year renovation cycle are substantial, with the 2015

⁷⁵ “御祭神・歴史・神話 | 下鴨神社 | 賀茂御祖神社（かもみおやじんじゃ）,” 下鴨神社, accessed June 20, 2024, <https://www.shimogamo-jinja.or.jp/about/rekishi>.

renovations requiring approximately ¥3 billion (about \$19.1 million). The Japanese government contributed ¥800 million (about \$5.1 million), and many individuals donated funds, but this was insufficient to cover the full cost. As a result, the shrine leased a portion of its land for development, leading to the construction of a luxury apartment complex in 2017 on an area not part of the UNESCO World Heritage site. This development, though controversial, is expected to provide a steady annual revenue of ¥80 million (about \$508,828) through a 50-year lease, demonstrating the economic pressures and need for adaptability faced by the shrine in the contemporary world.⁷⁶

The commercialization efforts at Shimogamo Shrine, although met with some controversy, reflect a broader trend among Japanese shrines and temples. Faced with declining traditional revenues and increasing maintenance costs, many institutions have turned to creative revenue-generating activities to sustain their operations.⁷⁷ At Shimogamo, the construction of an apartment complex, though criticized by some for potentially compromising the shrine's sanctity, highlights the delicate balance between preserving cultural authenticity and ensuring financial sustainability. This adaptation is essential for maintaining the shrine's cultural and spiritual functions, allowing it to continue practicing Shikinen Sengu and serving as a vital part of Kyoto's cultural landscape. Shimogamo Shrine's approach to managing these challenges while preserving its heritage offers valuable insights for other cultural sites facing similar pressures. The practice of Shikinen Sengu, with its emphasis on both physical and spiritual renewal, illustrates how ancient traditions can be maintained and adapted to meet contemporary needs, ensuring their relevance and sustainability for future generations. To continue this tradition, Japan published the Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994, which underscores the global significance of such practices in preserving the integrity of cultural heritage sites. When they realized that the then-current UNESCO conventions did not allow for the alteration of cultural heritage materials or their renewal, the Nara Document broadened the definition of authenticity in cultural heritage conservation. It emphasized the importance of considering cultural context and respecting the original materials and techniques used in historical structures, ensuring that traditions like Shikinen Sengu can continue to thrive.

3.3 Comparative Analysis

Tainan and Kyoto, both cities with a deep historical and cultural heritage, present interesting cases for examining how different regions approach the preservation of their cultural assets. Despite their geographical and historical differences, there are notable similarities in their methods of integrating local

⁷⁶ Katsuyo Kuwako and Jason Clenfield, "In Financial Straits, Shrines Turn to Luxury Property Development," *The Japan Times*, May 11, 2017, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/05/11/business/financial-straits-shrines-turn-luxury-property-development/>.

⁷⁷ Jason Clenfield, Katsuyo Kuwako, and Pavel Alpeyev, "Japan's Priests Turn to Property Development," *Bloomberg Businessweek*, no. 4521 (May 8, 2017): 38–39.

traditions and involving communities in preservation efforts, as well as leveraging cultural tourism for economic benefits. However, significant differences emerge in terms of funding mechanisms, policy continuity, and cultural consensus, reflecting the unique challenges each city faces in maintaining cultural authenticity amidst modernization and tourism pressures.

3.3.1 Integration of Local Traditions and Community Involvement

Kyoto and Tainan both emphasize the integration of local traditions into their heritage preservation strategies, ensuring that cultural heritage remains a living, dynamic part of community life rather than static historical artifacts. In Kyoto, the practice of Shikinen Sengu at Shimogamo Shrine epitomizes this approach. Shikinen Sengu involves the periodic renewal of shrine buildings, a tradition dating back to the mid-Heian period. This practice not only ensures the physical upkeep of the shrine but also preserves the intangible cultural knowledge associated with traditional Japanese architecture. The ongoing renewal of shrine buildings symbolizes a commitment to maintaining a cultural heritage that is both historically significant and relevant in contemporary society.

