Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Studies

Research Article

Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Studies
https://so02.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/hasss
ISSN (Online): 2630-0079

HERITAGE-LED GENTRIFICATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN HISTORIC CITIES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CHIANG MAI OLD CITY AND HUE CITADEL

Karuna Raksawin[1] and Supagtra Suthasupa[2]*

[1] Faculty of Architecture, Chiang Mai University, Thailand
[2] Faculty of Architecture, Silpakorn University, Thailand

***Corresponding author:**
Supagtra Suthasupa
suthasupa_s@silpakorn.edu

***Received:** 20 August 2025*
***Revised:** 21 May 2026*
***Accepted:** 4 June 2026*
***Published:** 21 September 2026*

Citation:
Raksawin, K., & Suthasupa, S. (2026). Heritage-led gentrification in Southeast Asian historic cities: A comparative analysis of Chiang Mai Old City and Hue Citadel. Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Studies, 26(3), 650–664. https://doi.org/10.69598/hasss.26.3.280306

ABSTRACT

This article examines heritage-led gentrification in Southeast Asia through a comparative analysis of two historic cities: Chiang Mai Old City in Thailand and Hue Citadel in Vietnam. While both cities are UNESCO-recognized heritage environments and major tourism destinations, they are shaped by contrasting governance regimes and development logics. The study examines how different political and institutional contexts influence the processes, indicators, and outcomes of heritage-led gentrification. Methodologically, the research adopts a comparative case study approach, drawing on secondary data from planning documents, spatial studies, policy reports, and scholarly literature. A consistent set of indicators—land-use transformation, property market change, demographic displacement, tourism intensity, and heritage meaning—is applied to both cases. The findings reveal two distinct trajectories. In Chiang Mai, gentrification unfolds incrementally through market-driven tourism economies, resulting in commercial conversion, rising property values, and gradual cultural displacement within a living-heritage environment. In Hue, transformation is driven primarily by state-led conservation policies, with large-scale relocation programs clearing residential areas to create a monumental imperial landscape. Despite these different mechanisms, each case demonstrates a shared paradox: the preservation of built heritage often coincides with the erosion of everyday cultural practices and social networks. Based on this comparison, the article proposes a preliminary theoretical framework distinguishing between market-mediated living-heritage gentrification and state-led monumental-heritage gentrification. This typology contributes to emerging debates on Global South urbanism by highlighting how governance regimes shape heritage transformation beyond classical Euro-American gentrification models.

Keywords: Heritage-led gentrification; Southeast Asia; Chiang Mai; Hue Citadel; urban heritage management; planetary gentrification

1. INTRODUCTION

Historic cities across the Global South are undergoing rapid transformation under the combined pressures of tourism, real estate investment, and heritage conservation policies. While heritage designation is often promoted as a strategy for cultural preservation and economic development, it frequently produces socio-spatial restructuring that resembles processes of gentrification. In many cases, rising property values, commercial conversion, and displacement reshape historic districts, transforming them from lived urban environments into consumption-oriented heritage landscapes (Logan, 2012; Lees et al., 2016).

In Southeast Asia, historic cities have become key nodes within global tourism networks. UNESCO recognition and national heritage policies have elevated the symbolic and economic value of historic sites, attracting both public and private investment. However, these processes often generate tensions between conservation objectives, tourism economies, and the continuity of everyday urban life. Existing residents, small businesses, and local cultural practices may be displaced or transformed as historic districts are reoriented toward visitor consumption and national representation (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017).

Despite a growing body of literature on gentrification and heritage urbanism, most theoretical frameworks are derived from Euro-American contexts, where market-driven processes dominate. Less attention has been paid to how different governance regimes in the Global South shape distinct forms of heritage-led gentrification. In many Asian cities, state-led conservation, tourism promotion, and urban redevelopment play a central role in restructuring historic districts, producing trajectories that differ significantly from classical market-led models (Shatkin, 2016).

This study addresses this gap by comparing two historic cities in Southeast Asia: Chiang Mai Old City in Thailand and Hue Citadel in Vietnam. Both cities are UNESCO-recognized heritage environments and major tourism destinations, embedded in contrasting political and institutional contexts. Chiang Mai operates within a pluralistic governance environment, where market forces, civil society, and planning regulations interact. Hue, by contrast, is shaped by a more centralized planning system, where heritage conservation is closely tied to state-led relocation and monument restoration programs.

The comparison between these two cases provides an opportunity to examine how different governance regimes produce distinct trajectories in terms of heritage-led gentrification. Rather than treating gentrification as a universal process driven solely by market forces, this study investigates how political institutions, planning systems, and heritage narratives shape the mechanisms and outcomes of urban transformation.

This study addresses the following research questions:

1. How do the distinct historical and cultural legacies of Chiang Mai and Hue shape their trajectories in terms of heritage-led gentrification?

2. What governance structures and economic drivers underpin the gentrification processes in each case?

3. How do these processes manifest in measurable indicators in terms of land use, displacement, tourism intensity, and heritage meaning?

4. What theoretical insights can be drawn from comparing these two governance-driven models of heritage transformation?

To answer these questions, the article adopts a comparative case study approach. It combines literature-based indicator frameworks with empirical evidence from planning documents, spatial studies, policy reports and previous research on both cities. By applying a consistent set of indicators across the two cases, the study identifies both shared patterns and divergent trajectories of heritage-led gentrification.

The article proceeds as follows. Section 2 reviews key debates on gentrification, heritage urbanism, and Global South governance regimes, and proposes an analytical framework based on measurable indicators. Sections 3 and 4 present the case studies of Chiang Mai Old City and Hue Citadel. Section 5 compares the two cases and identifies contrasting governance-driven trajectories with regard to heritage-led gentrification. Section 6 concludes by proposing a preliminary theoretical framework for understanding heritage-led gentrification in historic cities in the Global South.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: HERITAGE-LED GENTRIFICATION IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

2.1 Classical gentrification theories

Gentrification has long been understood as a process of socio-spatial restructuring driven by the reinvestment of capital and the displacement of lower-income populations. Early theoretical models emphasized economic mechanisms, particularly the “rent gap” theory proposed by Smith (1979), which

explains gentrification as the result of a disparity between actual and potential land values. When this gap becomes sufficiently large, reinvestment occurs, leading to the replacement of existing residents and land uses.

Subsequent scholarship expanded this production-side explanation to include consumption-side factors such as the cultural preferences of middle-class residents and the role of lifestyle migration in shaping urban transformation (Ley, 1996; Zukin, 2010). These approaches highlighted the symbolic and cultural dimensions of gentrification, including the revalorization of historic neighborhoods and the aestheticization of urban space. While these classical models were largely developed in Euro-American contexts, they established the core analytical elements of gentrification: capital reinvestment, socio-spatial displacement, and cultural transformation.

