



From Dan Phuong to Thang Long-Hanoi: Peri-Urban Cultural Heritage and Its Untapped Potentials

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Abstract

In the context of Hanoi's rapid urban expansion, Dan Phuong District preserves a vibrant yet overlooked ecosystem of peri-urban cultural heritage. This article reinterprets heritage not as a static legacy, but as a dynamic assemblage of humans, materials, memory, and place, using postmodern and posthumanist frameworks. Drawing on mixed methods—including surveys with 300 residents and interviews with 22 artisans and officials—the study identifies a paradox: high cultural awareness exists alongside limited engagement in conservation. This disconnect stems from fragmented heritage structures and the absence of intermediary institutions. In response, the article proposes a relational model of heritage rooted in co-agency, ecological entanglement, and the performativity of space. The model challenges linear preservation logics and reframes heritage as an active field of becoming embedded in everyday life. It contributes to rethinking cultural governance in Southeast Asian peripheries, advocating heritage not as relic or commodity, but as a living infrastructure of regeneration.

Keywords: Peri-Urban Heritage, Postmodernism, Living Heritage, Heritage Development Model, Cultural Industries

1. Introduction

In recent decades, scholarly and institutional approaches to cultural heritage have undergone a paradigmatic shift—from preservationist frameworks centered on static objects to dynamic conceptualizations of heritage as a relational and performative process (Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2013) ^[7, 15]. Within this reconceptualization, heritage emerges not merely as a repository of the past but as a complex site of meaning-making entangled with memory, identity, affect, and power. This transformation is especially salient in urban contexts, where peri-urban spaces—often treated as transitional or marginal zones—continue to sustain dense yet underrecognized ecosystems of cultural life. Despite their richness, such spaces remain epistemically and institutionally excluded from mainstream heritage discourses and development agendas.

This article responds to that absence by centering the case of Dan Phuong—a peripheral district in northwestern Hanoi, Vietnam—as an analytical locus through which to explore the contested status of peri-urban heritage. In contrast to the hyper-visible historical core of Hanoi, particularly the UNESCO-recognized Thang Long Imperial Citadel, Dan Phuong remains unincorporated in urban cultural policy despite its dense constellation of both tangible and intangible heritage. These include centuries-old temples, communal houses, and village structures, as well as living cultural practices such as vernacular rituals, folk performances, seasonal festivals, and oral traditions. Far from being remnants of a vanishing rural past, these cultural forms persist as vital assemblages in which communities articulate belonging, memory, and place through iterative everyday enactments.

The marginality of Dan Phuong within Hanoi's cultural planning reflects a broader epistemic condition observed across Global South cities, where peripheral zones—while rich in cultural value—are routinely excluded from heritage-led urban strategies.

This exclusion, we argue, is not merely spatial but ontological: it stems from a dominant heritage logic that privileges monumental, curated, and officially sanctioned forms over the vernacular, processual, and affective registers of local cultural life.

By drawing on postmodern and posthumanist frameworks, this article reinterprets peri-urban heritage as a space of becoming—where humans, materials, memory, and spatiality co-constitute cultural meaning. The analysis reframes heritage not as an inert asset but as a living ecology, shaped by the relational entanglements of people, practices, environments, and institutions. Against the grain of technocratic urbanism and top-down cultural governance, we propose an alternative ontology of heritage rooted in performativity, relationality, and situated co-agency.

This inquiry is driven by the following question: How might peri-urban cultural heritage—exemplified by the case of Dan Phuong—be reconfigured as a living, performative, and multidimensional resource within contemporary frameworks of cultural tourism and creative urban development? In addressing this question, we examine the latent potentials and systemic barriers within Hanoi's current planning regimes, engage comparative models from other urban peripheries, and advance a theoretical model that foregrounds co-creation between humans, materials, memory, and space.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Peri-Urban Cultural Heritage in Hanoi: Context and Challenges

As Vietnam's political and cultural capital, Hanoi harbors a multi-layered heritage landscape that extends far beyond the monumental axis of the city center. Contrary to the prevailing conservationist gaze that privileges iconic zones such as the Thang Long Citadel or the Old Quarter, the majority of both tangible and intangible heritage is situated in peri-urban districts—including Dan Phuong, Hoai Duc, Gia Lam, Dong Anh, and Thanh Tri. According to the Hanoi Department of Culture and Sports (2025), over 80% of the city's heritage sites and traditional cultural practices originate from these peripheral zones. These include vernacular architectural forms such as village wells, communal houses, and temples, as well as socio-cultural performances like ceremonial singing, ritual festivals, and folk crafts (Báo Nhân Dân, 2025a; Người Hà Nội, 2021)^[2, 13].