Similarly, Tainan integrates its diverse cultural heritage—shaped by Chinese, Dutch, Japanese, and indigenous influences—into modern urban life. Initiatives like the "老屋欣力" (Old House Renewal Project) led by the FHCCR showcase how local traditions are preserved and revitalized.⁷⁸ This project encourages residents to see the potential in old houses, transforming them into functional, modern spaces while retaining their historical essence. Such efforts not only protect the physical structures but also ensure that traditional practices and architectural styles remain integral to the city's identity.

Community involvement is another critical component of heritage preservation in both cities. In Kyoto, local residents play a significant role in maintaining cultural practices and participating in heritage events, such as the Gion Festival. This festival, one of Kyoto's most significant cultural events, involves the active participation of community members in organizing and celebrating, thereby reinforcing a strong sense of cultural pride and community cohesion.

In Tainan, community engagement is equally vital. Projects like the restoration of Artdeconer demonstrate how involving local communities in preservation efforts can enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of these initiatives. By engaging residents in the restoration and repurposing of old buildings, Tainan fosters a sense of ownership and pride in its cultural legacy, ensuring that heritage preservation is not just a government responsibility but a collective community effort.

⁷⁸ "老屋欣力拾年訪談," 古都基金會 (blog), February 8, 2018, <https://fhccr.wordpress.com/%e7%b0%a1%e4%bb%8b/>.

3.3.2 Economic Benefits through Heritage Tourism

Heritage tourism is a major economic driver for both Kyoto and Tainan. Kyoto, with its numerous UNESCO World Heritage Sites and historical landmarks, attracts millions of tourists annually. This influx of visitors significantly contributes to the local economy, supporting businesses and generating revenue that is reinvested into heritage preservation. The model of leveraging cultural tourism to fund conservation efforts ensures that Kyoto's cultural sites are well-maintained and accessible, creating a sustainable loop that benefits both the economy and heritage conservation.

Tainan similarly capitalizes on its rich cultural heritage to draw tourists and stimulate economic growth. Historical sites like Anping Old Fort and the Confucius Temple are key attractions that bring visitors interested in exploring Taiwan's historical and cultural landscape. Initiatives such as the "Tainan 400" project, which celebrates the city's 400-year history, highlight how Tainan integrates cultural heritage into its tourism strategy to enhance its economic vitality while promoting the preservation of its cultural assets. By aligning tourism with heritage preservation, Tainan ensures that the economic benefits of tourism support the maintenance and promotion of its cultural heritage.

3.3.3 Challenges in Funding and Policy Support

A significant divergence between Kyoto and Tainan lies in their funding mechanisms and policy support for cultural heritage preservation. Kyoto benefits from substantial government funding and a robust policy framework, partly due to its status as a UNESCO World Heritage city. This status not only provides international recognition but also facilitates access to global conservation networks and funding opportunities. The Japanese government, through the Agency for Cultural Affairs, allocates considerable resources for the preservation of cultural sites, ensuring that Kyoto's heritage conservation efforts are well-supported and sustainable.

In contrast, Tainan faces challenges in securing consistent funding for heritage preservation. Without the international recognition and support that comes with UNESCO designation, Tainan relies more heavily on local government budgets, private donations, and international grants. This fragmented funding landscape necessitates innovative approaches to secure the resources needed for large-scale preservation projects. The lack of steady funding presents a significant obstacle, compelling Tainan to develop sustainable financial models and seek alternative sources of support to ensure the continuation of its heritage preservation efforts.

3.3.4 Policy Continuity and Cultural Consensus

Policy continuity is another area where Kyoto and Tainan differ markedly. Kyoto's cultural heritage preservation is supported by a well-established and cohesive policy framework that reflects a broad consensus among government officials, residents, and stakeholders on the importance of cultural heritage. This long-standing commitment to heritage conservation is deeply embedded in Kyoto's cultural identity, ensuring that preservation policies are consistently prioritized and effectively implemented.

Tainan, however, has experienced frequent changes in government and political power, leading to less consistent heritage preservation policies. The city's diverse cultural heritage, shaped by influences from various ruling powers, complicates the development of a unified preservation strategy. Ongoing debates about the definitions of cultural heritage and cultural property, coupled with the diverse cultural influences in Tainan, create challenges in building a cohesive approach to heritage preservation. This lack of consensus highlights the need for Tainan to continue working towards a unified preservation strategy that reflects its unique cultural context and ensures the protection of its diverse heritage.

