



GUIDELINES FOR COMMUNITY CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT:
THE TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES OF WAT KET, CHIANG MAI PROVINCE



A Thesis Submitted in partial Fulfillment of Requirements
for Doctor of Philosophy (Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism)
International Program
Graduate School, Silpakorn University
Academic Year 2017
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Guidelines for community conservation and development: The
Traditional Communities of Wat Ket, Chiang Mai Province



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MISS Em UNGJITPISAL

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Chiangmai, a province in the northern region of Thailand, worldly-known to be one of the best developing cities and a famous tourist attraction. The government has approved on random construction plans such as, roads and real estates to develop Chiangmai and its economy. Consequently, most of the communities aren't satisfied with these unpredictable plans so they stood up against the government, made assemblies in order to claim the rights they once had. Unfortunately, only one community that succeeded to defer the road expansion plan from the government that would completely destroy their beloved historical sites, engraved with memories from generation to generation.

WatKet Community, a community of cultural diversity, filled with people from many religions such as Buddhists, Christians, Muslims, Chinese, Thai natives, Indians, Burmeses and other nations. Due to its history of being an old port city, it has made WatKet as one of the historical community sites in Chiangmai. Even though this diversity seems to be a problem in order to join the people of each culture together to enhance its strength to stand up against the state's interference that might cause tremendous effects to the community, WatKet Community has done a pretty great job in uniting themselves together as one and became a strong community that is capable of protecting their own architectural and cultural heritages. They changed the government's idea of modifying the area into a central business district but now, conserving it instead. Nowadays, the assembly formed by a small group of people to preserve their historical heritages for the latter generation is hardly to be found in the society due to the materialistic needs of the mass that are increasing each day. Most nations tend to be focusing only on the convenient basic needs without concerning about the cultural significances of each area. Many developing capitals such as Kuala Lumpur of Malaysia, Seoul of South Korea or Singapore which has developed rapidly, have to face multiple difficulties in order to revitalize its own architectures. We could say that these cities are just old cities without a soul since it is too late to restore what has been destroyed. This dissertation contains researches and finalized studies about this unique strength and characteristics of WatKet Community that can be used as a study case for readers to understand the following issue so that they could be able to suggest guidelines for the community conservation and community development in the future.

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Lastly, I would like to thank Wat Ket community, all Tangible and Intangible heritages that has contributed to this dissertation

Em UNGJITPISAL

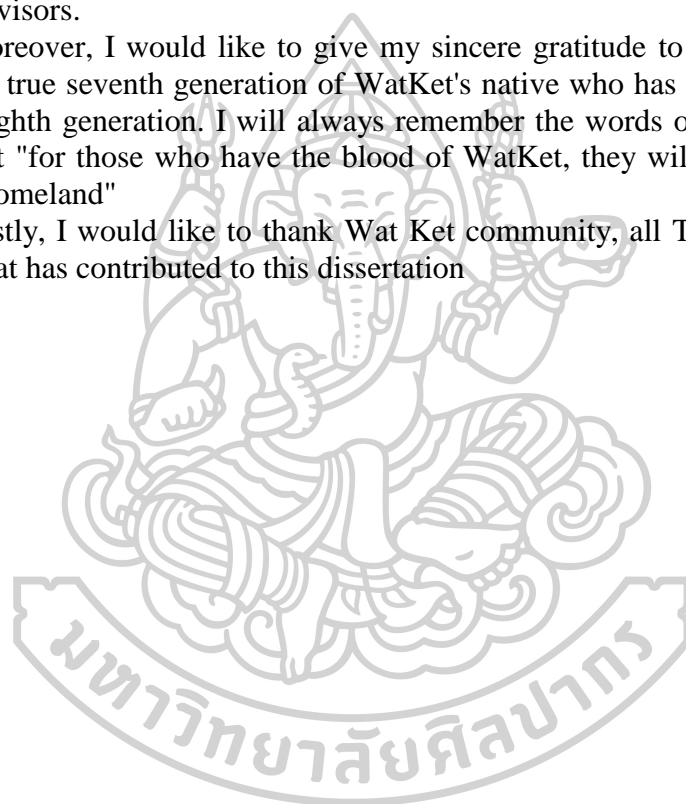


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Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Statement and Significance of Problem

Wat Ket traditional community is an old community of Chiang Mai. It was founded in 1796, and hence dates from after the foundation of Rattanakosin. It is located along the Ping river as shown in figure 1.

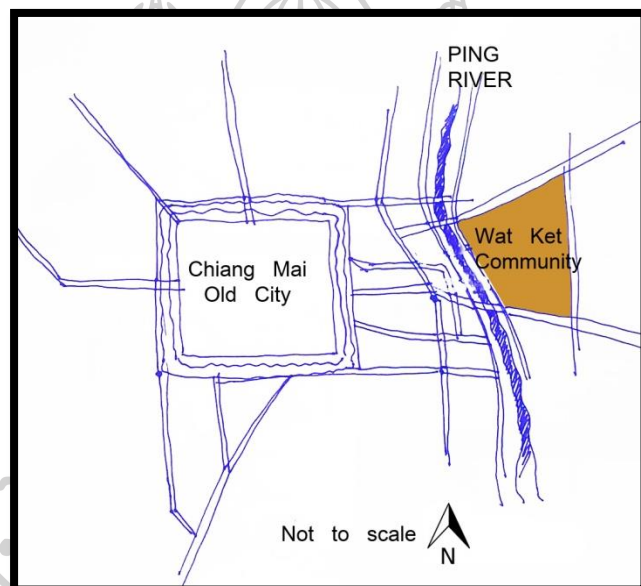


Figure 1 Map of the location of Wat Ket community

Source : Em (2017)

Before the railway was built, Wat Ket traditional community was an important trading port and economic centre between Rattanakosin and Chiang Mai. Therefore, as an old trading and entrepôt centre, Wat Ket community today comprises a multi-ethnic group of Buddhists, Christians, Muslims, and Sikhs as well as a multi-nationality population such as Chinese, Thai, Indian, Westerners, and aborigines. These factors are all affecting the built habitat and architecture. Later, when the railway became available in 1921 and a road was built to bypass the Ping river, the strong connection between both sides of the Ping river was discontinued. Physically, Wat Ket community is located only on the east side of the Ping river. But as in such old community settlements, the area of its activity is scattered along both sides of the Ping river. At present, old architecture still exists. The traditional community is still located along

the Ping river and has expanded to become a trading area, educational area, and center for religious practice.

Urban planning of Chiang Mai was advanced, along with Thai political activity more widely, when Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat served as Prime Minister (1958–1963). There was a sequence of national economic development plans commencing from that time. The first such plan was for 1959–1963. The most important policy was to build the basic economic support structure such as by expanding roads and built infrastructure. These changed land prices and Chiang Mai city was one of the affected areas due to its status as an economic center. Because the government focused on economic development objectives, these were promulgated so as to become the guidelines in developing the country. The city plan emphasized land use, mostly for residential and industrial activities.

Chiang Mai city plan has been continually developed; however, changed land use requirements were based only on population numbers. This has remained the case with the Chiang Mai city comprehensive plan (3rd revision), which continues to be the master plan for development of the area. It is focused only on the development of the transportation system and the public services which would support the development of the city. It would also support economic activities as well as those social programs for people which were considered appropriate and worthy of government investment.

The above stated objective, focusing only on economic potential, meant that the Chiang Mai Town Planning office did not use the history, ways of living, and well-being of the people in their consideration of the Chiang Mai city plan. Moreover, the plan did not specify conservation zones despite the fact that the 11th National Economic and Social Development plan (2010-2013) has promoted Chiang Mai for tourism with the strategy “City of Life and Affluence.” It is intended to be the city of contentment and valued living for the residents and the visitors, although the formal plan scarcely acknowledges such considerations.

In view of this failure, Wat Ket traditional community called for Chiang Mai Town Planning office to adjust the 3rd revised plan. The request was to allow a change from dense residential area (the red zone) to conservation residential area (the yellow to white zone). This incident revealed that the area around the Wat Ket traditional community was seen by its advocates as having value. It is also an example of the strength of the community to fight in public for conservation and the *sustainable* development of the city.

However, the current planning alone cannot control all factors of development because the plan merely controls the growth of the city but does not prohibit misuse of land. Nevertheless, if there is indeed value in conserving and developing the area sustainably, many agencies would need to be involved, including conservation

agencies and social agencies, although the city planning is the first step. A good first step can help towards an even better next step.

The development of a city that is rich in culture and potential for economic and tourism growth, like Chiang Mai, needs deep study to guide the development plan. It has to be based on many related factors. Also, physical potential and traditional values have to be identified as well as the development directions of the city. All of these will improve conservation of the city's real values and lead to the sustainable development of the city.

2. The Question

The genesis of the present study has been the author's observation of the community's resistance to the 3rd revised Chiang Mai plan which had the potential to obliterate the community and its heritage under the impact of commercial and high-density development. In one sense this is merely a case of the common, indeed global phenomenon of local resistance to externally imposed urban planning; however, its occurrence might be seen as unusual in Thailand where compliance seems more often to prevail. Hence there is interest in understanding the processes of this resistance.

There is double interest, however, when it is realized that this is a multi-religious, multi-ethnic community characterized more by self-interested tolerance of difference than by community unity. How were these groups brought together, for that certainly seems to have been the case? Hence the motivating question for the research might be posed as: What were the processes whereby community union-in-action was forged in the case of Wat Ket community, and what seem to have been the further effects of that cooperation?

While this question might be seen as 'answerable', there is a deeper and more difficult question to which it gives rise. Thailand, in the 2010s is to be seen as a divided society, characterised most dramatically in the Red Shirt versus Yellow Shirt rift. So, does the bridging of differences seemingly revealed in the Wat Ket case suggest insights into the broader and more intactable divisions in society? While the first question above might be answered from the following research, this second, more difficult question might have to remain in the realm of speculation.

3. Objectives

Linked to these research questions, we can specify objectives that the research is to pursue. While the broad interest of this project is in the planning of the city, the specific focus will be on the Wat Ket community and its attempt to intervene in that planning. Even more specifically, the focus is on the special characteristics of the community – its multi-ethnic, multi-religious composition and the planning implications of an area of such seeming complexity but concomitant tolerance. To pursue this interest, four objectives can be proposed.

- 1) To study the architecture and physical environmental of Wat Ket – architecture & physical environment
- 2) To clarify factors that make Wat Ket strong – what are its social characteristics, social & cultural heritage?
- 3) What was the process of the community's resistance to the 3rd revised Chiang Mai plan? Stated otherwise, what is 'the story' of the resistance and its conclusion?
- 4) As something of a follow-up to the story, to suggest an appropriate process for developing at Wat Ket.

4. Scope of the Study

The intended study can be summarised in terms of three 'scopes' or focuses. Scope of the area is along the Ping river. It starts from Nakorn Ping Bridge down about 1.25 kilometers to Lhege Bridge then spreads out about 500 meters each side of the river, to include the Wat Ket area and the traditional area before the road along the Ping river was built.

Scope of the study The topic embraces traditional communities of Wat Ket, Chiang Mai Province. This will cover:

- 1) Study of the situation and factors that have affected the changes in the study area. As well as the expansion of the city, these include issues of land use and infrastructure that have affected the architecture and the related physical and social conservation of the study area.
- 2) Study of the potential and limitations of the study area in terms of: *conservation* which includes the natural environment and built environment, that is the settlement, community pattern, land use, structure, and infrastructure; *economy* which includes both provincial economy and community economy; *social* which includes history, culture, population, policy, and related development plans.
- 3) Study of the land use from a conservation point of view.

3. Scope of the population includes the people who live in the area, traditional and local residents and new residents as well as the private and government agencies involved in development planning of the study area.

4. Research Methodology

The adopted methodology was a hybrid of historiographical and ethnographic approaches. The project is historiographical in its task of tracing the history of the Wat Ket area and community; it is then ethnographic in its immersion in the community in all its richness and diversity, in part to 'fill in' gaps in the history but especially to observe at close quarters the event of its resistance to externally imposed planning. In that sense, this research is a recording and an interpretation of that event. The work builds on qualitative methods and interpretation. Methods that were used to meet the objective of this research were as follows.

Literature review

There are two main uses of literature reviews in this research, namely to understand Wat Ket and its stories, and to understand other case studies that might offer useful comparisons.

To understand Wat Ket, literature was reviewed to explore the history and importance of Wat Ket community. They include documents that have been provided from key people of Wat Ket community. These documents were often confidential and detailed. Other material was from books, archives, articles, journals, maps, satellite images, other photographic sources, proceedings of meetings, and the internet.

There are eight comparative case studies in this research. There are first three of these are drawn from local communities within Thailand where struggles over local heritage and identity present similarities with the case of Wat Ket and can highlight lessons emerging from the Wat Ket case. These are discussed in Chapter 4 in direct comparison with Wat Ket. Then there are five international cases presented in Chapter 5, namely Hanoi, Seoul, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Canada; while not directly comparable with Wat Ket, these can raise more widely contextual issues that broaden the discussion of public polity relevant to the situation of local communities in Thailand such as Wat Ket together with references to three more local Bangkok cases, which are presented in chapter 5. The data used to understand and find lessons learnt from all eight of these cases have not involved original fieldwork but are from the literature, including books, articles, journals, maps, proceedings, and the internet. The material on Wat Ket, on the other hand, is heavily dependent on original fieldwork and especially on direct and participant observation, also on a program of interviews.

Participant observation

The researcher lived in the community and became involved in activities with the population of Wat Ket once they accepted that she has a role there as well as some equivalent status. The researcher has been living with the community for about 2 years.

During this process, the researcher also collected data and pictures of Wat Ket community, also been involved and participated in many of the community's meetings. This also included attending talks and workshops at Wat Ket community.

In-Depth-Interview

The researcher found a key person who is one of the central figures of Wat Ket community and who is very generous with time. The researcher had four in-depth-interviews with her. She also suggested other key persons for this study. All together the researcher has had eight in-depth-interviews with key persons of Wat Ket community. They are government personnel, a Wat Ket representative, and people from each religion in Wat Ket community.

Focus group discussion

Focus group discussions were arranged twice. The first time involved observing of the Geoinformatics group, led by Asst. Prof. Dr. Sompong Sangawong from Chiang Mai University. The project is funded by TRF. They are doing work towards preparing the first map that will have detailed information about land usage.



Figure 2 The focus group led by Asst. Prof. Dr. Sompong Sangawong
Source: Em (2015)

In the second group the researcher observed and commented as a landscape architect. It was an academic service for the public, conducted by Dr. Banjit Sairorkham from Chiang Mai University. The project is to strengthen and restore the unity of the four religions of Wat Ket, by forming a living museum.



Figure 3 The group led by Dr.Somporn from Chiang Mai University, 22 October 2015

Source: Em (2015)

Data analysis

After the data collecting process, the researcher analysed and synthesised those data. In the process, if there were questions or doubts the researcher went back to collect more data to answer those questions. Then followed a series of reports when all questions were answered and objectives of the researches had been met.

5. Chapter outline

Chapter 1 Introduction

The present first chapter has given an introduction to the research. It has discussed the significance of the project, established the research question that the

project is to address, the objectives to be met in order to answer that question, then the scope of the research, methods used, and then the present outline of chapters.

Chapter 2 The case of Wat Ket

An outline of Wat Ket community and Chiang Mai city planning which is the theme of this research. The core of the chapter is the history of Chiang Mai city planning and of Wat Ket in that context. The dilemma posed by planning's impact on the area and its community is dealt with, to be continued in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 Wat Ket community

This chapter elaborates further on issues raised in chapter 2. Specifically it presents a detailed account of Wat Ket, providing general information about Wat Ket community such as its geography, history, important places, religions, cultures, and the relationships of the people. It also further discusses the urban planning of Chiang Mai province and the response of the community to the threats posed by that planning. The chapter can in part be read as a history of Wat Ket, also in part as a history of modern Chiang Mai planning.

Chapter 4 Wat Ket community analysis

The chapter brings together and analyses what has been learnt in chapter 2 and chapter 3. It points out how Wat Ket heritage can be invoked to form a sense of communal unity. It also points out what might have been the enabling condition of the success story of Wat Ket. The chapter also addresses three other cases of communities in Thailand that bear some comparison with Wat Ket and can cast light on the lessons to be learnt from Wat Ket.

Chapter 5 Multi-Cultural challenges in heritage

The chapter looks at other multi-cultural communities and their stories, and at what can be learned from their comparison with the case of Wat Ket. These are Hanoi, Seoul, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Canada, supplemented with further comments on the limited set of other Thai cases introduced in Chapter 4.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

The chapter sums up the research. It shows the lessons which the researcher has learnt. It also gives a broad suggestion for further research.

Chapter 2

The Case of Wat Ket Community

Introduction. The purpose of this chapter is to place Wat Ket community in the wider context of Chiang Mai city – even more, in the context of Chiang Mai city planning. It thus sets out the dilemma of community versus planning-from-outside that is the theme of this research. Stated otherwise, it sets out ‘the case of Wat Ket’.

In 2011, The World Bank upgraded Thailand to be an upper-middle income economy based on estimates of its gross national income (GNI) per capita.(Bank, 2011) News, television and even radio news also reported optimistically on Thailand’s growth to the public to encourage internal and external investment and trade in Thailand. The central government’s Ministry of the Interior – through the Department of Public Works and Town and Country Planning (DPWCP) – developed comprehensive plans for economic development, decentralization and the allocation of resources to social development as part of its five-year National Economic and Social Development Plans. In the 11th National Economic and Social Development Plan (2012-1016) urban planning was integrated into the country development plans, with the aim of producing policies and programs to promote economic growth and to enhance the quality of life in the community, ultimately enhancing the lives and work prospects of everyone to improve urban economic development.(O. o. t. N. E. a. S. D. Board, 2012)

Chiang Mai is one of the most important, and fastest growing, secondary cities in Thailand. The city serves as a regional economic and cultural hub in the North and ranks as the fourth largest city in terms of population. It is also a well-known historical city with rich cultural heritage and environmental amenities.(Planning, 2015) In the last ten years, Chiang Mai’s economy has grown continuously, largely driven by the commercial sector and the tourism industry. Besides tourism, Chiang Mai is becoming a Mekong regional hub for transportation, aviation, education, and medical services. The focus of development resources in Chiang Mai, especially in the city planning area. has led to the horizontal expansion of the city’s land use – and as a result is compromising the compact pattern of the city center. Thus land utilization for urbanization during the 2000–2011 period expanded beyond previously open space and agriculture areas and beyond such constraints as ring roads. The areas parallel to the main roads have also had major expansion as well as along the Ping River.(T. C. Encyclopedia, 2016)

“Chiang Mai province is in the north of Thailand, on the Ping River, near the Myanmar border. It is the economic, cultural, and religious center of the northern provinces. The terminus of a railroad from Bangkok, Chiang Mai is also linked to the capital by air and highway. The city is a shipping point for agricultural products of the surrounding region. Tourism is a growing industry”,(T. C. Encyclopedia, 2016) with the mixture of “old and new” tourist activities. With this in mind, National Development Plans led to the construction of tourist infrastructure to match the influx of both people and capital from Bangkok, and to take advantage of the natural and cultural resources of this ancient kingdom. At that time, modern planning for Chiang Mai was developed as part of the activities of the DPWCP (Department of Public Works and city Planning) as the Chiang Mai Comprehensive Plan (CMP), with the objectives of 1) Creating Chiang Mai province as a city of “life and prosperity that possesses a unique Lanna identity with a strong community”; 2) To promote Chiang Mai province as the economic and transportation center connecting the Mekong Sub-region and South Asia; 3) To promote efficient agricultural industry that maintains diversity and modern management systems; and 4) To support the province as an exceptional tourist destination.(N. E. a. S. D. Board) Recently the 3rd revision (2016) was launched to the public, covering 430 square kilometers. As part of this revision, planning for land use and transport is inter-related, since Chiang Mai was designated as a regional economic center and a transportation hub linking it to various countries.(Somporn Sangawongse, 2012) But the plan did not designate appropriate land use zoning, and this has led to the improper use of land which has directly impacted the community – such as zoning problems in the Wat Ket community for example.

Wat Ket community

Wat Ket community is a historic community of Chiang Mai city, dating from just after the governance of Chiang Mai was imposed by the Rattanakosin Kingdom. It is located with proximity to the Ping River (Figure 4).

Before Chiang Mai had railway transit, the Wat Ket community was dependent on water transportation. Boats were important for trade and economic activities. People in the Wat Ket community have religious diversity such as Buddhist, Muslim and Sikh, consequent in part on its historic role as an entrepot. There are also various nationalities such as Chinese, Thai, Indian, foreigners from the West and also native people. These differences have a great impact on the architectural styles in this community. When the railway transit and road were constructed along the Ping River, they were not connected with the Wat Ket community.(Thailand, 2015)

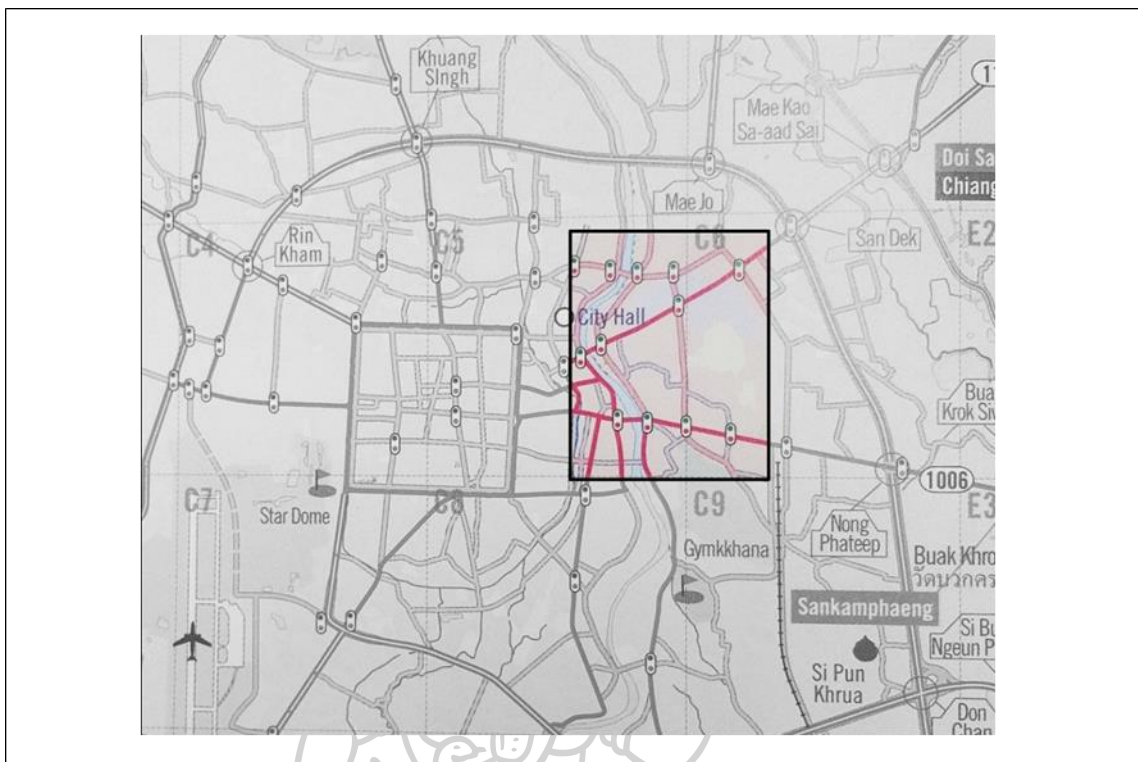


Figure 4 Boundary of Old Wat Ket community, Chiang Mai.

Source: Exploring Chiang Mai City Valley & Mountains (2013)

According to the elders, Wat Ket community begins at Kaewnawarat Road, on the east side of Nakorping bridge stretching to the Bumroongraj intersection, and ends at the south of Bumroongraj road and on the right side of Charoenmuang Road, to Nawarat Bridge and along the Charoenrat streets. (Jaruanmoung, 2007)

Architecture

Since the Wat Ket community has a diversity of ethnicities and religions, the styles of architecture are correspondingly numerous. The effect of these diversities can be seen in the way that the more common buildings in the community are built like boats and mostly of wood. Architectural styles are combinations of Lanna with Western architecture and Lanna with Chinese, as we can see from shops, the Leawsawat family's house with similarities to older merchant ships running from Chiang Mai to Bangkok. Along Kaew Na Wa Rat road is a traditional Chinese row house and there are Chinese patterns in front of the building with artistically executed stuccos. This building won the 1st Old House Preservation Project award in 1991 and Wat Ket community received Conservation Awards for Best Arts and Architecture Type of vernacular community in 2005, which was given by the Association of

Siamese Architects Under Royal Patronage, presented by HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.(Jarusupawat, 2007)



Figure 5 Sa La Bart, in a Lanna/Chinese hybrid architectural style, over 100 years old.
Source: Em (2016)



Figure 6 The styles of wood crafted architecture around Wat Ket community:
an example of Lanna–Chinese style.
Source: Em (2014)



Figure 7 Scorpion tailed boats have been used for trading along the Ping River
in the past.
Source: BoonsermSatrabhaya: Chiang Mai in Memories (2015)



Figure 8 The main road in Wat Ket community for road transportation instead of boat.

Source: Em (2014)



Figure 9 Chan-Som bridge connecting the community.

Source: Em (2014)

Wat Ket transportation system

Because of the economic growth of Chiang Mai, the community grew in population. The streets in the Wat Ket district are main roads that connect to other places so the roads there were widened to 6-10 m. to accommodate cars and commuters. Traditionally, villagers would walk to visit neighbors because there were small footways on each plot of land as a shortcut to go from one village to another. Now, most of these footways are gone. In addition, families have their own private vehicles so the main road to Wat Ket is used as a main thoroughfare. In February 2009 the Chiang Mai ‘Town Planning Revision 3’ identified Wat Ket community in the “red” land-use zone which is set aside for the highest commercial and residential concentration. One of the plans for the transportation system indicated the expansion

of roads up to 20 m. along the Ping River, which will eventually affect the Wat Ket district and potentially obliterate it.(Jaruanmoung, 2008)

Development of Chiang Mai Urban Planning

During the rule of Prime Minister Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, the Interior Ministry's Department of Town and Country Planning had prepared "Chiang Mai Town Planning in 1990" by planning for the years 1965 to 1969, expanding the provincial and municipal area. At that time, there was no Town Planning Act so this town development scheme had no legal effect in controlling land use. There was then a City Planning Act in 1975. The Department of City Planning declared "Chiang Mai Town Planning 1989", covering an area of 100 sq.km. Land was divided into 11 categories according to this plan and the law was in effect over five years from 1984-1989.(Somporn Sangwongse, 2009)

Later, the Planning Department intended to improve urban development; Chiang Mai was the first city to expand its road network in 1989. It was expanded from 100 to 130 sq km and contained both land use and transportation system plans. It was published as regulation No. 78/1989, valid for 5 years from 1989 to 1994. This plan had a multi-centered urban planning concept (polycentric development) to avoid concentration in the center; however, this concept came essentially from the western planning ideologies where such a plan must be accompanied by active decentralization policies from the local government. The local government system in Thailand at that time, however, was not strong enough to provide services efficiently so the necessary concept of power distribution could not be developed. In 1999, the Bureau of Chiang Mai City Planning announced a total development plan for Chiang Mai (second revision). At that time, the area outside the city of Chiang Mai became municipal and complete decentralization was advised according to the requirements of the constitution. Gradually, road constructions were initiated for the ongoing improvement of the transportation system, paving the way for future land use.(Worawimol Chairat, 2015)

The Department of Public Works and Town Planning announced total town planning of Chiang Mai in February 2008. The specifications and documentation of the Chiang Mai city planning map (third revision) called for feedback from the people of the seven districts of the city. These groups of the people who are involved and are affected by the modification or cancellations of regulations on land use in the total town development were called upon to respond within 90 days. Although all residents in Chiang Mai were not active or interested, the villagers of Wat Ket district showed a

clear stance on the matter, arguing that they might be affected if a red zone for land use in their district was declared.(Worawimol Chairat, 2015)

If the area in the red zone was declared, it could be developed commercially. This zoning would result in the expansion of investment and further construction because the red zone in terms of urban planning law is an area of commercial development and residential concentration. Roads can be widened from their original width of 6 m. to 20 m., surrounding the Wat Ket district, including more than 30 of the oldest roads of the city of Chiang Mai.(Worawimol Chairat, 2009)

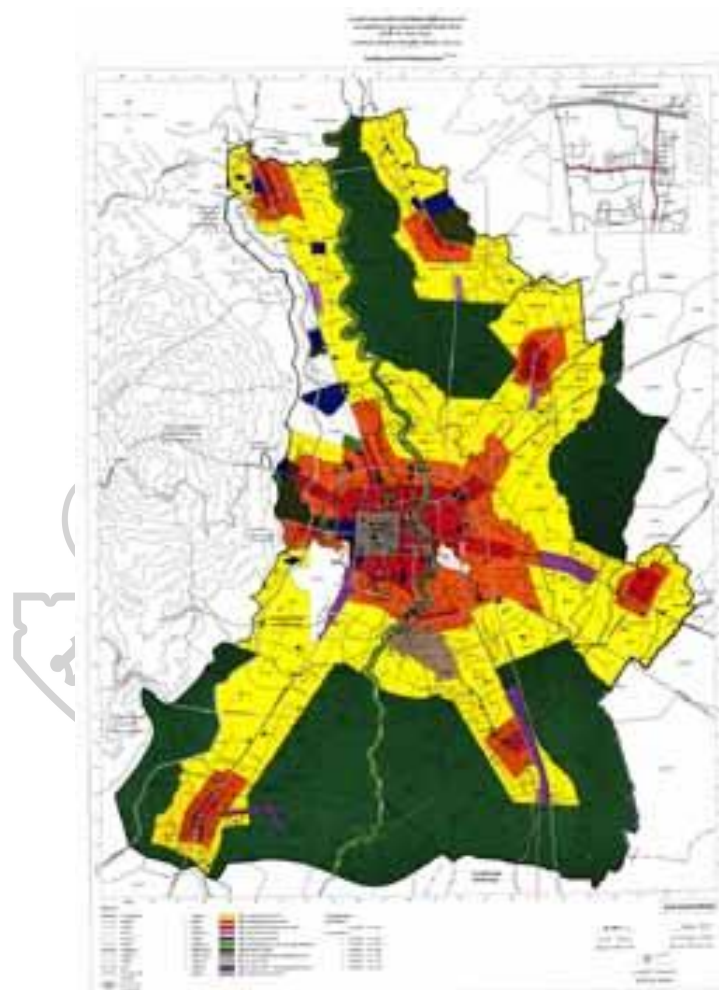


Figure 10 Chiang Mai land-use plan 1999 (second revision).
Source: The Story of Chiang Mai Urban Planning(2015)

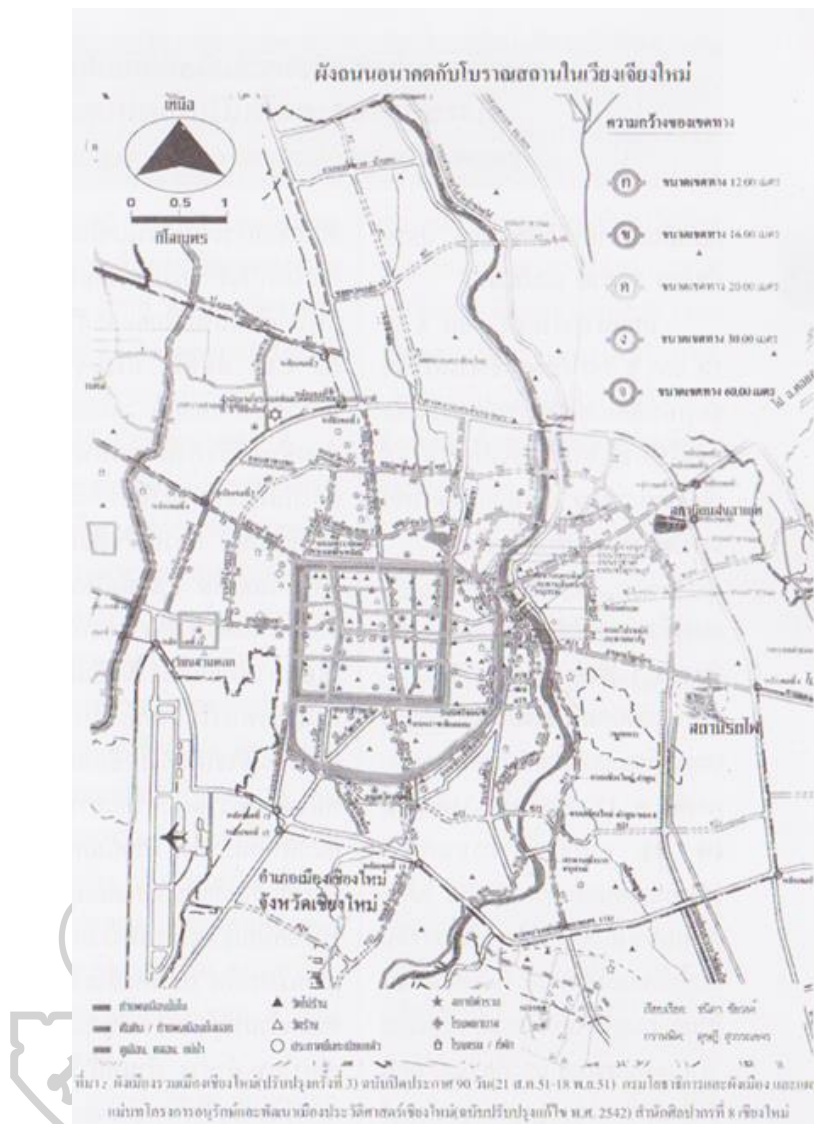


Figure 11 The Chiang Mai Transportation System Plan (third revision) that effects the Wat Ket community.