2.2 Tourism and heritage-led gentrification

In historic cities, gentrification is often intertwined with tourism and heritage conservation. Rather than being driven solely by residential upgrading, transformation may occur through the conversion of historic neighborhoods into tourism-oriented consumption spaces (Gotham, 2005; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017).

Tourism-led gentrification typically involves the replacement of local-serving businesses with cafés, boutique hotels, souvenir shops, and short-term rental units. This process can generate rising property values, demographic turnover, and the commodification of cultural practices. Unlike classical residential gentrification, displacement in tourism contexts may occur indirectly, as residents are priced out or socially marginalized by visitor-oriented economies (Gant, 2016).

Heritage designation often accelerates these dynamics. UNESCO inscription and conservation policies can increase the symbolic and economic value of historic districts, encourage investment and tourism flows, while simultaneously imposing new regulatory constraints on residents (Logan, 2012). As a result, heritage-led gentrification frequently involves a tension between preservation goals and the continuity of everyday urban life.

2.3 Gentrification in the Global South

In recent decades, scholars have questioned the applicability of Euro-American gentrification models to cities in the Global South – a diverse range of cities across Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where postcolonial history, rapid urbanization, and hybrid governance arrangements produce distinctive urban conditions diverging significantly from Euro-American norms (Roy, 2009; Robinson, 2006). Urban transformations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are often shaped by different political economies, institutional arrangements, and governance regimes (Lees et al., 2016).

In many Global South contexts, gentrification is not solely driven by private real estate markets but also by state-led development strategies. Governments may mobilize heritage, tourism, and infrastructure projects to reposition cities within global networks, often resulting in displacement and socio-spatial restructuring (Shatkin, 2016).

Moreover, displacement may take forms that differ from those of the classical models. Instead of gradual rent increases, residents may experience forced eviction caused by redevelopment projects, infrastructure construction, or heritage clearance programs. These processes are frequently justified through narratives of modernization, national identity, or environmental improvement (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022).

Such dynamics suggest that gentrification in the Global South operates through diverse pathways shaped by local governance structures, cultural narratives, and institutional priorities rather than through a single universal model.

2.4 Indicators of heritage-led gentrification

To analyze gentrification in heritage contexts, scholars have proposed a range of measurable indicators that capture both economic and socio-cultural transformations. These indicators typically fall into five interrelated dimensions:

- **Tourism intensity:** Growth in visitor numbers, short-term rentals, and tourism-oriented businesses (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2019; Jessa & Rogerson, 2025).
- **Land-use transformation:** Conversion of residential or traditional functions into commercial, hospitality, or cultural consumption spaces (Navarrete Escobedo, 2020; González Martínez, 2016).
- **Property market change:** Rising land values, rent escalation, and shifts in ownership patterns (Foo & Krishnapillai, 2019; Hayes, 2020).
- **Demographic displacement:** Replacement or relocation of long-term residents, either indirectly through market pressures or directly through state intervention (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022; Foo & Krishnapillai, 2019).
- **Heritage meaning and cultural change:** Transformation of everyday cultural practices into commodified or staged experiences (De Cesari & Dimova, 2019; Zhu & González Martínez, 2022).

These indicators have been applied in studies of historic districts across Asia and the Global South, where tourism development and conservation policies often interact to reshape urban space and social relationships. In this study, these dimensions provide the analytical framework for the comparative case studies that follow. Sections 3 and 4 apply these indicators—tourism intensity, demographic change, land-use transformation, displacement, and heritage meaning—to examine how gentrification unfolds in Chiang Mai Old City and Hue Citadel.

2.5 Governance regimes and models of heritage-led gentrification

Recent research suggests that heritage-led gentrification does not follow a single universal trajectory, particularly in the Global South. Instead, the process is strongly shaped by governance regimes, planning systems, and political narratives.

In some contexts, transformation is mediated by tourism markets, private investment, and incremental land-use conversion. These processes produce gradual forms of cultural and economic displacement, where everyday heritage environments are commodified rather than physically cleared (Zuo et al., 2022; Sözen & Kılıç, 2025; Chen & Kong, 2021).

In other contexts, particularly under centralized planning regimes, heritage redevelopment is driven by state-led clearance, relocation, and monument reconstruction. Here, displacement occurs through administrative intervention, and historic districts are reshaped to reflect national identity or tourism strategies (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022).

These contrasting governance logics suggest the existence of distinct but related trajectories of heritage-led gentrification. Rather than being determined solely by market forces, the process is conditioned by political institutions, planning systems, and cultural narratives.

Building on these theoretical debates, this study compares two heritage cities in Southeast Asia to examine how different governance regimes shape the processes and outcomes of heritage-led gentrification. The comparison aims to contribute to a more context-sensitive framework for understanding gentrification in historic cities in the Global South.

3. CASE STUDY: CHIANG MAI OLD CITY, THAILAND

3.1 Historical and cultural context

Chiang Mai, founded in 1296 as the capital of the Lanna Kingdom, possesses a distinctive urban identity shaped by indigenous cosmology, Buddhist traditions, and regional political history (Askew, 2002). The Old City, delineated by its square moat and earthen ramparts, contains a dense concentration of temples, traditional neighborhoods, and historic streetscapes that reflect the spatial logic of the Lanna urban form. Major temples such as Wat Phra Singh and Wat Chedi Luang continue to function as religious, social, and cultural anchors within the everyday life of the city.

Unlike many monument heritage sites, Chiang Mai's governance operates as part of Thailand's decentralized administrative system, with planning authority distributed across national agencies (the Department of Public Works and Town and Country Planning), the Chiang Mai Provincial Administration, and the Chiang Mai Municipality. Heritage conservation falls under the remit of the Fine Arts Department, while land-use regulation is governed by successive Comprehensive Plans. This multi-layered arrangement creates a negotiated governance environment in which regulatory controls, market pressures, and civil society advocacy interact (Shatkin, 2008). Within this framework, the historic core has long operated as a living urban environment, where residential, religious, and commercial activities coexist. This living-heritage character forms the basis of the city's cultural identity and tourism appeal. However, rapid urbanization and expanding tourism have transformed the Old City into a major tourist destination as part of global travel networks, raising concerns about cultural commodification and the erosion of local identity (Yasmeen, 2006).

Tourism growth has transformed the Old City from a regional cultural center into an international visitor hub. Visitor numbers increased from approximately 4.3 million in 2009 to more than 10 million in 2018, intensifying development pressures and altering the social and spatial character of the historic core (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024).