3.4 Lessons for Tainan

Tainan, with its rich historical and cultural heritage, can draw significant lessons from Kyoto's experiences in managing cultural heritage. Both cities, despite their geographical and cultural differences, face similar challenges in preserving their historical assets while accommodating modern development and tourism. Kyoto's comprehensive approach to cultural heritage management offers practical insights that can be adapted to Tainan's context to enhance its efforts in maintaining cultural authenticity and protecting its heritage.

One of the critical insights from Kyoto is the recognition of cultural heritage as a public good. Professor Kazuko Goto emphasized that cultural heritage sites, often freely accessible, pose unique challenges in generating revenue directly for their preservation. In Kyoto, this public nature of heritage has made it difficult to secure adequate funds for maintenance and protection, particularly as these sites are utilized for private gains, such as the burgeoning hotel industry that has driven up property prices and impacted local residents. Tainan can learn from Kyoto's experience by developing innovative funding models that do not rely solely on tourism revenue. Establishing a dedicated cultural heritage fund, which pools resources from government allocations, private donations, and international grants, can provide a sustainable financial base for the maintenance and restoration of heritage sites. Additionally, Tainan should implement policies that encourage private sector involvement in heritage conservation, such as offering tax incentives to businesses that contribute to the preservation of cultural properties.

Kyoto's challenges with over-tourism also offer critical lessons for Tainan. Tainan must be

mindful of the potential negative impacts of tourism on public finances and the local economy. Kyoto's over-reliance on tourism has led to financial instability and a decline in the quality of life for residents. Tainan should diversify its economic base to reduce dependence on tourism and ensure that other sectors, such as technology and education, are also supported and developed. This diversification can help mitigate the economic risks associated with fluctuations in tourism and provide a more stable financial foundation for the city's heritage conservation efforts.

Chapter 4: Discussion

In this chapter, the discussion delves into the key findings of this study, reflecting on critical issues in cultural heritage management, particularly focusing on Tainan's experiences. The challenges and solutions related to information asymmetry, community involvement, financial constraints, and the importance of adaptive reuse are examined. The discussion further provides recommendations for sustainable heritage management, emphasizing the need for collaborative efforts, policy enhancement, public education, and adaptation to modern challenges.

4.1 Reflection on Key Findings

4.1.1 Information Asymmetry in Tainan's Cultural Heritage Management

The study highlights significant information asymmetry in Tainan's cultural heritage management, a crucial barrier to efficient and effective heritage preservation. This asymmetry arises from the disparate roles, resources, and access to information among various stakeholders, including government bodies, non-profit organizations, private enterprises, and local communities. Government entities in Tainan, while possessing substantial financial resources, often lack the specialized knowledge required for effective heritage preservation. This gap results in inefficient use of funds, which hampers the protection and utilization of cultural assets. For example, despite having the budget, government initiatives may fail to allocate resources effectively for the restoration of historic sites, leading to suboptimal conservation outcomes.

In contrast, non-profit organizations (NPOs) have the expertise necessary for heritage conservation but are typically constrained by limited financial resources, restricting their ability to undertake large-scale conservation and education projects. For instance, while NPOs can identify critical preservation needs and propose comprehensive plans, their limited budgets force them to rely on smaller, incremental projects or seek external funding sources, which are often insufficient for the scale required. Private enterprises in Tainan, such as those managing significant investments in heritage sites, have the resources but are constrained by legal regulations and often focus on commercial priorities. An example is 南埕街事(Tainan Long Story), a project that revitalized an over-sixty-year-old building with a NT\$130 million (about USD 4.3 million) investment over eight years.⁷⁹ This project, although not recognized as cultural heritage, demonstrates how private initiatives can contribute to cultural preservation by creating meaningful cultural experiences rather than merely seeking profit. Local communities, despite their deep

⁷⁹ “南埕街事 | 關於我們,” accessed June 24, 2024, <https://www.longstory.com.tw/about-us/>.

connection to cultural heritage, often lack the financial means and platforms to effectively participate in preservation efforts. This results in a fragmented approach to heritage conservation, leading to inefficiencies and missed opportunities for comprehensive and integrated management.