Source: Chiang Mai Journal No.106-107(2009)

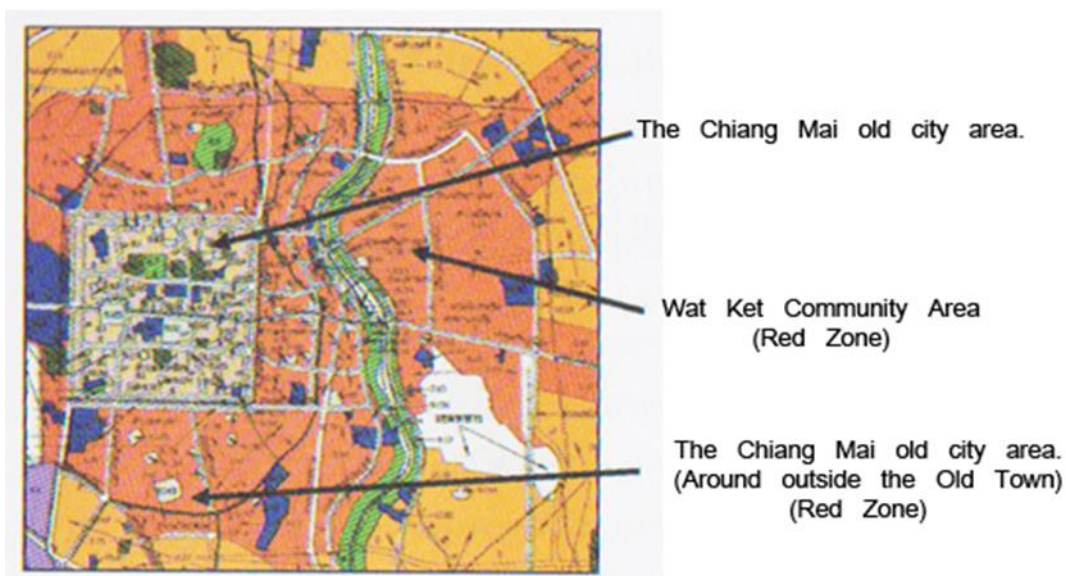


Figure 12 The expanded Chiang Mai land-use plan 1999 (second revision): Wat Ket is changed to the red zone.

Source: The Story of Chiang Mai Urban Planning (2015)

People in Wat Ket community strongly protested against the draft town plan for Chiang Mai because Wat Ket district had been made part of the red zone and this would directly affect their lifestyle, culture, architecture, etc. So, they fought to conserve their neighborhood's historical sites. Without any participation from locals, the Department of Public Works and Town Planning claimed that the area specified as a commercial center or red area was based on population density. In the case of Wat Ket district, there were 108 persons per rai recorded; however, based on their own researching and calculating the population base, the planning agency declared that the density of people was not more than 7.5 persons per rai. It is clear that the information obtained by the Department of Public Works may be inaccurate. (Marim, 2008) For this reason, people in Wat Ket were collectively opposed to the likely impact of the Chiang Mai Town Planning draft, sending letters of complaint to the responsible officers to notify them of the problem and to ask to find a solution together. Wat Ket villagers also suggested that all processes needed to be transparent in the management and the participation of the villagers, not only from the government but also from the administration side. As a result of participation in the management of the Wat Ket area by the villagers, the Office of Chiang Mai Public Works and Town Planning improved the land-use area designation around the Wat Ket district to yellow and white diagonal line which means conservation in the living area zone. Victory went to the villagers of the community. (PBS, 2013)

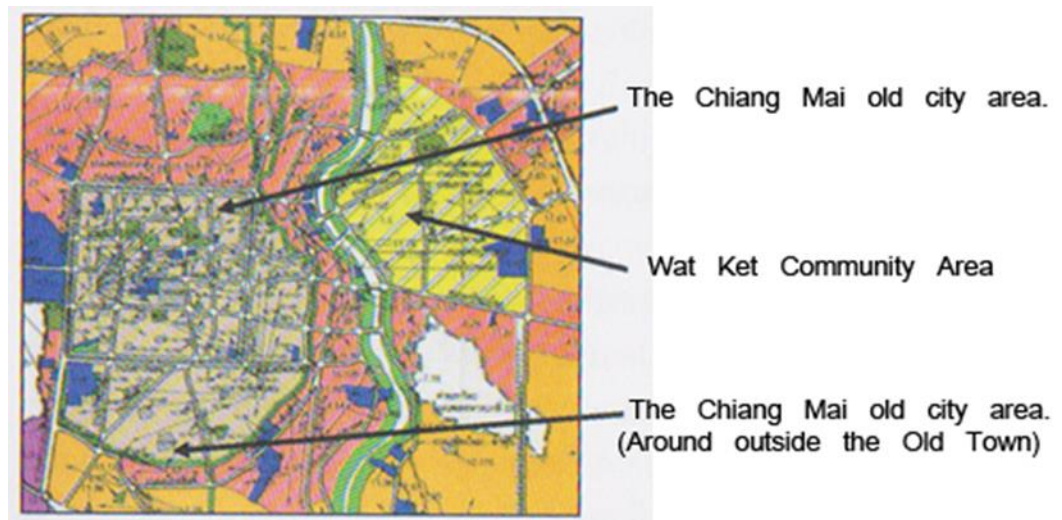


Figure 13 The present Chiang Mai land-use plan 2008 (third revision) after revision
 Source: The Story of Chiang Mai Urban Planning (2015) Edited by Em

Conclusion

The important lesson emerging from this saga of Chiang Mai planning is that community action was able to reverse an intended planning goal of commercial and high density to one more attuned to the community's own understanding of its history and culture. Two questions emerge from this, to be addressed in the following chapter: first, what might be seen to constitute this local culture? The second question is how did the community succeed in mobilizing itself so effectively? This second question takes on special salience in the context of a community of considerable diversity, where conflict might even have been expected. We seem to be seeing a shared idea of cultural heritage bridging what might otherwise be cultural chasms.

Chapter 3

Wat Ket community

Introduction. This chapter assembles and presents the data accessed through the study's various observations, surveys and interviews. It is thus to be seen as the dissertation's 'data chapter' and will 'tell the story' of Wat Ket. The greater part of the chapter is a history of the community (beginning at section 1.2), which shades into analysis of its respective religious-ethnic sub-communities which draws on interview data from the project. The account then proceeds to the emergence of community dissidence to official, top-down policies and thereby to the evolution of cross-community cooperation.

1. The reality of Wat Ket community

Geography

While Wat Ket refers to an ancient Buddhist temple and Wat Ket community to a settlement that initially grew around that temple and became identified with it, it is to be located within a series of frames. First, it is a peripheral village to Chiang Mai, for a long time capital of the ancient Lanna kingdom; second, it is now to be seen as part of Chiang Mai city, principal center of the northern region of the Kingdom of Thailand. Third, in a more global framework, it is to be seen as a principal focus for tourism in Thailand which, in turn, is the dominant center for tourism in Asia.

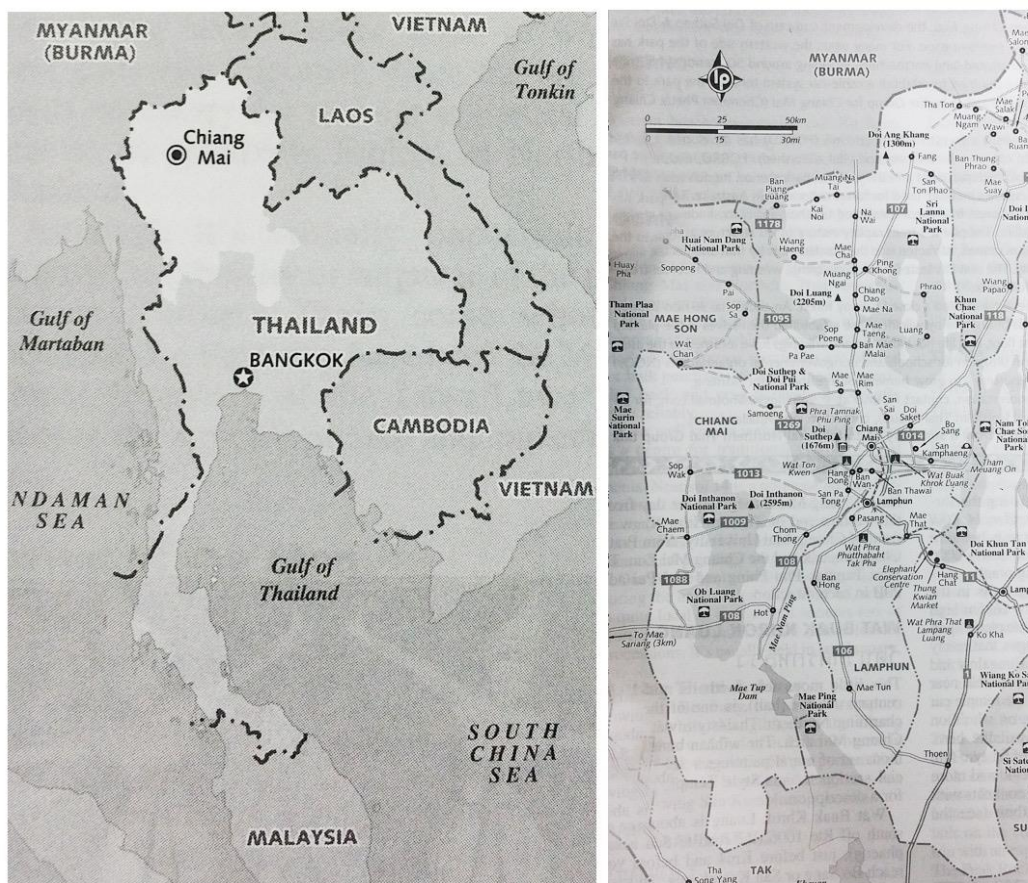


Figure 14 The location of Chiang Mai, Thailand
Source: Lonely Planet, Chiang Mai & Northern Thailand (2002)

The Wat Ket community boundary starts from the Na Korn Ping Bridge, Kaew Na Wa Rat road, stretching to the east all the way to the intersection of Bamrungratch road. It then turns to the south along Bamrungratch road, thence turning right along Jarunmoung road to Na Wa Rat Bridge and then north alongside the Ping River along Bamrungratch Road.

According to the book *“Sustainable Cities in Chiang Mai: A Case of Wat Gate Area”* by Dr. DOUNGHAN APAVATJUT CHROENMUANG, there are four groups of members living in every area that came to Wat Ket Assembly: the Senior Club, Wat Ket Patrons, the First Church Chiang Mai Committee and the Attaqwa Masjid Committee. So, the author determined on analyzing the whole area to understand the living conditions of the community. According to attitudes emerging from the community survey, the planning implementation of Chiang Mai should be with the participation of the entire community together with researchers from social science, Chiang Mai University, and from Geoinformatics, Science and Technology, The Far Eastern University, in the scope of the area presented in figure 15

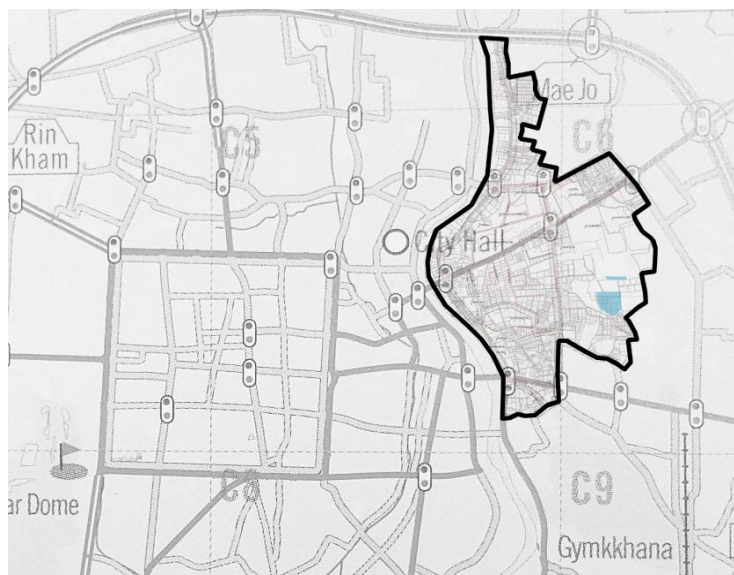


Figure 15 Scope of Wat Ket community.

Source: Geoinformatics, Faculty of Social Science, Chiang Mai University and Geoinformatics, Faculty of Science and Technology, The Far Eastern University. (2008).

1.2 History of the study area: Land use from ancient time to present time.

- 1.2.1 History of Wat Ket Community. Chiang Mai was founded in 1296 together with the founding of the Lanna kingdom that combined the previous Hariphunchai Kingdom and the YoNok Kingdom. Chiang Mai as the capital of the Lanna Kingdom rapidly prospered because of its favourable location and also because the Lanna Kingdom was strengthened politically and eventually lasted for 250 years. Their own unique customs and traditions, language with its written characters, arts and architecture had developed to an advanced state until Lanna fell under the domination of Burma (present Myanmar) for another 200 years.

Some Burmese cultural influence was transmitted to Chiang Mai before King Taksin re-established the freedom of the Siam Kingdom and then sent his troops to defeat and liberate Chiang Mai from Myanmar.(Narumitrekhan)

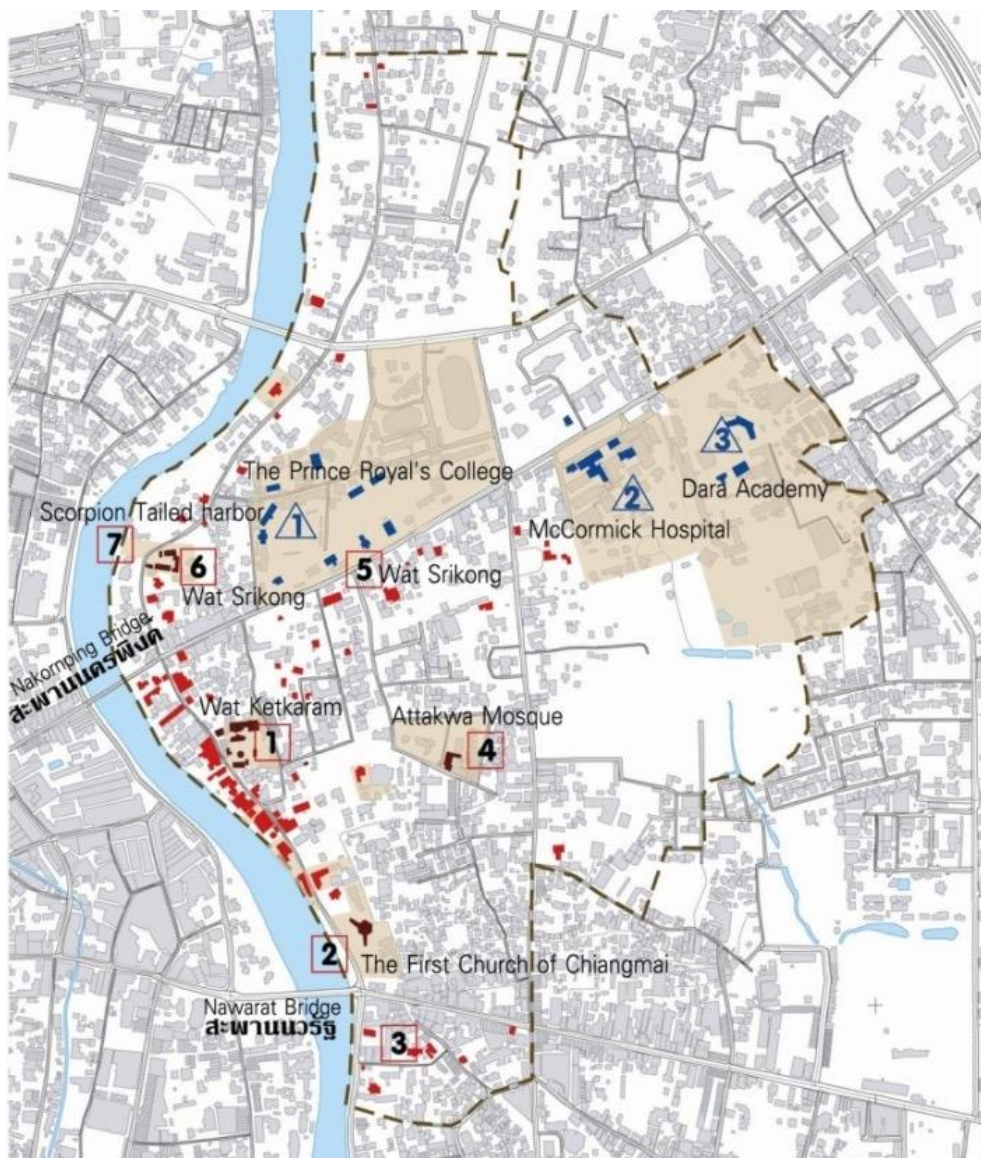


Figure 16 Important landmarks, Wat Ket.School and hospital planning (triangle). Religious and important places (square). Ancient buildings (Red, blue colour)

Source: Geoinformatics, The Faculty of Social Science, Chiang Mai University and Geoinformatics, The Faculty of Science and Technology, The Far Eastern University. (2008)

Edited: Em (2016)

Wat Ket community is an old, local community in Chiang Mai. It was founded in 1796, which was after the establishment of Chiang Mai as a dominion of the Rattanakosin kingdom. Wat Ket community was an important port area for trading and transportation by river from Rattanakosin to Chiang Mai.

In 1883 the British became associated with countries in Southeast Asia through trading with Burma and thereby Thailand. Later they founded a British Consulate which expanded the cross-country trading by Burmese, Shan and Indian traders who were under the command of the British and were playing an important role in Lanna,¹ by opening retail shops in a market, for example on both sides of Ta Pae road starting from the Upakut temple to San Fang temple. Most of the shop owners were Burmese.(Ongsakul, 1996) Subsequently, river trading between Lanna and Bangkok by Chinese traders started. Chinese traders came to settle along the Ping river around the Ket Ka Ram temple area and on both sides of present-day Jarunratch road. Because this village had port facilities mainly for trading in the old days, it was called “Ban Ta (or Tha)” where the word Ta (or Tha) means port, in the area of “Ban Wat Ket”(Worawimon Chairat, 2006)

In 1878 to 1897 there were 1,000 trading boats travelling between Bangkok and Chiang Mai in each year. This reflected the role of Wat Ket community as an important trading area in Chiang Mai. Chinese traders also expanded their trading area following migration from China, where early Chinese migrants settled down along both sides of the Ping river,(Pisut) with Chinese architecture left as evidence in the area. They were using the river for their transportation before the Northern train line reached Lam Pang in 1916, and reached Chiang Mai in 1921.

¹ Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Rai, Payao, Prae, Nan and Mae Hong Son.



Figure 17 Scorpion tailed boat from Bangkok to Chiang Mai
Source: National Archives of Thailand reference from History of Lanna (2014)

There is also evidence that Wat Ket community has existed continuously from the period of Burmese control or even earlier, with reports of Wat Ket port usage from that time to Rattanakosin. For example, when King Kaweela (1774–1782) came back from meeting King Rama I in Bangkok, he disembarked at Wat Ket harbor.(Nernhard, 2001) where some parts of the old harbor still survive. Old houses and buildings with ancient architecture remain and are conserved for the next generations to study.



Figure 18 Charoenrat Road (1967) The first Chinese immigrants lived around here. The shop on the right sold record players. The brand was His Master's Voice.
Source: Boomserm Satrabhaya, Chiang Mai in Memories (2011)

In 1774-1782, leading up to the early Rattanakosin period, foreigners increasingly came to settle in the Wat Ket area which came to be multicultural and thereby a multi-religion sector. Most of these were Chinese traders who came by boat. Wat Ket harbor became the important port for trading for a long time, and the home of many foreigner traders.



Figure 19 British Borneo Company. Ltd.
Source: Anu Nuenhad (2013)

After the Thai government signed the Bowring Treaty for trading with Britain in 1855, the British with their Burmese, Shan and Mon agents, were especially occupied in the teak trade.

In 1864, the British Borneo Company. Ltd. ran the teak business in Thailand, buying timber from Burmese, Shan, and Mon who had earlier conducted the business. In 1873, the Thai government agreed to sign the Treaty of Chiang Mai. The first treaty required the timber companies' owners to study the rental contract carefully in order to do forestry.(Forestry, 2013)



Figure 20 137 pillars House (2016)

Source: Em (2016)

In 1883, the Thai government allowed European companies to run the teak timber business in Thailand, while subsequently (after 1885) Burma closed their forests and did not allow anyone to do forestry because of the high deforestation from foreign companies. Wood demand among European countries was increasing, and there were also more foreigner companies coming to invest in the teak timber business in Chiang Mai.(Youth) ; one of these companies was the British Borneo Company who obtained the teak concession. In the present, their building has been renovated, to become the 137 Pillars House Hotel.

One of the most significant events of the country that affected Chiang Mai directly was when the Thai government altered the exercise of authority from region to province. Chiang Mai was already in a colonial status before being reduced to one of Siam's shires, then to become only a Siam province. In early 1906, King Rama VI came to visit Chiang Mai to lay the foundation stone for the first school building at Prince Royal School on 2nd January 1906. After the train line reached Chiang Mai, the Jaruanmoung area was growing rapidly with many warehouse buildings because trains could carry large amounts of goods, and through the railway transportation natural disasters such as flooding or drought were no longer a worry. The impact of this change of transportation was an economic crisis in the Wat Ket area because the traders moved their homes to re-start their businesses on Jaruanmoung Road in Warorot Market, Ton Lam Yai Market, and the Ta Pae area. After that the Nawarat Bridge was built to connect the economic areas on the West bank and the East bank from Jaruanmoung to Ta Pae road.(Charoenmuang, 2006)

During World War II, the Thai government announced support to the Angsa group which was an axis of Japan and Germany; the Thai government banned

foreigners from living in Thailand. The missionaries living in Thailand had to move out of the country around 1942–1946. At that time, the Thai government took over the McCormick Hospital and changed its name to Se Ri Rong Rit Military Hospital to treat soldiers who had been seriously hurt until after the end of World War II. The missionaries delivered the hospital back to the Foundation Council of Churches of Thailand as a trustee in 1949.

The Jansom Bridge was built to replace Tae bridge which had to be renovated every year by Sikh merchants to connect Wat Ket and Kad Loung–Kad Kao Lam Yai; it was named after Mr Jansom's wife who had passed away. Every year, sand would accumulate along the river banks over time; it became new land that no one paid attention to. In 1956, Mr. Kam Lue asked to build his hut on this land to live there. Later on, eight houses were built along the Ping River at the edge of the bridge, at the back of Wat Ket Ka Ram Temple. Shortly after these houses were built, businesses in this area settled from Wat Ket, with villagers there living simply.

1.2.2 The diversity of religions in Wat Ket community.

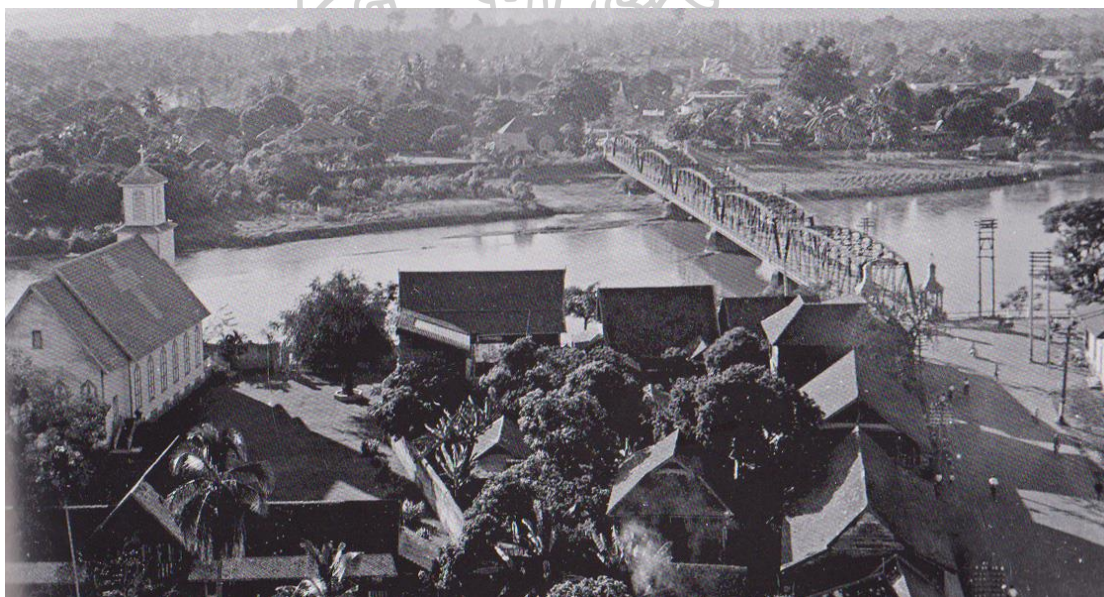


Figure 21 The first church in Chiang Mai (1953)

Source: Boonserm Satrabhaya, *Chiang Mai in Memories* (2011)

Not only were the Europeans involved in trading, there were also missionaries who came to proclaim their religion. One of them was the Protestant Rev. Daniel McGilvary. He came and evaluated this area himself and later on brought his family along with him. On 18 April 1868, the first Church of Christ was established on land which was donated by Kawilorot Suriyawong, the 6th King of the Kaweela Dynasty (Charoenmuang, 2006) to situate the church temporarily; later on a church was built

beside the Ping River bank area and became the Church of The Chiang Mai Christian School. After a surge in the number of members, a new church was built on Jareuanrat Road; there is a museum there displaying the old days of the church history inside.



Figure 22 The first Church of Christ on Jareuanrat road (present)
Source: Em (2016)

The purpose of Christianity is seen as to evangelize, to liberate the people of God from ignorance and sickness by providing education, healthcare and social services. Mrs. Sophia McGilvary who was the Rev. Daniel's wife found that women in Chiang Mai lacked knowledge and lacked opportunity to get education, that there were no schools for women at all. She started to build a school for girls in 1875, taking girls to learn the Thai language, sewing, to study the Bible, how to take care of their own homes. The school later became Dara Academy in 1878. At present Dara Academy is one of the most famous private schools in Chiang Mai. The school produced a good quality of students in the old days. In March 1887, a school exclusive for boys was established by Professor David Gormley Collins from the American Presbyterian mission. The school's location was at the West of Ping River in Ban Wang Sing Kam called "Chiang Mai Boys' School", also known as Wang Sing Kam Boys' School.(College, 2015) Professor William Heriss improved the school and it became well-known but, with its limited space, the school was moved to the eastern bank of the Ping River and received the blessing of His Majesty King Rama VI. He came to lay the foundation stone of the Butler building on 2nd January 1906, and re-named the school "The Prince Royal's College". Presently, the school has become one of the most famous private schools in Chiang Mai, producing good quality students in the academic area.



Figure 23 McCormick Hospital
Source: Em(2016)

Not only did the Protestant missionaries establish a school, they also founded a small hospital to take care the people of Chiang Mai as well. They started by giving medical services and medicines that they brought with them to take care of patients and they educated the people about health care. Later on, there were doctors that came to work in the hospital, at the same time as Dr. McGilvary opened a pharmacy which was very popular at that time. In 1887, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America gave 10,000 USD to build a hospital located at the Chiang Mai Red Cross called the American Mission Hospital. In 1925, the hospital received a donation to buy land and build a new hospital at Kaew Nawarat Road, Tambon Wat Ket, and named a new hospital as McCormick Hospital by following the family name of Mrs. Cyrus McCormick, the main donor.

Professor Daniel McGilvary told funny stories about the locals during his travels, such as stories of people talking about how they wanted to see a white woman who came along with her child. The most favorite time of the locals was meal time because they would like to see how people from the west have their meals and what they eat. Their family hardly ever had a private mealtime because no one left them alone. People always talked about them not sitting down on the floor while eating, or using hands as utensils for eating. The advantage of local people being with them at these times was that they were able to talk to them about religion.