3.2 Urban development trends and drivers

Urban development in Chiang Mai has been shaped by a combination of conservation-oriented planning policies and market-driven growth. Comprehensive plans impose height restrictions, land-use controls, and conservation zones within the Old City in order to protect historic views and townscape integrity. At the same time, national and regional development strategies have promoted infrastructure expansion, real estate investment, and tourism-led economic growth (Shatkin, 2008).

Tourism has become the dominant economic driver, attracting foreign investors, retirees, digital nomads, and middle-class migrants from other parts of Thailand. This influx has reshaped the demographic composition of the Old City and intensified land-use pressures. Public spaces, historic gates, and streets have been reconfigured into walking streets, creative plazas, and tourism-oriented commercial zones, reflecting a shift toward visitor-centered urban economies (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024; Nititerapad & Tochaiwat, 2023). These transformations illustrate a broader transition from a community-based heritage landscape toward a tourism-oriented urban economy driven by global capital and lifestyle migration.

3.3 Market-mediated gentrification process in the Old City

In contrast to the state-led restructuring observed in Hue, gentrification in Chiang Mai unfolds primarily through market dynamics and tourism-driven investment. The process is gradual and incremental, shaped by private property transactions, commercial conversion, and demographic turnover.

The first stage of this process involves tourism-oriented reinvestment, where traditional houses and shopfronts are converted into guesthouses, cafés, boutique hotels, and creative spaces (Figure 1). Spatial surveys identify clusters of such conversions around temple precincts and major streets, particularly between 2000 and 2015 (Nititerapad & Tochaiwat, 2023).

The second stage is commercial upgrading and rent escalation. As tourism-oriented businesses proliferate, land values and rental prices rise, especially in areas with strong visitor demand. Housing market analyses reveal price gradients around the Old City, with premium housing clusters and short-term rental units concentrated near heritage zones (Lu et al., 2024).

The third stage involves demographic and functional displacement. Long-term residents, traditional shops, and local services gradually give way to newcomers, tourism enterprises, and lifestyle-oriented businesses. This displacement is largely indirect and economic, occurring through rising living costs, changing neighborhood economies, and the loss of local-serving functions (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024).

Finally, the Old City experiences cultural commodification and identity restructuring. Heritage becomes a consumable asset, with traditional forms reinterpreted for tourism. Studies describe the emergence of “hyper-traditions” and temple-style hotels that cater to visitor expectations, while diluting the everyday meanings of Lanna culture (Phetsuriya & Heath, 2021; Nititerapad & Tochaiwat, 2023). Although large-scale eviction is rare, many long-term residents report feeling “crowded out” by tourism-oriented developments and external investors (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024).



Figure 1: Market-mediated commercial conversion in the historic core of Chiang Mai

3.4 Socio-spatial impacts and conservation responses

The socio-spatial impacts of gentrification in Chiang Mai have been gradual but significant. Rising property values and tourism-oriented commercialization have altered the social fabric of historic neighborhoods (Figure 2). Traditional businesses have been increasingly replaced by cafés, co-working spaces, and boutique accommodations, reshaping the everyday economic life of the Old City (Nititerapad & Tochaiwat, 2023).

Cultural displacement occurs as local meanings, rituals, and neighborhood practices are reoriented toward visitor consumption. Research reports the erosion of traditional Lanna townscape character and the weakening of everyday residential uses as tourism-oriented activities proliferate (Phetsuriya & Heath, 2021).

Unlike in centralized planning contexts, Chiang Mai exhibits a more negotiated governance model. Conservation zoning, building-height restrictions, and foreign ownership limits provide partial regulatory controls. Civil society groups and local communities have also mobilized zoning changes, regulated short-term rentals, and advocated for heritage protection (Thaisuntad, 2022a, 2022b).

Participatory upgrading initiatives, particularly in informal settlements along the Mae Kha canal, emphasize in situ improvement rather than large-scale displacement (UN-Habitat, 2021). These projects reflect a more pluralistic approach to heritage management, where market pressures are mediated by community action and partial planning frameworks.



Figure 2: Transformation of a traditional Lanna house into a tourism-oriented hospitality venue

3.5 Measured indicators of gentrification in Chiang Mai Old City

To move beyond descriptive accounts, this study examines measurable indicators of gentrification in Chiang Mai Old City, focusing on land-use transformation, property market dynamics, demographic change, tourism intensity, and shifts in heritage identity. Recent empirical studies in the Old City, particularly around the Chedi Luang and Sri Phum areas, identify tourism-led commercial conversion, rising land values, and the displacement of traditional functions as core indicators of gentrification (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024).

Land-use transformation

One of the most visible indicators is the shift in land use from residential to tourism-oriented commercial functions. Studies document a progressive conversion of traditional houses into guesthouses, cafés, restaurants, and service businesses catering to visitors. This transition has occurred across multiple communities within the Old City, where commercial floor area has expanded at the expense of long-term residential use (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024). Spatial analyses using remote sensing and GIS also confirm zoning changes and the physical expansion of tourism-related land uses between 2000 and 2015, with tourism-oriented commercial floor area reportedly expanding by approximately 35 percent across surveyed communities within the Old City (Nititerapad & Tochaiwat, 2023). Such spatial restructuring aligns with the concept of heritage-led gentrification, in which historic urban fabric becomes a platform for tourism-based economic reinvestment.

Property market escalation

The property market provides a second key indicator. Research on Chiang Mai's housing market reveals price gradients near the Old City, with premium values concentrated in areas popular among international visitors, such as Nimman and Chang Khlan (Lu et al., 2024). Short-term rental–oriented housing products, including fully furnished units designed for transient occupants, have contributed to higher prices and rental costs (Lu et al., 2024). Field-based studies also report increased land prices and living costs before the COVID-19 pandemic, intensifying economic pressures on long-term residents and small businesses

(Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024). This pattern reflects a rent-gap dynamic in which heritage areas become sites of intensified capital remobilization.

Demographic and actor change

Gentrification in Chiang Mai is also marked by a shift in the composition of residents and investors. Empirical studies show an influx of newcomers—both domestic migrants and foreign residents—into Old City neighborhoods, gradually replacing or displacing original households (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024). This process is primarily driven by economic pressures rather than direct state relocation, including rising rents, increasing land values, and changing neighborhood functions.

Tourism intensity and commercial reorientation

Tourism intensity provides another measurable dimension. The density of guesthouses, cafés, creative spaces, and other visitor-oriented establishments has increased significantly within the Old City (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024; Nititerapad & Tochaiwat, 2023). Commercial activity has become closely tied to tourism cycles, with speculation and land-price escalation continuing even during periods of reduced tourist arrivals, indicating structural dependence on the tourism economy (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024). This transformation reflects the shift from local-serving economies to visitor-oriented consumption landscapes.