The disparity in information and resources among these stakeholders results in a fragmented approach to heritage conservation, leading to inefficiencies and missed opportunities for a comprehensive and integrated heritage management strategy.

4.1.2 The Role of Local Communities in Driving Cultural Heritage Management

Local communities play a pivotal role in cultural heritage preservation. In both Kyoto and Tainan, community involvement and support are key drivers of heritage conservation. In Kyoto, traditional events like the Shikinen Sengu at Shimogamo Shrine and the Gion Festival rely heavily on active participation from local residents. These events not only maintain cultural traditions but also reinforce community cohesion and identity. The Gion Festival, for instance, involves extensive community participation, from planning to execution, showcasing the residents' commitment to preserving their cultural heritage.

Similarly, in Tainan, community initiatives such as the Old House Renewal Project, spearheaded by the FHCCR, play a crucial role in heritage preservation. This movement, driven by community-led efforts to restore historic buildings, eventually garnered government support, highlighting the importance of grassroots initiatives in heritage conservation. The involvement of local communities in these projects not only helps preserve architectural heritage but also revitalizes local culture and instills a sense of pride and identity among residents. In conducting this study, a common question posed to interviewees was: **"If the policy is well-structured and functions effectively, can cultural and economic value coexist?"** While most respondents agreed with the premise, they also noted that current policies are far from ideal and require significant improvement. One respondent emphasized that community-based development should be prioritized, stating,

"The people who can help promote our cultural heritage are definitely not just the government or scholars; it's the citizens. I believe mediators, like non-profit organizations or other community-based entities, play a crucial role. Tainan's rich cultural content has endless potential for discovery and innovation, which can be packaged into products, services, and experiences."⁸⁰

Supporting this view, the article "Community-Based Eco-Cultural Heritage Tourism for Sustainable Development in the Asian Region: A Conceptual Framework" by G. Poyya Moli highlights

⁸⁰ Hui-Wen Lin, Expert interview, May 22, 2024.

the importance of active community participation for the success of heritage conservation initiatives.⁸¹ It argues that engaging local communities fosters a sense of belonging and promotes sustainable resource utilization. Therefore, while policy formulation is important, local communities are the main drivers for establishing effective heritage conservation policies.

4.2 Addressing Challenges in Cultural Heritage Management

4.2.1 Financial and Knowledge Gaps

Building on the previous discussion of information asymmetry and insights from interviewees, who emphasized the necessity of a mediator in Tainan's cultural heritage management, it is clear that financial and knowledge gaps are critical challenges impeding effective heritage preservation. While various stakeholders, including government bodies, non-profit organizations, private enterprises, and local communities, each contribute significantly to heritage conservation, the fragmented distribution of resources and inadequate communication lead to inefficiencies and missed opportunities. To bridge these gaps, establishing a comprehensive platform that facilitates the sharing of financial resources and knowledge is essential. This platform would act as a mediator, consolidating the assets and expertise from the government, non-profits, businesses, and the community, thereby improving resource allocation and ensuring all stakeholders have access to necessary information and tools.

Furthermore, enhancing education and training programs is crucial for addressing these challenges. Government and non-profit organizations should collaborate to create educational initiatives that improve stakeholders' knowledge and skills in cultural heritage preservation. By equipping the community and stakeholders with the necessary expertise, these initiatives would address the existing disparities in financial and intellectual resources. This integrated approach not only ensures that preservation efforts are more sustainable and inclusive but also reinforces the importance of community participation in the effective management and celebration of Tainan's cultural heritage.