During the earlier days, they worked in correspondence with new medical theories. The significant diseases were chronic Malaria, Goiter, and Small Pox. The medications from missionaries for these diseases were not successfully recognized unlike the other medications because they did not get any support from the local government. As in a report on 14th September 1868, King Kaweela Suriyawong sentenced Nan Chai and Noi Suriya, two of the seven Christians in Chiang Mai at that time, to be executed for abandoning their religion and going against him, which had to

be punished. The people feared this too much so that no one dared to believe in Christ again until about 1869. Praya Tepworachun, the advisor to the government of King Rama V, issued a royal decree that “Anyone who would like to believe in any religion is his or her freedom” and in 1870, after King Kawela Suriyawong passed away, there were many people who turned to believe in Christ once again.

Buddhism

History, significance, value and identity.

Wat Ket was built in 1428 during the era of King Sam Fung Ken (1411 – 1442), the father of King Ti Lok Ka Rat, receiving the Wisuoncamsemar in 1438 under Maha Nikai.

Wat Ket has a stone inscription at the south porch of the temple, written in FakKham letters on red sandstone, 58 cm high, 176 cm wide and 21 cm thick. The front part is discolored and only some of the stone inscription at the back can now be read. There was a theory of a big earthquake (5.0–5.9 on the Richter scale) that hit Chiang Mai and could have destroyed the top of Jedi Loung pagoda in 1545.

Myanmar dominated Chiang Mai in this era, imposing regulations and policy on local people to follow their local traditions. At Wat Ket, the Pagoda’s building was still using Lanna style art. However, some influence from Burmese tradition was adapted by the Lanna people such as culinary traditions and decorations of Singha at the temple’s gate. Wat Ket was a temple built before the coming of the Burmese; it is also a significant temple. Thus, this temple does not have the singha at the temple’s gate, but one at the back gate of the temple was installed later in 1999.



Figure 24 Pra That Ket Kaew Chulamani pagoda
Source: Em (2016)

The main pagoda or Wat Ket Pagoda is a huge sanctuary with the base 82 meters long, 63 meters wide, including four side-attendant pagodas. Originally a tiered-umbrella at Wat Ket temple was similar to Wat Prathat Doi Suthep, but recently the evidence of the similarities has disappeared. The elders said that in the past they used to see a relic come out to the south to visit Pra That Jom Thong, with its characteristic dark green light, and cold as in the forest atmosphere. This relic was a representation of virtual glass Chulamani from heaven, down on earth. So, the building was constructed at some slight angle at the top of the relic's head. It was believed that the head is facing upward to the Chulamani heaven, and originally this relic was silver and was just painted in gold a few years ago by Pra Kru Yanalangkarn when he was in charge as the headman.

Further, there is an ancient belief that the soul of a human who was born in this world would after death stay at any pagoda following their zodiac and, when living on the earth, if they had a chance to pray to the relics following their zodiac, there could be merit for a longer life. Wat Ket is a place for the year of the dog, representative of Pra That Ket Keaw Chulamani in heaven.

The present sanctuary was built in the Rattanakosin period; there are nine layers constructed with brick, and two pillars for supporting the gable roof and another two pillars outside the room for supporting three layers of roof wings on the east-west side. The tops of the pillars are decorated with Angwa glass with gold paint. There are three entrances to the building. Its roof is a five layer triangle (called Zodianna) on two sides, and an ubosot similar to a temple style but smaller in shape.

In 1774, Chiang Mai was freed from Burma; the city was at peace until the migration of traders who came to settle down in the Wat Ket area. The early comers were Chinese traders that brought Chinese architecture and combined this together with Lanna style on the Salabath building, a 100 year old building with internal murals in Chinese style, with pheasant, peony, lotus, pine and scenes all in Chinese impressions.

In the old days, there was a large hall in the east of the temple; the interior was decorated with an elegant dragon. Later on, it was destroyed to build a Wat Ket Ka Ram School building. The people named this hall as Jek Oui Hall, because Mr. Leaw Neow Oop, the ancestor of the Leaw Young Ngyon family, had built it.



Figure 25 The Salabath building
Source: Em (2016)

The Salabath building provided an inspiration for conservation in the Wat Ket area in 1999. The building is a mixture of Chinese and Lanna styles, decorated with a Chinese mural painted in powder color. The local people, with Worawimon Chairat as leader, started to renovate this hall by studying how to implement a conservation program and consulted with architecture conservation experts such as the Department of Fine Arts and many well-known local technicians to preserve as much as possible as in olden days.



Figure 26 Prapariyattitham Wat Ket School building.

Source: Em (2016)

The head monk's building is big, decorated with lace and shaped timber at the rear gable. At the back is a Chinese style building, the front decorated by an airy slat, renovated by Mr. Ton Cheu Pang around 100 years ago.

The building of Prapariyatitham Wat Ket is an example of applied Lanna art; there are two side stairs facing each other. On the gable roof decorated with shaped timber, the lathes gable has beautiful carving, while the building is made of wood with cement pillars. It was built by Mr. Jean Inn and his wife, Mrs. Jib, in 1919. This

building is very beautiful and compact, so the Somdet Phra Nyanasamvara Somdet Phra Sangharaj Wat Bovoranives Vihara replicated this building at the temple.

One of the characteristics of Wat Ket is a bone ash pagoda called Ku in Lanna, which means a pagoda that keeps their ancestors' bones around the relics in an array of exquisite art. This bone ash from a specific layman will be honored by installation at Ku around the relics, as their family still has a good relationship with the temple.(Worawimon Chairat)



Figure 27 Local museum building
Source: Em (2016)

There is also a famous museum of the Wat Ket community, established by the local people who were faithful in the temple and helped to create this place, by using the abbot's residence to become the museum. The museum displays antiques both from the temple's artifacts and donations from individuals such as pictures of old Chiang Mai with sequencing of events, appliances, textiles, old books, ancient texts, etc. The museum is open to visitors daily without entrance fee.

Mr. Somwang has lived in this area for a long time; he volunteers to take care of the museum including educating visitors who come to visit the museum. He oversees all the important duties for the museum. Every artifact in this museum has its detail, and he is the one who explains the value to the visitors: "It is my job to transmit this knowledge to the next generation," he explained.(Ritthidate, 2015)

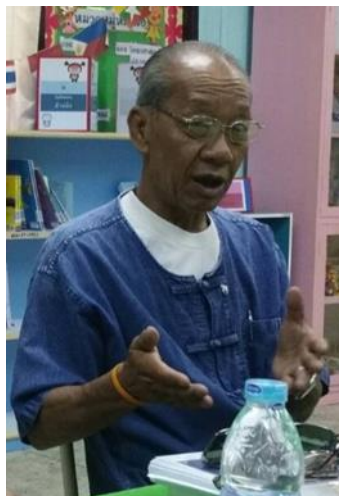


Figure 28 Mr. Somwang Ritthidate
Source: Em (2016)

Wat Ket community has been settled there since the early Rattanakosin era, as observed earlier, around the time when King Kaweela retrieved his town. In the present time, Wat Ket is the center of the community and is setting up a group for the conservation and restoration of the tangible cultural heritage such as the renovation of the Salabath building and other buildings and also for the restoration of the intangible cultural heritage such as culinary traditions, banana leaves creation, traditional dessert making. This extensive work of the group led to the award of Outstanding Conservation Prize for indigenous communities in 2005 from The Association of Siamese Architects under Royal Patronage.

Mr. Boonyuen Dongsri, 97 years old, said that when he was young, Wat Ket was flourishing, revealed from a beautiful and expensive bowl that did not exist in other temples, while Wat Ket School was recognized as the best school in Chiang Mai.(B. Dongsri, 2016)

Islam



Figure 29 Mosque Attaqwa
Source: Em (2016)

On the east side of Wat Ket is the mosque in the Attaqwa area at the back of a department store (Borneo department store). The Muslim population mostly live in this area, most of them descended from Yunnan, China. The Muslim community who settled down in Chiang Mai are actually in two groups; Muslims of Pakistani-Indian descent who migrated from the east of India, and Muslims from Yunnan, China, by travelling through Myanmar to the north of Thailand. Muslims in the Wat Ket Temple area together set up the Jit Pak Dee School named from the Attaqwa Mosque which means respect to God and signifying that God is at the center of the Islam academic tradition; this was the first school teaching Islam in the north.(Charoenmuang, 2006)

Before that time, the area around Jit Pak Dee School had a diversity of cultures and nationalities, not unlike slums and places that had no discipline. There were warehouses and liquor shops in every street around the community, unlike a Muslim community. Muslims are in tight-knit families. Marriage across ethnic groups occurs among Muslims. The Pakistani-Indians in this area used to be under the control of the British and traveled along with their British bosses for working, while another group was from immigration. Their relationships with other Muslims occurred easily through their traditional, religious ceremonies. There was an Indian religious teacher named Ustasmulze who married a Thai woman. He taught Islam at their house but most Muslims sent their children to study Islam as a compulsory class at Ban Ho mosque.

At that time, Ban Ho Mosque was a religious study center for Islam in Chiang Mai. Mosque Attaqwa was the center of their “heart and soul”. The population was around 443 persons in about 98 families (according to the mosque registration book 2005).



Figure 30 Mr. Chumpon Srisombat
Source: Em (2016)

The construction of a mosque started with Mr. Yong Fuanun, founder of Fuanan Co. Ltd, who migrated from China. He gathered and purchased the land in

this area from Mr. Ben who was a high spiritual elder. Mr. Ben sold the land at the original price even as a long-term deposit progressed. Mr. Yong got financial support from his colleagues nearby. The construction began in 1967, was completed in 1969 and formally opened on 18 January 1970. Since then, the Attaqwa mosque is one of the most important religious landmarks of Muslims in Chiang Mai.(Attaqwa, 2007)

Muslims in Wat Ket area are from several races, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Chinese Muslims and Thais who believe in Islam. The mosque manages to take care of every family in its operation such as through the commonwealth fund for supporting members who are sick or have died. The mosque also binds its members by using doctrines that focus on lifestyle management. For example, when the Muslim community in Wat Ket had to buy the land to build the mosque and school, a cost amounting to 18 million baht and another 20 million for building construction, they received help from the community and donations from other organizations. They were able to raise enough money in a short time to purchase the land and later for construction for the building.(Srisombat, 2016)

“The Attaqwa commonwealth fund is the sedekah fund with the purpose of helping each other in the community. This is an alternative way to use their love, and unity to create, share and gather a common benefit from the community members. This doesn't occur by chance or through support from another organization, but it comes from their unity in helping each other to solve their problems. It is not by individual living with less care and sacrifice, nor simply by belief in and respect for our god. But if we are supporting each other it would reduce the social gap between people in society which challenges the leaders to manage this issue. We believe that this welfare would serve as a system to conduct the community to have a good relationship among ourselves with a solid love, pride, and happiness.”(Srisombat, 2011a)

Sikh

The Sikhs existed here around five centuries ago with an interesting history. Their religion worships God and refuses to hold to a social order. They do not allow believers to starve, torture their body, or escape society. They have to be truthful to earn money for themselves and also they have to support the society with a holy man, or priest. The prophet taught believers that a good or bad human does not depend on their wealth or environment, but only on their karma. A human in any situation or status that does a good thing can be a gentle man, but when he does a bad thing he would deserve bad things without exception. The god denies wicked practices such as belief in stars, worship in the form of a living sacrifice and so on.(Woravimon Chairat, 2006a)

The Sikh community thrived with their textile businesses at Ban Mor in the King Rama V period. The first Sikh who migrated to Thailand was an Indian from Punjab (Southeast of India). His business grew gradually so he invited his relatives to settle down in Thailand and to start practicing their Sikh religion.

Not only does Wat Ket display a diversity of religions, it is also a harmonious blend of a variety of races such as local Thai Lanna (Tai Yuan), Thai, Teochew Chinese, Khmu, Indian, Yunnan Chinese and recently there are many tribes such as Karen Akha, Lahu, San and Burmese that came into Chiang Mai as laborers.



Figure 31 Sri Guru Singh Sabha Temple, next to the Wat Ket entrance door, an eloquent symbol of religious intersection and tolerance.
Source: Em (2016)

1.2.3 The important schools in Wat Ket community.

- Wat Ket Ka Ram School

The school for children in WatKet area began in 1927 when Prakru Pariyattianuruk (Sudjai) together with Prakru Chai Srimimon (Moungjai) had a vision on the advantages of education. He allowed use of the temple hall for teaching to children around the temple's area. Later on, there was an increase in the number of students so additional school buildings were constructed in the southeast part of the temple. The local municipality took responsibility for the school afterwards. Previously, Wat Ket school was one of the best in the municipality. Many students were on the top list in the country's ranking score.(B. Dounsri, 2016)

- Prince Royal College (Boys' School)

Prince Royal College was the first western-style boys' school in Lanna. It was founded on 19 March 1887 by Rev. David Ghormley Colins, an American Presbyterian missionary. The school is located at the west of the Ping River. It was called Ban Wang Sing Kham Chiang Mai Boy's School, also known as Wang Sing Kham Boy's School. The Lanna language was mainly used in the school for teaching activities together with bible study at the same time. The first school teachers were Mr. Oh, Mr.Boonta, Mr.Dang, and Mr. Noiprom.

In 1899, Mr. Colins resigned from the school to open the American Mission Press. So in 1896, Rev.Dr. William Harris, the assistant principal, took over. He developed the school into a more acceptable school in the community. Due to limitations of school space, the school was moved to the east side of the Ping River. The school received honor from his Majesty King Rama VI who laid the foundation stone of the Butler building on 2 January 1906 and gave a new school name, "The Prince Royal's College". He also bequeathed his colors, blue and white, as the school's official colors.

Professor Harris developed the premises to go with their teaching and learning styles. In 1912, the Thai language was used instead of Lanna to fulfill the national trend, and English was emphatically taught to the students to have the ability to read and speak English. Moreover, he also encouraged and supported the teachers to get the higher education certification, until the school was approved as comparable to a public school in 1921. In addition, Dr. Harris's wife, Cornilla, was also one of the most important people playing a role in helping establish and develop the school's Alumni Association, on 8 July 1926. After Rev. Dr. Harris retired in 1939, Dr. Kenneth Elmer Wells was promoted as the principal. During World War II (1941-1945), the school was under the Thai government who used the school to conduct a high school program called "preparatory school". After the end of World War II, Dr. Kenneth Elmer Wells took the school back from the government. He took the position of the school manager and Mr. Mouak Chailungkarn became the principal. Over time, the school had improved their school buildings and education. Dr. Konrad Leopold Kingshill started the secondary education department in 1956 that marked the launch of the co-educational classes of the Prince Royal's College.

On 25 January 1927, King Prajadhipok visited the Prince Royal's College. Later, on 5 January 1928, Somdech Phra Phan Vasa Ayika Chao, the queen's grandmother, presided at the opening ceremony of Power Hall building and on 8 March 1958, King Bhumibol, Rama IX and Queen Sirikit also visited the school; there also were many senior officials both Thai and foreigner who have visited the school.

On 2 January 1986, Princess Bejaratana Rajasuda supervised to plant the foundation stone of Phetcharat Suwatana building. In 1957, female students had been accepted only for high school. Nowadays, however, the Prince Royal's College is opened for males and females from kindergarten to high school.(College, 2015)

Harris museum

Harris house was built in 1945; originally it was Dr. William Harris' house and the director's building. Later, it was for music and orchestra rehearsals until 1980. In that year, it caught on fire and was damaged. The school built the new house at the same place with traditional architecture in all respects. The house had a grand opening ceremony on 13 August 1993. This building was awarded the Outstanding Architecture prize from the Association of Siamese Architects in 1996.



Figure 32 School Museum, The Prince Royal's College
Source: Em (2016)

In 1997, the school established the museum as a learning center for their students. The important historical evidence of Harris house was shown in pictures, depicting various events in the old days. There were up to 500 pictures, including a daily record of missionary predecessors in the museum.

According to Mr. Boonyuen, “Procrastination is the thief of time”. Mr. Boonyuen, who is one of the school’s early alumni and was born in this area, said that the school always taught their students through these proverbs. He is now 97 years old. He said that, at that time, students only paid half of the tuition fee with the remainder covered with cleaning the classroom for encouraging their discipline and literacy. (Mr. Boonyuen speaks English with a native accent.)(B. Dongsri, 2016)



Figure 33 Mr. Boonyuen Dongsri
Source: Em(2016)



Figure 34 Mr. Pong Tananon
Source: Em(2016)

Mr. Pong Tananon gave a speech on the change in land usage in Wat Ket area on 24 March 2016, when he was the Prince Royal College principal. They did not allow cutting trees for additional buildings because trees in the school were growing and living together with the school. In the past, foreigners grew trees to use for shade in the next generation, but the Thai people cut them. For example, at the side Jaruanmoung Road, there were rain trees along the road, but they do not exist anymore. As you can see, inside the school is like an oasis in Chiang Mai. The change in land usage from the past to the present was uncontrollable and it was impossible to

keep it thus all the time. “The new generation doesn’t want to inherit anything as the original but we have to accept the change that is better than have it change to someone else”(Tananon, 2016)

- Dara Academy (Girl’s School)

The American Presbyterian Mission sent missionaries to evangelize in 1840, starting in Bangkok and expanding into other regions of Thailand. It started in the Petchaburi region. In 1867, Rev. Dr. MacGilvary and his wife, Sophia Bradley McGilvary, started to bring girls to be taught the Thai language, sewing, Bible study, how to take care of their houses, because she noticed that women in Chiang Mai were lacking the knowledge and the opportunity to receive an education because there was no school for women. By 1879, the Mission sent Miss Edna Sarah Cole and Miss Mary Margareta Campbell to take responsibility for managing the Chiang Mai Girls’ School that Mrs. McGilvary formally founded on 2 November 1909. Princess Dararatsamee came to visit the school and the school committee requested for a school name on 5 November 1909. The Princess sent a telegraph to King Rama V to discuss the name of the Girls’ school; the King replied by telegraph back on 6 November 1909 that the school should be named “Praratchaya School or College”. So, the school was named in Thai as “Praratchaya”.

Further, in 1918 the government issued the first private school regulation of Thailand. At that time, the school manager and principal was Miss Julia A. Hatch, who made a request to the Minister of Justice to “maintain” Prachaya school which was a private school that was founded by the mission before the issuing of the private school regulation in 1918. The school educated girl students, located in Ban San Pa-Koi, Tambon Sraket (Wat Ket at the present), the east side (back of the school) connected to Loung Padungmathakit House, the west side (front of the school) connected to Jareunrat Road, the north side connected to Dr. McCamber, and the south connected to San Kam Pang Road (Jaruanmoung Road). It was open for girls from 5–20 years old, both for boarding and non-boarding.

On 5 February 1924, Miss Julia A. Hatch, the manager, issued the letter to the Minister of Education for permission to change the school’s name from Praratchaya School to Dara Academy Primary School. The Minister of Education acknowledged the letter on 25 April 1924 and announced the education law on 1 July 1924. Meanwhile, Miss Julia A. Hatch issued another letter to open another school named Dara Academy. She became the school manager and Miss Lucy Niblock became the principal. The school was located at Moo 1 Tambon Wat Sa Ket, Moung, Chiang Mai. The south side was connected to rice fields, the north to the Kaew Na Wa Rat Road, the east to a local house and the west to the American Hospital. The new school is

about 1 kilometer further from the old one and was open for girls only. The Ministry of Education acknowledged the school on 19 June 1924 and announced the education law on 24 June 1924. The work of an American Presbyterian Mission in Chiang Mai had started from the Ping River's banks. Their house was settled on land near the Ping River in the east that was given by King Kaviorot (the first Church of Chiang Mai today) and the Mission Hospital was on the Ping River's south bank (Red Cross 3 today). The Boys' School was also on the Ping River in the west not far from Chiang Mai municipality in the present. They built a new girls' school on the east side of the Keaw Na Wa Rat road.

By 1941, Dara Academy was accredited by the Ministry of Education. During World War II, the schools were taken over by the Thai government and later used as the dormitory for teachers and students of the prep school.

In August 1945, the war ended with Japan's surrender, and the missionaries came back to Thailand. The board of the Mission authorized Dr. Kenneth E. Wells to take back the school and hospital from the government. Schools reopened and operated until 1968 when the primary school was closed and only the Dara Academy has been maintained until now. This was a Girls' School for a long time until 1990, when the school asked for the permission of the Church of Christ in Thailand to operate under a coeducation system. This was approved, to open in 1991 starting from one level to the next.

Schools In the Present

Dara Academy is currently the largest school and with the largest number of students of the Church of Christ foundation in Thailand. There are 6,732 students, 437 teachers, and 134 officers. Located on 77.5 Rai, they offer levels from kindergarten, elementary levels, primary levels and high school levels.(Academy)



Figure 35 Dara Academy School building
Source: Em (2016)

1.2.4 Houses and other buildings

The increase in Chinese traders from the Rattanakosin era continued for over a 100 years (since 1874). There were more Chinese traders who migrated by boat from Bangkok to Chiang Mai and Lanna. The Ping River became an important transportation route for cargo, also timber to Bangkok and thence by ship to Europe. Wat Ket Harbor was the main and the most important economic area in that period. The beautiful houses and buildings that are left there today are the expressions of the economy in that period.

Most of the house owners from that period stayed and did not sell their properties so that they were able to keep the traditional architectural designs from the old days. This area is rich in historical influence through beautiful architecture that has won an award from HRH Princess Sirindhorn as the outstanding local community for art and architecture in 2005.

“Previously we didn’t pay any attention on the importance of archaeological sites and artifacts as we should. We removed and destroyed just to facilitate our life until left with only a few things for the next generation to study. For Chiang Mai development, we should pay attention and be concerned about our history together with the civilization in the concept of both maintaining and developing”(group, 2009)

The following map indicates the old buildings around the community including religious places, schools and other old buildings in Wat ket community. The important places are as follows:

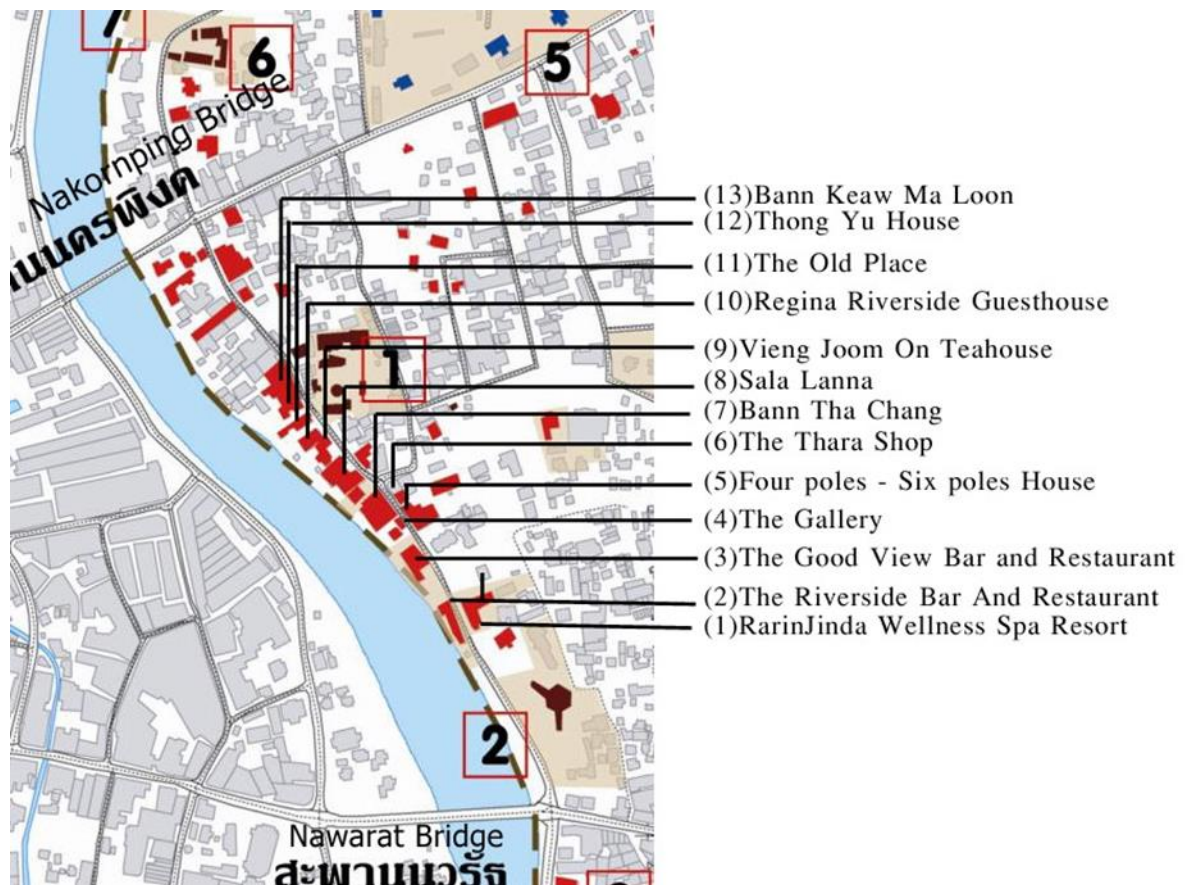


Figure 36 Map of old buildings in Wat Ket Area

Source: Woravimon Chairat: Given Data (2016) Edited: Em (2016)

(1) Rarin Jinda Wellness Spa Resort

When Dr. Jinda Sing Nate met Mr. and Mrs. McGilvary, he converted to Christianity and had received support from the Mission since his youth. After he graduated at the preliminary level, he got support from Dr. Edward Charles Cort who was a McCormick doctor and science teacher at the Prince Royal's College and who got him a job at the McCormick hospital to practice his medical skills. After that, he enrolled as one of the first batch of medical students and eventually passed the exam to be a medical professional. He then worked at the hospital until he continued his study in Beijing, China. While he was doing his thesis during World War II, he was detained as a prisoner and, when he had the opportunity, he escaped and came back to Chiang Mai and once again worked in the hospital. During the War, the government took over the hospital and made it a military hospital and changed its name to Se Re

Ruang Rit Hospital. He was forced to change his belief to Buddhism and because of that he resigned from the hospital and opened his own private practice. At first, he rented a house from Loung Sri Prakat, which was on the southern bank of the Ping River at the Na Wa Rat Bridge. Later on, his clinic became the Jinda Singanate Hospital in the Wat Ket area which locals call Doctor Jinda Hospital.(Neunhad, 2013) The building's architecture is of teak and combines Myanmar, Lanna and colonial styles. It has a double roof layer, on two connecting buildings with high ceilings. The front building had stairs at the front door, later removed and replaced with stairs at the center of the house instead. The house is over 130 years old.(Woravimon Chairat, 2006a) Dr Jinda died of colon cancer in mid 1985.



Figure 37 Rarin Jinda Wellness Spa & Onsen Resort, Chiang Mai
Source: Rarin Jinda Wellness Spa Resort Brochures (2016)



Figure 38 The free postcard representation for the Architectural Conservation Award 2007, from The Association of Siamese Architects Under Royal Patronage (ASA)
Source: RarinJinda Wellness Spa Resort Postcard(2016)

The building was renovated by his children, Ms. Ratchadaporn Singhanate and Ms. Kwannate Singhanate and Doctor Boonruem Singhanate. They also opened the old house as a restaurant and hostel with 14 rooms because they did not want to leave this house in ruins, and named it Le Pont. Subsequently, it was changed into a 5-star boutique resort in the heart of Chiang Mai with 35 rooms.

In the new building, the architectural design emphasizes the old wood building together with the landscape architecture that focuses on nature, side by side. Rarin Jinda got an award for “Outstanding Architecture Conservative of a Commercial Building” from the committee of The Association of Siamese Architects under Royal Patronage in 2007, and The Outstanding Commercial Architecture building from The Lanna Architectural Committee, The Association of Siamese Architects under Royal Patronage in 2007, on conservation of historical buildings and traditional culture in Chiang Mai.(Bangkokbiznews, 2000) Inside the building are displays of the building’s history to understand the reasons for conservation of this building.

(2) The Riverside 2 Restaurant.

Next to Doctor Jinda hospital (Rarin Jinda in the present) on the north side was a restaurant owned by Mrs. Rabieb Mung Kalaprug (her name before marriage was Pongpipat), Nowadays, it is called Riverside 2 Restaurant; opposite is Riverside 1 Restaurant (next to the Ping River bank).



Figure 39 The Riverside 1 restaurant, the old one before being renovated.
Source: -



Figure 40 The Riverside 1 restaurant in the present.
Source: Em (2016)

The owner of the business of The Riverside Bar and Restaurant is Mr. Nirun Kittikun. The restaurant was a wooden house with three commercial buildings owned by Mr. Narong Singhatraipob. He rented one building for running Riverside Restaurant; later the business expanded, so he rented all three buildings. Furthermore, he rented the land on the opposite side from the restaurant to run The Riverside 2 restaurant.

(3) The Good View Bar and Restaurant.

The Good View Bar and Restaurant is next to The Riverside 1 restaurant to the north. On the southern side of the road on the Ping River bank is The Good View Restaurant and House Number 15 owned by Mr. Boonyu Pongpipat.

The Good View Restaurant has Doungdeun shop owned by Ms. Doungdeun, a high-end hair salon. In the evening, it is converted as a hall for dancing. The house number 15 was the house of Mr. Boonyu, previously used for living but later on converted to a restaurant.



Figure 41 The Riverside 2 restaurant in the present.

Source: Em (2016)

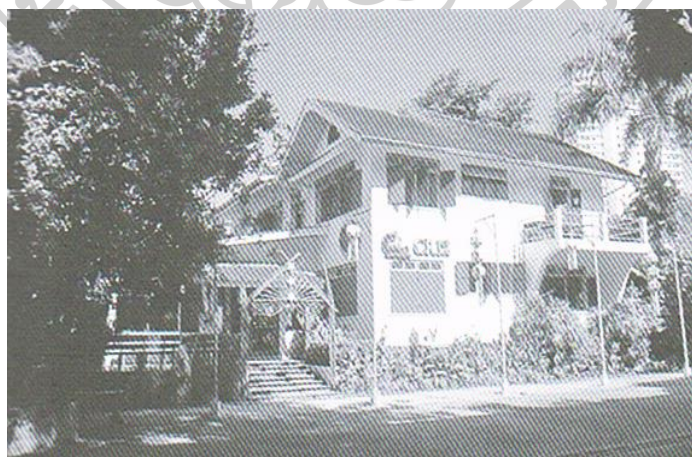


Figure 42 The old Riverside 2.

Source: Anu Nuenhad (2013)

(4) The Gallery.