Heritage identity and cultural displacement

Beyond economic and spatial indicators, qualitative changes in heritage identity also signal gentrification. Research indicates the weakening of traditional Lanna townscape character, and the decline in local uses as tourism-oriented activities proliferate (Nititerapad & Tochaiwat, 2023; Phetsuriya & Heath, 2021). The replacement of everyday neighborhood functions with visitor-oriented businesses contributes to cultural displacement, where local meanings, social networks, and place attachments are gradually eroded.

4. CASE STUDY: HUE CITADEL, VIETNAM

4.1 Historical and cultural context

Hue Citadel, constructed in the early nineteenth century as the imperial capital of the Nguyen Dynasty, embodies Vietnam's royal history and cultural prestige (Logan, 2012; Taylor, 2013). Influenced by feng shui principles and modeled after Beijing's Forbidden City, the Citadel contains imperial palaces, shrines, ceremonial spaces, and the Forbidden Purple City at its core (Figure 3). Recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1993, Hue's historic complex has become a central symbol of national identity within Vietnam's one-party political system. Heritage governance is centralized under the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism and implemented at the provincial level through the Thua Thien Hue People's Committee, with the Hue Monuments Conservation Centre (HMCC) as the principal agency for conservation and relocation. This structure concentrates decision-making within the state apparatus, thereby limiting community participation or market-based negotiation in heritage planning (Logan, 2012; Gustafsson & Ripp, 2022). Hue's historic complex has thus become both a symbol of national identity and a key attraction for international tourism (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d.).

Despite its monumental character, the Citadel has long functioned as a lived urban environment. During periods of conflict, especially the Vietnamese-American War, displaced populations settled within and around the defensive walls. Over time, these informal and semi-formal communities became embedded in the historic landscape, forming dense residential neighborhoods integrated with everyday social, economic, and spiritual practices (Langfield et al., 2009; Nixon, 2020). By the early twenty-first century, tens of thousands of residents occupied the inner wards of the Citadel, creating a hybrid environment where monumental heritage coexisted with lived urban life (Hung, 2024).

However, wartime destruction and post-war reconstruction left many heritage structures damaged or obscured by later additions. After UNESCO inscription, the presence of dense residential settlements inside the monument zone was increasingly framed by authorities as incompatible with heritage conservation and tourism development (Langfield et al., 2009). This reframing laid the foundation for a state-led strategy of clearance and restoration.

4.2 Urban development trends and drivers

Hue's development trajectory has been shaped largely by centralized state planning and heritage-oriented economic policies (Hung, 2024). Since national reunification, tourism has been promoted as a key economic driver, supported by state investment in monument restoration, infrastructure, and digital heritage initiatives (Nguyen, 2023).

Within this framework, informal settlements inside the Citadel—many formed through wartime displacement—have been reclassified as obstacles to heritage valorization. State planning documents

increasingly depict these communities as incompatible with conservation goals, urban aesthetics, and tourism development (Langfield et al., 2009; UN-Habitat, 2021).

Consequently, heritage preservation in Hue has been closely tied to urban restructuring, where residential clearance is presented as a necessary step toward restoring architectural authenticity and enhancing the city's global image. This approach reflects a state-led development model in which conservation policies serve both symbolic and economic objectives.



Figure 3: Aerial view of the Imperial City of Hué, 1932
Source: Unknown author (1932)

4.3 State-led gentrification processes in the Citadel

Hue's heritage-led gentrification is primarily driven by state-directed conservation policies rather than market dynamics. Research identifies a four-stage sequence (Hung, 2024; Nixon, 2020) that has structured the transformation of the Citadel. This sequence demonstrates how administrative decisions and financial mechanisms directly produce spatial restructuring.

Compensation

The process begins with state-assessed compensation packages based on land values and relocation costs. While intended to facilitate voluntary relocation, compensation often fails to reflect the social and cultural value of long-established homes and community networks (Hung, 2024).

Resettlement

Affected households are offered relocation sites, typically in newly constructed apartment complexes or peripheral urban areas. Although these sites provide formal housing, they frequently lack the spatial qualities, economic opportunities, and social networks present in the original neighborhoods (Nixon, 2020).

Displacement

Through successive relocation waves, thousands of households have been removed from core heritage zones within the Citadel. Government programs have targeted several thousand families for relocation between 2019 and 2025 alone, representing one of the largest heritage-related resettlement projects in Vietnam (Hung, 2024). Displacement is justified as necessary to protect monument integrity and improve the urban landscape for tourism.

Renovation

Following clearance, restoration projects have reconstructed ramparts, moats, and ceremonial spaces, often accompanied by landscaping and tourism infrastructure. Informal dwellings and small-scale agricultural practices have been removed, producing a monumentalized heritage landscape oriented toward national symbolism and visitor consumption (Nixon, 2020).

This sequence has transformed the Citadel from a densely inhabited urban quarter (Figure 4) into a curated historic environment. While the physical heritage fabric has become more legible and visually coherent, the everyday social life that once animated the site has been significantly reduced.

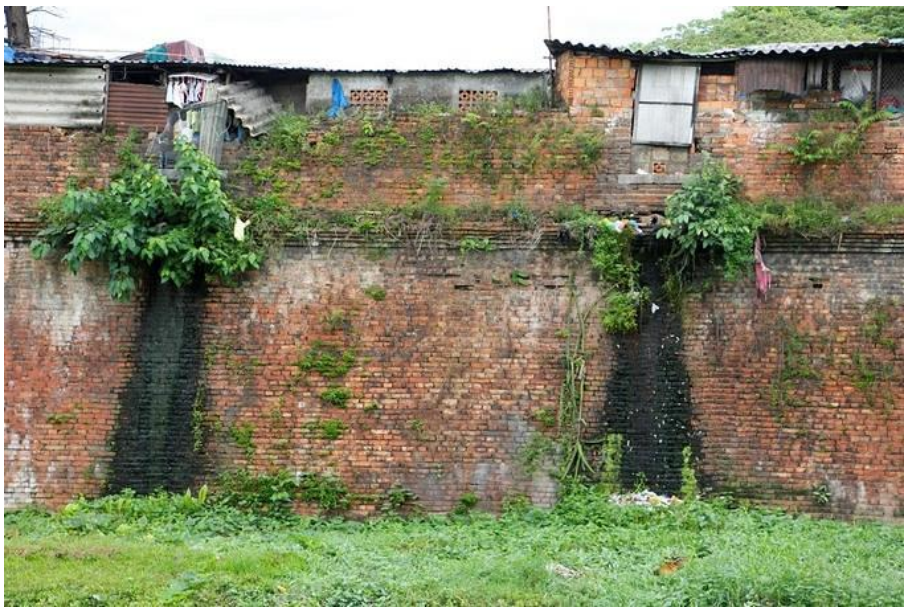


Figure 4: Squalid conditions on the Hue Citadel.
Source: Thanh (2018)

4.4 Socio-spatial impacts and conservation strategies

The clearance process has generated substantial socio-economic and cultural impacts. Relocated residents often lose proximity to employment, markets, and social networks, while resettlement sites disrupt established community structures and informal economies (Nixon, 2020). Such displacement frequently leads to increased financial pressures, unemployment, and social dislocation.