Yet the accelerated urbanization since the early 2000s has produced a destabilizing effect on these cultural ecologies. Infrastructure expansion, real estate speculation, and zoning logics have reconfigured traditional village topographies, leading to spatial disintegration and the erosion of place-based cultural identity (Truyền hình Du lịch, 2021)^[19]. Current urban policies remain center-oriented, with cultural development strategies overwhelmingly focused on Hanoi's inner core, while the peri-urban belt is designated as a planning "buffer zone" (Tạp chí Kiến trúc, 2023)^[18]. This has produced a critical paradox: spaces with dense heritage value and enduring community entanglement are relegated to the margins of policy and cultural tourism imaginaries.

This condition is not unique to Hanoi. In rapidly urbanizing Asian cities, peripheral districts are often spatially, politically, and symbolically marginalized despite sustaining rich cultural forms. Kong (2011)^[12] argued that such zones are not merely physically peripheral but ontologically excluded from the authoritative narrative of national culture.

Winter (2014) conceptualized them as sites of *dynamic heritage*—constellations in which heritage is not passively inherited but actively reproduced through the ongoing interactions between people, materialities, and memory. In a similar vein, Gravari-Barbas & García Hernández (2023)^[5] called for a repoliticization of heritage discourse to decenter the hierarchical spatialities that devalue peri-urban cultural production.

Recent scholarship influenced by postmodern and posthumanist theory has further destabilized conservation orthodoxy. Shusterman (2020)^[14], for instance, proposed viewing heritage as a mobile, performative entity co-constituted by human and non-human forces, rather than a set of objects to be immobilized through preservationist logic. Such perspectives enable a reconceptualization of peri-urban zones not as passive thresholds of modernity, but as generative cultural frontiers wherein new assemblages of urban identity are constantly negotiated. From this viewpoint, Dan Phuong is not peripheral in a developmental sense—it is liminal: a threshold space of cultural complexity and ontological flux.

2.2. Dan Phuong as a Representative Case of Peri-Urban Cultural Heritage

Dan Phuong district, situated on the northwestern edge of Hanoi, offers a paradigmatic case of a peri-urban locale where vernacular cultural structures remain materially present and socially resonant. According to the district's Culture and Information Office (Báo Nhân Dân, 2025a)^[2], Dan Phuong contains nearly 100 registered cultural heritage sites, over 20 of which hold national or municipal recognition. The most emblematic is the Đại Phùng Communal House, a 17th-century wooden edifice designated as a Special National Monument, which continues to operate as both a sacred architectural relic and an active site of community ritual and celebration (Kinh tế & Đô thị, 2025a)^[10]. More significantly, Dan Phuong's heritage assemblage is not confined to architectural markers. The district hosts a vibrant repertoire of living practices, such as the *ca trù* chamber music of Thuong Mo, the *chèo tàu* folk theater of Tan Hoi, and the kite-flying festivals of Ba Duong Noi—all formally recognized as part of Vietnam's national intangible cultural heritage (Báo Mới, 2025)^[2]. These practices are deeply embedded in localized epistemologies of agriculture, ecology, and ancestral veneration. Yet despite their resilience, these cultural forms remain under-institutionalized and unintegrated within Hanoi's broader cultural development infrastructures (Báo Nhân Dân, 2025b)^[3]. Their preservation is largely ad hoc, dependent on informal networks of artisans and community elders. Rituals are often maintained in fragmented or ceremonial forms, disconnected from tourism economies or the cultural-creative industry circuits (Kinh tế & Đô thị, 2025b)^[11].