Figure 43 The Gallery
Source: Em (2015)

The Gallery is on the south side of the road next to the Ping River. The Gallery was built in 1989 by Mr. Neaw-ui Saeleaw who migrated to Chiang Mai to run a business by opening Leawyongnguan Shop. The Chinese characters were carved in wood by a craftsman from China as the shop's sign in front of the building. The construction took a while to finish, especially the stucco on the front wall of the building. It presents as a meticulous craftsman's shop and after they completed this building, they went on to carve the dragon stucco at Wat Ket temple hall. The back of the building demonstrates wood craft in a Lanna style, so that this building is a mixture of Chinese and Lanna influences. At the rear side behind the building was a small jetty for trading in the past. In 1978, Mr Neaw-ui's family moved to live in a new area because this building was too old. Later on, Mr. Surachai Leawsawadpong, his nephew, returned after he graduated from England. He saw that the building was in a dilapidated condition. He has a conservationist mind and really loved this house and was impressed by it. He restored the house in its original design and opened an art gallery and restaurant in 1989. In 1996 he was awarded for outstanding commercial enterprise and he also had a chance to welcome Mrs. Hillary Clinton, the first lady of the United States, to visit in Chiang Mai and have dinner on the occasion of the Loi Kra Tong Festival. (Neunhad, 2013)

(5.) Four Pillars House and Six Pillars House.



Figure 44 Four poles - Six poles House
Source: Em (2015)

On opposite sides of the road were Six Pillars House and Four Pillars House. The Four Pillars House is a two storey house previously owned by a Chinese national who built the house and sold it to Mr. Madang Vibolsanti. It was inherited by Ms. Somhatai Utsahatanon, his grandchild. The Four Pillars House is owned by Ms. Keangkam. Later on, when the train was able to reach Chiang Mai, business in the Wat Ket area flourished and she sold the house to Mr. Madang Vibolsanti. The Six Pillars House was originally the home of Mrs. Boonsom Hangtrakun, the daughter of Mr. Jeanteam, a Chinese doctor and boat trader. The house still has evidence of its past such as the front door frame, stencils scrafted in two places, one is in both Thai and English characters, written as “Seng Hong”. Thus it can be assumed that this is the building owner’s name. (Worawimon Chairat, 2006) The Six Pillars House was awarded as a large composition in the city on 14 March 1997 by the Association of Siamese Architects under Royal Patronage by the Lanna Architecture Committee.



Figure 45 The Thara Shop (left), Bann Tha Chang (right)
Source: Em (2015)

(6) The Thara Shop

Next after the Four Pillars House and Six Pillars House is the Thara shop. It is a one-storey commercial building with several units for rent. Chinese people are mostly their tenants, who trade at the Ton Lam Yai Market and Waroros Market. The landlord was Mr. Uui Saeleaw (the owner of the gallery shop), who was a wealthy man in Chiang Mai at that time. It was inherited by Mr. Kwang, his son, who founded the Tara Company. They are an authorized dealer of Isuzu, which expanded to eight branches in the North.

(7) Bann Tha Chang

Next to the gallery shop on the opposite side is Kwang-Ear Shop or Baan Tha Chang. It was a retail shop of Mr. Seng-Hok Saenim, a descendant of the Nimanon family, who migrated from China and opened a cotton textile business. Later on, his eldest son inherited his business and passed it on to his grandchild. Mr. Surachai Leawsawadipong rented this shop as a restaurant. The Baan Tha Chang connects to the Ping River. The house is one-storey wood building with a clay tile roof; the front of the building is half cement and half wood and is believed to be over 100 years old. It was named Baan Tha Chang because it was located next to the elephant bathing area which was called Tha Chang in Thai.

(8) Sala Lanna



Figure 46 Sala Lanna
Source: Em (2016)

A few metres from Kwang-Ear shop was the Tha Chang by the Ping River, next to it was Lang-Houd house. The land was owned by Doctor Jinda and it used to be a barn to store rice and a two-storey house was built here. On the north is where Sala Lanna is located. In the past it belonged to Ms. Tamon, comprising three commercial units for rent in the front and three more were built at the back. Later on, it belonged to the Centara Company. (Nuenhad, 2006)

(9) Vieng Joom On Teahouse

Next to Sala Lanna is Vieng Joom On Teahouse; in the past it belonged to Ms. Noi who migrated from Lamphun, then she sold it to a doctor who ran a tea business. Joom On means pink color. The owner was inspired to paint the town in pink like a city filled with love.



Figure 47 ViengJoom On Teahouse
Source: Em (2016)

(10) Regina Riverside Guesthouse



Figure 48 Regina Riverside Guesthouse.
Source: Em (2016)

Next to Vieng Joom On is the Regina Riverside Guesthouse, owned by Ms. Bougee and Mr. Kee. They built this two-storey house in 1886 to live there. Mr. Kee loved the river and his boat, which he used for his trading business between Bangkok and Chiang Mai. His boat was white and painted in wooden color inside. Nowadays, the building has been developed as Regina Riverside Guesthouse.

Next to it is Prayoon Kan Ka Building which is a house made of wood similar to Regina Riverside Guesthouse, but in the past it was in a squalid condition. It was renovated as a four-storey building to become the most modern building at that time.

(11) The Old Place, or The House Number 89



Figure 49 The Old Place
Source: Em (2014)

Originally belonged to Mr. Jean-Inn and Mrs. Jeeb, the couple who built Nak Tham Wat Sa Ket School building, Pae-Inn. He migrated from China and came to trade in the Wat Ket area. The ownership was then transferred to the Royal Duri family (an Indian family) and is presently owned by Mr. Arj Chaochan. It is now a coffee shop and gallery.

(12) Thong Yu House



Figure 50 Thong Yu House

Source: Em (2014)

Next from the House Number 89 alongside the Jansom bridge is Mr. Thong Yu Triyaporn's House. It is on the opposite side of Wat Ket. This used to be the Tea Yong Chiang Shop. The front is a row house, at the back connecting to the Ping River; their patio was built for boat trading. Later on they changed to other activities and this house was inherited by the next generation.

(13) Bann Keaw Ma Loon



Figure 51 Bann Keaw Ma Loon

Source: Em (2016)

On the same site but on the north side was Kaew Ma Loon-Tan Tai Sun Lee House. Ms. Loon Jean-Uhh was owner of the old house in this area. The house construction was overseen by Ms. Kaew Ma Loon, who could not read or write, but with her ability to construct the building she was able to finish it. In the past it was a single hall, and later on was divided into four rooms for rent. At present it still belongs to her heirs.

Next to it, at the front of Wat Ket and at the side of Jaruanrat Road, is an old house which was renovated for trading and made into a guesthouse through to the entrance of Wat Ket and the Sri Ku Ru Singha association of the Sikh community.



Figure 52 Houses along Jaruanrat Road.

Source: Em (2014)

These buildings are a part of this community conserved to their traditional functions or else changed in some way that contributes to the current economy. With the recommendation of Miss Wimonrat Chairat to “accept the new things but not abandon the old ones”, the area was awarded the outstanding prize from the Association of Siamese Architects in the category of local community in 2005, presented by HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn on 22 January 2007. (Woravimon Chairat, 2007) Most of the examples mentioned above have been preserved and maintained in their traditional and original styles. A renovated historic building and some new buildings are added for doing businesses. Over 50% of the present owners are descendants of the original owners.. The materials used are compatible with the traditional designs, as the renovations and new buildings were implemented by

architects who studied and designed in a way that valued the importance of the architecture in this unique historical area.

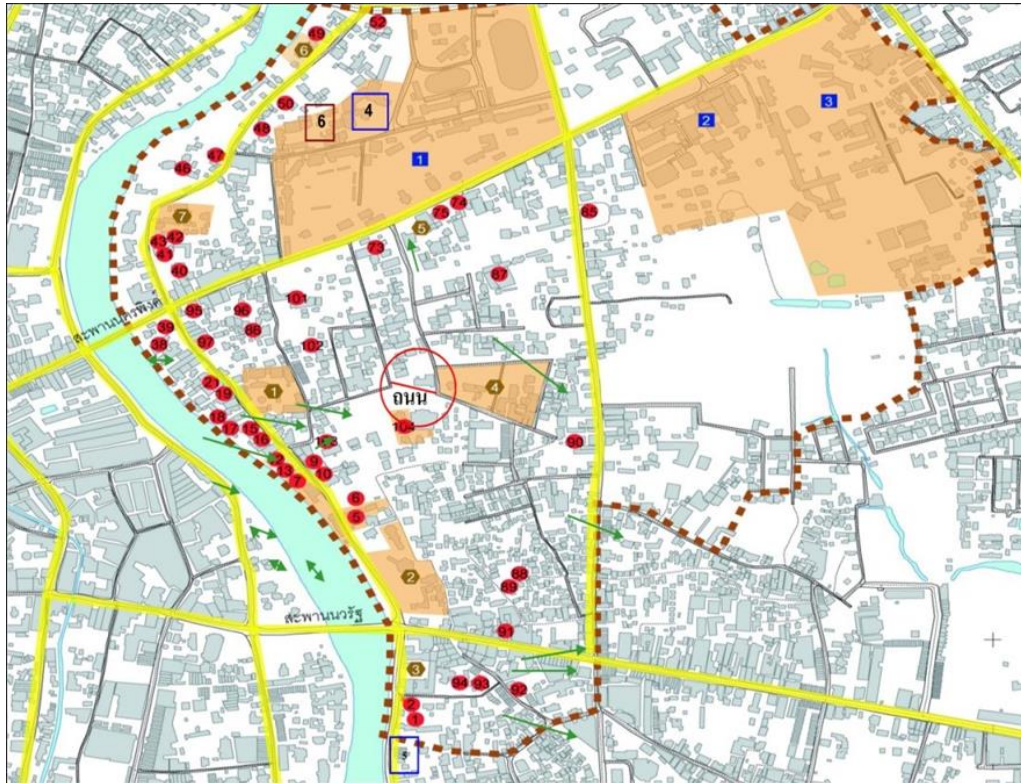


Figure 53 map showing the position of buildings and the area in the Wat Ket community that were awarded the Outstanding Architecture in the local community category in 2005

Source: Woravimon Chairat, interviewee (2016)

1.3 Development of Conservation: The movement to use the land for business and tourism sectors.

In 1997, cultural tourism progressed in the Wat Ket locale, marking a Lanna traditional and cultural conservation event. The event was set up and organized by Ms. Kruamas Woodikarn, Deputy Director of the Center for the Promotion of Art and Culture in Chiang Mai University. She was a leader of the group opposing the building of the cable car to Doi Su Thep. The tour presented the diversity of religions, cultures, traditions and architecture in Wat Ket. (Woravimon Chairat, 2006b) Miss. Woravimon Chairat who is a local villager got the inspiration for this event from local conservation. She is the secretary of the Lanna traditional and cultural event; later she became one of the leaders on community conservation.



Figure 54 Sa La Baht (inside building)
Source: Em (2015)



Figure 55 Sa La Baht building
Source: Em (2015)

Later in 1999, with connections from TAT, Mrs. Woravimon Chairat was promoted as the leader to organize the Lanna cultural and conservation event. In this event, there were many professionals and qualified speakers like Asst. Professor Somchot Ongsakul, Asst. Professor Phongthada Woodikarn and Ms. Kruamas Woodikarn. On that tour, after everyone went into Wat Ket, they saw an old building that used its load-bearing walls to display paintings of Chinese patterns along with swans and peonies painting. The pillars are of beautiful marble. It is a 100 years old building

called “Sa La Baht”. According to additional information from people passing by, it was said that this building was about to be demolished to build a two storey building for the new abbot. The people in the group all agreed to do something to conserve this building. After that, they went to negotiate with the abbot to postpone the demolition and asked for the cooperation of TAT for a meeting to discuss the possibility of renovating the building.

On 27 June 1999, the first forum was held for the resolution by the local people as to whether they needed to renovate or demolish the building. On that day, 170 people joined the discussion including local academics, TAT and municipal representatives. A representative from the Fine Arts Department gave a speech on the importance of Wat Ket together with the temple’s local supporters. The result of the debate was an agreement that they should proceed with the conservation and renovation of the building by traditional construction to its original architectural style. From then, the process of the conservation commenced. The idea of a museum was established by Mr. Jarin Ben (Uncle Jack) and Mr. Somwang Ruithidath (Uncle Hwang). Others members of the community also helped to renovate the old house of the abbot to become the museum.(JongkolDoungsri, 2006) and a learning center to educate people about the history of Wat Ket and Chiang Mai in the past. After Uncle Jack passed away, Uncle Hwang took on responsibility to look after the museum and its activities without anything in return. Furthermore, there was gold leaf attached on the Wat Ket pagoda and relics, and the forest-robe presenting ceremony to renovate the Hall of Justice (Tripitaka Hall) and the theologians’ school building for students at Wat Sa Ket, which is currently used as cells for monks and neophytes.

The cooperation of the community.

In an interview with Ms. Woravimon Chairat, she said that there was a project from the Chiang Mai municipality and TAT that started in late 2001, continuing to early 2002. The big change started from TAT and Chiang Mai municipality; surveying the area in Chiang Mai for a street walk project, they selected the roadside along the Ping River in Wat Ket area for selling handicraft products with a budget of 20 million baht. The people in the Wat Ket community discussed this topic and decided they did not want to join in the project, because they would like to live in peace. The objectives of the project were to stimulate the economy by the expansion of economic possibilities. It was the first time that residents in Wat Ket disagreed and went against the governor. They requested to set up a forum in which local people could get involved, because it would directly impact on their way of living. They questioned the governor about the dealings with public utilities, safety, waste and excrement management, and emergency management. From these requests, the project was revised. “I met my friend from school (Dara Academy) who is the wife of the Chiang Mai governor, I explained the reason and importance to her, and asked if she can speak to the

governor”, Mrs. Woravimon Chairat, one of the people who were involved in the meeting that day, explained. Tha Pae Road was then set for this project instead. This was the first time that the community became involved and changed a government plan. (Woravimon Chairat, 2015)



Figure 56 People in the community are raising their hands against the road. Meeting on the public stage 2, "Can mass transit solve traffic problems?"

Source: Can mass transit solve traffic problems (2009)

Later on, Chiang Mai developed further and road expansions became the main topic. The government planned to widen the road, with the Department of Public Works and Urban Planning given responsibility in this project. A total city plan was created, where road expansion in Chiang Mai municipality would cover around 35 roads included Jaruanrat road.

Wat Ket's villagers have played an important role to fight for their rights in this issue, especially about the urban planning. They presented statements about the impacts from this issue, stating that "The Wat Ket community is an ancient town since Chiang Mai was first developed and where people live". But in the mean time this community was set into the Red Zone of the planning scheme which meant that investors can construct high-rise buildings, blocking out the view of the old community. The villagers expressed a wish to change from the Red Zone into the

Yellow zone (conservation zone) and to have the planning work passed to another officer for the problem to be solved; however, the problem still remained, now deriving from a new project of road construction. With this project, hundreds of old houses and buildings in this community would be demolished; the old houses near the Ping River from Nawarat Bridge to Nakornping Bridge, described above, would be replaced with a 20 meters road along the river instead. The first areas were to be Wat Ket and Fa Ham which made the villagers in these area worry about what will happen next.

Wat Ket Community and Urban Planning in Chiang Mai Province

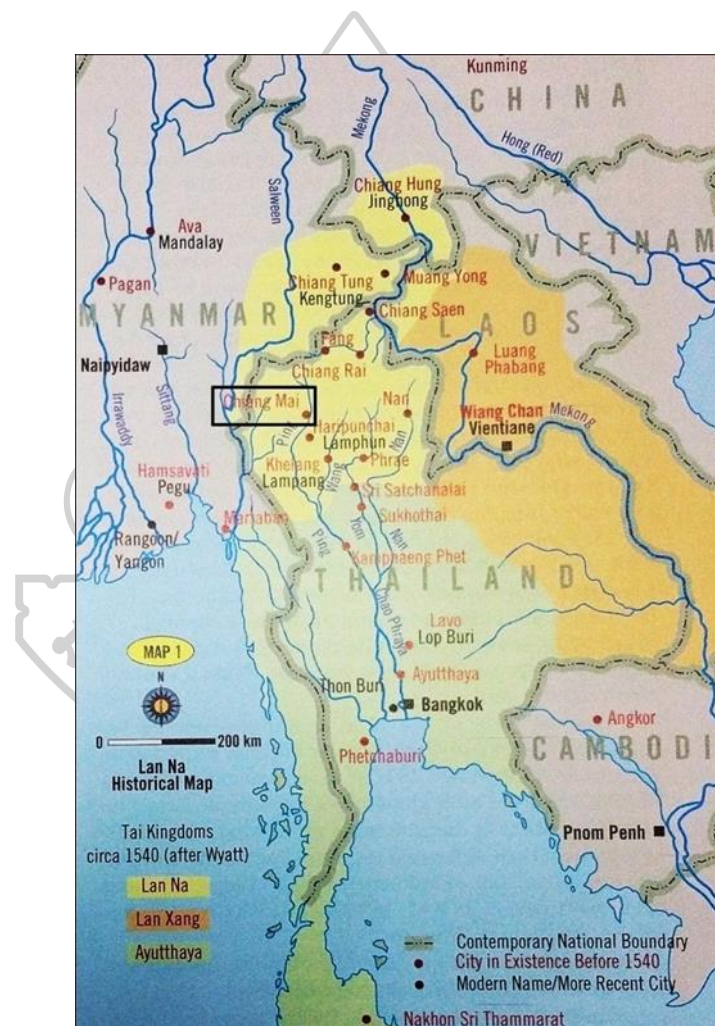


Figure 57 Chiang Mai area map
Source: The Exploring Chiang Mai(1997)

Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, npp.) refers to traditions or living expressions inherited from ancestors and passed on to descendants, such as oral

traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. The importance of Intangible Cultural Heritage is not in the cultural manifestation itself but rather in the wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted from one generation to the next. The social and economic value of this transmission of knowledge is relevant for minority groups and for the mainstream social groups within a state, and is as important for developing states as for developed ones.

The Office of Natural Resources and Environment Policy and Planning in Thailand (N. Usavagovitwong, 2013) refers to the old towns as the physical areas which represent the characteristics of habitats or groupings in the differentiation of each environment, both urban and country. From their beginning to the present, their physical identities such as community structures, characteristics of buildings and the environment around the area together with their traditional and cultural wisdom and local festivals are all built around a natural environment. In this sense, Wat Ket is to be categorized as an old town.

Cultural environment and traditional community conservation

Since the Thai government issued the new urban planning system including Chiang Mai, the landuse department of Chiang Mai province set 49 tambon from 7 districts including San Sai, Me Rim, Doi Sa Ket, San Kam Pang, Sarapee, Hang Dong, and Moung in the new planning area of around 429 square kilometers. They are categorized into 3 zones. The Red Zone is for trading and high-density population, which does not have any regulations for the constructions that may affect the population in the future. A Green Zone is the countryside and agricultural area, where one cannot build any community or business village, while the building height is limited to 12 meters. This area is located at the 3rd ring road including Sarapee, San Kam Pang, San Sai and Doi Sa Ket. The Yellow or Orange Zone is a residential zone.

Although Wat Ket multicultural community was one of the most important trading communities located near the Ping River, nowadays, the value of the trading in this community has reduced from 100 years ago but it still has valuable historical values that should be protected such as old buildings with their old mixture of multi-style architecture. They would be affected from the urban planning by the Chiang Mai Municipality during the road expansion project and new urban planning projects in the city that might change life styles and ruin cultural and architectural heritage. To resolve the city's problems, a plan was devised by the Department of Public Works and Town & Country Planning. The total Chiang Mai Comprehensive Plan is in the 3rd revision that involves around 430 square kilometers; it includes 7 districts and 49 sub-districts of Chiang Mai province. The first plan was initiated in 1965 and projected up to 20 years ahead; however, as observed previously, it had no legal status (Apavatjirut, 2007). The second plan was enforced lawfully and remained valid for 5

years (1984–1989). Between 1989 and 2006 the Department of Public Works and Town & Country Planning revised CMCPs three times. The 1st revision of CMCP was enforced legally and remained valid for 5 years from 1989 to 1994 and, with the 2nd revision, was extended to 1995.

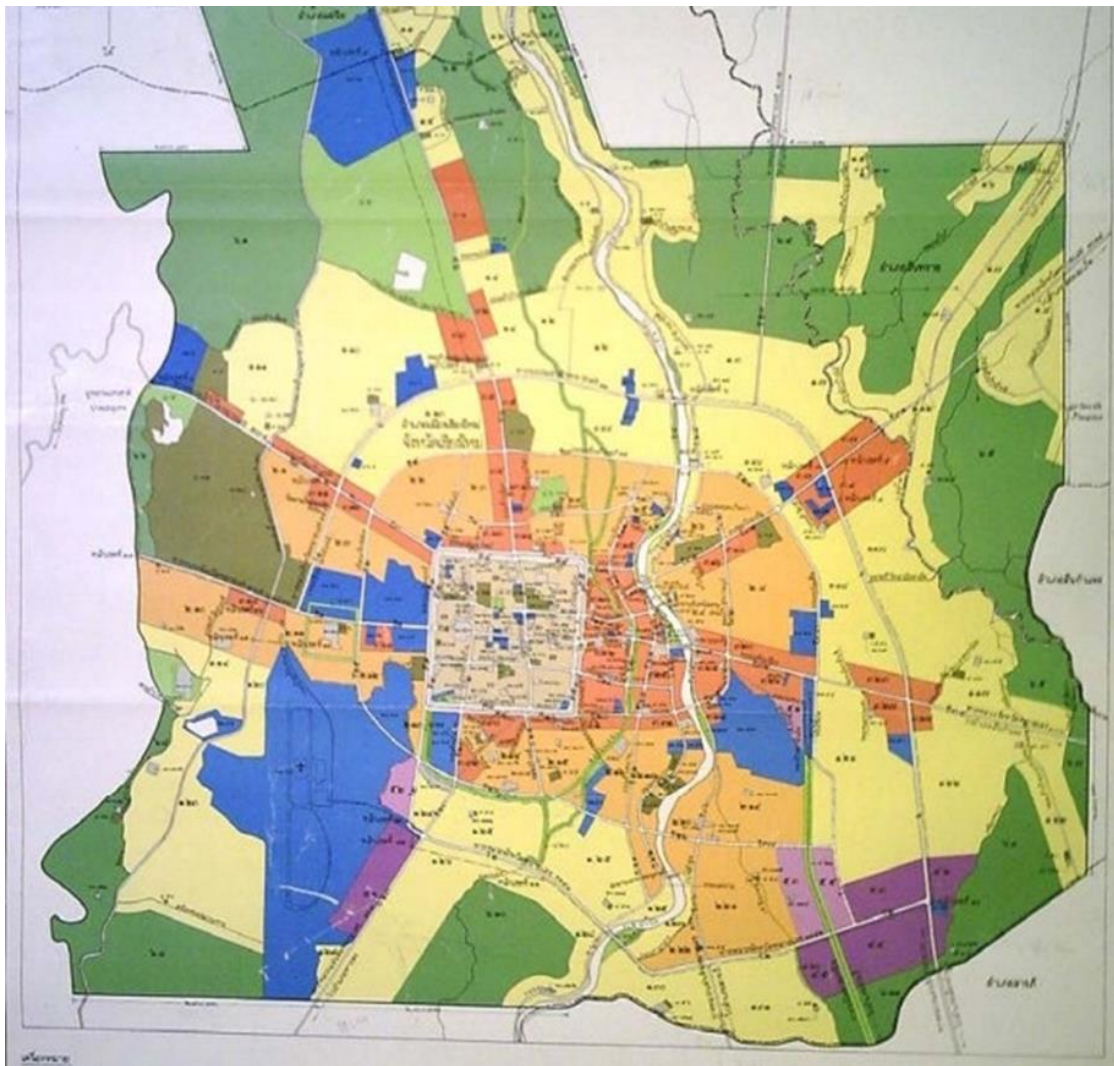


Figure 58 First Chiang Mai Total Comprehensive Plan, used from 1984
Source: The Story of Chiang Mai Urban Planning (2015)

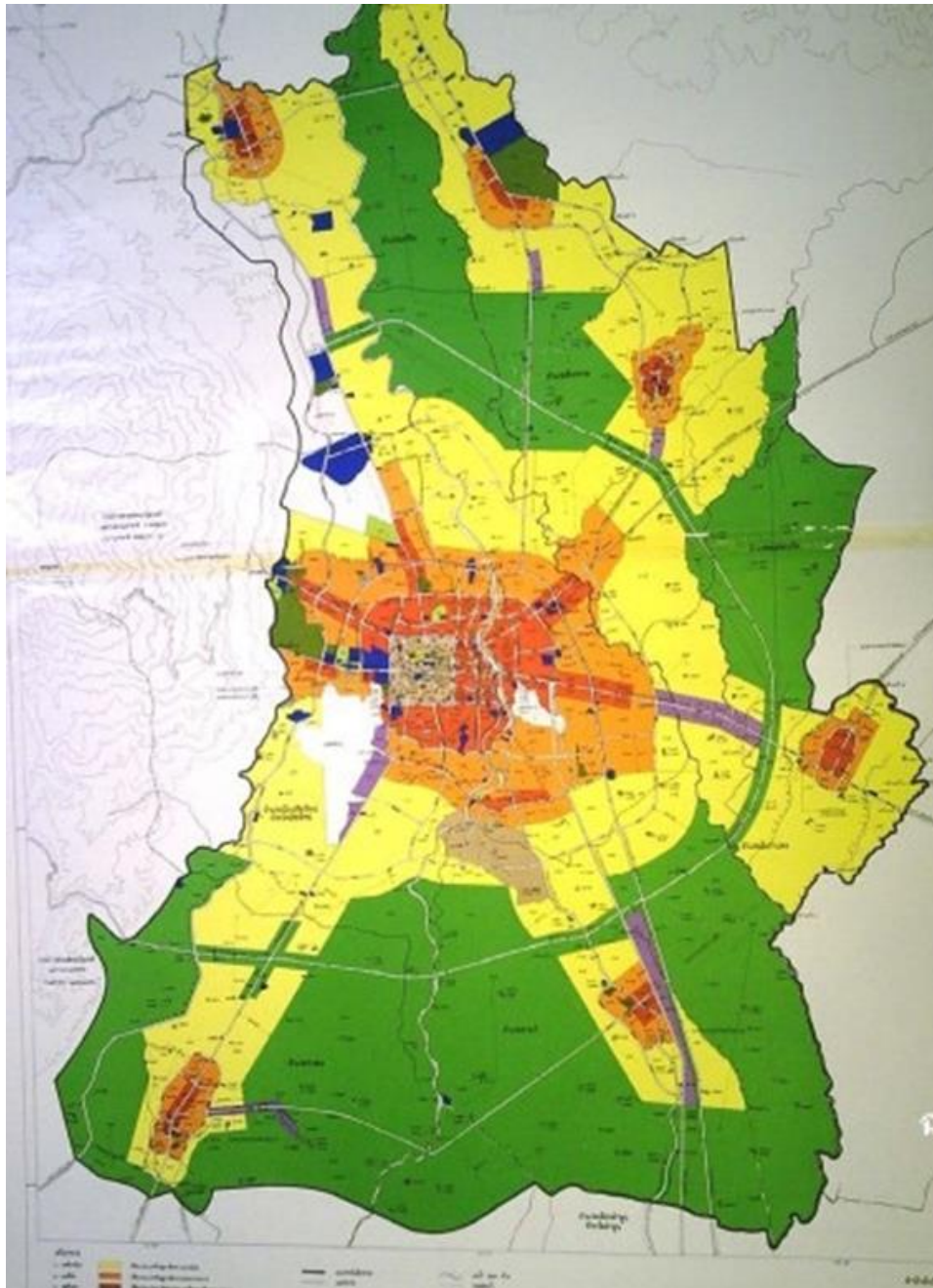


Figure 59 The first revision of Chiang Mai Comprehensive Plan Area

Source: The Story of Chiang Mai Urban Planning (2015)

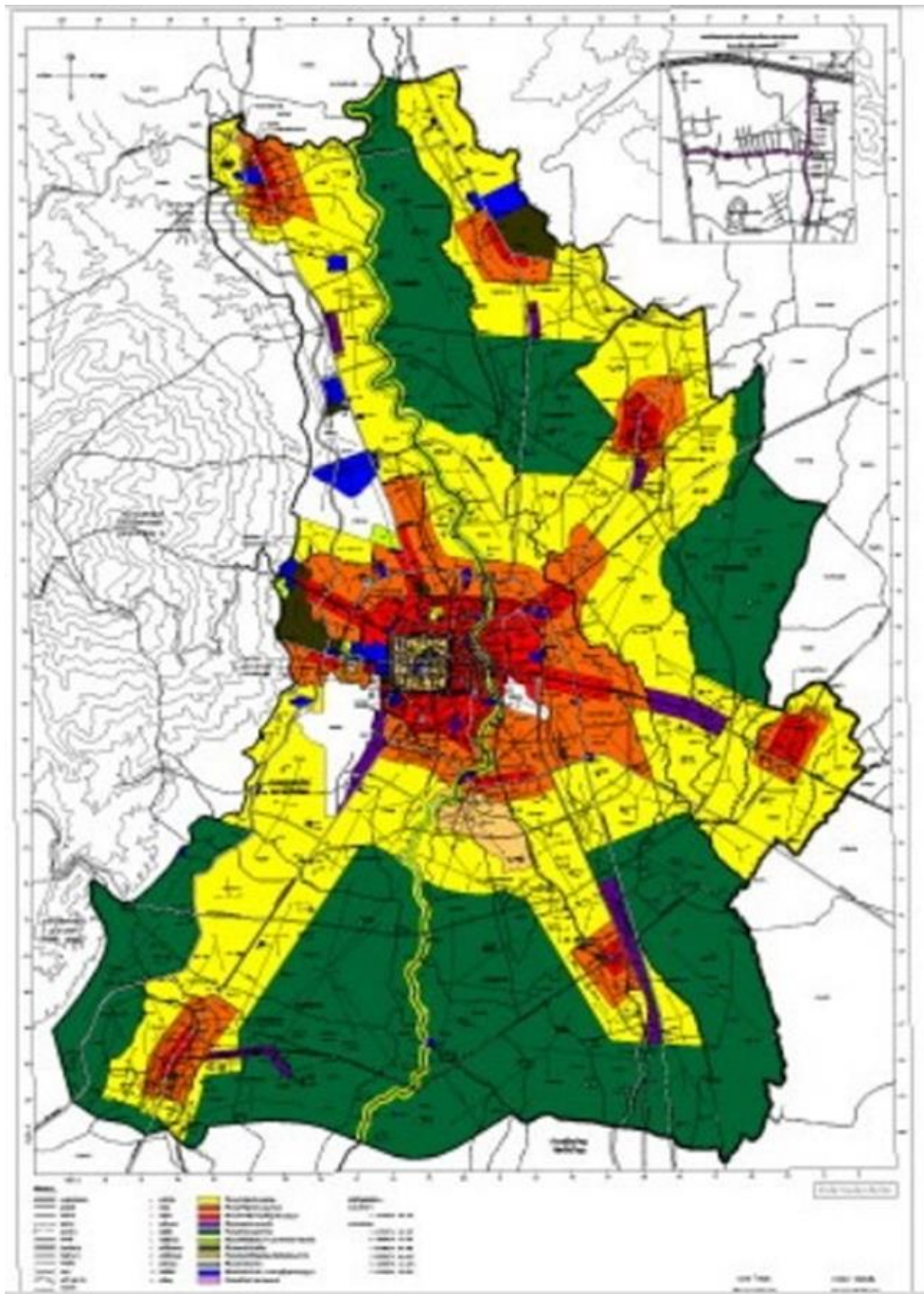
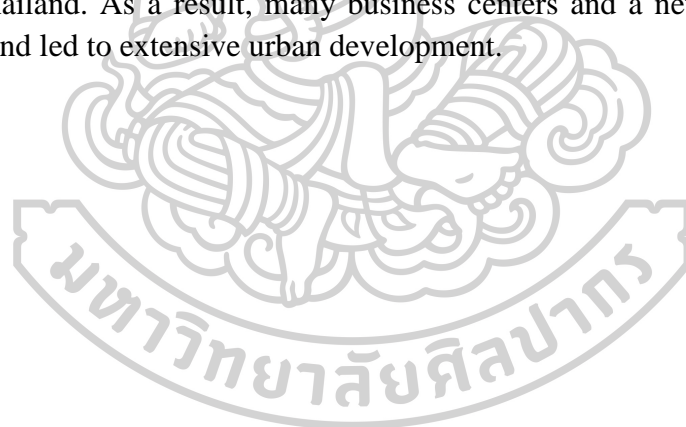


Figure 60 The Second Revision of Chiang Mai Comprehensive Plan Area
Source: The Story of Chiang Mai Urban Planning (2015)

CMCP consists of two sub-plans: a landuse plan and a transportation plan. The transportation plan proposed to construct two new ring roads (middle and outer ring roads) in order to ease traffic flows between towns, which may direct ongoing urbanisation into the agricultural land. However, many problems related to urban expansion persist because of the lack of consideration for three important elements: historical context appreciation, geographical comprehension and local participation. Furthermore, the 3rd revision started in 2006, in which planning for land use and for transport are intimately related. Transport and access are crucial since Chiang Mai was designated as a regional economic center and a transportation hub linking various countries in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) and to establish links with South Asia (National Economic and Social Development Board, 2012). National policy plays an important role in the urbanization of Chiang Mai for ‘spatial urbanization’ regarding changes in land use towards denser residential and commercial districts, but also for ‘social urbanization’ regarding population growth and increased population density as the result of policies at various levels of government (Prakawvuthisarn, 2009). For example, in the 5th National and Social Economic Development Plan, Chiang Mai was promoted as the regional economic center and education hub in northern Thailand. As a result, many business centers and a network of roads were developed and led to extensive urban development.