At the same time, the cleared heritage landscape becomes more attractive for tourism and investment. Restoration projects improve the visual quality of the Citadel, enhance accessibility, and reinforce its symbolic role as a national cultural monument (Logan, 2012; Hung, 2024).

Hue's conservation strategy reflects a preservation-first logic, characterized by:

- Large-scale architectural reconstruction aligned with imperial aesthetics,
- Formal resettlement programs supported by state funding,
- Technological mediation of heritage through digital tourism tools, and
- Limited roles for civil society in planning decisions (Gustafsson & Ripp, 2022; Gant, 2023; Correia, 2025; UN-Habitat, 2021).

In this model, state authority supersedes community needs, raising concerns about social justice, cultural continuity, and participatory heritage management in centralized urban regimes.

4.5 Measured indicators of gentrification in Hue Citadel

In contrast to market-driven contexts, gentrification in Hue Citadel is primarily measured through state-led heritage preservation policies, large-scale relocation programs, and spatial transformations within and around the World Heritage core. Empirical studies identify three principal dimensions: resident displacement, land-use and built-up expansion, and environmental and landscape pressures.

State-led relocation and displacement

The most significant indicator of gentrification in Hue is the state-driven relocation of residents from within the Citadel. Research describes this process as a four-stage sequence: compensation, resettlement, displacement, and subsequent architectural renovation of the World Heritage core (Hung, 2024). Key quantitative indicators include the number and percentage of households relocated from areas within the ramparts and moat, as well as the size and location of resettlement sites (Hung, 2024; Nixon, 2020). Spatial studies also document the concentration of informal settlements along citadel walls and waterways, followed by systematic clearance as part of heritage restoration initiatives (Nixon, 2020). Unlike in market-led contexts, displacement in Hue is not primarily driven by rising rents but by direct state intervention aimed at restoring the monument landscape.

Land-use and built-up expansion

Another measurable dimension involves changes in land use and the expansion of built-up areas around the Citadel. Remote-sensing and GIS studies track the growth of urbanized land over several decades and the decline of agricultural and green areas in the heritage core and buffer zones. Quantitative indicators include the change in built-up area compared to green or agricultural land between different time periods, such as 1968–2016, 1995–2016, and 2000–2020 (Pham et al., 2019; Pham et al., 2021; Linh et al., 2024; Dinh & Pham, 2020). Directional analyses of urban growth patterns also reveal citadel-centered expansion, demonstrating how tourism infrastructure and urbanization concentrate around the heritage core (Linh et al., 2024).

Environmental and landscape pressures

Environmental indicators provide further evidence of gentrification-related spatial change. Studies quantify the loss of ecosystem service value resulting from urban expansion, particularly through the degradation of agricultural land and green spaces around the Citadel (Pham et al., 2019). Landscape risk indices also show an increasing proportion of areas classified as high or very high risk to the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of the heritage site (Pham et al., 2021). In informal settlement zones, environmental indicators such as waste accumulation, inadequate drainage, and construction over waterways have been used to justify clearance and upgrading schemes (Nixon, 2020).

Heritage morphology and urban form

Changes in urban morphology also serve as indicators of gentrification. GIS-based analyses link population growth, tourism infrastructure, and the expansion of hotels and restaurants to the deterioration of green spaces and the transformation of the historic landscape (Dinh & Pham, 2020). In this context, the reshaping of urban form is closely tied to state efforts to restore visual coherence and monumental authenticity, often at the expense of everyday residential functions.

Tourism intensity and heritage commodification

Tourism intensity in Hue operates differently from market-led contexts. Rather than emerging organically through visitor-driven commercialization, tourism infrastructure—including ticketing systems, heritage trials, and visitor centers—is developed and managed directly by the state through the HMCC and provincial tourism authorities. Studies document a substantial increase in international visitor arrivals to Hue's World Heritage complex, rising from approximately 1.5 million in 2010 to over 3.5 million in 2019 (Nguyen, 2023). This intensification of tourism has accelerated the transformation of the Citadel into a predominantly visitor-oriented landscape, where heritage commodification takes the form of staged cultural performances and curated monument experiences, displacing the everyday living practices once sustained by resident communities (Logan, 2012; Nixon, 2020).

5. COMPARATIVE FINDINGS: GOVERNANCE, PROCESSES, AND THE OUTCOMES OF HERITAGE-LED GENTRIFICATION

Building on the measured indicators identified in Sections 3.5 and 4.5, this section directly addresses the research questions by comparing how heritage-led gentrification has unfolded in Chiang Mai Old City and Hue Citadel. The analysis focuses on five dimensions: (1) governance model, (2) main drivers, (3) type of displacement, (4) spatial process, and (5) heritage logic. While both cities experience heritage-based transformation under tourism economies, their trajectories diverge significantly due to contrasting political regimes, institutional arrangements, and heritage logics.

5.1 Historical legacies and governance models

The historical trajectories of the two cities shape the character of gentrification in each context. Chiang Mai Old City, as a former Lanna capital, has long functioned as a living heritage landscape where residential, religious, and commercial activities coexist. Its heritage value is embedded in everyday practices and local social networks. As tourism has expanded, this living heritage has gradually become commodified, producing incremental and market-driven gentrification through small-scale property conversion, tourism businesses, and lifestyle migration.

In contrast, Hue Citadel represents a monumental imperial landscape tied to national identity and state authority. As the former capital of the Nguyen Dynasty, the Citadel has been framed as a national heritage project. Conservation policies therefore prioritize the restoration of monumental authenticity rather than the preservation of everyday residential life. This framing has produced a state-organized gentrification pathway, where heritage preservation is implemented through relocation schemes and spatial restructuring (Hung, 2024).

Comparative research on heritage-led urban transformation suggests that such pathways are strongly influenced by political narratives and institutional structures. In state-centric contexts, historic quarters are

often reconfigured as objects of national symbolism, while in more pluralistic settings, heritage becomes embedded within tourism and market economies (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022).