4.2.2 Importance of Adaptive Reuse

Adaptive reuse emerges as a crucial strategy for cultural heritage preservation, bridging the gap between historical significance and contemporary relevance. A pertinent example in Tainan is the project 南埕街事 (Tainan Lóng Story), previously introduced in the discussion of information asymmetry. It's a project that revitalizes an eight-story building originally constructed in 1969 as a hotel. This building, once a

⁸¹ G. Poyya Moli, "Community Based Eco Cultural Heritage Tourism for Sustainable Development in the Asian Region: A Conceptual Framework.," *International Journal of Social Ecology and Sustainable Development (IJSESD)* 2, no. 2 (April 1, 2011): NA-NA, <https://doi.org/10.4018/jsesd.2011040106>.

landmark and a symbol of modernity for the city, had fallen into disrepair. The project, led by General Manager Huang Yanan, transformed this once-prominent structure into a cultural and commercial hub, exemplifying how adaptive reuse can rejuvenate a historical site and integrate it into the modern urban fabric. Unlike typical one or two-story buildings in the area, the Cathay Hotel was a towering presence in Tainan's landscape, a favored destination for dignitaries and celebrities. Despite its decline, its recent transformation into an ice cream shop and cultural space has breathed new life into the structure and reinvigorated its place in the community.

Huang Yanan's approach to adaptive reuse goes beyond mere preservation. He emphasized that Tainan is not just an ancient city but a cultural vessel that should continuously innovate. His strategy for Tainan Lóng Story includes three guiding principles: not competing with established local businesses, maintaining an elegant environment, and promoting the unique experience of Tainan. The entrance of Tainan Lóng Story, tucked away in an alley, underscores the brand's commitment to reflecting Tainan's alleyway culture and humanistic spirit. Visitors are encouraged to navigate through narrow lanes and green pathways to reach the main hall, mirroring the traditional alleyway experience. This thoughtful integration of modern use with historical context showcases how adaptive reuse can preserve the essence of a place while fulfilling contemporary needs.

Although Tainan Lóng Story does not have the extensive historical significance of a century-old building, it demonstrates how adaptive reuse can serve as an alternative form of cultural preservation. By reimagining the former hotel as a space for cultural engagement and commercial activity, the project maintains its historical relevance while meeting modern demands. This approach emphasizes that cultural heritage preservation can go beyond static conservation to embrace dynamic and innovative uses, ensuring that heritage sites remain integral parts of the community. Tainan Lóng Story highlights the importance of blending the old with the new, ensuring that historic buildings are not just relics of the past but active contributors to the cultural and economic vitality of the city.

4.3 Recommendations for Sustainable Heritage Management

4.3.1 Strengthening Collaborative Efforts

Achieving sustainable heritage management requires robust collaboration among various stakeholders. Establishing dedicated cooperation mechanisms is crucial to facilitate the exchange of ideas, resources, and expertise among government agencies, non-profit organizations (NPOs), private enterprises, and local communities. Regular meetings, workshops, and forums should be organized to promote communication and foster a collaborative environment where stakeholders can work together towards shared objectives. This coordinated approach ensures that the goals and activities of different entities are aligned, enhancing

the overall effectiveness of cultural heritage preservation efforts through collective action.

To further enhance collaboration, it is essential to designate a central mediation body that can act as a facilitator among stakeholders. For instance, in Tainan, the FHCCR could serve as a pivotal mediator. This organization would be responsible for gathering input from various stakeholders, resolving conflicts, and coordinating cooperative initiatives. By bridging diverse groups, the mediation body ensures that the interests and concerns of all stakeholders are considered, leading to a more integrated and inclusive approach to cultural heritage management. Such a mediator would play a crucial role in unifying efforts and ensuring that the diverse needs and perspectives are effectively addressed. Feedback from stakeholders reveals that Taiwan currently faces challenges due to the fragmented nature of its mediators, making it difficult for regions to share knowledge and resources effectively. For example, organizations like the FHCCR have significant influence in Tainan but lack broader recognition across Taiwan. This fragmentation hinders the nationwide exchange of expertise and best practices. Therefore, it is recommended to establish a national-level mediator that can facilitate knowledge sharing and provide a unified framework for heritage conservation across the country. This would ensure that all regions benefit from shared resources and coordinated efforts, leading to more consistent and effective cultural heritage management nationwide.

4.3.2 Enhancing Policy Frameworks and Funding Mechanisms

For sustainable heritage management in Taiwan, policy frameworks and funding mechanisms must be reformed to align with global standards and practices. Taiwan currently faces a critical need to shift from its focus on terminology and semantics to the practicalities of preserving cultural heritage. The prevailing tendency to dwell on the distinctions between various legal definitions has led to missed opportunities for effective conservation. Internationally, the trend is to concentrate on the practical measures necessary for the sustainable preservation of cultural sites, and Taiwan must adopt a similar approach that prioritizes action over debate.