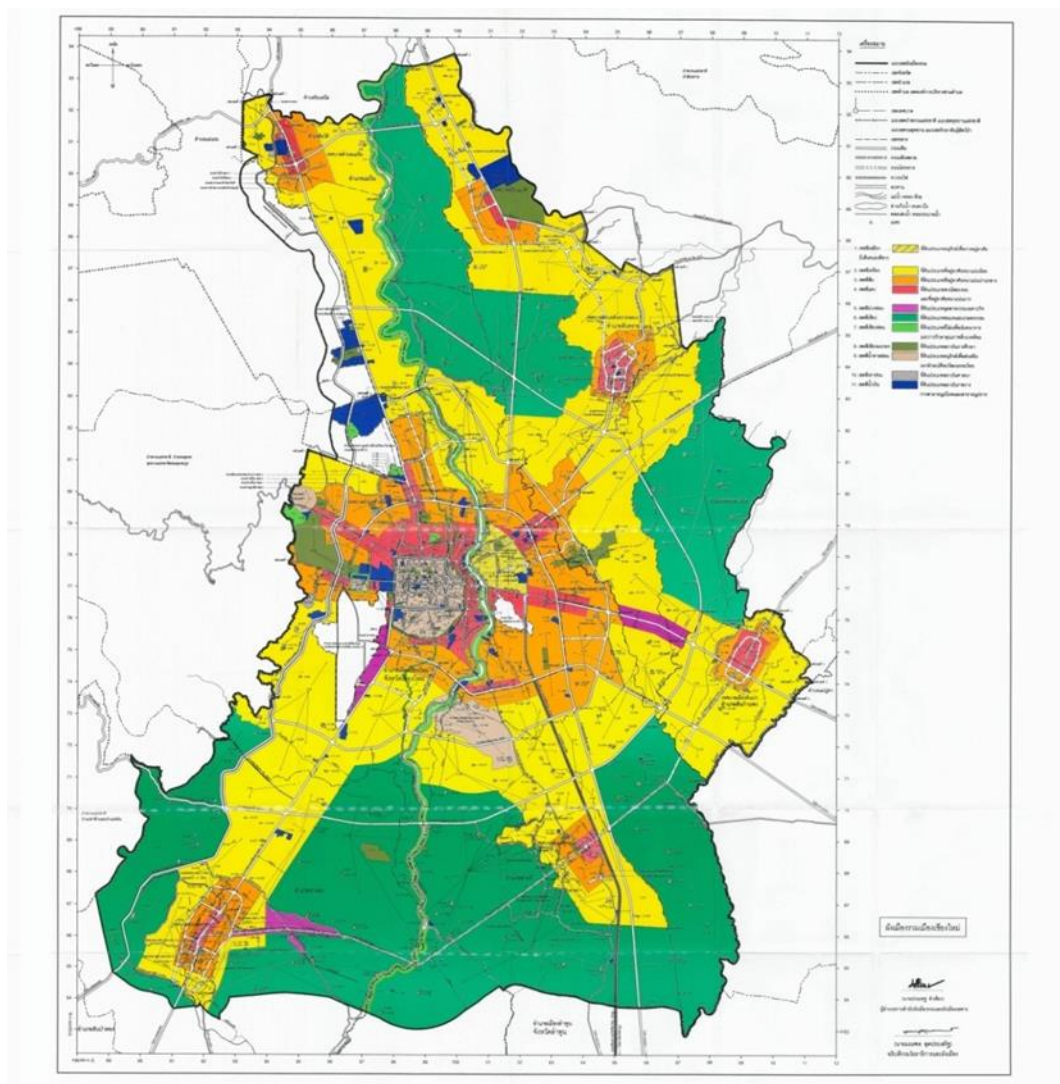


Figure 61 The Third revision of Chiang Mai Comprehensive Plan area
Source: The Story of Chiang Mai Urban Planning (2015)

2. Community Action

On 12 February 2008 at the Department of Public Works and Urban Planning Hall at Chiang Mai Provincial Hall, a meeting was set to discuss the review and revision of the Chiang Mai City Planning (the 3rd revision). There were representatives from the Department of Public Works and Urban Planning, a representative from Chiang Mai municipality, representatives from Wat Ket–Fah Ham communities, Urban Development Institute Foundation, City Planning professionals

and academics and the group of villagers who were affected by the city planning. All were involved in this meeting to discuss the issue and find solutions to the problems. The topic of the meeting was “the change in land and usage on Wat Ket–Fah Ham area” from the red zone which is the business and high density residential zone to other color zones in order to preserve the way of life and old buildings that would be affected from the new city planning.



Figure 62 Wat Ket villagers handed the objection letter.

Source: -

The meeting was also to define the strict special regulations in the draft for controlling the zone in each area in the old town with historical buildings and constructions involved. Land usage must not conflict with the lifestyle and the original livelihood of the locals, including providing space for relaxation and recreation for the communities. The meeting asked Wat Ket committee to set the draft's special regulations for Wat Ket–Fah Ham area and to summarise the claims and objections, including the agreement of people in the area affected and to set a joint public hearing about the Chiang Mai city planning later.

On the road expansion issue, the ideas from the representatives of the Department of Public Works and Urban Planning and the Chiang Mai municipality were contradicting those of the Wat Ket committee. The representative explained that the decisions made and authorized by the draft total city planning committee were only operating drafts and that the committee did not have the authority to make any decisions on the objections or negotiations. In the case of the draft total city planning, they opposed the villagers' proposals in terms of their opposition to the city planning regulation or any articles of law that the draft city planning committee had set. Because of that, the villagers and observers felt that they were receiving unfair treatment from the new city planning.



Figure 63 The community representatives seek to clarify their stand and hand the objection letter in opposition to the road expansion project.

Source: Chiang Mai Journal Nos. 94-105 (2008), the cover.

The Wat Ket committee also questioned that the people who authorized the regulations were not from the area and did not know anything about the problems. They had not given the people any chance to explain and clarify how affected they are from this project. The Wat Ket committee handed the letter to a representative from the Department of Public Works and Urban Planning relating to the modification and extension of roads in the whole city. The Wat Ket committee still maintained its opposition on the road expansion project in the old town and sought to conserve the original Chiang Mai life style.(Rim, 2008)

One of the opposition groups was Rak Ban Rak Moug Chiang Mai Group, from the Chiang Mai academic community with the objective of finding and saving the identity and value of their own living area in Chiang Mai. There were four main components to this cooperation: 1) Volunteers compromised representatives from every road line in the Chiang Mai municipality, with the collaboration of the religious leaders from Buddhist, Christian, Islam, and Sikh communities. 2) The work was organised in a collaborative fashion to make decisions, to discuss, and to come to an agreement between the committee and the operations sector, where the secretary was responsible for setting and facilitating the meeting, doing reports and issuing letters from the meeting. 3) The operations of each group were independent, where the Rak Ban Rak Moug group was only a supporting group, not a working group. 4) The Rak Ban Rak Moug group did not have allegiances to political parties or groups. They were representatives of the public who were ready to supply information and cooperate with government and political regulations. The group was not allowed to take any benefits from victims. The group's policy and regulations were mainly to develop or build prosperity for Chiang Mai. They should pay attention to the study of shared history and also work together with the city development and growth in parallel, according to the phrase: "The happiness of a living city, accepting the new things, not leaving the old ones." The Rak Ban Rak Moug group are located at 193 Jaruanrat Road, Wat Ket, Moug, Chiang Mai 500000.(Dogstar, 2009)

On 15 November 2008, Rak Ban Rak Moug group handed an open letter to the Chiang Mai governor and a copy to the Chairman of The National Planning Commission, Department of Public Works and Town Planning, and to Chiang Mai Public Works and Town Planning, which in that time was on the opposition side. The following details are arguments about the ill effects of the road expansion:

Chiang Mai is an old city with old buildings dating from ancient times, which should be conserved as a legacy for the next generations. The road expansion would destroy buildings along the road which would cause the destruction of the community's culture and heritage.

The residents who live in the demolished area would be homeless people and their businesses would be destroyed along with the buildings that will affect the wider economy of the city.

The land areas on both sides of the road are limited. When demolished, there will only be limited land left, which is not enough for building or businesses in the area. If they simply abandon it, it becomes a trouble for the community

Demolishing would cause heavy traffic. Traffic can be solved by providing good public transportation such as tram or bus.

Wider roads will attract people to use more cars, road sides will become a parking lot thus causing a lot of heavy and congested traffic. The expansion should be done in the countryside to disperse people living in the suburbs and conserve the old town and develop it in sustainable ways by improving buildings to attract tourists, for example.

The roads in communities in the municipality are not wide but enough for local transportation. In the business area, there are many people trading and crossing the road easily and safely, as in a civilized nation with the old town and new town together. It is the charm of Chiang Mai with the old town included.

If the government has a big budget to expand the road and confiscate lands and buildings, they should instead take this budget to create a new city not far away from the old town. The benefits would be a new beautiful town and preservation of the old town.

The Rak Ban Rak Moung group handed these arguments as a letter to cancel the road widening project for every road in Chiang Mai Municipality area. (Sarawutjansawang, 2008)

The community rejects condominium blocks for single houses.

After the Chiang Mai city planning (3rd revision) was completed on 19 December 2006, there were many high building constructions in Chiang Mai, as high as 22.95 meters, within the allowed height limitation of 23 meters.

One of the Housing Estate planned to build six condominium blocks with 8 floors on Bumrungrat Road, 384 units in total, with height of 30 meters from ground to roof on 10 Rai. The company did a survey with villagers but few people completed the questionnaires because the language used was too technical and hard to understand. Many people in the area were looking forward to see them but no one came. People who lived nearby were worried about the effect for them in the future because the development exceeded the limitations of the city planning (3rd revision). The community close to the temple and school are the ones most affected from the crowd situation and the heavy traffic. The construction would cause tiny dust particles to spread in the air and the pollution from waste would vastly affect the quality of life and environment. (group, 2008)

The result of the survey from Rak Ban Rak Moung Group with 359 responses from August 2010 found that 52% had lived in Wat Ket more than 20 years, 94% disagreed to have a construction higher than 23 meters or 8 floors in the Wat Ket area. Later, a 2nd survey was conducted by the Civil Justice and Environmental Conservation Dara Academy; Youth to the King agreed to cooperate with Rak Ban

Rak Moug Group. They worked under the direction of religious leaders, both Buddhist, Christian, Islamic and Sikh, together with the Kon Jai Ban group, an environmental group and Chiang Mai local art units, Rajabhat Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai Christian School, Wattanothaipayap School and Prince Royal school. This project was supported by the Department of Justice, Mahidol University, Chiang Mai Public Works and Urban Planning, Chiang Mai Municipality, Thai Health Promotion Foundation, The Far Eastern University, Geoinformatics, the Faculty of Social Science in Chiang Mai University, Nim See Seng, Vanusun, and Comedara Restaurant. They organized a seminar on the topic of “Wat Ket – Fah Ham: Learning to Live with the Change”, with the main objective to encourage the youth to realize and be aware of the environment and conservation of natural resources, to educate people to be aware of environmental law for preventing and solving the use of natural resources optimally. On this occasion, Dara Academy invited the representatives from the government. The city planning officer, Deputy Prosecutor, Chiang Mai Public Works and Town Planning participated in this seminar.

After finishing the seminar, the student representatives who attended the project reported the results from the survey. With the cooperation and participation of everyone involved, Rak Ban Rak Moug group received a letter from Q-House company, explaining the objective of the condominium project with 384 units on 10 Rai. This project concerned some of the local residents. So, the company invited community representatives to discuss the issue and the company accepted all the comments. The company changed the construction from condominiums to 10 houses with 3 storeys, with the height of 15 meters in contemporary Lanna style, but they subsequently became 2 storey houses instead of 3, mainly for considerations of living together. (group, 2008)



Figure 64 A house after revision of the plan.

Source: Em (2016)

2.1 Traditional Culture and Community.

Wat Ket community is a melting pot of cultural resources and is one of the most important cultural areas in Chiang Mai with traditional Lanna culture. The Ket Ket Ka Ram Museum was established by the people in their community to showcase the unique traditions and cultures such as Long Sa Pao (a ship floating along the river, where Sa Pao means ship), making Tung and Lanna style lamps, Lanna-oriented lifestyle which connects across the four religions of Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and Sikhism and the blending of the traditional and the modern together in perfect harmony. These promoted Wat Ket area as one of the most important cultural areas in Chiang Mai. (Dailynews, 2014)

Wat Ket, as observed above, is in the old city of Chiang Mai, where people have settled for more than a hundred years. All the residents in this area are still living in traditional ways from generation to generation with a simple way of life, not extravagant, and conservative. They have been promoted as a living historical area in Chiang Mai.

Traditional Lanna practices are also being taught such as doing betel palm leaf tiles (called Mak Sum in Lanna) and banana leaves in cone shape (called Mak Beng in Lanna) used for sacrificing ceremonies such as that to prolong life. Lanna traditional

dances such as Fon Rum and Fon Jeung are also taught in this area. Even making Sa Pao which is used in the Loy Kra Tong festival was inherited from generation to generation, taught by the elders of the village without any tuition fee.



Figure 65 Fon by Wat Ket Villagers, led by dancing teacher and community leader
Source: Em (2016)



Figure 66 Wat Ket traditional folk dancers group, from the left: Mrs. Rumpannee Larbmark, Mrs. Daoprakai Bualom, Mrs. Ajchara Langwachira, and Mrs. Watchraporn Yarana
Source: Em (2016)

Wat Ket traditional folk dancers group, who were original descendants in Wat Ket, first performed at the museum grand opening; they teach these traditions from generation to generation. Teacher Aoi (the second from the left), or Mrs. Daoprakai 66 year old, recalled the beginning of dancing Mak Sum Mak Beng when she was younger. She often went to the temple along with her parents and she learned the dance quite sub-consciously. Later on, after her parents passed away and no one else could do this, it was to be her duty to continue the tradition. First, it was used during village activities. Later on it became popular among the public; they also asked her to do Mak Sum, Mak Beng, design Tungs and many handicrafts. She believes that these things had to be transferred to the next generation, so she taught people who were interested in it. She said that Wat Ket is a center of the village's activities, such as for village meetings when letters from the government are issued to the community. Because of this, everyone was coming to understand what their duties are and what they have to do. One main example is related to the Loy Kra Tong. They help each other decorate the temple's gate (called Sum Pa in Lanna) together with a decorated woven bamboo fence (called Rua Ratchwat in Lanna) which is the traditional gate or entrance of Lanna.(Bualom, 2015)

Teacher Tew, Mrs. Rumpun Larbmark, 62 years old, narrated about her living and the traditional 12 months activities in Wat Ket. In the community, there are many activities in each tradition and religion such as the Children's Day in January. Children in the community and those nearby attend this activity at the Attaqwa Mosque every year. Buddhists join in the booths such as with food and activities. The Loy Kra Tong Festival is held at Wat Ket every year; there are many activities such as Fon Rum, Fon Darb (sword dance) and Sa Pao, all for demonstration of the conservation of Wat Ket traditions and cultures by professionals. Ajarn Satean Nawongruk is responsible for teaching Sa Pao (Ship).(Larbmark, 2015) Mr. Anunt Rittidetch, who is a nephew of the last scorpion tailed oarsman, brother of Mr. Hwang who looks after Wat Ket museum, said that the Long Sa Pao ceremony had disappeared for 80 years after World War II. This ceremony involved the Ping River because villagers used the water from the river for their trading, bathing and other activities before the coming of the railway, and where the river played the important role in transportation in the past. The beginning of the ceremony comprises art and culture performances from Wat Ket youths who attend the activity to show the Lanna cultural practices that related to the Ping River in the past. The show presents the cultures of Lanna to locals and tourists to give a better understanding of these cultures and traditions. This rite is for recalling their relatives who have passed away and to apologize to the Goddess of Water (Phramae Khongka in Thai). At 20.00 pm, the parade of Glong Loung (big drum), Sa Pao Loung, Sa Pao Kham, Sa Pao Nyuen would start from Wat Ket Ka Ram to the streets around the villages then stop at the pier opposite to Wat Ket, when villagers would float Sa Paos on the Ping River.(manager, 2014)



Figure 67 “Tung” demonstration and Thai music show by student at wat Ket school(13rd June 2016)
Source: Em (2016)



Figure 68 Ajarn Satean Nawongrak demonstrates how to do Sa Pao to youths
Source:-

Mrs. Ajchara Palangwachira, 65 year old and one of the original locals in the dancing group, recounted the culture and traditional lifestyles: “We need to conserve our life style and transfer it to the next generations. In the past, people visited each other and shared food with their neighbors. Nowadays, there are walls blocking from outside and high buildings in the community, it is the shame for Wat Ket”.(Palangwachira, 2015) “The modern buildings along the Ping River were built before the city regulation was launched, it is a visual pollution. It is a shame what happened to Wat Ket, we don’t want high buildings. Today, many restaurants that open late nights have changed our living and life style, many loud noises from big motorcycles come into the community because the restaurants are allowed to open until 1 am. Villagers who live nearby cannot sleep until they close.”(B. Dongsri, 2016)

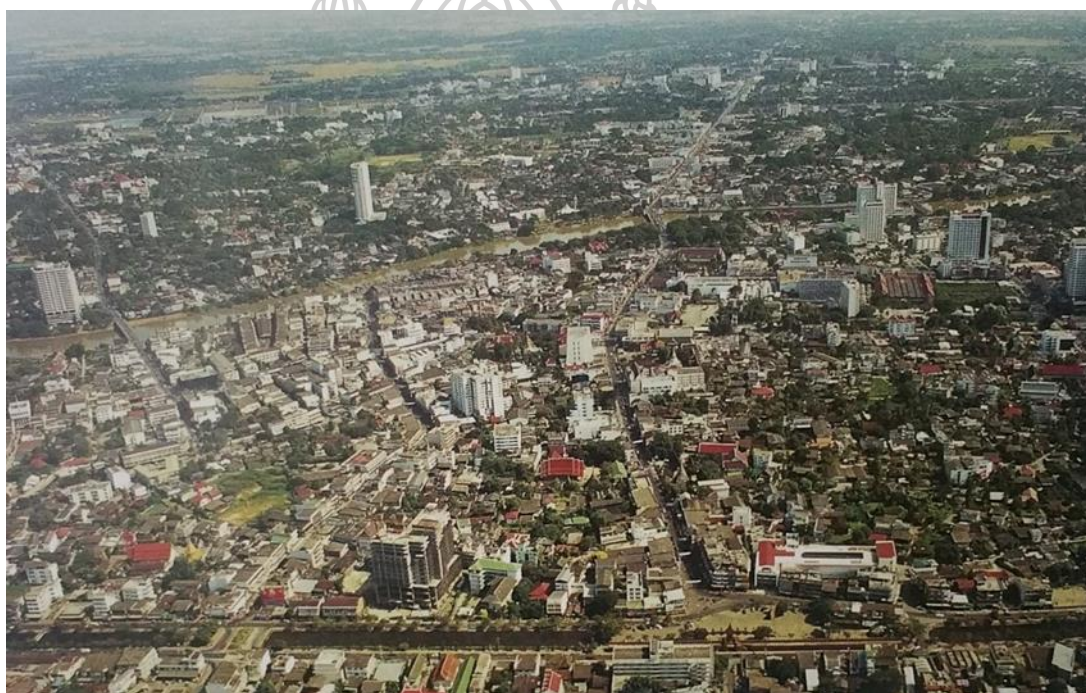


Figure 69 High-rise buildings seen stretching from Nawarat bridge with Wat Ket scenery along the Ping River.

Source: Thailand’s Chiang Mai. The bird’s eyes views of the ancient communities (2000)



*Figure 70 Tapioca pork, Mr.Jon's recipe.
Source: Em (2015)*

Further, steamed rice-skin dumplings and tapioca pork originated in Wat Ket at Mr. Kajon and Mrs. Boonpan's shop, but both have now passed away. Their six children are continuing their business and have expanded it into various places, including supermarkets. This is a successfully run family business and this shop has become one of the Wat Ket landmarks.



*Figure 71 Steamed rice-skin dumplings, Mr.Jon's shop; his children are running the business nowadays.
Source: Em (2016)*

2.2 Community Network.

The relationships of the people in Wat Ket constitute a social fraternity and kinship system by building houses for siblings living in the same area or neighborhood. In addition, Chinese people who migrated to settle down in this area for trading invited their relatives and friends to join them. They also married with the natives or locals which is why relationship diversity widened. Other groups that had an important role in this community in the past were the American Presbyterian Missionary group and British timber merchants, and groups who came in later such as other locals, Khmu, traditional Thai, Muslims, including hill tribes who settled down around the Church.(Charoenmuang, 2006)

Mr. Choompon Srisombat or Brother To, the Muslim leader in Wat Ket community, has divided the members of the community into two groups.

1) An upper group were originally descendants of the Wat Ket people who had developed their living there from the past in a simple way and they called themselves “Wat Ket Villagers Group”. Most of them are merchants who have a good education and well-being, supporting finances and ideals of the community. There is also a relationship between the schools’ senior and junior students of Prince Royal’s College and Dara Academy. Whenever the community has an issue with the government or politicians (province or municipal), they are the back-up group for support and to negotiate [Woravimon Chairat (interviewed) 15 December 2015]. This group does not have a specific leader but they work as the consultants in a specific issue, expressing arguments independently. They are upright and they clarify things especially when finances are involved. Most of their work focuses on Wat Ket community. (Charoenmuang, 2006)

2) A ‘downstream group’ (working group) assembles when the community is in crisis or requires the cooperation of the wider community. This group is driven from people in the community, mainly from each sub-group’s leader, to connect and explain the objectives to their members.

The sub-groups are as follows,

- Wat Ket Supporter Group. This group are people who believe in Buddhism and use Wat Ket as a center of their activities. Most of them are elderly or businessmen. The members of the group are the core for conservation and restoration of cultural heritage. An example is the restoration of Sa La Baht building and Intangible Cultural Heritage such as cooking and craft. The leaders of this group are the head of the community and the abbot.

- The Muslims in Wat Ket Group. This group is connected by using the Attaqwa Mosque’s rules. There is a families data base in every house for helping each other. This group also has a welfare fund, and advocates self-reliance to ensure the stability of the community and to have a better quality of life. The Islamic close family ties help each other and support their rights and duties as Muslims from birth to death. The objectives of this group are understanding each other, loving, helping one another and practicing generosity to bring back the society today from a competitive and self-centered situation. (Srisombat, 2011c) This group has a leader to coordinate with other groups, whenever an important issue arises; they will talk instantly to end the problem. For example, in the performance of Fon Jeung among the three religions, some members did not agree with the Muslims doing activities together with Buddhists, so the leader had to explain directly, to stop the conflict in the future. (Srisombat, 2016)

- The First Church of Chiang Mai Group. Most of these people are locals, originally in Wat Ket area. They can live in harmony with Buddhists and on some occasions they also attend the meetings at Wat Ket. They also offer the space at the church to handle the Muslims' meetings. As a result, the relationship between the three religions are closer because they are doing more activities together. In the interview with Mrs. Malee Toasuwan, a representative of the Christians from The First Church of Chiang Mai, she identified the meaning for Christians of "living together in a diversity of religions". They believe in the principles of the Bible, that the Bible teaches us to "love your neighbour as yourself". They believe in not causing harm to others, and most of their members are easy-going and empathetic. When the situation needs their cooperation, they discuss it based on reasons under the "giving more than receiving" principle, because to them "giving is better than receiving". They believe that it is God who created this world for us and we must not destroy it. Most of their principles are towards public service. About the Christian members of this church, most of them are settled outside the city. They meet every Sunday, except in the event of an emergency. (Toasuwan, 2016)



Figure 72 Mrs. Malee Toasuwan, a representative of the Christians.
Source: Em (2016)

One of the reasons why this community can live together with other religions is because one is not required to change religion when one is married to a person of a different religion. This is a good point for communication and understanding. And one more reason is that the understanding of life style and traditions has been binding people together for over 100 years. (Srisombat, 2016) An example can be seen from a performance of Fon Jeung by three religions which are Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. They conduct the activity with their own traditional and cultural principles rather than separate activities colored by religious discrimination.

2.3 The Academic Network.

The initial group of scholars who came into this area taught the importance of the historic buildings and their architectural values. Most scholars are lecturer from the north, namely Chiang Mai University, Mae Jo University, The Far Eastern University and the academics in northern area; they often perform academic services and conduct research.

The group is led by Ms.Kruamas Woodikarn, the deputy director of the Center for the Promotion of Art and Culture in Chiang Mai University during this time, also Mrs. Kumpramote Wannalert, head of Cultural Tourism Conservation and Mrs. Ponsiri Chartponpan, a representative of the Department of Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Tourism.(J. Doungsri) The group urged the community regarding the importance of diversity in terms of races and architectural styles and forms, and the importance of historical preservation to develop the cultural attractions of Chiang Mai. The Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) has demonstrated cooperation in meetings on the topic of “Think Together, Come Together to develop Wat Ket”. In the early processes of conservation on Sa La Bath, they offered the budget to support the restoration.

The Scholars. The scholars who attended the restoration project in the early stages are as follows:

Asst.Prof. Somchot Ongsakul.

Asst.Prof.Dr. Thanet Charoenmuang (Chiang Mai University),

Ajarn Pongthada Wuttikarn (Payap University),

Ajarn Supon Pawarajarn (Rajamangala University of Technology Lanna),

Ajarn Bubpha Jirapong (Chiang Mai Rajabhat University),

Ajarn Sawaeng Malasam (Yupparaj Wittayalai School),

Mrs.Doungchan Arpawatrut (Chiang Mai’s problem study center),

Mr.Somroj Jongthumkul (Lanna Architects committee, The Association of Siamese Architects under Royal Patronage),

Representative from The 8th Regional Office of Fine Arts,

Representative from Mahachulalongkarnrajavidyalaya University, Chiang Mai Campus,

Mr.Apiwat Kunarak (Regional Environmnet Office 1 (Chiang Mai))(Charoenmuang, 2006)

Later on, other scholars attended the forum and conducted educational projects and organizing joint projects with collaboration from the communities such as Wat Ket. It was one of 12 of the country's representative pilot projects on alternative city development. They operate for a good living community and city, under the Office of The National Economic and Social Development Board together with other organizations.

The activities that required considered decisions such as the old building restoration, received cooperation from the academics and experts in each area to teach how to do their work; for example with the Wat Ket Ka Ram Hall restoration, the Fine Arts Department came to teach how to renovate and preserve it.

The important event for the community was during the road expansion and urban planning period, when many academics came to give advice and assistance, driven by people in the community.

The academic networks continue to visit the Wat Ket community regularly. On 21 July 2014 at 19.30 PM, villagers and scholars came to discuss the topic of developing Wat Ket. It was proposed that the participating locals should be responsible to design the projects, then present and conduct them with the support of The Thailand Research Fund and researchers from Chiang Mai University. There were eight sub-projects; 1) City planning. 2) The access to a living museum. 3) Alternatives for touring in Wat Ket area. 4) Wat Ket Museum development. 5) The historical study of Wat Ket. 6) The study and management of cultural heritage and traditions. 7) Relationship creation. 8) Life style and food restoration in Wat Ket.(Srisombat, 2011b)

On 2 March 2016, there was a forum on the progress report phase 1 of the Wat Ket projects at The First Church of Chiang Mai. The team reported the situation and problems, the objectives of the project and goals, the procedure adopted in phase 1, and results of phase 1, and received feedback and advice from professionals for their further work.

Additionally, there was a group project to build a database for scholars so that the public can access the information and use it as reference. Furthermore, Asst.Prof.Dr. Sompong Sangawong, Geoinformatics, The Faculty of Social Science, Chiang Mai University, received funding from TRF to do research with the aim to drive the specific town planning for Wat Ket community, which would yield the first map in Thailand to have detailed land usage.



Figure 73 The progress reported of Phase 1, Wat Ket Project, at The First Church of Chiang Mai.

Source: Em (2016)

The team surveyed the area and got participation from the community to do fact checking.



Figure 74 The meeting on the land usage from the past to today, on 24 March 2016 at Wat Ket Ka Ram Municipal School.

Source: Em (2016)

Another interesting project was the academic service for the public. This project was conducted by Dr. Banjit Sairorkham, of the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University. The project is to strengthen and restore the unity of the four religions in Wat Ket through the cooperation of the community and academics as part of a living museum. On the evening of 22 October 2015 they discussed and organized the next events, where again Wat Ket got support from the TRF.

Wat Ket area is important in its physical structure, lifestyles and cultures as well as in the strength of community relationships. The pressures from the outside and the concerns of the community itself compel careful development of the community. However, the location is such that other business sectors in Chiang Mai, also the next generation, could be less concerned with the conservation of the community than the previous generation, and this would affect the strength of the community.