5.2 Main drivers: Tourism markets versus heritage conservation policies

Measured indicators reveal that the principal drivers of gentrification differ substantially between the two cities.

In Chiang Mai, gentrification is driven by tourism-oriented commercialization, rising property values, demographic turnover, and the expansion of short-term rental markets. Studies identify the conversion of residential buildings into guesthouses, cafés, and tourism services, accompanied by rising land prices and the influx of newcomers, including foreign residents and middle-class migrants (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024; Lu et al., 2024). Displacement in this context occurs indirectly through rent escalation and changing neighborhood economies.

In Hue, the dominant driver is state intervention. Gentrification is measured primarily through the number of households relocated, land-use change, and landscape transformation within the Citadel and its buffer zones. Rather than emerging from market rent gaps alone, displacement is initiated through heritage policies aimed at clearing residential areas to restore the monumental landscape (Hung, 2024; Nixon, 2020).

Comparative studies of heritage urbanism show similar dynamics in other Global South contexts, where government-directed conservation projects often mobilize heritage to legitimize spatial restructuring and middle-class urban norms (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022).

5.3 Types of displacement: Indirect-economic versus direct-physical relocation

The spatial processes of gentrification differ markedly between the two cases.

In Chiang Mai, spatial change occurs incrementally through parcel-by-parcel land-use conversion. Traditional houses are transformed into cafés, hostels, creative spaces, and boutique hotels, producing a hybrid landscape where tourism functions coexist with residual residential uses. Displacement is largely economic and indirect, as long-term residents and local businesses are gradually priced out of the area.

In Hue, spatial transformation follows a centralized and sequential process: compensation, resettlement, displacement, and architectural restoration. Entire neighborhoods within the Citadel are cleared to create a monumental heritage landscape consistent with conservation objectives (Hung, 2024). Displacement is therefore direct, physical, and state-managed.

Similar patterns have been observed in other heritage cities, where state-led projects involve large-scale clearance and the reconfiguration of historic quarters as symbolic urban landscapes (De Cesari & Dimova, 2019).

5.4 Spatial processes: Incremental conversion versus planned clearance and restoration

Despite their different mechanisms, both cities exhibit comparable socio-cultural outcomes. In both contexts, rising living costs, commercial homogenization, and tourism-oriented consumption have altered the social fabric of historic neighborhoods.

In Chiang Mai, these changes manifest in the erosion of traditional Lanna townscape identity and the replacement of local-serving businesses with tourism-oriented establishments (Nititerapad & Tochaiwat, 2023; Phetsuriya & Heath, 2021). Cultural displacement occurs gradually as everyday practices are reoriented toward visitor consumption.

In Hue, socio-cultural impacts are more abrupt. State-led relocation disrupts long-standing community ties and spiritual attachments to place. Although the architectural fabric is restored, the social life that once animated these spaces is significantly reduced (Hung, 2024; Nixon, 2020). Scholars of heritage urbanism note this paradox across multiple contexts: the preservation of built heritage often coincides with the erosion of intangible cultural practices and everyday life.

5.5 Heritage logic and socio-cultural impacts: Living heritage economy versus monumental national heritage

The comparison between Chiang Mai and Hue highlights how governance structures fundamentally shape gentrification outcomes.

Chiang Mai represents a negotiated and pluralistic model, where market forces, civil society actors, and planning regulations interact. Although displacement occurs, communities retain some capacity to influence development trajectories.

Hue, by contrast, exemplifies a centralized and state-centric model, where heritage preservation is pursued through top-down spatial control. Community participation is limited, and social costs are absorbed within national conservation agendas.

Comparative scholarship suggests that heritage-led gentrification in the Global South is shaped by specific policy networks, institutional arrangements, and power relationships rather than by a universal neoliberal model (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022; Yung & Sun, 2020; Tsang & Hsu, 2022).

Table 1: Comparative synthesis

Dimension	Chiang Mai Old City	Hue Citadel
Governance model	Market-responsive, negotiated	State-led, centralized
Main driver	Tourism and real estate markets	Heritage conservation policies
Type of displacement	Indirect, economic	Direct, physical relocation
Spatial process	Incremental land-use conversion	Planned clearance and restoration
Heritage logic	Living heritage economy	Monumental national heritage

Taken together, the comparison (Table 1) suggests that heritage-led gentrification in the Global South operates through at least two distinct but structurally-related models:

1. Market-mediated living-heritage model
2. State-led monumental heritage model

Rather than representing opposite ends of a single spectrum, these models reflect different political economies of heritage, where tourism, nationalism, and governance structures interact to reshape historic landscapes. This typology provides a preliminary theoretical framework for understanding heritage-led gentrification beyond Euro-American contexts, particularly in Southeast Asian cities.

6. CONCLUSION: TOWARD A GLOBAL SOUTH FRAMEWORK OF HERITAGE-LED GENTRIFICATION

This study set out to compare the processes and outcomes of heritage-led gentrification in two historic Southeast Asian cities: Chiang Mai Old City and Hue Citadel. By examining the measurable indicators of land-use change, displacement, property markets, tourism intensity, and governance structures, the analysis revealed that gentrification in heritage contexts is shaped not only by global tourism and capital flows, but also by locally specific political regimes, historical narratives, and institutional arrangements (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022; Zhao et al., 2020).

The comparison demonstrates that heritage-led gentrification in the two cities follows distinct pathways. In Chiang Mai, transformation occurs incrementally through tourism-driven commercialization, demographic change, and rising property values (Jaimakaew & Charoentrakulpeeti, 2024; Lu et al., 2024). Displacement is largely indirect and economic, as residents and traditional businesses are gradually replaced by tourism-oriented functions. This reflects a market-mediated model of living-heritage gentrification, similar to tourism-driven transformations observed in other historic Asian cities.

In contrast, Hue exhibits a state-led model of monumental-heritage restructuring. Here, gentrification is driven primarily by conservation policies that relocate residents from the Citadel to restore a monumental imperial landscape (Hung, 2024; Nixon, 2020). Displacement is direct and spatially concentrated, implemented through state-managed compensation and resettlement schemes. Comparable patterns of state-led heritage restructuring have been documented in other Global South contexts, where governments use conservation projects to reorganize historic quarters and reinforce national or middle-class spatial ideals (Mascaro, 2024; Zhu & González Martínez, 2022; Zhao et al., 2020).

Despite these different mechanisms, both cities reveal a common paradox: the preservation of built heritage often coincides with the erosion of living cultural practices. In Chiang Mai, this occurs gradually through market-driven commodification; in Hue, it occurs abruptly through state-led relocation. This paradox has been widely observed in heritage-led redevelopment projects, where conservation efforts frequently replace long-term residents and traditional trades with tourism-oriented activities (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022; De Cesari & Dimova, 2019).