To achieve this, Taiwan should develop more flexible and adaptive policies that accommodate the unique needs of different heritage sites. As highlighted by stakeholders, including one interviewee, heritage conservation cannot be managed through rigid, one-size-fits-all regulations. Instead, policies should enable tailored approaches that consider the specific historical, cultural, and environmental contexts of each site. This shift in focus would not only streamline the preservation process but also ensure that conservation efforts are both effective and sustainable. In terms of funding, there is a stark disparity between well-recognized heritage sites and those that lack formal designation. Currently, only sites with official recognition receive adequate financial support, while many valuable, lesser-known sites are neglected. This situation stems from the outdated notion that only sites with certain official statuses

deserve protection. Taiwan should establish a comprehensive heritage fund that draws from various sources, including government, private sector, and international grants, to support a wider range of heritage sites. By broadening the funding base and focusing on underrecognized sites, Taiwan can ensure a more equitable distribution of resources, ultimately fostering a more inclusive and effective heritage preservation strategy.

4.3.3 Promoting Education and Awareness

Promoting education and public awareness is crucial for the sustainable management of cultural heritage. An informed public plays a vital role in preserving and appreciating cultural sites and traditions. In Taiwan, there is a significant need to elevate the understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage among the general public and key stakeholders. Integrating cultural heritage education into school curriculums is a critical step. Embedding knowledge of local and national heritage within the educational system allows young people to develop a deep appreciation for their cultural history and identity from an early age. The Tainan Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage has already initiated courses that range from short-term, general interest programs to more systematic, long-term training plans that span four years. These programs aim to cultivate expertise in traditional crafts and heritage preservation, helping students achieve proficiency in these skills over time. Collaborating with vocational schools and incorporating heritage education into their curriculum would further strengthen this approach, ensuring that knowledge and skills are systematically passed on.

Public awareness campaigns are essential to highlight the importance of cultural heritage and the threats it faces. Utilizing various media platforms, including social media, television, and print, these campaigns can reach a broad audience. The goal is to educate the public on how daily actions and community involvement can contribute to heritage preservation. Tainan's initiatives, such as the "Old House Restoration Yellow Pages," exemplify practical steps to empower citizens in preserving heritage.⁸² Launched in July 2023 by the FHCCR, this publication is Taiwan's first dedicated guide for old house restoration. It serves as a matchmaker between homeowners wishing to restore old buildings and the craftsmen and suppliers needed for such projects. By providing a comprehensive list of vendors and resources, the Yellow Pages make it easier for the public to find the necessary materials and expertise, thereby reducing the perceived difficulty and encouraging more people to undertake restoration projects.

Finally, community-based workshops and events are critical for engaging the public in heritage preservation efforts. These activities can provide practical knowledge on how individuals can help protect and preserve cultural heritage in their local areas. Workshops could cover topics such as the importance

⁸² “老屋黃頁,” 財團法人古都保存再生文教基金會 (blog), accessed June 23, 2024, <https://www.fhccr.org.tw/老屋學校/老屋黃頁/>.

of heritage, ways to maintain and restore historical buildings, and the cultural significance of local traditions and artifacts. The Tainan Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage and organizations like the FHCCR are already conducting such programs, which include hands-on training and educational publications. Expanding these efforts and ensuring they are widely accessible will help foster a culture of preservation and pride in local heritage, ensuring that cultural sites and practices are valued and protected for future generations. The continued dissemination of resources, like the Old House Restoration Yellow Pages, ensures that knowledge and accessibility are not barriers to heritage preservation but rather gateways to active community participation and cultural sustainability.

4.3.4 Adapting to Modern Challenges

Adapting to modern challenges in cultural heritage management requires innovative approaches that integrate historical preservation with contemporary economic and social needs. The Blueprint Culture and Creative Park (藍晒圖文創園區) in Tainan represents such an approach,⁸³ demonstrating the concept of a "creative cluster" that revitalizes heritage sites through the integration of cultural and creative industries. This park, originally the site of the "First Judicial New Village,"(第一司法新村) has been transformed from old dormitory buildings for judicial employees into a vibrant cultural and creative hub. The creative cluster at the Blueprint Culture and Creative Park blends historical preservation with modern innovation, attracting both local talent and tourists, thereby supporting sustainable development and cultural preservation.