According to the Inter-American Development Bank (2017), the viability of peri-urban heritage relies on its integration into community-driven governance and policy-making processes. This echoes Spada & Bigiotti's (2021) concept of "in-between areas" as liminal zones where agriculture, memory, and cultural production interlock to generate localized development models. In Dan Phuong, however, such synergies remain unrealized. The absence of policy support and cultural service infrastructure has rendered heritage a symbolic reservoir—affectively potent, but

structurally inert.

This condition illustrates what Wijesuriya, Thompson & Young (2019) termed the *participation deficit* in heritage governance: the systemic exclusion of communities from shaping the institutional narratives and futures of their own cultural life. This deficit is not merely procedural; it is ontological—it inhibits the co-creation of heritage value as a shared and evolving assemblage of relations among people, things, and place.

2.3. Postmodern Approaches in Cultural Heritage Studies

Postmodern theory has radically reshaped heritage discourse by interrogating the assumptions of fixity, linearity, and objecthood that dominated earlier models. Smith (2006) ^[15] reconceptualized heritage as a discourse—a field of contestation in which memory, authority, and affect are negotiated rather than inherited. In this framework, heritage emerges not as a neutral inheritance but as a performative structure of meaning produced through social struggle and representation.

Building on this, Waterton & Smith (2010) ^[21] introduced the notion of *misrecognition*, arguing that official conservation regimes often disregard the lived, affective, and embodied forms of heritage valued by local communities. This shift moved analytical attention away from static monuments toward the ephemeral textures of memory, ritual, sound, and collective emotion.

Harrison (2013) ^[7] extended this line of thought through the concept of *co-production*, positing that heritage is relationally enacted between people, places, and material agents. These insights converge with posthumanist critiques, notably those advanced by Latour (2005) and Bennett (2010) ^[4], which position non-human entities—such as weathered walls, trees, incense smoke, or acoustic environments—as active participants in heritage-making assemblages. Within this ontological turn, heritage is no longer the property of human intention alone, but a distributed field of co-agency and entangled becoming.

In the case of Dan Phuong, this approach allows us to perceive the spatial poetics of heritage beyond the human gaze. The sonic texture of festival drums, the olfactory presence of ritual incense, and the tactile wear of wooden pillars are not mere sensory backdrops—they are agents of cultural continuity. UNESCO's 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage affirms this expanded understanding by recognizing communities not only as carriers but as co-creators of heritage forms embedded in everyday life.

3. Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

3.1. Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in a triadic theoretical assemblage combining postmodern theory, the concept of living heritage, and posthumanist ontologies to interrogate the cultural dynamics of heritage in peri-urban Hanoi. These frameworks converge in offering a critical departure from essentialist and preservationist paradigms, foregrounding instead the performative, relational, and multi-agentic nature of heritage-making.

First, postmodern heritage theory—as developed by Stuart Hall (1999) ^[6] and Laurajane Smith (2006) ^[15]—recasts heritage not as an objective repository of the past, but as a discursive field in which meanings are actively constructed,

contested, and mobilized. Within this framework, heritage is constituted through narrative, identity politics, and symbolic struggle. In the context of peri-urban Hanoi, this discourse is constantly re-negotiated as traditional village practices are re-narrated to assert localized belonging amidst the pressures of spatial reconfiguration and state-led modernity.

Second, the notion of *living heritage*—institutionalized through the 2003 UNESCO Convention and further elaborated by Waterton and Smith (2010) ^[21]—offers a temporal and ontological reframing of heritage as an ongoing, performative process. Here, cultural forms are not inert legacies but mutable practices, continually shaped through transmission, embodiment, and communal iteration. In localities like Dan Phuong, where ritual festivals, ancestral worship, and oral performance traditions remain embedded in the rhythms of everyday life, this framework illuminates the elasticity and adaptability of heritage as a lived social practice.