The success story of Wat Ket, fighting together for their daily way of life and not to be destroyed by urbanization, was not supported by the government as it is not in the plans and goals of government. However, they do get support from outsiders that help them from being expropriated for a communication system of big roads just to accommodate the increasing numbers of cars without any consideration for the history of the place and the legitimate concerns of its people. The strengths of Wat Ket community deriving from its multiple ethnicities and religious affiliations are discussed in the next chapter where its future trajectory is also considered.



Figure 75 The academic support unit for public projects discusses with Wat Ket community.

Source: Em (2016)

Chapter 4

Wat Ket Community Analysis

Introduction. This chapter begins, in section 4.1, with a summary outline of lessons to be learnt from the long presentation of Wat Ket data in the previous Chapter 3. The narrative then turns, in 4.2, to three cases that can be used as “commentary” on the issues pertinent to Wat Ket. As the real lesson from Wat Ket can be seen as the role of heritage concerns in bridging cultural differences and forming a strong sense of community unity, it is opportune at this point to consider briefly the links between memory, environment and ideas of heritage, in 4.3. The final section, 4.4, is a speculation on what might have been the enabling conditions underlying the Wat Ket success.

4.1 The importance of ethnicities, religions, and community participation

Wat Ket Community is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious community, consisting of Chinese, Thai, Buddhist, Christian, Muslim, Sikh, and others that live relying on each other. There is no religious discrimination in the community. The community has cross-cultural marriages, such as Buddhist with Muslim. This creates a strong bond between Muslim families and Buddhist families. So when it comes to the community’s meetings, they can always share their ideas and information freely in order to contribute to the community together.

Because they had lived together for a long time, they learned each other’s traditions, ways of life, and their religious activities. For example, there will be the sound of Islam’s morning call to prayer coming from the mosque that might annoy the newcomers but not the locals. They are used to it and it has already become a part of their normal daily life.

The strength of the community also comes in large measure from school. The residents of the community go to the same school. They are bonded via school activities. There was a meeting between the government and the community, when a representative from the community was Khun Voravimon Chairat, who is the

governor's wife. Therefore, this has made it easy to communicate between what might usually be seen as two opposing parties. The voice of the community was successfully heard by the government.

At Wat Ket Community, each religion comprises religious leaders to communicate with the community. There is also a community leader who links everything in the community. So for Muslims there is the Imam, a widely respected Muslim leader who spreads Muslim tenets to the community. The Imam negotiates for any argument in the community. These leaders will end the argument as fast as possible. There will be no feud after the situation. The Imam is considered as the elder of the community, who is highly reliable and would be able to negotiate and compromise on various issues without causing any conflicts in the community. This position is not an official position in the community but everyone would widely accept this person as the strong and wise representative of the Muslim community. From the interview with the Imam, it was found that he is very powerful and that he has the right to change the religious representative of the community himself. He is a true native resident of Wat Ket community who has known Wat Ket all his life and has been watching over the changes of the Wat Ket community for years. He cherishes the community resources with all his might and he would try his best to lead Wat Ket into being a prosperous community by fixing things which were not right for the community.

For Buddhists, the religious leader can be no one other than the Abbot, Ket Kararm, who can dictate to the people in the community who are Buddhists. However, there is also another community leader who works as a coordinator between religions. We might say that he is a medium, not the true leader for the community, since his work for the community may already be loaded and, in a sense, compromised.

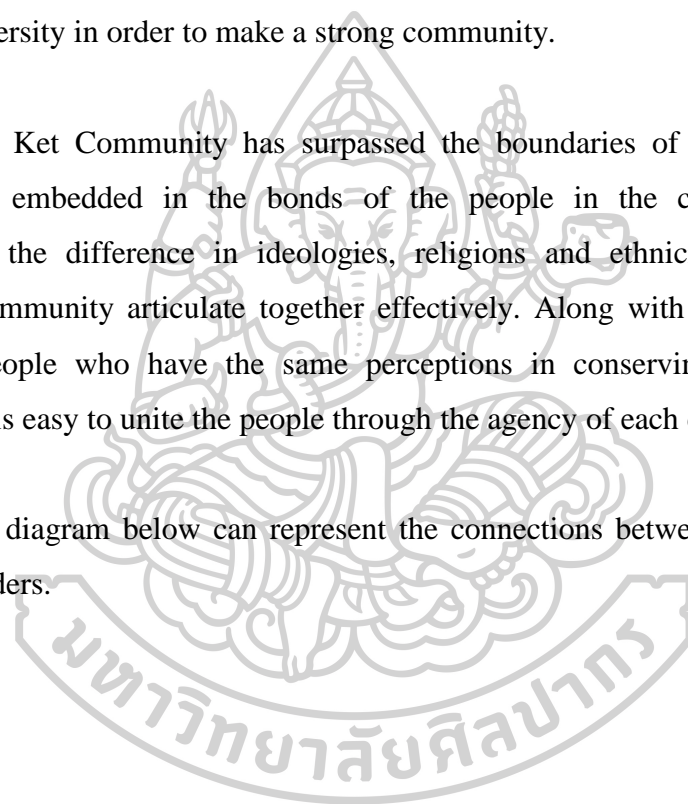
There will also be an "upper-class civilian" who drives government-related issues and presents them to the community. These upper-class civilians are merchants or who come from wealthy families or are educated scholars.

For Christians, there will always be religious leaders of the church. The religious leaders of the Christian society of Wat Ket have been just a few people who have subsequently moved to the outer ring of the town, but still there were a few traditional community leaders who reside in the area to coordinate issues. When there is trouble or any assembly going on, there will be a meeting at First Christian Church Chiang Mai which is easily accessible.

We can see that the community can be united as one without any religious clashes. This creates great cooperation between different religions, open to multiple cultural diversity in order to make a strong community.

Wat Ket Community has surpassed the boundaries of religion because its strength is embedded in the bonds of the people in the community. Without concerning the difference in ideologies, religions and ethnicities, the people of WatKet Community articulate together effectively. Along with great understanding between people who have the same perceptions in conserving the community's heritage, it is easy to unite the people through the agency of each community leader.

The diagram below can represent the connections between religions and the roles of leaders.



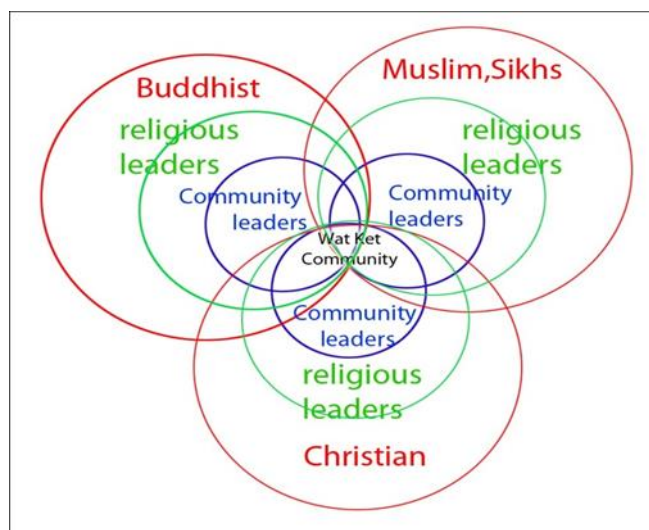


Figure 76 Chart showing the relationships between religio-ethnic communities and their leaders

Source: Em (2016)

As we can see from its effectiveness in bringing about changes in the city plan, Wat Ket community is to be considered as one of the strongest of Chiang Mai's communities. In addition to its strengths of local leadership, there are various further factors that can continue to contribute to the enhancement of Wat Ket Community:

1. External Factors

1.1 External Agencies: These include the government and also private sector groups that frequently provide education and effective advice for the community. Moreover, they also take part in coordinating with other agencies such as TRF (Thailand Research Fund) in order to support scholars' study trips to point out the significance of having Wat Ket as a landmark and the importance of funding all researches that are related to Wat Ket Community. By receiving the supporting budget from the TRF organization along with the cooperation of the community, the local people started to see the importance of their home areas.

1.2 The Social Trend: An example is "Trends in Conservation" whereby people suddenly started to safeguard historical areas and

antique buildings, creating almost mystic values in conserving these landmarks for the next generation. This movement enhances the strength of Wat Ket as one of the historic communities of Chiang Mai.

- 1.3 Tourism is another factor that makes the community realize the importance of having its own culture and traditions because most of the foreign tourists would be willing to see the community's way of life through antique buildings, including the museum. This is regarded as "Cultural Tourism", that is tourism that is concerned about culture and the conservation of traditions.

2. Internal Factors

- 2.1 The Importance of the location and architecture of the community is related to its location on the riverside of the Ping River with its fine scenery. Moreover, it is also near to the center of Chiang Mai city, which is the market area, tourist attraction and the public transportation hub for Chiang Mai. This has made Wat Ket a lively community, filled with residents enjoying traditional lives from generation to generation, since the location was used as a place for trading and selling back in the old days due to its convenience in traveling and easy access.

4.2 Other lessons

Wat Ket is not isolated in the wider context of the conflicts associated with the modernization and development of traditional communities and it is opportune, at this point, to invoke lessons from other such communities. Reference will be made to three such communities in Thailand: this community is an ancient community similar to the Wat Ket community and it has evolved from the cooperation of people in the community in a different way and five communities in other countries: Kudijeon in Bangkok's Thonburi, Samchuk Market in Supanburi province, Kad Kong Taa in Lampang, then Hanoi city, Seoul, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Canada

1. Kudijeem, Thailand

Kudijeem community is one of the oldest of Bangkok communities dating from the Ayuttaya period; it is in Wat Kalayanamitr sub-district under the authority of Thonburi district, Bangkok. “It is rich in cultural significance in term of historic value, scientific value and social values including tangible and intangible aspect that generate the values of this community”.(Srithammasak, 2010) In this area, in some similarity with Wat Ket, there are three religions and three communities, Catholic, Buddhist(Thai buddhist and Chinese buddhist) and Muslim. These community have their own ways of life, religion and ritual, but they can live together with harmony and understanding of each other. Later, Arun Amarin road was constructed, effectively dividing Kudi Kao community from Wat Kalayanamitr community and Kudijeem community. However, it is not a barrier inhibiting them from joining their activities or making merit. The old constructions in this area include Baan Pattayakosol Institute of Thai music belonging to the Pattayakosol family, consisting of a high raised house in a Thai style including three pavilions linked by a courtyard. Wat Prayoonwongsa was established at the time of Rama III; there is also the City Law Enforcement Department, previously Thonburi City Hall.



Figure 77 Wat Kalaya

Source: Wat Kalayanamitr Worramahavihan (2000)

Kudijeen community was a community of Portuguese settlement from the Thonburi period, surrounded by different ethnic and religious groups. It was a trade and residential area, mostly Chinese, Muslim and Westerner. The relationships in this community are complex, mostly flowing from the inter-marriage with other groups. “Today, however, more fundamentalist, Islamist tendencies have erected barricades: whereas Christians and Buddhists will participate in each other’s religious and cultural observations, the Muslims now seek separation and isolation.”(Srithammasak, 2010)



Figure 78 The ceremony celebrates inauguration of The Santa Cruz church
Source: Porruthai Aodjai (2015)

In order to manage the community and maintain its peace, the residents elect a community committee. The number of the committee is 13 persons. Their duties are to act as coordinator between Thonburi district and the community. The office of the community is located to the south of the Santa Cruz church. For effective management, the village fund and a Credit Union Cooperative have been established for financial assistance.(Aodjai, 2015)

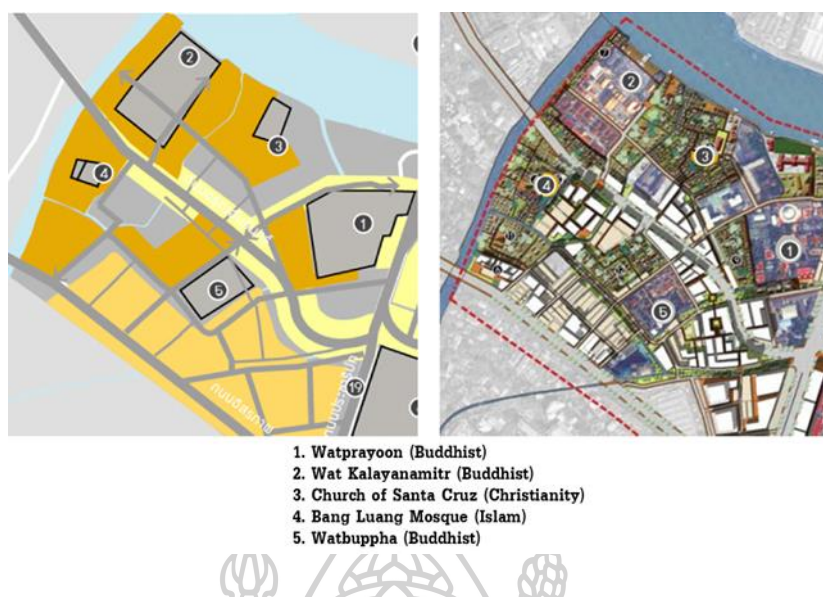


Figure 79 Three religion, three communities
 Source: The “Bangkok250” project, Edited by Em

“Three religion, three communities” refers to the Kudijeen community, consisting of Catholics, the Buddhist Wat Kalayanamitr community and the Muslim Kudi Kao community. The Kudijeen community is surrounded by Wat Kalayanamitr community which has Kian Un Keng shrine and Wat Kalayanamitr as spiritual centers. These two spiritual centers can attract many visitors to come to pay respect and be blessed for good luck. Kudi Kao community also has Bangluang Islam mosque and also Tonson mosque for the Muslims. These communities have their own way of life, religion and ritual but they can live together with harmony and understanding of each other. When Arun Amarin Road was constructed, it divided Kudi Kao community from the WatKalaya community and the Kudijeen community. This, however, is not a barrier for them to join in their activities or making merit.(others, 1991) Kudijeen and its surrounding communities can be seen as a microcosm of the nation itself. Thailand has been uniquely successful in bringing together a diversity of ethnic and religious groups into a society characterised by tolerance and harmony. For research purposes, the value of Thonburi and its neighbourhood is in revealing something of the historical processes that have underlain this achievement. These processes have included the policies of the early kings (Taksin, Ramas I to III) in integrating various disparate communities into the royal administration and wider society, revealed in the histories of the various building but also the strongly syncretising nature of Thai Theravada Buddhism and of older traditions. While Bangkok more generally reveals this blending of diverse but amicably co-existing communities, nowhere is it more brilliantly displayed than in the fine-scale juxtapositions of Thonburi. However, Thonburi also sheds light on the present tragedy of the nation, in the Centre-South divide. In the past, notably in the era of Kings

Taksin to Rama III, Muslims from Thonburi would be integrated into the administration and wider society, there would also be inter-marriage with other groups. Today, however, more fundamentalist, Islamist tendencies have erected barricades: whereas Christians and Buddhists will participate in each others' religious and cultural observances, the Muslims now seek separation and isolation. This is observable elsewhere in Bangkok (the Haroun Mosque community across the river at Charoen Krung 38, the Muslim communities lining Khlong San Saeb and Khlong Hua Mak, for example) although these are still peaceful places. However, when this new separatist tendency manifests in Thailand's south, the consequence is violence bordering on civil war. As Thonburi remains a peaceful place, it offers a venue for studying these new problems of the nation. Because of the importance of Thonburi in revealing the richness of Thai history, especially that from 1767 to the present, and because of the lessons in harmony and tolerance that it can offer the present age, as observed above, there is a need for its history and culture to be revealed – interpreted



Figure 80 Bangluang Islam mosque

Source: The Research for Developing the Cultural Source to be the Learning Source and Funding Source of Local People: The case study of Kudee Cheen Area (1991)

– to the wider nation and the wider world. The same can be said for Wat Ket and for similar reasons. One needs to be constantly reminded that Thonburi was at one time the capital of Siam; however, there is no historical and cultural heritage center in Thonburi – there is nowhere where people can go to learn about its history, its surviving buildings and other artefacts, its evolution to its present form, its communities and their culture. Alongside the care with which Ayutthaya and Rattanakosin are presented, this lack in Thonburi is extraordinary – it is almost a

national embarrassment.(Srithammasak, 2010) This community is rich in cultural significance in terms of historic value, aesthetic value, scientific value and social values including tangible and intangible aspects that generate the values of this community. The impacts on the community from tourism were both positive and negative in terms of economic, environment, social and culture.

2 Samchuk Market, Supanburi, Thailand



Figure 81 **Traditional houses of Samchuk Market**

Source: Surapong Aiempichairit from Samchuk, The Market (2011).

Samchuk market was located in the district of Samchuk, the province of Suphanburi. The area was suitable for trading due to its settlement next to the river which serves as the main transportation route, as in Wat Ket. The most significant immigrants that have played the biggest role in this area are the Thai-Chinese that migrated to trade in Thailand. Many Chinese families have prospered from being merchants here. On the other hand, Thai people continue their customary agricultural lifestyles. Kariangs and Lawas also joined this trading community, well-known for their forest goods. Later, there was a development plan coined by the government, expanding the area of Samchuk Community. The area was eventually filled with people, entertainment and services. There were more and more government buildings, commercial buildings and port facilities to facilitate cargoes and shipping which stimulated the economy.

The golden era of Samchuk Market ended, however, due to the emergence of the roads. Transportation via water started to become less popular as the government

adopted a policy to only develop public utilities and transportation without concern for the locals. The road construction took three years to finish, making it difficult for the locals who regularly go there to switch to the other markets. The Samchuk Market conditions began to get worse when the road construction was finished. The governmental buildings later moved to the streets which made the place, already in some degree of solitude, become even quieter than it used to be. Consequently, the economy for the area was severely damaged. Samchuk finally closed down in 1997.(Nawikamul, 2011)

Due to the economic problems of Samchuk Market, along with the degradation of buildings, the Treasury Department of Thailand which is in-charge of Soi 1, Soi 2, the river bank and also the Central Shrine, came to realize that the area was no longer beneficial as in the past. Some tenants even left the place, abandoning the buildings in a solitary state.

In 1985, the Treasury Department had a policy to demolish all stores in order to construct new commercial buildings and to landscape the area under the project name “*Samchuk Area Development Project for Commercial Purpose*”. The strategy to protect their homes from the government emerged from a social movement of the community cooperating with an outsider who had the authority to negotiate. The community had invited Dr. Somkiat Onwimol, the senator of Suphanburi at that time and a the true descendant of Samchuk by birth, to become an official advisor for this mass movement. There was a first meeting of the tenants of the Treasury Department, the locals of Samchuk, Dr. Somkiat and the Municipal officials of Samchuk. Dr. Somkiat suggested the significance in maintaining the Samchuk Market area as a cultural knowledge source for later generations according to the Main Strategy of Economic and Social Development Plan Volume 8 (1997-2001) and Volume 9 (2002-2006), which aimed to make progress within Thai society in order to become “the community of wisdom and learning” that serves as a lifetime academic source. Linking Samchuk Market with the national development plan created a discourse that could be negotiated with the Treasury Department.(Supachai Singyabuth)



Figure 82 The 3-Storey building which was used as Khun Chamnong Chinarhak Museum

Source: Anake Nawigamune(2014)

In 2000, a committee was established to discuss the market renovation, supported by the municipality along with the community in order to revive the wrecked houses, other buildings and also the traditional food recipes. There was training of guides including the establishment of Khun Chamnong Chinarhak Museum, sponsored by Mrs. Sumarn Chinarhak who approved to use her grandfather's estate, Khun Chamnong Chinarhak's House, to be used as a museum(Nawigamune) which UNESCO declared to be one of the important cultural heritages of Suphanburi in the Asia and Pacific Region in 2009.

The relationship system within the Samchuk Community is articulated through families, ethnicities and neighbors within the community. The community has a unique awareness of changes which makes it easy to gather people together and to cooperate. The decision to participate in the project in 2002 has shown that the leader of the community was prepared for changes by thinking outside-the-box. From the research of Cultural and Social Promotion Department, we can learn from this Samchuk Market phenomenon that there were 12 steps that revived the Samchuk Market area: 1) Creating mechanisms, 2) Educational field trips, 3) Joining seminars, 4) Making community analyses, 5) Setting a stage for the community, 6) Procedure planning, 7) Integration, 8) Development plans for later projects, 9) Expanding networks, 10) Continuous movement, 11) Assessment, 12) Conclusion.(Department of Cultural Promotion, 2014)



Figure 83 Samchuk Market Committee and municipal officials cooperating with scholars.

Source: Thailand, The Studies of Socio-historical Changes: Case Study of Samchuk Market (2014)

Samchuk Market was designed to be active and diverse which created an identity for the community of Samchuk to be able to change in response to different contexts. Moreover, the design was also used as an apparatus to negotiate with the Treasury Department by creating new values for the market in order to be prosperous again in the name of “Samchuk: The Hundred Years Market”, according with the cultural theory of Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1991) who has stated that the symbolic meaning of areas is indefinite, that is “Humans always create a new cultural definition for the space in order to claim their authority as well as their tools for resistance and negotiation when there are disadvantages”. Every cultural space that is surrounding us is always under *the politics of space* or *the power and struggle* between the parties that live within the society at the current time and which is different in space and time since the *spatial practices* are also different. (Supachai Singyabuth &)

Here the similarities with Wat Ket relate to the processes of resistance to government intervention in traditional community lifestyles and the architecture and landscapes of those traditional practices. Both cases mark relative successes for local communities, albeit with external assistance.

3 Kad (Traditional Northern Thai Market) Kong Taa, Lampang, Thailand

Lampang is a province located in the northern part of Thailand, 100 kilometers approximately if you drive from Chiang Mai. Lampang is located in the middle of the Wang River Basin, and has been established since the Haripunchai Era.(Aongsakul, 2015) Later, it became a location on the main route for transportation until 1916 when there was railway construction for trading purposes between Lampang and Bangkok. Most trade in the past was through the river port, where Chinese merchants served as representatives in trading, mainly with the Burmese. Lampang was well-known for its timber which is considered one of the important exports of Siam. Timber trading requires a firm budget and a large number of wage laborers which attracted many foreigners especially from Great Britain. The timber rafts were usually sent through the Chao Phraya River to the Pho River Estuary, then exported to other foreign markets. This hot spot in timber trading resulted in the settlement of the English Trading Company which triggered the immigration of Burmese-Ramans to come and work as “British Headman Subjects”, serving under the British companies. Consequently, they have become significant families in Lampang till the present.(Authongsap, 2014)

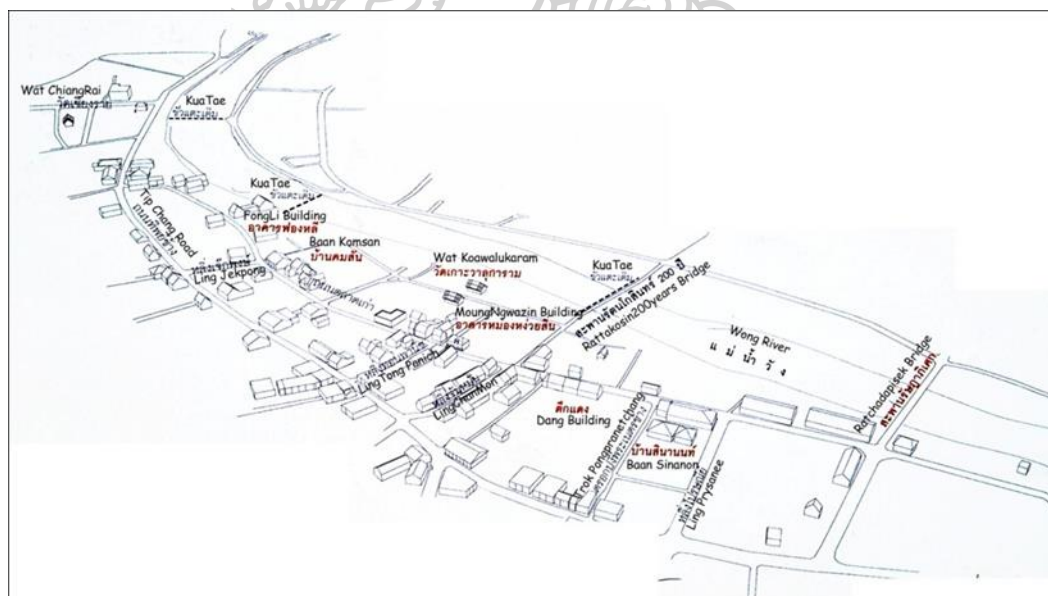


Figure 84 Map showing the buildings with unique characteristics in the area of Kong Taa Traditional Northern Market, Lampang

Source: Cultural heritage atlas at Nakhon Lampang (2006)(Office of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy and Planning (ONEP), 2006)



Figure 85 Moug Ngwazin building; built in Burmese style.
Source: Em (2016)

Since 1840, Lampang was the main source of timber trading in the northern part of Thailand which, however, later declined following the Second World War. Along the Wang River Bank on the east, Kad Kong Taa used to be a port where people traded for goods and also the port for lumber raft-floating. The area was crowded with many people from different ethnicities such as Tai Yai, Indians and the Burmese, who were responsible for the timber trading and also the local trades at that time. The British had received the forest concession and the people of the Khamu Tribe came to work as their laborers. The result was that an active merchant community eventually formed. We could probably say that the main power in this Chinese market area were the Burmese who had immigrated to settle down in Lampang since 1896 to support the forestry affairs for the British. Kad Kong Taa, the Chinese market area, was chosen by the Burmese to be their settlement since it was located in the middle of the trade facilities and the transportation. At that time, the Burmese received more salary than the Thai, since their salary rates were based on the British currency which later resulted in the luxurious accommodations of the Headmen (Kittisak Hengsadekul, 2011) such as Moug Ngwazin Building. Nowadays, the owner of the building is the 4th generation of the Headman's family. This manila roof, gingerbread house building is a half brick-half wood, two-and-a-half storey building, decorated with stained glass and a secret ladder hidden in a second floor cabinet. The distinctive wooden stencils (flame work) comprise foliage, Khankhot, pradit and animals. It used to be variously grocery store, hotel and bar for lumber-work westerners. It won the 2007 outstanding architecture award in the Lanna building conservation category from The Association of Siamese Architects under the Royal Patronage. (*The History Sign's interpretation, Moug Ngwazin, Kad Kong Ta: Lampang 2016*)

From the architectural characteristics of Burmese houses in the Kad Kong Taa area, there is evidence of the prosperity of the Burmese who held deep-rooted beliefs in Buddhism. Therefore, these headmen paid back to the society by donating their wealth to construct the temple to seek forgiveness for having cut so many trees. Mong Yee (a wealthy headman who played a big role in timber trading) formed a committee to construct the biggest Burmese temple in Thailand, Wat Sri Chum. At that time Wat Sri Chum clearly demonstrated the prosperity of the Burmese in Thailand.



Figure 86 Wat Sri Chum, Lampang

Source: Em (2016)

The Burmese received higher wages because their salaries were based on the British currency. Even though the Thais were not capable of making that much money compared to the Burmese, there were other, Thai families that similarly believed in Buddhism. The Thais gathered together to construct “Wat Koh Walu Karam”, one of the old temples in Lampang. The temple area used to be an island surrounded by water but due to recent geographical changes, the water started to decrease and turned into a shallow area. The architectural characteristics were inspired by the Central Thai style due to the trends of the immigrants such as Chinese from the Pho River mouth (as well as other cities). Most of them were not direct descendants of Lanna people or the Lampang locals. Inside the temple, it was elegantly decorated with paintings from 1917 which are still in great condition. (Nawigamune, 2014)



Figure 87 Wat Koh Walu Karam

Source: Em (2016)

Aside from the Burmese and Thai who have deep rooted beliefs in Buddhism, there were also the Chinese who had adopted Buddhism as their religion. The Chinese immigrated from Tak and later prospered from selling their traditional snacks. The Shanghainese, who were very specialized in craftsmanship and constructional techniques, built the Pun Dao Gong Shrine which is the oldest shrine of Lampang. On the other hand, the Hainanese worship the “Chao Mae Tubtim” (The Ruby Maiden). There were also the westerners who came to seek opportunities in Kad Kong Taa due to its good reputation of being the biggest centre for timber trading. There were multiple western department stores run by western managers such as Bombay Burma, British Borneo, Siam Forest Mall, Louis T. Leonowens Mall, Denmark’s East Asiatique and other French timber trading malls. The westerners who migrated to trade in Southeast Asia would construct their places in a tropical-western way. The stilt house would be built on high piles over the surface of the soil in order for the air to get through their accommodation easily since there were no air conditioners at that time. Aside from the wealthy elites, there were also the laborers called the Khamu. We could probably say that they played many important roles contributing to the society located in this area. The people of Khamu were hard-working, self-sufficient and extremely loyal to their employers. These western traders were really satisfied with them rather than having the Thai locals to work with them. Due to the higher rate of employment for Khamu, many migrated to work and to live in Lampang until the present.(Hengsadekul)

In the era when the people of different classes and cultures were mixed, many Chinese families moved to the upper area, Tip Chang, which is the main street, to escape the annual flood. The crowded central business district turned into the accommodation area when the railway hit the community in 1915. In 1930, when the central business district had completely moved to the Tip Chang Street, the Indians started to move in and settle with their textile businesses. Due to its success, more and

more people immigrated to establish their settlements near the train station.(Hengsadeekul)

Kad Kong Taa and Conservation

The Kad Kong Taa Street Market has been supported by the Tourism Authority of Thailand since 1998, with the aim to preserve the traditional market area. However, it was not successful until the locals from the community took part in the management in 2005. At this time, the governor of Lampang and the government had fully supported the community by establishing regulations, administering the market areas to ensure the selling of various merchandise rather than selling only traditional souvenirs, since the people in the area were not only the tourists. These people accordingly needed a variety of goods. The main attraction of Kad Kong Taa is its quality of being on one of the historical routes which contains old buildings and houses able to communicate exotic and romantic vibes. The Conservation Committee wanted this street market to be sufficiently sustainable to stand by itself, not to be merely a tourist attraction. They aimed to create a place where every member in the family could share their activities together. Moreover, they wanted this place to be a regional arena where people could experiment with their own businesses.(Hengsadeekul)



Figure 88 Sunday Market at Kad Kong Taa, Lampang

Source: <http://www.lampangcenter.com/newsdetail.php?CID=5>



Figure 89 The Old buildings in the Kad Kong Taa area.
Source: Em (2016)

Government support has played the biggest part in order to preserve and develop the Kad Kong Taa Community. Finally, Kad Kong Taa Community has won an award in Best Architecture Preservation for a local community in 2008 from The Association of Siamese Architects (Under Royal Patronage). The policy which seeks to decentralize power to the people to fully manage their own community must give them opportunities “to think, manage and administer by themselves for their own sake”.(Hengsadekul)

However, there are still no regulations on building reconstruction or any renovation in this area but only a request for cooperation which has been submitted to the community. Moreover, there are also frequent activities and campaigns to renovate the buildings for educational purposes, by setting some posters and signs that explain about the building significance, including QR Codes that provide the building information for the readers.