Based on this comparison, the study proposes a preliminary theoretical framework for understanding heritage-led gentrification in historic cities in Southeast Asia – drawing specifically on the cases of Thailand and Vietnam—and, by extension, comparable contexts in cities in the region. Rather than a single universal model, the findings point to at least two structurally related but distinct trajectories:

1. Market-mediated living-heritage gentrification, where tourism economies gradually commodify inhabited historic districts.
2. State-led monumental-heritage gentrification, where conservation policies restructure historic cores through planned clearance and restoration.

These models are not mutually exclusive but represent different political economies of heritage shaped by governance regimes, national narratives, and institutional priorities. In negotiated, pluralistic contexts, heritage becomes an economic resource embedded in everyday urban life. In centralized, state-

centric contexts, heritage becomes a symbolic national asset, often requiring spatial purification and social displacement. Similar distinctions between governance-driven heritage transformations have been identified in comparative studies across Asia and the Global South (Zhu & González Martínez, 2022; Yung & Sun, 2020).

This typology contributes to the literature on heritage urbanism by shifting the analytical focus away from Euro-American gentrification models and toward context-specific governance structures in the Global South. It highlights how heritage-led transformation in Southeast Asia is mediated by hybrid arrangements of tourism markets, state planning, and cultural narratives (Zhao et al., 2020; Mascaro, 2024). In terms of urban planning and heritage policy, the comparison underscores the importance of balancing physical conservation with social continuity. Market-led models risk gradual cultural erosion, while state-led models risk abrupt social displacement. Future heritage strategies in Global South cities should therefore move beyond purely economic or monumental approaches and instead integrate community participation, affordable housing, and living-heritage practices into conservation frameworks (De Cesari & Dimova, 2019; Yung & Sun, 2020).

Further research could expand this comparative framework to additional cities in Southeast Asia and other Global South regions, exploring how different governance regimes and cultural contexts produce diverse forms of heritage-led urban transformation. Such work would help refine a more nuanced and globally inclusive theory of gentrification in historic cities.

DECLARATION

1. Conflict of interest
The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

2. Generative AI and AI-assisted technologies in the writing process
The authors used ChatGPT to find appropriate journals in the Scopus database and to format the referencing style. Canva was used to generate the icons in the graphical abstract. Grammarly was used for language refinement. The authors take full responsibility for the content, interpretation, and conclusions of this work.

3. Data availability statement
Not applicable. This manuscript does not report data generation or analysis.

4. Ethics statement
This study did not involve human participants, clinical data, or sensitive personal information requiring formal ethics approval.

5. Funding
This research received no external funding.

6. Contributor Role Taxonomy (CRediT)
Karuna Raksawin: Conceptualization, Methodology, Investigation, Writing – original draft.

Supagtra Suthasupa: Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing.

ORCID

Karuna Raksawin: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3458-7965
Supagtra Suthasupa: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7223-4020

REFERENCES

Askew, M. (2002). *Bangkok: Place, practice and representation*. Routledge.

Chen, P., & Kong, X. (2021). Tourism-led commodification of place and rural transformation development: A Case study of Xixinan Village, Huangshan, China. *Land, 10*(7), Article 694. https://doi.org/10.3390/land10070694

Correia, P. (2025). From virtual to reality: Enhancing cultural tourism through AI, VR, and the Metaverse. *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Tourism Research, Finland, 8*(1), 47–55. https://doi.org/10.34190/ictr.8.1.3460

De Cesari, C., & Dimova, R. (2019). Heritage, gentrification, participation: Remaking urban landscapes in the name of culture and historic preservation. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 25*(9), 863–869. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2018.1512515

Dinh, T. D., & Pham, V. M. (2020). Studying urban expansion and landscape surrounding monuments for conservation the World Cultural Heritage in Hue City—view from GIS and remote sensing. In L. T. T. Huong & G. M. Pomeroy (Eds.), *Advances in 21st century human settlements* (pp. 317–331). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-5608-1_25

Foo, R., & Krishnapillai, G. (2019). Preserving the intangible living heritage in the George Town World Heritage Site, Malaysia. *Journal of Heritage Tourism, 14*(4), 358–370. https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873x.2018.1549054

Gant, A. C. (2016). Holiday rentals: The new gentrification battlefront. *Sociological Research Online, 21*(3), 112–120. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.4071

Gant, A. C. (2023). Place-based displacement: Touristification and neighborhood change. *Geoforum, 138*, Article 103665. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2022.103665

González Martínez, P. (2016). Authenticity as a challenge in the transformation of Beijing's urban heritage: The commercial gentrification of the Guozijian historic area. *Cities, 59*, 48–56. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.05.026

Gotham, K. F. (2005). Tourism gentrification: The case of New Orleans' Vieux Carré (French Quarter). *Urban Studies, 42*(7), 1099–1121. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980500120881

Gravari-Barbas, M., & Guinand, S. (2017). Introduction: Addressing tourism-gentrification processes in contemporary metropolises. In M. Gravari-Barbas & S. Guinand (Eds.), *Tourism and gentrification in contemporary metropolises: International perspectives* (pp. 1–21). Routledge.

Gustafsson, C., & Ripp, M. (2022). Urban transformation and related conflicts at UNESCO World Heritage Sites. In M.-T. Albert, R. Bernecker, C. Cave, A. C. Prodan, & M. Ripp (Eds.), *50 Years World Heritage Convention: Shared responsibility – conflict & reconciliation* (pp. 85–97). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-05660-4_7

Hayes, M. (2020). The coloniality of UNESCO's heritage urban landscapes: Heritage process and transnational gentrification in Cuenca, Ecuador. *Urban Studies, 57*(15), 3060–3077. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098019888441

Hung, P. M. (2024). Gentrification in a World Heritage Site: The strategy for preserving the Hue Citadel in Vietnam. *ASR: Chiang Mai University Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, 11*(1), Article e2024010. https://doi.org/10.12982/CMUJASR.2024.010

Jaimakaew, Y., & Charoentrakulpeeti, W. (2024). Gentrification of communities surrounding Chedi Luang Worawiharn Temple, Sri Phum subdistrict, Muang district, Chiang Mai province. *Asian Creative Architecture, Art and Design, 37*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.55003/acaad.2024.269554

Jessa, S., & Rogerson, J. M. (2025). Tourism gentrification in Cape Town's Bo-Kaap: Socio-economic transformations and displacement. *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series, 69*, 129–143. https://doi.org/10.12775/bgss-2025-0032

Jover, J., & Díaz-Parra, I. (2019). Gentrification, transnational gentrification and touristification in Seville, Spain. *Urban Studies, 57*(15), 3044–3059. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098019857585

Langfield, M., Logan, W., & Craith, M. N. (Eds.). (2009). *Cultural diversity, heritage and human rights: Intersections in theory and practice*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203863015

Lees, L., Shin, H. B., & López-Morales, E. (2016). *Planetary gentrification*. Polity.