Third, the study draws from posthumanist theory, particularly actor-network theory (Latour, 2005) and vital materialism (Bennett, 2010) ^[4], to reconfigure heritage as an assemblage of human and non-human agencies. In this view, heritage emerges not solely through human intention but through affective entanglements with material forms—architecture, trees, acoustic environments, weather conditions, and ritual objects. These materialities are not passive carriers of culture but active co-producers of affect, memory, and spatial belonging. The sound of festival drums reverberating across a communal yard, the soft glow of lamplight within ancestral halls, or the scent of ceremonial incense are not aesthetic supplements—they are ontological agents in the making of place and heritage.

By integrating these theoretical strands, the study reconceptualizes peri-urban cultural heritage not as a residual category, but as a situated, affect-laden, and co-produced assemblage of meaning, memory, and spatial politics. This theoretical framing enables an inquiry into how heritage in Dan Phuong is simultaneously preserved, negotiated, and transformed within shifting urban-material contexts.

3.2. Research Methodology

To operationalize this theoretical framework, the research adopted a mixed-methods design situated within a critical-interpretivist paradigm. The methodology aimed to capture both the material-discursive conditions of peri-urban heritage and the affective-symbolic dimensions of local participation. By synthesizing qualitative depth with quantitative breadth, the study maintained analytical reflexivity while seeking empirical robustness.

Qualitative methods were employed to trace the performative contours of heritage practice and explore vernacular epistemologies embedded within ritual, spatial memory, and community narration. Twenty-two semi-structured interviews were conducted with a diverse cross-section of local actors, including folk artisans, cultural officers, clan leaders, small-scale entrepreneurs, and senior villagers. These dialogues elicited narratives around place attachment, heritage meaning, and institutional marginality. Ethnographic participant observation was conducted during key heritage events, such as the Đại Phùng Communal House Festival, the Ba Duong Noi Kite Festival, and the processional rites at Thuong Mo, enabling sensory engagement with the embodied dimensions of cultural

performance.

All qualitative data were thematically coded using NVivo 12, following an open coding and axial synthesis process to surface discursive patterns and affective registers. Coding categories were not pre-determined but emerged through iterative engagement with the material, ensuring epistemic sensitivity and emic authenticity.

Quantitative methods complemented this interpretive lens by mapping patterns of cultural awareness and participatory behavior at scale. A structured survey was administered to 300 residents across four representative communes—Tan Hoi, Thuong Mo, Song Phuong, and Lien Trung. The survey instrument probed levels of heritage consciousness, frequency and motivations for participating in cultural activities, perceptions of heritage's developmental value, and attitudes toward spatial transformation due to urbanization.

Data were analyzed using SPSS 26, employing descriptive statistics, Pearson correlations, and linear regressions to identify relational dynamics among variables such as cultural awareness, institutional trust, and conservation willingness. Reliability was verified via Cronbach's Alpha (scores > 0.78 for all key indices), ensuring internal coherence of constructs.

Triangulation was employed throughout to strengthen interpretive credibility. Qualitative themes were cross-validated with observational notes and archival records, while quantitative trends were contextualized through narrative accounts. This reflexive interplay between methods allowed for a richer theorization of heritage not merely as content to be measured but as a contested and co-produced ontology, deeply embedded in the socio-material life of Dan Phuong.

4. Research Results

Findings drawn from both the quantitative survey and qualitative analysis revealed a complex constellation in which cultural heritage in Dan Phuong District remained deeply embedded in everyday community life, yet lacked operational translation into development infrastructure. On one hand, local residents exhibited a high degree of affective and cognitive attachment to their heritage; on the other, this awareness had not been channeled into actionable participation due to the absence of mediating institutions, enabling frameworks, and connective policy mechanisms. As a result, heritage practices persisted symbolically but were structurally disarticulated from developmental processes.

Survey data from 300 respondents across four representative communes indicated that 87.6% self-reported being "clearly aware" or "very clearly aware" of the cultural value of communal festivals, folk arts, and vernacular architecture. However, only 34.2% had ever engaged in any form of heritage conservation activity. This asymmetry was further illuminated by qualitative interviews: many artisans and elders expressed a willingness to transmit cultural knowledge, but bemoaned the lack of learners, institutional platforms, or meaningful contexts of exchange. As a *ca trù* performer from Thuong Mo noted, "If there were classes, I would teach. But now, who do I sing for? Who do I teach?" This comment encapsulates the phenomenon of *epistemic isolation*, wherein knowledge persists but lacks an ecological interface for relational continuity.