Figure 90 Kad Kong Taa Signs
Source: Em (2016)

Applications to Wat Ket Community.

In the search for guidelines to preserve the community of Wat Ket, we could adjust concepts from each of the three case studies above. Thonburi's Kudijeem community has a particular affinity with the case of Wat Ket: both are at the margin of their ancient city centers, separated by their respective rivers; both are mainly to be dated to the early Rattanakosin period; both are multi-ethnic and multi-religion and, significantly, characterized by racial and religious harmony. There is a difference, however, in how that harmony seems to have been achieved. In the case of Kudijeem that harmony seems to have formed over a long time, possibly catalyzed by the calming effects of royal intervention. (King, 2011) Wat Ket, on the other hand, reveals something far more relevant to the present study: it was the battle for local heritage that especially forged the cooperation across the religio-ethnic communities. No such battles are recorded in the case of Kudijeem. It is significant that Kudijeem's heritage relates far more to its great temples, church and mosques than to its everyday

architecture of houses, shop rows, schools and the like. It is grand heritage versus local heritage.

Samchuk Market, like Wat Ket, had been a place of local struggle for what might be termed “the heritage of the everyday”. While this demonstrates the power of a battle for heritage in forging community unity and strength, it is noteworthy that Samchuk was not a community of religio-ethnic difference. Likewise Kong Taa is to be seen as a case of community strengthening rather than community bridging, in the context of a struggle for the heritage of the everyday.

There is also the warning sounded in the case of Kudijeen: with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and its special manifestation in the case of Thailand’s South, religio-ethnic harmony is not to be taken for granted.

4.3 Memory and the role of Architecture and Landscape

The real lesson to be drawn from Wat Ket is that concern for heritage can be determinative in the forging of community coherence. Missing from this argument, however, is the construction of heritage through memory. This is most clearly expressed through the ways that memory attaches to architecture, landscape and social practices. We begin with consideration of **architecture** and memory.

Even though the owner of the place might have changed, they will always maintain the unique characteristics of the building. For example, the Doctor Jinda’s Building which later turned into Rarinjinda Resort & Spa was renovated as a resort but still partly kept the old name of the building. Another example is the 137 Pillars House which was once owned by Uncle Jack (Jarín Bane), the owner of the Borneo Wood Trading Company, who expressed his last intention to the one who had bought the place as being “to conserve and not to destroy the place”. The buyer fell in love with the place and named it as 137 Pillars House according to the number of pillars of Uncle Jack’s House.

The importance of these kinds of events makes us realize that the community cherishes the buildings’ uniqueness and historical values. Likewise the new residents who moved in similarly value the places. Although it is not necessary for them to preserve a place, they still see its significance in conserving the landmarks which create more added value to the place. Nowadays, Rarinjinda Resort & Spa and 137 Pillars House are regarded as 5-star resorts.

Historical significance is equally expressed in landscape and the memories attached to it. Wat Ket is a community that has been settled for a very long period of time. Due to its significance as an old port town, there were many social, economic and historical changes in the area which are written on its streetscapes and wider urban landscape. This historical significance seems well recognized and to underlie the tendency to conserve this historical landscape.

Then there is **cultural significance**, also linked to memory: Wat Ket community additionally has significance in its many cultures and traditions that were passed down from generation to generation. The residents of Wat Ket Community inherited various traditions which they viewed as a “*positive thing to pass down to their descendants*” such as Jerng Traditional Dance that allows adults to perform the dance with the later generation which includes children from different religions. Sometimes, they might ask the local scholars or teachers to spread these kinds of local knowledge through activities such as making “Sapao” (the floating of offering boats). This is the way to implant these good values into children and to conserve Lanna’s tradition so that the later generation would know its significance and also why it is important to create strong bonds between families and institutions. This would strengthen the community, unite all ages, genders and religions to create community bonds. *Chiangmai University’s Field Trip* is one of the activities that raises the awareness for the community to better see the importance of traditions and cultures, as they are guided through Wat Ket Community.

. 4.4 Reasons behind Wat Ket success

Further lessons to be drawn from the Wat Ket case relate to reasons for the community’s success. Crucially, the people were able to form a strong community in response to the road expansions and condominium plan that would have expropriated the Sikhs’ Temple, the Christian Church and the Buddhist Temple. Stealing away these resources would have destroyed the community, a reality that was recognized by all religio-ethnic groups, not least because they would all have been affected.

The people of the community value their own places. They cherish their places of residence and do not want to sell. Even though they somehow changed those places for some other form of business, from an old house to a café for example, still they will never sell it to the developers.

The residents in the community have great understanding towards each other. They decide and compromise on things respectfully with great teamwork and cooperation in order to provide activities that would implant good values in the people

in order to live together peacefully in the same society. No matter what religion or culture they are from, the traditions they share have created strong bonds between people.

The community believes in its leaders, who have devoted themselves to the community, listening to all members of the community, concerned with the public benefits and able to find a solution for all matters for the community effectively, raising funds, achieving clean and honest procedures without any corruption. The role of strong *religious* leaders, who are also tolerant and compromising, is a special lesson emerging from Wat Ket, and raises a troubling question: is an absence of such tolerance and compromise to be seen as a factor in the inability in other situations to find bridges across difference?

The community has also received input from outside agencies as well. Most of the government agencies and private organizations have been agents to raise the awareness of the people in the community to gather together. The community wants to conserve their traditions and local knowledge in order to pass this down to their descendants, expecting that there would be more enhancements that would contribute to the traditions by letting outsiders spread yet further knowledge inside the community, including the knowledge that enables resistance and action. The role of outside agencies in assisting local communities to protect and enhance their traditions and culture is a common theme in Thai ethnographic studies – in the case of Samchuk Market recounted above, the external agent was initially Dr. Somkiat Onwimol

Even though these procedures do not make everyone in the community rich, yet everyone could have a happier life. If the people were happy enough, the people of the community would cooperate with each other in order to create greater productivity and a stronger community such as through the Elders Caring Program whereby they would create tranquility for the community.

The Changes in Land Use from Generation to Generation

Wat Ket community has changed its land use over many generations. With the passage of time it is impossible to maintain the land-use purpose of an area as it was in the past. From the port and market area of the past, Wat Ket community started to have more diversity, changing to other kinds of business, caused by the later generations seeking to develop their businesses according to wider world trends. The

traditional residents would want their descendants to succeed in their businesses so they allowed them to alter the business into what they wanted to do.

Nowadays, the native residents let the outsiders rent their land or, even more, to sell it to the newcomers. Renovations and some conservation occurred after the buying but now the trend seems to be looking forward to benefits that would lure those with high purchase power to settle their businesses here. If we are not sufficiently aware of these issues, this would affect the community and change the area into one only for high income residents, losing all sense of a peaceful, reciprocal and traditional community as it used to be in the old days.

Future Concerns for Wat Ket

The previous success of Wat Ket does not guarantee future success. The people are still concerned about the future where they have no legal support from the government in conserving their traditions. There was only an announcement that it would be a residential area for conservation but, so far, none of the buildings are officially protected by legislation.

Globalization still provides threats for the community. The only asset here is the strength of the community where all would stand tall as one in order to protect their homeland. Unfortunately, no one knows whether in the future the community will be weaker or will still be the same Wat Ket community as it is today, or how much change there could be to challenge present values.

Kudeejeen, Samchuk and Kad Kong Taa

While Wat Ket and Thonburi's Kudijeem present similar situations of ethnic and religious tolerance, there is a profound difference in the production of this condition – the *longue durée* in the case of Kudijeem, the more immediate and dramatic in Wat Ket. Indeed, it is suggested, the strong lesson emerging from Wat Ket is that it is the issue of local heritage – albeit narrowly self-centered – that has been the immediate catalyst in forging stronger inter-group links in the case of Wat Ket. There is a potentially uniting power in the idea of heritage. Both Samchuk and Kad Kong Taa present a different basis for comparison with Wat Ket. Unlike Wat Ket and Kudijeem, these are not cases of religious diversity, though there is certainly an element of ethnic and cultural difference. Rather, Samchuk and Kad Kong Taa illustrate the mechanisms whereby heritage concerns can lead to community

strengthening. Additionally, Samchuk like Wat Ked highlights the role of outside agents in assisting traditional communities.

Also to be repeated is the warning in the case of Kudijeen: with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and its special manifestation in the case of Thailand's South, religion-ethnic harmony is not to be taken for granted. The lessons from both *longue durée* Kudijeen and the more immediate and the arguably more nationally relevant Wat Ket need to be taken into a much wider national (even international) debate – the concerns of heritage can potentially cut across societal divisions that find their base in religion and ethnicity, although, it seems, *only when there is already tolerant co-existence*.



Chapter 5

Multi-cultural challenges in heritage

Introduction. The purpose of this chapter is to widen the discussion further on the issues of heritage and its potential in the bridging of communities, which have emerged from the case of Wat Ket. The turn will be to a series of cases, namely Kudijeen, Samchuk and Kad Kong Taa introduced in Chapter 4, also Hanoi, Seoul, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Canada on each of which which supplementary data are presented in Appendix B. This is followed by discussion of cultural heritage management approaches of these eight cases compared with Wat Ket's management and some lessons from the study.

Vietnam-Hanoi

Vietnam is in the present time enjoying increasing prosperity. On the other hand, there is much damage to the architecture in Hanoi. The capital of Vietnam, Hanoi was widely recognized as one of the Wonders of Asia. The rapid growth in population has created more pressure on the capital which was once filled with traditional houses, stores, temples, a peaceful lake and French-styled mansions that were located scattered on various roads.

It is very challenging for the political leaders to deal with Hanoi's rapid growth in population while also concerned with the way to conserve the national heritage of the city. Due to the rapid changes, the government had realized the importance of preserving this heritage. The government has also supported the protection of the ruins of the ancient citadel as well as "The Old Quarter" so that there would be more people who will participate in preserving and renovating the cultural heritage, which is regarded as *a duty* both for the wider community and also its immediate residents, controlled by strict laws to preserve the national ruins and the culture.

There was strong cooperation between community, local governments and international organizations. A team of Franco-Vietnamese architects and academic scholars had categorized the buildings into three different periods which makes it easier to distinguish the buildings' significances and to devise plans of management.

What has made Vietnam a strong nation is, in part, that the Vietnamese government had recognized the importance of preserving the cultural heritage, hoping that the later generation would inherit something from it, succeeding in their work and

maintaining the true spirit of Hanoi so that the traditional people would be more likely to stay within the area, receiving help and support from the government without any conflict. While certainly not without its instances of conflict, it is this central role of government in heritage advocacy that offers the strongest lesson for Thailand.

Seoul - South Korea

The conservation of national heritage in Seoul has developed rapidly and successfully even though these heritage elements reside in a very modernized environment. Seoul is a city of cultural diversity, in large part linked to its religious diversity. There is a strong belief in religion though half claim to be formally atheist.

There are three main religions, namely Buddhism, Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Confucian ideology is also very strong, likewise shamanism. In the prosperous period of Buddhism, there were many sacred buildings built as Buddhist temples. Nowadays, even though there are more Christians than the Buddhists, there are still many renovations for these sacred places so that the people could be able to see and study them closely.

There is also a conservation area of *Bukchon Hanok Village* which is an ancient and a traditional community of Koreans, though most of its surviving traditional buildings date from the 1920s. The village has been preserved by the government, allowing outsiders to see a 600 years old environment, albeit rebuilt over time. Those who owned the property within the village area are still able to live freely on their own without government interference.

There is also a restoration of the Cheonggyecheon Stream led by the Mayor of Seoul who successfully used the government's budget to create one of the interesting landmarks in Seoul by consulting the people in the area more than 4300 times. This restoration project not only created ecological opportunities but also recreational activities. It draws various people from teenagers to elders, from the north side and the south side of the central city together.

Although South Korea has a very modernized environment due to economic change, Seoul can be considered as one of the role models for other nations to manage its property and cultural heritages. Most dramatically, the city has recreated its ancient Chosun-era palaces – effectively simulacra. The conserved (also recreated) elements do not need to be entirely traditional or ‘authentic’; rather, they will be appropriated into the culture's revival, creating new value for the city which fascinates the later generation to learn more about Korean culture. Moreover, it has also promoted South Korea to be one of the best tourist attractions.

Singapore

Singapore is a developed country with modern technology and a growing though arguably belated recognition of its history and heritage resources. In the past, the country's leaders thought that the country's development and the conservation of its cultural heritage cannot be compatible. Thus they had demolished a lot of historic buildings and changed to be a "skyscraper city" while the old buildings and shophouses in Chinatown were destroyed to enable residential towers to support a high-density population. Later, the country's leader realized that while the influence of western culture might help the country to develop rapidly, the country would thereby lose Asian cultural values.

The conservation and restoration of the country's culture started with the Singapore tourism board approving a budget for 97.5 million Singapore dollars to change and improve the area associated with the ethnic groups, together with government support to help the building owners to adjust their buildings related to their race and its customs, especially in the trading zone. This policy was essentially for tourism but they did not take into account the ways of life and a variety of the real needs of ethnic communities and their people. For example, in Little India, after the government improved and developed this area to be an Indian heritage shopping zone, a lot of old merchants had to move out because the rental rate was too high and the next merchants were not Indians who lived in this area.

It seems this policy is mostly on the right track and one can envy a country where the government will provide such attention. However, investing a lot of money to develop only the physical aspects of the heritage would seem futile without deeply researching to the core of the cultural heritage of the various races in the society or to the effects on local people who cannot stay in their traditional locales because of the high cost of living there. When the old location no longer has an older cohort of people, how can we say this is cultural heritage?

Malaysia-Kuala Lumpur

Just like other Asian cities, Kuala Lumpur has been eager to compete when it comes to city planning. To become more modernized, more construction such as skyscrapers were needed to accommodate its population and commercial activity adequately. The city plan was designed to fulfill the material needs of the people so that Malaysians would be able to compete with other nations proudly. The Malaysian political leadership had foreseen that there will definitely be an increasing population, so *Putrajaya* was established in 1995, as a decentralized center of government, separated from Kuala Lumpur, in order to control the rapid growth in population and the center's traffic issues.

There were policies and planning resolutions to expand the areas of transportation, the use of land, infrastructure, information technology, parks and recreational facilities in order to make Kuala Lumpur a great tourist attraction.

Kuala Lumpur is a city of cultural diversity with Chinese, Malays, Indians and Pakistanis. The majority of its population comprises Malays and Chinese. Even though Muslims are the majority of the people, Muslim cultures are not well-supported, especially as the city has become more culturally mixed according to the latest trend of globalization which effectively lessens its cultural specialisations.

Malaysia was voted to be “The Best Muslim Tourist Attraction” ranked by the Singapore-based Crescent Rating. There has, however, been only limited effort at planning and design to safeguard older communities and their heritage; further, race relations continue to be strained.

Canada

Canada is a multi-cultural country. Their history of settlement and colonization has contributed to their challenges, exacerbated by later waves of immigration from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. One attempt at bridging the differences was in 1962, when the Canadian Parliament legislated an immigration law as proposed by the Conservatives that is still in use today, to stop discrimination among ethnic groups. Therefore, all cultures from all ethnic groups are recognized and respected in Canada. This applies to heritage as well. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, section 27, states that “the charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians”.

These issues and measures at their resolution are recounted in detail in Appendix B.

Cultural heritage management approaches of five case studies compared with Wat Ket's management

Even though Wat Ket's city plan shared many common characteristics with provisions for Hanoi's “Old Quarter”, the Wat Ket community is just an old community area where traditional houses of the locals are still to be seen. Today, Hanoi's “Old Quarter” is still considered as a central business district where trading and selling occurs. It is an all-time favorite spot for locals and tourists to do some shopping there.

Hanoi is different from Wat Ket because it has been well-recognized both by the government and also by various private sector fractions. There have been many studies on the city's plan and its architectural significance. As a result, the city has promoted occupations that would facilitate tourism in Hanoi. Many buildings in the community area were officially licensed to be conserved.

On the other hand, Wat Ket's community was not planned to be a tourist attraction from the start. As we can see from the rejection of the Chiang Mai Walking Street project, Wat Ket's community knew that this would attract a lot of tourists and profit to the community, but the people did not want to create "a human safari zone" within their community. They just wanted to live their daily lives ordinarily just as it used to be.

Hanoi's strength was that there were many volunteers and organizational supports from within and outside the country that shared the same perception, aiming to conserve Hanoi's special characteristics. With governmental support, the conservation plan reached its success effectively.

The great thing about Seoul is how well it can blend the cultures of Buddhism and Christianity together, albeit as juxtaposition rather than as hybrid. We can still see people with Buddhist traditional beliefs while the numbers of Christians are increasing each year.

As understandings of a Korean "way of life" has changed through time, the government sees importance in preserving the culture by using various traditional landmarks as sites of preservation areas such as Bukchon Hanok Village that promotes Traditional Korean Culture. Similarly, previously destroyed historical landmarks are being reconstructed.

The government partly bought some houses in the Bukchon area, supporting the village by providing some budget for the conservation project in order to maintain their cultural heritage values. Some of the residents in Bukchon Hanok insisted not to give their properties to the government and decided to stay in the place where they were born and were familiar with. Most houses in the village were well renovated so it could be proudly presented to the tourists as demonstration of their traditional culture. Eventually, this has made Bukchon Hanok one of the greatest attractions in Seoul.

It has silenced the later generation's ideas of how they wanted to live and what occupation they would like to hold on to. The houses in Bukchon Hanok were preserved but without seeking any consensus from their inhabitants. For Wat Ket's community, the people would not wish for such a strategy and such a top-down approach would not be acceptable. The only aspect that seems to provide a good

model for Thai society is how well the South Korean people and the government have cooperated together in order to create their own community.

The similarity between how Singapore and Wat Ket deal with their urban environment is how governments in both cases have emphasized only the economic aspects without concern for the architectural heritage. Even though Singapore has flourished with diverse cultures and multiple religions since it was a port city just like the Wat Ket area, the conservation of Wat Ket became a duty of the Fine Arts Department alone without any help from the people; the key for Singapore was the URA (Urban Redevelopment Authority). Due to Singapore's rapid economic growth, many changes have completely destroyed elements of their cultural heritage. No matter how government has spent its budget to renovate cultural sites, they could not retrieve what they have lost. The only thing they can produce is just an artificial replica that could resemble the lost heritages they once had. Unfortunately, these replicas attract only the mainstream tourists who do not seek for authentic culture.

Wat Ket's community should learn from Singapore that they should not allow the government to interfere in their valuable cultural sites. At this point, Wat Ket community is still able to negotiate with the state in order to protect their cultural heritage. Due to the rapid economic growth, the community seems to be at risk since they do not know how long they can maintain this status with government.

Wat Ket's community needs to clarify their policies and solutions in order to prevent the problems that occurred in Singapore. Somehow, there were some significant advantages that the Singapore government had given to the community. In economic aspects, it might be seen as fortunate that the old area of Singapore became a central business district. But as for Wat Ket's community, they do not want the status of a central business district. Therefore, Singapore's city planning process cannot be applicable to Wat Ket's Community.

The striking thoughts that come from how Malaysia pursued their conservation relate to how Kuala Lumpur changed its central business district. It has shifted much of its population so it would be less-crowded than previously. This may have inspired Chiang Mai scholars when there was an expropriation of Wat Ket's area for road widenings, also resulting in the community's campaign against the private organization's 300-room condominium construction site.

The factor that articulates the Wat Ket community relates to its three religions and their beliefs. There were local institutes that provided education for young children so that they could be friends, creating strong mutual bonds and growing up together. Wat Ket's community can stand strongly together to maintain their community, cooperating with various powerful organizations such as Department of Fine Arts and

Architects' Council of Thailand in order to preserve their cultural heritage with their power supported by the state authorities.

This approach has also enhanced the significance of Kudijeen to be publicly recognized, in order to create a strong community with a self-sufficient economy.

The lesson we have learned from Canada is how they manage their cultural diversity by licensing *The Canadian Charter* in order to diminish racial discrimination. This charter has promised minorities that they would have a better and a more secure life. Even though Wat Ket's community does not have this issue, yet in the future changes may occur and we do not have any guarantee that racial discrimination will completely disappear from the society. Thailand's disturbances in the south present an ominous warning of the fragility of inter-community relations.

Some lessons

From the discussions of this and the preceding Chapter 4, some general ideas can be drawn on the management of heritage in a diverse community.

First, there must be a strong law of heritage in action. Second, financial and communication plans are necessary. Third, one must develop cooperation between communities, local governments, international organizations and academics as one continues a conservation program for the community.

Conservation procedures need to emphasize both physical and cultural significance of the heritage. Policies for conservation and sustainable development of both physical and cultural aspects, based on architectural conservation and sustainable development, might be as follows: 1) To encourage public awareness of heritage; 2) To ensure a worthwhile visitor experience; 3) To involve host and indigenous communities; 4) To provide benefits for the local community; 5) To advance a promotional program.

In the present, post-industrial age, community conservation must adapt to the compromise between historical background and modernist development by adopting a pro-active design process, adopting a long-term vision and having a taskforce for cultural agency from each group in a heterogeneous community. Heritage conservation and modernity are not necessarily in conflict. Rather, they are inseparably linked by the 'search for identity', which looks back to the past, and the forward-looking modernity of the 'demand for progress'. With increasing globalization, the 'search for identity' may be expected to play a larger role in urban development, bringing both economic growth and empowerment. The appropriation of economic benefits from conservation is a long-standing goal of the heritage conservation movement.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In Chapter 1 above, a two-part question was posed as the motivating idea for the present study. The first part related to the processes whereby community union-in-action was forged in the case of Wat Ket community. This, it would seem, has been clearly answered in the revelation of the power of shared heritage concerns in bringing different religio-ethnic groups together, also highlighting the role of local community leaders in bringing such groups together.

The second part of the guiding question has been more problematic: does the bridging of differences seemingly revealed in the Wat Ket case suggest insights into the broader and more intractable divisions in society? It would seem scarcely likely that a shared concern for local heritage can bridge the present-day Red Shirt versus Yellow Shirt rift in Thai society, nor that expressed in the troubles of the South. Yet even here something of an answer – more a caution – can be suggested: just as the harmony of Wat Ket, also that of Kudijeen, has taken centuries to build up, aided by shared interests, so these other current rifts are tasks to be worked on.

The following paragraphs elaborate on these issues more generally, drawing the study's lessons together. They provide a more general conclusion to the analyses of preceding chapters.

Lessons

Wat Ket community has unique significance. An incomparable strength has formed within the community over a very long history. There is an “unbreakable bond” that connects the people from different ethnic groups and different religions by uniting them as one. The locals from Wat Ket community are reliable people who are also very open-minded. Whenever there is any issue of concern, the people in the community would stand tall together and help one another. For each religio-ethnic community, leaders were not designated officially but they were strong figures who were well-accepted among the community. If there is a conflict, they will eventually solve the problem as soon as possible. These strengths and bonds were demonstrated through various activities of the community that have shown the values that people place on both the community and its physical fabric.

In any concern with Wat Ket's heritage and identity, we are dealing with memories that attach to both an intangible heritage of ideas, practices, beliefs, arts, ceremonies, and a tangible heritage of the built fabric that has contained and framed those ideas,

practices and the like. Even though there were some changes in owners of premises that constitute

that built fabric, the locals tend to maintain its specialties due to the traditions of the community. It has become common sense that the locals viewed this maintenance of some status quo as an “acceptable thing to do” since there were no official supports from the government that take the issue seriously, and without concern about the profits they would get from the community. Somehow, the community has managed to self-govern effectively. It is worth noting that Wat Ket’s unique characteristics have created a phenomenon that scholars from different institutes have come to observe and to join together as one thereby to help develop the community sustainably.

Any strategies to develop the community to maintain cultural diversity in Wat Ket Community must be based on principles of equality. But due to the changes that can occur at any time, we could never predict how it is going to be in the future. The community is going to need to monitor conditions in both its immediate and wider environment to anticipate effects and consequences, thereby to prevent the problems that might occur.

It has been useful in this project to observe how other urban societies have managed the heritage of historic quarters and their communities – in Hanoi, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore and elsewhere. A variety of lessons have emerged from these observations. A first such lesson would be that the intentions of governments are rarely benign, instead seeing these old quarters variously as higher-density redevelopment opportunities, as space for roads and other infrastructure, or else to be commodified for tourist consumption. A second lesson is that a high level of community solidarity and shared aspirations are necessary to resist such intrusions and that, in a community of ethnic, religious and economic diversity, this sense of unity must be “worked for”. It is not achieved without effort. A third lesson is that the community must “look outwards” – to neighbouring communities with whom alliances can be forged but also to external expertise and resources, especially to the resources represented in the nation’s universities and tertiary institutes, similarly to the power of the media.

The manifestations of these lessons are brilliantly displayed in the case of Wat Ket. The first lesson, above, takes on a special complexity due to the multiple levels of government in Thailand – national, provincial, municipal, also the large numbers of semi-independent agencies. The consequence is that the community must negotiate its way through multiple and sometimes inconsistent and conflicting policies and objectives of different agencies – a planning authority versus the TAT, for instance. The Wat Ket case also demonstrates a process that seems especially unique to

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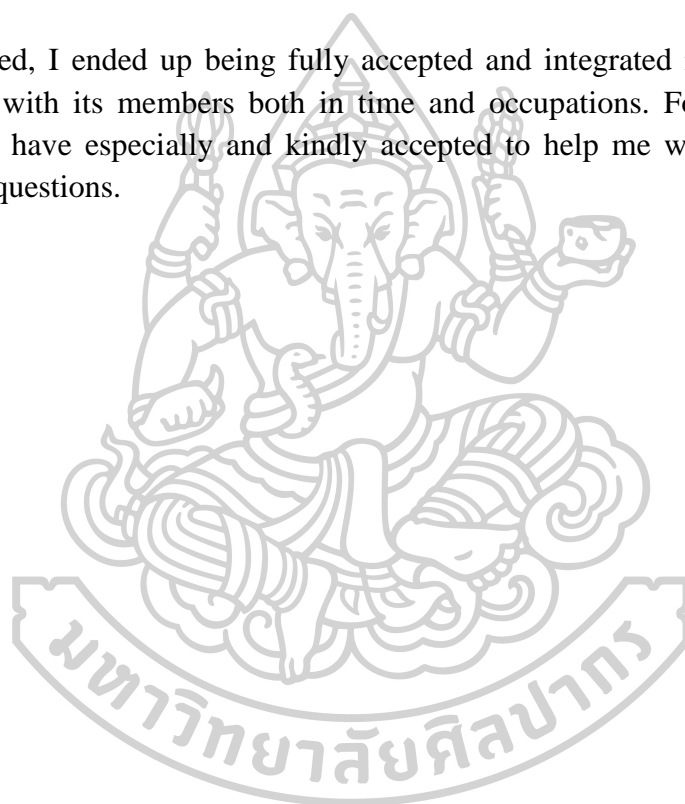
Appendix



Appendix A

I carried out a field study in the Wat Ket community, where I could participate in the activities of the area, establish a close relationship with the people and collect first hand information. Because a true relationship with locals is a prerequisite to obtaining valuable information, I communicated as frequently as possible with members of this community, getting facts and information as original and authentic as possible.

Indeed, I ended up being fully accepted and integrated into the community, and shared with its members both in time and occupations. Following is a list of people who have especially and kindly accepted to help me with the research and answer my questions.



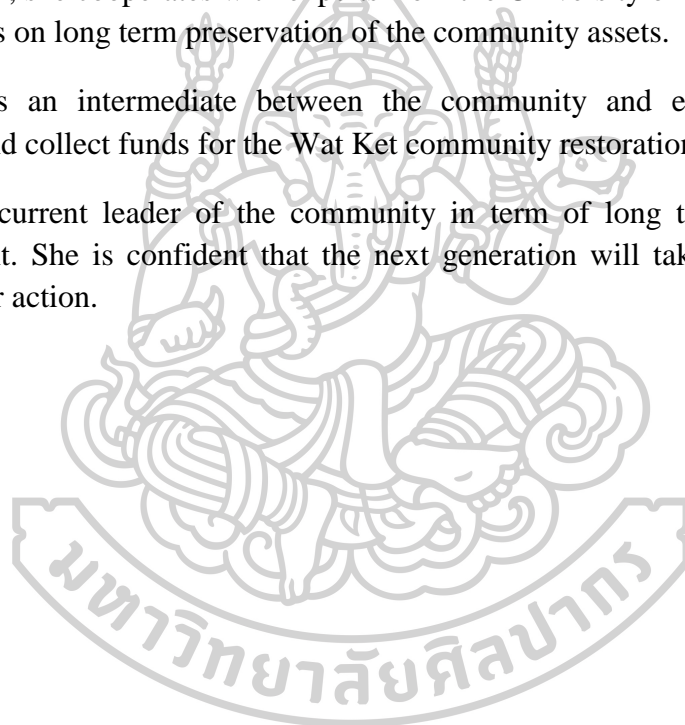
1. (Interviewer 1)

She is the most prominent character in the Wat Ket community, as far as life style and habits are concerned. She led the protests against the Nawarat road building project during the years 2007-2008, and she acts as a coordinator of the association “Protect and Preserve Wat Ket Community”. She has long been working on research and community development at the Research Institute on Society at the University of Chiang Mai, to establish a sustainable development project for the community.

She writes and publishes articles in newspapers, authors books and advertises her work and actions to an outside audience. Regarding building and architecture conservation, she cooperates with experts from the University of Chiang Mai, looking for solutions on long term preservation of the community assets.

She acts as an intermediate between the community and external preservation agencies, and collect funds for the Wat Ket community restoration works.

She is the current leader of the community in term of long term and sustainable development. She is confident that the next generation will take over her role and continue her action.



2. (Interviewer 2)

He presides over the muslim community and represents associations which assist the Muslims in having good relations with other religions, and living in the mixed religious environment of the Wat Ket community.