The concept of a creative cluster involves repurposing underutilized or abandoned spaces into hubs for creative industries. In the case of the Blueprint Culture and Creative Park, the Tainan Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage worked with Liu Guo Zang's(劉國滄) team to preserve and adapt historical Japanese-era buildings and mid-20th century structures. The park now hosts a variety of creative enterprises, including art studios, design shops, and cultural event spaces, fostering a community of creative professionals. This cluster not only preserves the physical heritage but also enriches the cultural landscape by promoting innovative uses of historical spaces. It supports the growth of creative industries, provides economic opportunities, and enhances the city's cultural appeal.

The success of the Blueprint Culture and Creative Park highlights the effectiveness of combining heritage conservation with modern creative industries. By creating a dynamic environment that preserves historical elements while fostering contemporary creativity, the park illustrates how adaptive reuse can meet modern challenges. It has become a model for how cultural heritage sites can be transformed into economically and culturally vibrant spaces that contribute to urban development. This approach ensures

⁸³ “藍晒圖文創園區,” 台南旅遊網, accessed June 24, 2024, <https://www.twtainan.net/zh-tw/attractions/detail/740>.

that heritage sites are not just preserved as static monuments but are integrated into the living fabric of the city, supporting economic growth and cultural vitality. The Blueprint Culture and Creative Park's model demonstrates the potential for creative clusters to play a crucial role in sustainable cultural heritage management by balancing preservation with innovation and economic development.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

This study underscores the intricate balance that cities like Tainan and Kyoto maintain between preserving cultural authenticity and leveraging economic benefits from heritage tourism. The comparative analysis of these two culturally rich cities reveals how each navigates the complexities of cultural heritage management amidst the pressures of commercialization and modernization, providing valuable insights into effective preservation strategies. By focusing on both similarities and differences in their approaches, this research highlights the significance of integrating local traditions, involving communities, and managing tourism to sustain cultural heritage.

One of the key findings of this study is the emphasis on integrating local traditions and community involvement in heritage preservation efforts. Both Tainan and Kyoto demonstrate that cultural heritage is not merely a static relic of the past but a dynamic, living component of community life. In Kyoto, practices such as Shikinen Sengu at Shimogamo Shrine exemplify the city's commitment to maintaining cultural heritage through the periodic renewal of significant structures, ensuring that traditional craftsmanship and cultural knowledge are passed down through generations. Similarly, Tainan's Old House Renewal Project reflects a proactive approach to preserving historical architecture while adapting it for contemporary use, thus fostering a sense of ownership and cultural pride among residents. These initiatives highlight the critical role that community involvement plays in the effective and sustainable preservation of cultural heritage, ensuring that it remains relevant and accessible to future generations.

Heritage tourism emerges as a significant aspect in both cities, highlighting the delicate interplay between economic development and cultural preservation. However, contrary to assumptions of significant revenue generation for cultural site maintenance, Kyoto faces critical challenges due to overtourism. The influx of millions of tourists annually has not only strained the city's cultural sites but has also led to conflicts between tourists and residents, necessitating the implementation of sustainable tourism practices. Kyoto's local government is actively working on strategies to balance tourism with the well-being of the local community, emphasizing the need for controlled visitor numbers, promotion of lesser-known attractions, and off-peak tourism to mitigate these impacts. This approach seeks to protect the cultural heritage from the adverse effects of mass tourism and ensures that tourism remains a sustainable and harmonious aspect of Kyoto's cultural landscape.

In contrast, Tainan relies on local initiatives and events such as the "Tainan 400" project to attract tourists and stimulate economic growth without the support of UNESCO designation. This approach highlights Tainan's ability to integrate cultural assets into its economic strategy while promoting both

cultural and economic sustainability. Despite lacking the international recognition and support that Kyoto benefits from, Tainan demonstrates resilience and creativity in leveraging its unique historical and cultural heritage for tourism, aiming to boost local economies and ensure the preservation of its cultural assets.