Ley, D. (1996). *The new middle class and the remaking of the central city*. Oxford University Press.

Linh, N. H. K., Pham, T. G., Pham, T. H., Tran, C. T. M., Nguyen, T. Q., Ha, N. T., & Ngoc, N. B. (2024). Land-use and land-cover changes and urban expansion in Central Vietnam: A case study in Hue City. *Urban Science, 8*(4), Article 242. https://doi.org/10.3390/urbansci8040242

Logan, W. (2012). Cultural diversity, cultural heritage and human rights: Towards heritage management as human rights-based cultural practice. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 18*(3), 231–244. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2011.637573

Lu, S., Zhang, Z., Crabbe, M. J. C., & Suntichaikul, P. (2024). Effects of urban land-use planning on housing prices in Chiang Mai, Thailand. *Land, 13*(8), Article 1136. https://doi.org/10.3390/land13081136

Mascaro, G. (2024). Heritagization as an authoritarian urban practice in China: Insights from Lijiang. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 48*(4), 708–720. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.13238

Navarrete Escobedo, D. (2020). Foreigners as gentrifiers and tourists in a Mexican historic district. *Urban Studies, 57*(15), 3151–3168. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098019896532

Nguyen, D. V. A. (2023). Impacts of information and communication technologies infrastructure development on economic growth: An empirical study of Southeast Asian countries. *VNUHCM Journal of Economics, Business and Law, 7*(2), 4331–4340. https://doi.org/10.32508/stdjelm.v7i2.1178

Nititerapad, C., & Tochaiwat, K. (2023). The impact of gentrification phenomena in Thailand. *Social Sciences, 12*(12), Article 647. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci12120647

Nixon, B. (2020). Assessing the environmental impacts of informal settlements in Vietnam: The case study of the Hue Citadel UNESCO World Heritage Site. *International Journal of Environmental Impacts, 3*(3), 189–206. https://doi.org/10.2495/EI-V3-N3-189-206

Pham, V.-M., Nghiem, S. V., Bui, Q.-T., Pham, T. M., & Pham, C. V. (2019). Quantitative assessment of urbanization and impacts in the complex of Huế Monuments, Vietnam. *Applied Geography, 112*, Article 102096. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2019.102096

Pham, V.-M., Nghiem, S. V., Pham, C. V., Luu, M. P. T., & Bui, Q.-T. (2021). Urbanization impact on landscape patterns in cultural heritage preservation sites: A case study of the complex of Huế Monuments, Vietnam. *Landscape Ecology, 36*(4), 1235–1260. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10980-020-01189-0

Phetsuriya, N., & Heath, T. (2021). Defining the distinctiveness of urban heritage identity: Chiang Mai Old City, Thailand. *Social Sciences, 10*(3), Article 101. https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10030101

Robinson, J. (2006). *Ordinary cities: Between modernity and development*. Routledge.

Roy, A. (2009). The 21st-century metropolis: New geographies of theory. *Regional Studies, 43*(6), 819–830. https://doi.org/10.1080/00343400701809665

Shatkin, G. (2008). The city and the bottom line: Urban megaprojects and the privatization of planning in Southeast Asia. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 40*(2), 383–401. https://doi.org/10.1068/a38439

Shatkin, G. (2016). The real estate turns in policy and planning: Land monetization and the political economy of peri-urbanization in Asia. *Cities, 53*, 141–149. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2015.11.015

Smith, N. (1979). Toward a theory of gentrification: A back to the city movement by capital not people. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 45*(4), 538–548. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367908977002

Sözen, B., & Kılıç, S. E. (2025). Tourism-led rural gentrification in multi-conservation rural settlements: Yazıköy/Datça case. *Sustainability, 17*(18), Article 8439. https://doi.org/10.3390/su17188439

Taylor, K. W. (2013). *A history of the Vietnamese*. Cambridge University Press.

Thaisuntad, T. (2022a). Conflicts in managing Chiang Mai's abandoned monasteries. *Nakhara: Journal of Environmental Design and Planning, 21*(1), Article 204. https://doi.org/10.54028/NJ202221204

Thaisuntad, T. (2022b). Role of the National Office of Buddhism (NOB) in managing the abandoned monasteries of Chiang Mai. *Journal of Architectural/Planning Research and Studies, 20*(1), 21–36. https://doi.org/10.56261/jars.v20i1.248344

Thanh, V. (2018, October 15). *15,000 People live an 'imperial' life in Hue slum*. VnExpress International. https://e.vnexpress.net/news/news/15-000-people-live-an-imperial-life-in-hue-slum-3823991.html

Tsang, C., & Hsu, L.-F. (2022). Beneath the appearance of state-led gentrification: The case of the Kwun Tong Town Centre redevelopment in Hong Kong. *Land Use Policy, 116*, Article 106054. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2022.106054

UNESCO World Heritage Centre. (n.d.). *Complex of Hué Monuments*. UNESCO World Heritage Convention. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/678/

UN-Habitat. (2021). *Cities and pandemics: Towards a more just, green and healthy future*. https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2021/03/cities_and_pandemics-towards_a_more_just_green_and_healthy_future_un-habitat_2021.pdf

Yasmeen, G. (2006). *Bangkok's foodscape: Public eating, gender relations, and urban change*. White Lotus Press.

Yung, E. H., & Sun, Y. (2020). Power relationships and coalitions in urban renewal and heritage conservation: The Nga Tsin Wai Village in Hong Kong. *Land Use Policy, 99*, Article 104811. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.104811

Zhao, Y., Ponzini, D., & Zhang, R. (2020). The policy networks of heritage-led development in Chinese historic cities: The case of Xi'an's Big Wild Goose Pagoda area. *Habitat International, 96*, Article 102106. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2019.102106

Zhu, Y., & González Martínez, P. (2022). Heritage, values and gentrification: The redevelopment of historic areas in China. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 28*(4), 476–494. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2021.2010791

Zukin, S. (2010). *Naked city: The death and life of authentic urban places*. Oxford University Press.

Zuo, D., Li, C., Lin, M., Chen, P., & Kong, X. (2022). Tourism, residents agent practice and traditional residential landscapes at a cultural heritage site: The case study of Hongcun Village, China. *Sustainability, 14*(8), Article 4423. https://doi.org/10.3390/su14084423