Spatial ethnography revealed that the village assemblage—comprising communal houses, village wells, sacred groves, and ritual spaces—continued to function as a living heritage

ecology. These were not inert remnants, but loci of performative co-creation between memory, spirituality, and place. Participant observation at the Ba Duong Noi Kite Festival confirmed the enduring vibrancy of local ritual participation, yet conspicuously lacked the presence of tourism infrastructure or cultural services. While 70% of respondents reported regular participation in festivals, only 18.9% perceived these activities as holding tangible economic potential. This divergence points to a deeper ontological divide: heritage is lived as life-world, not leveraged as economic commodity—thereby creating friction with dominant creative industry paradigms.

Data analysis underscored the fragmented relationship between heritage, tourism, and governance. A low Pearson correlation ($r = 0.32$) was observed between heritage awareness and livelihood generation from heritage-related activities. Only 9.1% of surveyed residents had engaged in any formal cultural tourism initiative. Interviewed cultural officers at the commune level consistently reported a lack of models, guidance, and institutional frameworks to connect ritual life with broader development logics. As one official from Song Phuong commented, "There's no shortage of festivals, no shortage of old villages, but no organization has ever stepped in to design a development model."

Linear regression analysis further confirmed the marginal influence of existing cultural policies on participation, with an R^2 value of just 0.21 when testing the impact of policy on conservation behavior. The vacuum of intermediary infrastructures—creative hubs, cooperative platforms, or cultural enterprises—meant that the demand and supply for heritage activation remained unlinked, fragmenting the assemblage and disabling sustainable regeneration.

A radar chart (Figure 1) visually illustrated this disjuncture, with five core indicators showing stark asymmetry: while awareness peaked, participation in conservation, tourism, and economic mobilization remained low. This gap underscores the symbolic surplus but structural underperformance of heritage in Dan Phuong, further pointing to the need for reconfiguring the heritage assemblage through more relational and participatory modes.

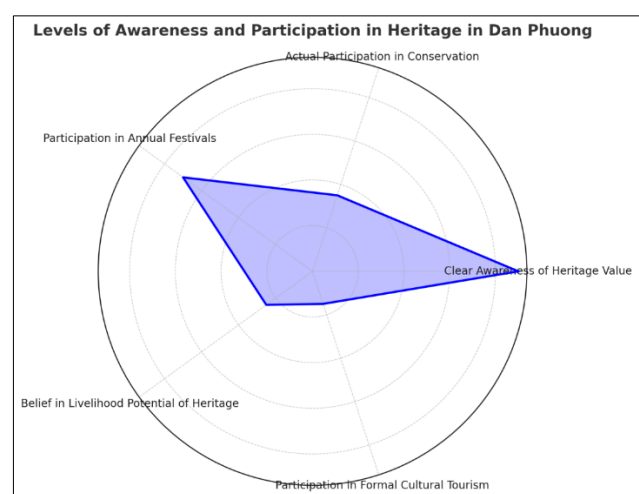


Fig 1: Levels of Community Awareness and Participation in Cultural Heritage in Dan Phuong

Thus, the research findings confirmed that heritage in Dan Phuong was not lost—nor forgotten—but ontologically

misaligned with dominant development models. It persisted in practices, spaces, and memory, but in the absence of institutional mediation, remained suspended between reverence and inertia.

5. Discussion

The findings from Dan Phuong surfaced a latent yet vibrant configuration of peri-urban heritage—a cultural ecology where ritual, memory, and vernacular aesthetics continued to operate beneath the radar of formal governance and market structures. Contrary to narratives of cultural erosion, the research showed that heritage had not disappeared, nor had communities become disengaged. Rather, it was the *lack of connective architecture*—between people, institutions, and markets—that had left heritage values isolated, rendered affectively rich but developmentally dormant.