In conclusion, this research provides a comprehensive understanding of the complex dynamics of cultural heritage management in Tainan and Kyoto, offering valuable lessons for enhancing heritage conservation practices. By learning from Kyoto's experience in dealing with overtourism and implementing sustainable tourism measures, Tainan can strengthen its efforts to preserve cultural authenticity while accommodating modern economic pressures. This comparative analysis not only contributes to the broader discourse on cultural heritage preservation but also provides practical recommendations for policymakers and cultural heritage managers, emphasizing the importance of maintaining cultural heritage as a living, dynamic part of the community and ensuring its protection and celebration for future generations.

5.2 Limitations of the Study

This study, while providing valuable insights into cultural heritage preservation in Tainan and Kyoto, has several notable limitations. A key constraint is the heavy reliance on qualitative methods and secondary data sources like interviews and document analysis. This approach carries inherent risks of bias, as the selection of interview participants, their subjective responses, and the interpretative lens of the researchers may have skewed the findings. The qualitative focus limits the ability to generalize the results beyond the specific contexts of Tainan and Kyoto, potentially overlooking broader quantitative trends in heritage management that could offer a more comprehensive perspective. The language barrier also posted significant challenges, particularly in accessing Japanese sources. While Google Translate was used to gather crucial information, this tool may have compromised the accuracy and nuance of translations, leading to possible misunderstandings or misinterpretations of critical texts. The reliance on automated translations means that important cultural and contextual subtleties might have been lost, affecting the depth and reliability of the comparative analysis. Additionally, conducting interviews in a non-native language made it difficult to fully capture the nuanced perspectives of participants, possibly resulting in less comprehensive or skewed responses.

The study also faced practical limitations in accessing and engaging with key stakeholders, especially in Kyoto. Securing interviews with important figures in heritage management was challenging due to logistical issues and time constraints, potentially leaving out critical insights from influential voices. The tight timeline of the research further limited the scope for a more thorough exploration of stakeholder perspectives, meaning the findings might not fully reflect the diverse viewpoints and

experiences of all relevant parties. Additionally, the word count restrictions of the study necessitated a focus on selected aspects of cultural heritage preservation, possibly leading to a somewhat fragmented exploration of the subject. This constraint may have resulted in a narrative that feels disjointed at times, with certain complexities of heritage preservation not being fully elaborated or coherently integrated into the overall analysis. Acknowledging these limitations highlights the need for future research to adopt a more balanced approach, integrating both qualitative and quantitative methods, extending the geographical and cultural scope, and ensuring more comprehensive stakeholder engagement to provide a fuller understanding of cultural heritage preservation in diverse contexts.

5.3 Suggestions for Future Research

Future research on cultural heritage preservation should focus on understanding the perspectives of tourists to offer a more comprehensive view of the interaction between visitors and heritage sites. Tourists significantly contribute to the economic sustainability of these sites and play a crucial role in shaping the narrative of cultural authenticity. Examining how different types of tourism, from mass tourism to specialized cultural tourism, influence heritage sites can yield critical insights into managing these impacts effectively. For instance, understanding tourists' expectations and their perceptions of cultural authenticity can inform strategies that balance economic benefits with the imperative to preserve the integrity of heritage sites. This focus can guide the development of visitor management practices that mitigate the negative effects of high visitor numbers while enhancing the overall experience, thereby ensuring that cultural heritage remains vibrant and well-preserved.

Expanding the geographical scope of future studies to include cities beyond Tainan and Kyoto, particularly those that are underrepresented in heritage research or face unique preservation challenges, is another important direction. Examining heritage preservation in countries that are not part of international organizations like UNESCO can highlight cultures that might otherwise be overlooked due to political reasons. This approach challenges existing biases and advocates for a more inclusive perspective on heritage preservation, ensuring that diverse cultures, regardless of political affiliations, are recognized and valued. Such research can prompt broader reflections on the fairness of heritage preservation processes and emphasize the importance of equitable recognition and protection of cultural expressions globally. This exploration aims to promote a more democratic approach to heritage conservation, ensuring that the rich tapestry of global cultural heritage is acknowledged and safeguarded for future generations.

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