This condition resonates with broader patterns across Hanoi's peri-urban belt, where districts such as Dong Anh, Thanh Tri, and Hoai Duc harbor high densities of ritual life and spatial heritage, yet remain peripheral in policy imaginaries. By contrast, tourism-centric zones such as Hoi An, Hue, or the Old Quarter of Hanoi have seen heritage reformatted into consumable aesthetics, often at the cost of authenticity and communal continuity.

Internationally, alternative models suggest more situated and relational approaches. In Arles (France), Namsangol Hanok Village (South Korea), and Nishijin (Japan), heritage has been embedded into co-creative ecosystems involving education, technology, and community-led design. These sites did not treat heritage as an object to be exhibited, but as an interface for intergenerational learning, spatial regeneration, and cultural innovation. What they shared was a common ontological shift: heritage was understood not as preservation, but as co-agency.

Within this comparative frame, Dan Phuong emerges not as

a void but as a possibility—a cultural territory awaiting activation. Its ecosystem of intangible practices, spatial symbolism, and community knowledge offers fertile ground for a heritage-led development paradigm anchored in postmodern pluralism. Proposed interventions could include "festival circuits," "folk schools," "village residencies," or "intergenerational studios"—each positioning heritage as both process and platform.

Yet the challenges remain deeply structural. First, heritage governance is fractured across institutional silos: culture, tourism, and innovation are managed by disconnected bureaucracies. Second, the community-market interface is weak: residents preserve, but cannot productively translate; businesses speculate, but lack cultural foothold. Third, the conceptual orientation of policy still privileges relics and inventories, rendering it inadequate for engaging diffuse, lived, and multi-scalar heritage.

Critically, the issue is not the scarcity of resources, but the *lack of an epistemological realignment*—one that rethinks heritage as an entangled assemblage of humans, non-humans, memory, and materiality. Dan Phuong's heritage exists not in central museums or curated archives, but in kinship networks, agricultural rhythms, oral rituals, and vernacular aesthetics.

To address this fragmentation, the study introduced a postmodern heritage model (Figure 2). This model discards the linearity of preservation-commodification in favor of a networked assemblage, in which heritage is co-constituted by four domains: spatial materialities (e.g., temples, communal houses), living cultural practices (e.g., festivals, crafts), community agents (e.g., elders, youth, artisans), and flexible institutions (e.g., cooperatives, cultural labs). Arrows denote both vertical convergence (heritage activation) and lateral resonance (horizontal interaction), suggesting a dynamic, non-hierarchical system of cultural regeneration.

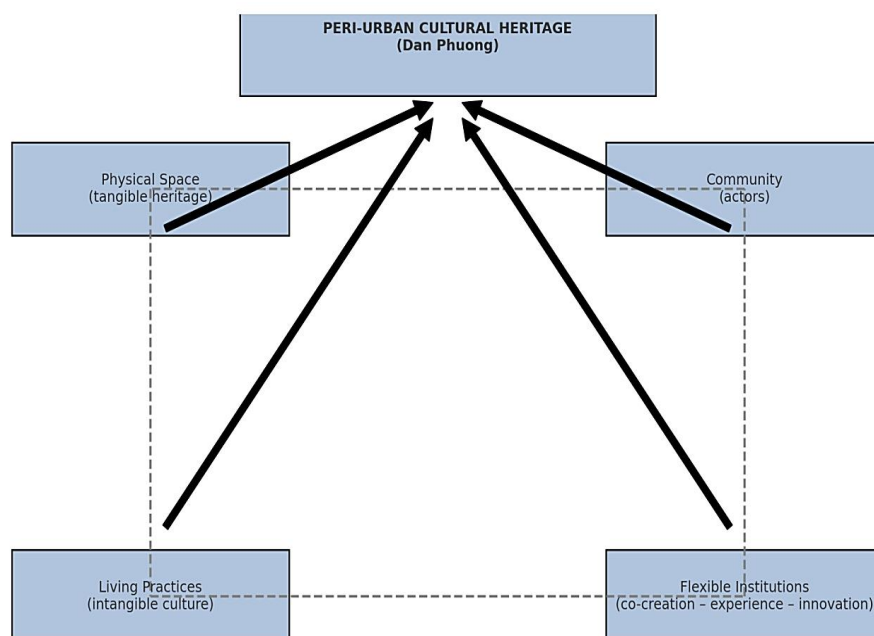


Figure 2. Postmodern Heritage Development Model: Co-creation among people - materiality - memory - institutions

Fig 2: Postmodern Model for Peri-urban Heritage Development

Rather than framing heritage as a fragile object in need of rescue, the model reimagines it as a generative ecology—

capable of renewal through interaction, imagination, and networked governance. It calls for soft structures over hard

infrastructure, emergent practices over prescriptive frameworks, and collaborative authorship over top-down conservation. In this, Dan Phuong is not a periphery—but a frontier of cultural futures.

6. Conclusion

This study has illuminated Dan Phuong not as a peripheral afterthought in Hanoi's urban schema, but as a dense and dynamic heritage ecology embedded within the everyday rhythms of community life. Despite its marginal position in formal planning regimes, the district sustains a living archive of ritual practices, spatial forms, and cultural memory. Yet paradoxically, this richness has remained developmentally inert—unrecognized within official frameworks for tourism, cultural policy, or creative industry integration. What emerged was a condition of *heritage latency*: where symbolic vitality endures, but structural mechanisms for activation remain absent.

By mobilizing a hybrid methodology of ethnographic observation, discourse-centered interviews, and statistical analysis, the study exposed the discordance between cultural awareness and participatory infrastructure. Heritage in Dan Phuong persists not due to institutional support but in spite of its absence—held in place through social memory, kinship networks, and affective investment. However, the absence of intermediating institutions, policy scaffolds, and connective platforms has produced a fragmented assemblage, where potential remains unrealized.

Theoretically, the research advances a postmodern and posthumanist reconceptualization of peri-urban heritage. Departing from object-centered preservationist paradigms, it repositions heritage as a *co-creative assemblage*—a contingent configuration of human actors, material agents, spatial affects, and mnemonic rituals. From this ontological vantage point, heritage is not what is inherited but what is enacted—relationally, iteratively, and affectively. It is not a noun but a verb: not heritage-as-thing, but heritagizing-as-process.

Practically, the study proposed a postmodern model of cultural activation grounded in four interdependent domains: spatial infrastructure, community agency, living cultural practice, and institutional flexibility. Rather than linear heritage commodification or musealization, the model advocates for *regenerative platforms* such as festival circuits, folk art labs, heritage learning studios, and digital storytelling networks. These “soft institutions” function not as static repositories, but as fluid enablers of creativity, intergenerational transmission, and spatial belonging.

The Dan Phuong case thus offers more than a local snapshot—it serves as a conceptual proposition. The vitality of Hanoi's peri-urban heritage does not reside in its inventory of ranked monuments, but in its capacity for *ontological elasticity*: the ability to be reborn through new forms, relations, and imaginaries. In this light, peri-urban heritage should no longer be considered an ancillary concern but must be re-situated at the heart of Hanoi's sustainable cultural strategy.

As urbanization restructures the material, symbolic, and

affective fabric of Southeast Asian cities, heritage can no longer be framed as a frozen past. It must instead be envisioned as a *living infrastructure of becoming*—a medium through which communities negotiate continuity, invent futures, and co-produce meaning. Dan Phuong, then, is not the edge of the city—it is a frontier of postmodern heritage possibility.

Declarations

Authorship Statement

All authors have made substantial contributions to the conception, design, and writing of this manuscript. Both authors have read and approved the final version and agree to its submission to *Culture and Organization*.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

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Ethical Approval

This study did not involve clinical trials or sensitive personal data and did not require formal approval from an ethics committee. However, all fieldwork activities were conducted in accordance with ethical research practices, including voluntary participation and respect for cultural contexts.

Informed Consent

Informed verbal consent was obtained from all interview participants prior to their involvement in the study. Participants were informed of the study's purpose and their right to withdraw at any time.

Data Availability

Due to the qualitative and context-sensitive nature of this study, anonymized excerpts from interviews and observational data are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

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