He occupied the following functions:

2.1 Vice president at the Northern Region Center of the Foundation for Wellness of Thai-Muslim citizens

2.2 Co-founder of the Foundation for Wellness of Thai-Muslim citizens

2.3 Executive president of the private employees association of the City of Chiang Mai.

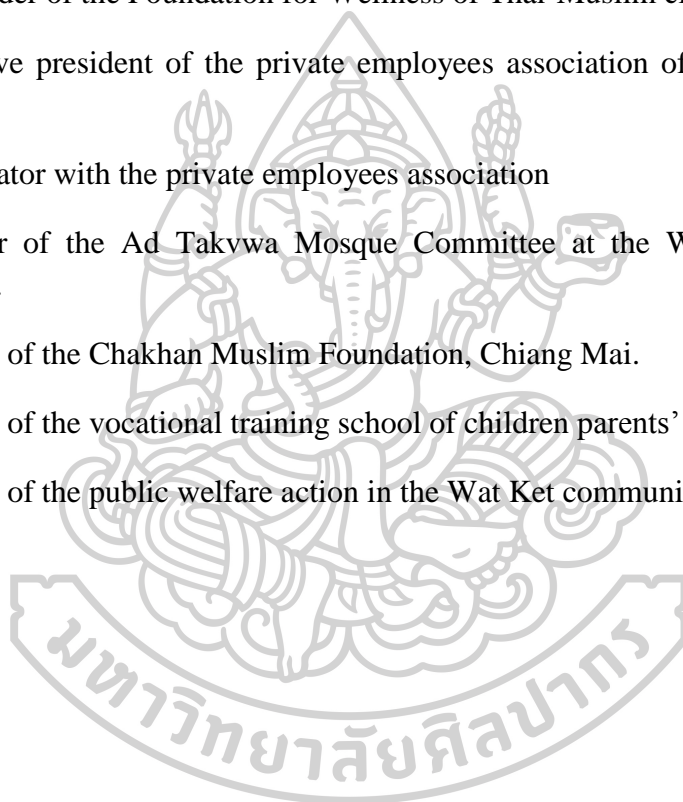
2.4 Coordinator with the private employees association

2.5 Member of the Ad Takvwa Mosque Committee at the Wat Ket community, Chiang Mai.

2.6 Member of the Chakhan Muslim Foundation, Chiang Mai.

2.7 Member of the vocational training school of children parents' association

2.8 Member of the public welfare action in the Wat Ket community.



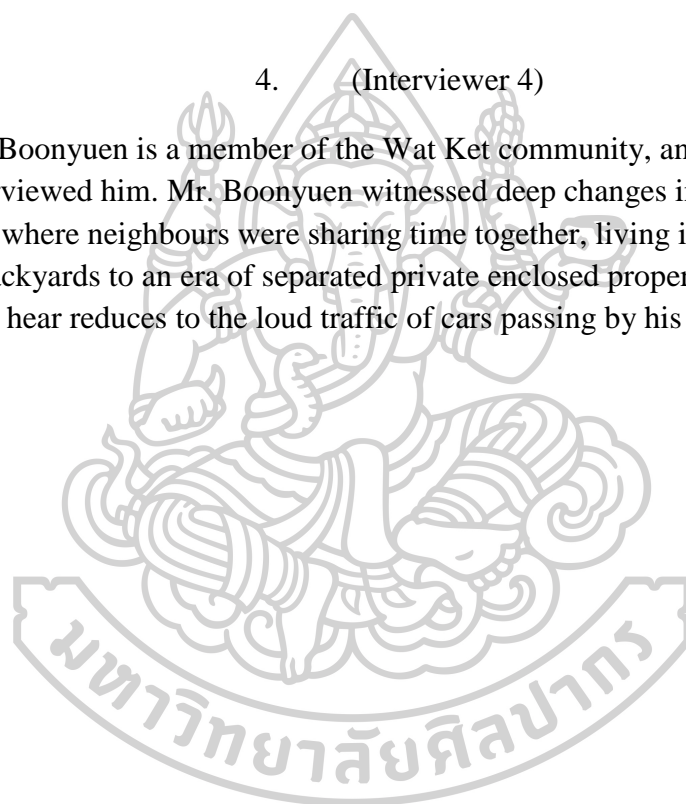
3. (Interviewer 3)

Mr. Somwang is a co-founder of the Wat Ket Museum, a local community museum. He is now in charge of the museum, working as a guide to explain and share his knowledge of the community to which he belongs.

His objective in creating the museum was to preserve artifacts of historical interest, from the daily life of all the communities that were present in Chiang Mai, to keep track of the people and languages present in Chiang Mai, and to educate the next generations about their own history.

4. (Interviewer 4)

Mr. Boonyuen is a member of the Wat Ket community, and was 97 years old when I interviewed him. Mr. Boonyuen witnessed deep changes in more recent times, from an era where neighbours were sharing time together, living in houses with fenceless backyards to an era of separated private enclosed properties. Nowadays, all what he can hear reduces to the loud traffic of cars passing by his home.



5. (Interviewer 5)

He is the former director of the Prince Royal College. In 1992, he was appointed director of the College. He insisted on using the Chiang Mai dialect to communicate during meetings between the teachers and school children's parents. He took the initiative of reviving the Muang dialect and reusing the Lanna style script. During his term, M. Pong supported activities involving the Muang dialectal language at all levels in his institution.

In the history and architectural domain, he made sure that the old school building (a 100 years old work) would be properly replaced by a new building respectful of the architecture and historical style at the same place.



6. (Interviewer 6)

She is a spokeswoman of the Christian community of Wat Ket. She grew up at the time of the foundation of the Christian Center of Chiang Mai. She finds guidance for her daily life in a regular reading of the Bible:

“Consider your neighbours as you would consider yourself.”

She follows this motto every day and teaches the new generation to abide by this principle. She participates in activities with the Wat Ket community in the name of the Chiang Mai Christian Association



7. Wat Ket traditional folk dancers group

The traditional folk dancers group of the Wat Ket community initiated and promoted a number of activities. They welcome the opportunities to help and teach the new generation on traditional ancestors' dances and to preserve the culture. They perpetuate the traditional way of teaching and transmit the best of their art and knowledge to the new generation.



Appendix B

Cities with similar characteristics to Wat Ket.

There are other cities studied in the course of the present project and that can be compared with Wat Ket Community in terms of multi-cultural, multi-lingual, and multi-religion people living in the same area, to explore how they conserve their valuable heritage or old constructions and to observe what can be learned from them. The following is especially pertinent to the discussion of Chapter 5.

1. Hanoi city (Vietnam)

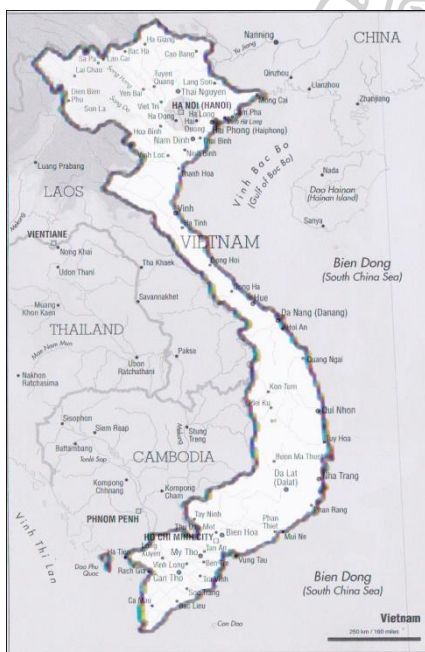


Figure 91 The Location of Vietnam

Source: Insight Pocket Guide: Hanoi & Northern Vietnam(2006)

Hanoi, capital of Vietnam, with an ancient and rich history, has to deal with being a tourist destination as well as historical conservation. Hanoi, also spelled Ha noi – ha meaning the river and noi, meaning inside(Rutherford, 2006)– is the capital of Vietnam. The city is situated in northern Vietnam on the west bank of the Red River, about 82 miles (140 km) inland from the South China Sea (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2016). When Vietnam became a Chinese protectorate in 111BC, The stage was set for a millennium of Chinese political and cultural dominance over the present-day North Vietnam and a depressing recurrence of wars and occupations which only ceased in 1979. Buddhism

flourished as the national religion, with numerous pagodas built during this period.(Coomber, 2006) One of the most striking things about Vietnam's capital Hanoi is its architecture. In places, the city is an architectural shambles where past and present collide in the form of French, Chinese, Soviet and local styles, while other parts of the

city are still remarkably faithful to the vision of French colonial planners. As the former capital of French Indochina, a rich variety of colonial style buildings decorate the city – from the grand to the modest, from the newly renovated to those near collapse. The French built their empire on the blood, sweat and tears of the local

population. Six decades after the departure of the French, those buildings have been welded into the distinctly Vietnamese character of the city and make a huge contribution to its atmosphere and charm.(Logan)

The 36 streets have interested European visitors since they first started visiting Hanoi.



Figure 92 The Municipal Theatre: The colonial architectural style in Hanoi
Source: Em (2011)

Samuel Bacon, in 1685 for example, noted how “all the diverse objects sold in this town have a specially assigned street”, remarking how different this was from “companies and corporations in European cities.” The streets in question not only sold different products, but were usually also populated by people from different areas of the country – even from single villages. They would live, work and worship together because each of the occupational guilds had its own temple and its own community support networks.(Eliot, 1999) Like many other countries in Southeast Asia, Vietnam is predominantly an agrarian nation. Hanoi, therefore, represents the quintessence of a wet rice civilization together with the dominance of Buddhism characterized by the cohesive attachment in families, kinships and communes. This is also the home of thousands of communal houses, pagodas and royal tombs and temples with unique Eastern architectural styles. Exciting festivals, commonly found in each and every commune and village, boast both legendary features and the actual life of hardworking farmers. From the 17th century to the early 20th, Western civilization was introduced, as Hanoi was always a city marked by diversity that came with its “36 streets and wards”, surrounded by rice-fields and handicraft villages. Over the past few years, Hanoi has seen extensive urban construction and development. The city has focused its investment in electricity and safe water projects, also rebuilding and enlarging the metropolitan traffic system. A large amount of investment has been

pumped into housing construction for all walks of life, also a housing allowance scheme for desperately poor and welfare-recipient families. From a small city with poor infrastructure, Hanoi is now different from itself of several years ago. Apart from the gradually renovated and preserved old quarters, there have recently emerged many new streets, deluxe hotels and office towers. Notably encouraged by a state policy that enables people to make their own choice of housing, the Hanoians have built thousands of villas whose architecture differs from one to another, radically changing the look of the past Hanoi. The development of new industrial zones in the city's outskirts helps sustain growth on one hand and address the opposing demand of industrial development and ecological protection on the other hand.(Nghien)



*Figure 93 On each road, all shops will practice a similar trade or business.
Source: Em (2011)*



*Figure 94 The colonial and Art-Deco style buildings: The Old Quarter, Hanoi
Source: Em (2011)*

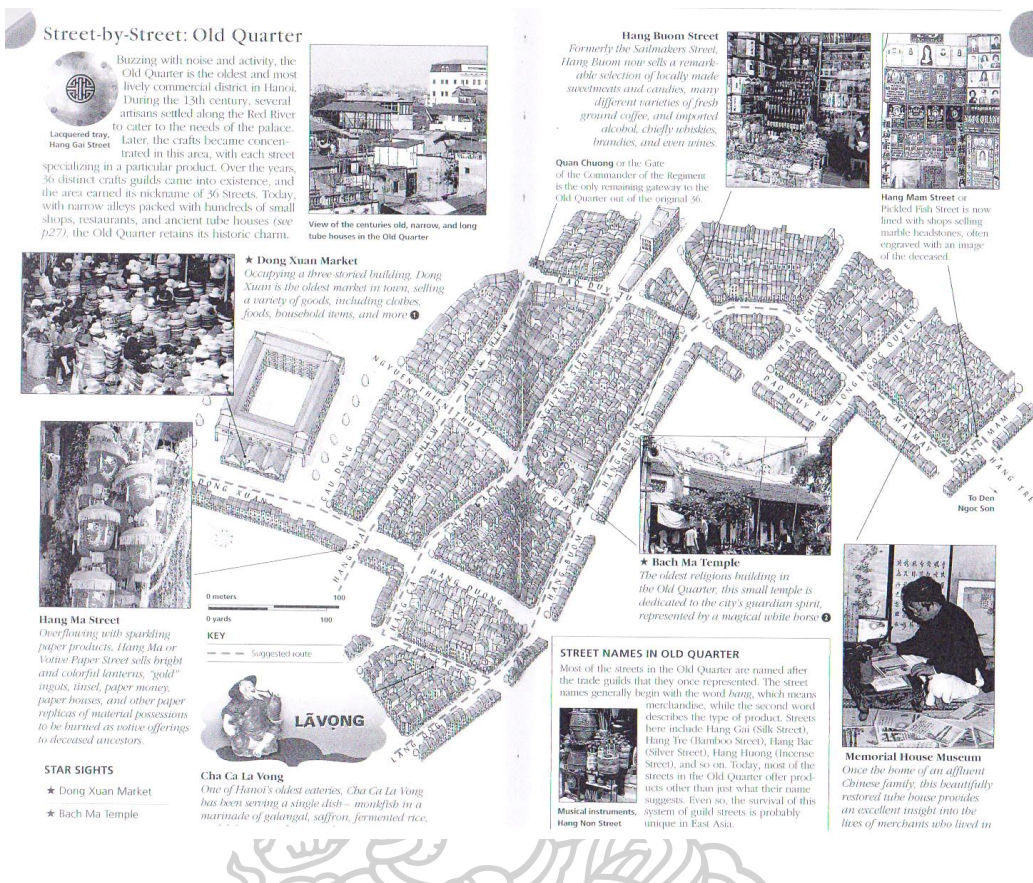


Figure 95 The overall plan of The Old Quarter, Hanoi
Source: Vietnam & Angkor Wat(2007)

The architectural heritage of the Old Quarter of Hanoi is mainly marked by three architectural eras: traditional Vietnamese or Chinese constructions, colonial, and Art-Deco style buildings. The constructions in the neighborhood are nowadays still mainly organized in accordance with a parcel system and an age-old construction principle.(Directorate)

In 1995, the Ministry of Construction determined that conservation should be the guiding principles for development of the Ancient Quarter in order to preserve its cultural and architectural heritage. Then on 5 April 2004, the ancient Quarter was classified as a national historic heritage site by the Ministry of Culture and



Figure 93 The architectural style of The Old Quarter, Hanoi

Source: Em(2011)

Information.(Steinberg, 2008) We find that Hanoi has a strong law of heritage in action and similarly has financial and communication plans and has developed cooperation between communities, local government, international organizations and academics for conserving the city of Hanoi. An example is the project for restoration of the architectural and urban heritage of HANOI 2010. One of the main objectives of Euro-Asian co-operation is to provide support in implementing restoration of this heritage. A team of Franco-Vietnamese architects is working together on a number of architectural projects, while Belgian and Vietnamese experts jointly draw up a Geographical Information System (SIG). Operational actions of the HANOI 2010 European Project on Art-Deco style building was drawing up for architectural projects on selected communal houses, also on several heritage houses and large-scale housing operations including implementation of a global project on a pilot block and a project for urban development on a line of streets and implementing a Geographical Information System over the entire Old Quarter. Further, there were actions in the legal, financial and communication fields by adoption of a regulation to preserve the Old Quarter, devising financial tools to finance restoration operations, setting up communication and advice on the Old Quarter and strengthening the Vietnamese teams in charge of restoration.(Directorate, 2010)

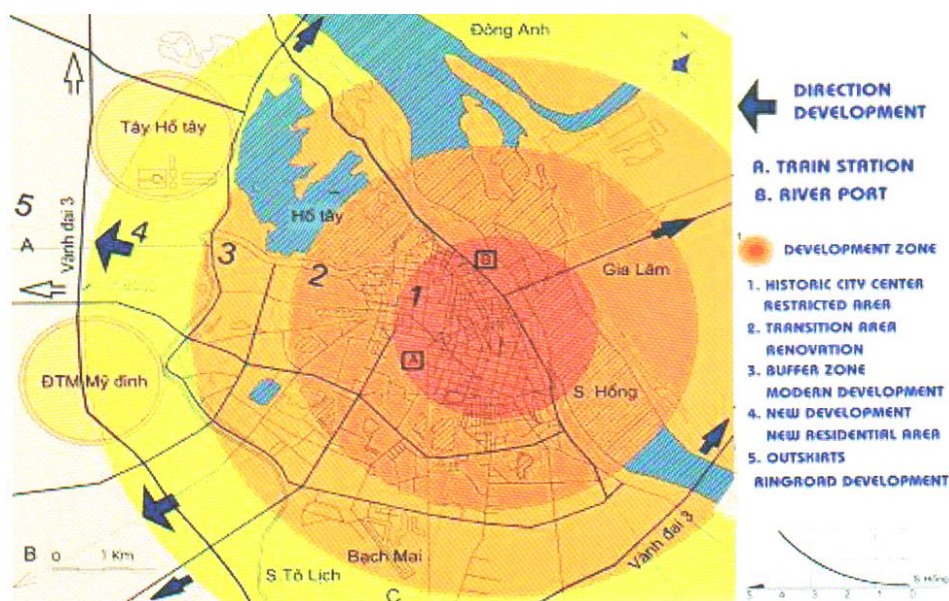


Figure 96 Hanoi's Spatial Development
Source: Revitalization of Historic Inner-City Areas in Asia (2008)

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and World Heritage

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1987 and now there are five World Heritage sites which comprise two Natural Heritage and three Cultural Heritage sites in the World Heritage List. After ratifying the Convention in 1987, there have been many considerable advances in the legal framework for this issue. In particular, the 1993 Constitution clearly stipulates heritage protection and focuses on the essential values of culture to Vietnamese, and “the Law on Heritage” in 2001 was formulated mainly based on the principles of the 1972 Convention and Orientation of World Heritage Centre. (Region, 2008) The Law on Heritage in 2001 covers all ways of heritage classification, controls archaeological excavations and trades or exchanges in artistic works, stipulates preservation activities, protection, and embellishment. The law also supports monitoring and evaluation tasks and listing valuable heritage areas at every level, from local, regional, national to global, as well as to stipulate the boundary of heritage areas and buffer zones. (Region, 2008)



Figure 97 The large central sector of the Imperial Citadel of Thang Long World Heritage and the glass floor for education purposes.

Source: Em (2011)

Planning Initiatives

The Hanoi Master Plan to the year 2020, which was approved by the prime minister on 20 June 1998, envisages the historic inner city as being dominated by small-scale commercial and trading activities and high-density residential areas. In addition to the area's architectural heritage, its natural environment and historical and cultural traditions are to be preserved. The plan introduces zoning controls as well as limits on the height of new buildings and includes upgrading and construction of social facilities. The most prominent public buildings addressed by the plan are the existing Municipal Center in Ba Dinh District, which is part of the national institutional and political center; Hoan Kiem, the municipal center of administrative politics; and the new cultural, commercial, financial and services center located at West Lake. (Steinberg)

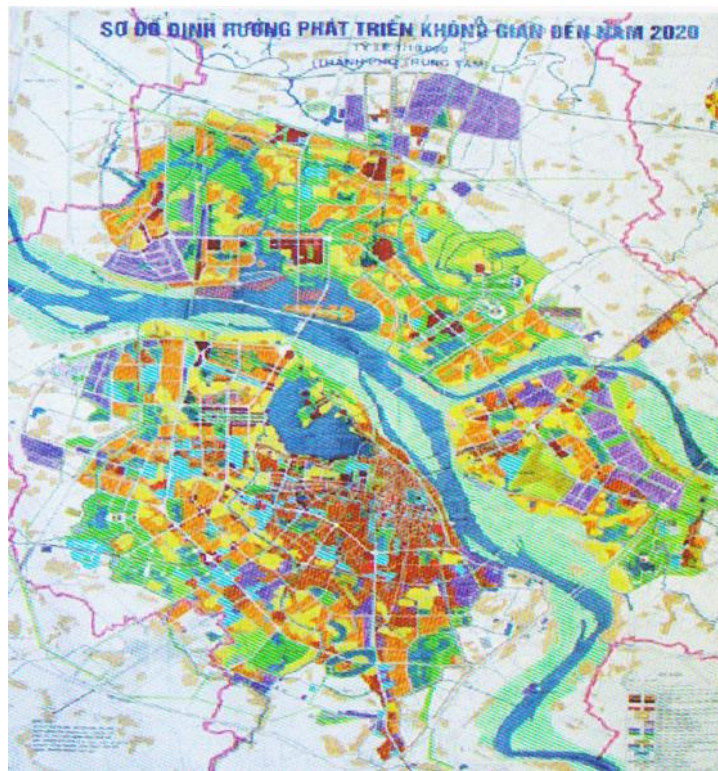


Figure 98 Ha Noi Master Plan 2020

Source: Ministry of Construction quoted in Revitalization of Historic Inner-City Areas in Asia (2008)

There are four types of land ownership in Hanoi's inner city:

Government-owned houses,

Mixed government–private ownership,

Private ownership, and

Company-owned units.

Nearly 20% of all buildings in the Ancient Quarter are state-owned. Government-owned buildings are managed by the City Land and Housing Department, which is also responsible for repair and maintenance of these buildings at no cost to lessees. Rental payments for residential accommodation are extremely low, at about 3–4% of a lessee's nominal salary. (Steinberg)

The Government realizes that while inner city revitalization can generate a significant amount of profit, this may require relocation of current residents. In October 1995, the Hanoi People's Committee designated the Hanoi Land and Housing Department as the agency responsible for implementing the renewal of the French Colonial Quarter. The major objective of this plan is to expropriate, restore, and

renovate 150 villas for high-end accommodation, as well as for rent to foreign businesses (Japan Bank for International Cooperation 1999). However, this plan has not yet been implemented due to problems relating to resettlement.(Steinberg)

2. Seoul (South Korea)

Seoul is the capital of South Korea, located at the north-west of South Korea covering around 600 square km., close to the border of the DMZ with North Korea. The city is surrounded by 8 mountains and divided by the Han River, passing through the city to the Yellow Sea.(History) Seoul was an early fortress and trade center; the modern city was founded in 1394 and became a colony of Japan in 1910. After World War II, Seoul was the base of the US military, later it became the capital of South Korea in 1948. The North Korean forces captured the city on 28 June 1950 in the Korean War and it changed hands four times until UN troops took over in March 1951.(T. C. E. Encyclopedia, 2012) With 600 years of history as Korea's capital, Seoul is an ancient city whose dramatic and at times tragic past is a microcosm of that of Korea as a whole. It is also a city that has remarkably transformed itself in the last half century or so from a medieval walled town to the bustling modern heart of one of the world's most vibrant economies. Evidence of the city's past can be found everywhere, from ancient royal palaces to grand colonial offices and shiny skyscrapers of glass and steel. Indeed, what makes Seoul such an interesting place is the sometimes breathtaking way in which the city blends past, present and future into a diverse urban space.(Koehler, 2009)

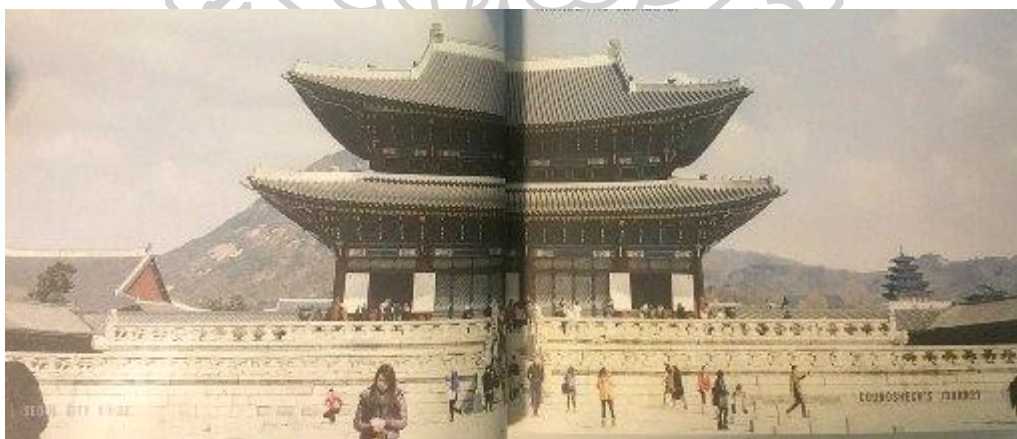


Figure 99 Gyeongbokgung Palace
Source: Seoul City Guide, (2015)

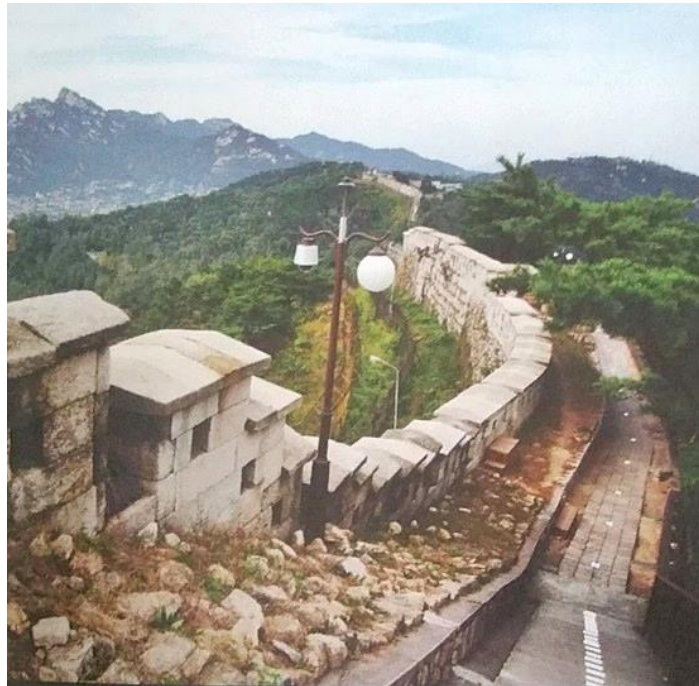


Figure 100 Seoul Fortress
Source: Seoul Selection Guides: SEOUL (2009)

With its many changes, Seoul presents as a multi-religion society: “Historians tell us that Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shamanism have all been prominent in Korea since early history”.(Koo, 2016) The government did a survey of “the population professing to hold religious affiliations in 2005”, which found more than 29% of Koreans were Christian (18.3% Protestant and 10.9% Roman Catholic), 22.8% were solidly Buddhist, while almost half (46.5%) claimed that they were not religious. In addition, there are also Muslims in Korea.(Koo, 2016) We can realize how religiously and ideologically singular Korea is. The most appropriate explanation for this might be that each religion is indifferent to the others, but this does not explain everything. Korea would seem to be the only country in the world which designates both the birthday of Jesus and that of Buddha as national holidays.(Joon-sik, 2010)

Much of the city’s architecture reflects religious beliefs from the past, for example Daegaksa is a Buddhist temple founded in 1911 by Yongseong Senumin, Maeseokga YeoraeJwasang; it displays a bas-relief carving of the Enlightened

Buddha. Yakhyeon Catholic Church, the first Catholic Church (Western style) in Korea; Chungdong First Methodist Church is Korea's first Protestant church, founded in 1897 by American Methodist missionary Appenzeller. Seoul Central Mosque is Korea's first permanent mosque and the only one in Seoul, as the mosque and Islamic center were founded in 1976.(Government) Today, Christianity is Korea's largest religion, and Korea now produces the world's second largest number of Christian missionaries behind the United States. Many of the first missionaries were educators in addition to being preachers, setting up many of Korea's first high schools and universities.(Koehler, 2009)

Owing to its politically strategic location between the palaces, Bukchon – or “North Village” – was long the preserve of Seoul's high-official elite. In the early 20th century, its large estates were broken up into smaller units to accommodate the city's growing population. It was at this time that the neighborhood took its current form of winding alleys with Korean *hanok* houses packed so closely together that, when seen from above, the area appears to be a sea of black tile. In recent years, Bukchon has received a good deal of attention from city authorities who view the area as a tourism resource. This has been a mixed blessing. The city has been pumping money into the neighborhood to protect and restore the *hanok* homes. At the same time, the growing tourist trade has led some *hanok* owners to turn their properties into commercial establishments such as guest houses, cafes and wine bars. This has proven controversial, with some critics decrying its harm to the residential neighborhood's traditional character.(Koehler, 2009)



Figure 101 Bukchon Hanok Village
Source: Seoul Selection Guides: SEOUL (2009)

Korea has long prided itself on its ethnic homogeneity. In recent years (2014), however, the claim to homogeneity has weakened greatly in the face of globalization and stark demographic trends. Some one million foreign-born individuals now live in Korea, many of whom are migrant workers from China, Southeast Asia and Central Asia. Another recent trend is foreign women – mostly from China, Vietnam and the Philippines – coming to Korea to marry Korean men, particularly in the countryside, where there is a lack of marriageable women. These new arrivals have injected new elements into the Korean cultural landscape, bringing with them their foods, languages and customs. In Seoul and its surrounding suburbs, this has even led to the creation of ethnic neighborhoods like Central Asia Village in Dongdaemun and Little Nigeria in Itaewon. (Koehler, 2009)

In the article “The Past for the Future: Seoul Design Intervention and Heritage Conservation towards an Era of U-cities”, Cho In-Souk mentioned that rapid economic development, social mobility, changing mores, and increasing tourism, both local and international, are taking place, with various impacts on heritage conservation in the city of Seoul and in its vicinity. The rights of property owners and people’s desire to improve their lives should be respected; at the same time, the city’s

cultural past should also be respected, and its cultural heritage sites must be protected accordingly. Sponsoring symposiums and seminars alone will not conserve and manage the city's cultural properties. The city needs its own guidelines and principles for conserving and restoring cultural heritage under its jurisdiction. They should be developed, especially for the "serial" heritage sites such as the Royal Palaces, Royal Shrine and Royal Tombs, as well as for the other sites of the rich heritage. A constructive thought would be to consider the idea of design intervention as a conservation and management strategy and to consider developing principles and guidelines accordingly. Suggestions for an effective adoption and application of improvements and advancements in Seoul's policy of conservation and management of its cultural heritage include the following: integrate the design intervention approach with the existing Ubiquitous City Strategic Plan; incorporate individual heritage sites as a linked whole; and initiate and develop principles of design intervention that would meet the special conditions and needs of Seoul. To fulfill this idea would be to suggest in a constructive manner: 1) the establishment of an "Authority of Sustainable Architectural Heritage, Seoul", where historic conservation in a proper manner of design intervention would be the focus; 2) the documentation of a "practical manual of Design Intervention and Restoration, Seoul"; and 3) the establishment of a "Heritage conservation and management system based on the ubiquitous technology, Seoul".(ICOMOS., 2011)

It is a model that might well be adopted for Wat Ket, albeit at a much smaller scale.

We could take a lesson from Seoul, South Korea, for the conservation of architectural heritage and cultural diversity as an attempt at compromise in using the area between the historical background and a modernization approach by utilizing the design process. Such is the case of the Seoul Metropolitan Library, which was built in 1926 as the Japanese-era city hall and barely survived the wrecking ball when the new City Hall went up behind it. When the Seoul Metropolitan Library building was built in 1926, it served as the headquarters of the Japanese Seoul city government.. Additional wings were constructed in 1962 and 1986, both of which were demolished in 2006 to make way for a new city hall. While the construction plans called for the

original building to be razed and replaced with a new design, support for its preservation put a halt to demolition. Eventually, a compromise was reached, preserving the front building facing Seoul Plaza and allowing construction of a modern building behind the old one. Following the competition for a new city hall, the old building was reconstructed and reopened as a library. It currently houses more than 200,000 books.(Goodman, 2016)

3. Singapore

Singapore was set up as a trading post by the British back in 1819. With hopes of a better life for their families, many people started arriving from China, India and Indonesia, to work and live side by side with the Malays who were already inhabitants. When governor Sir Stamford Raffles separated the various ethnic groups, that produced the distinct neighbourhoods of Chinatown, Little India and Arab street, thereby in part defining the social geography of the city.(Bravo-Bhasin, 2012)

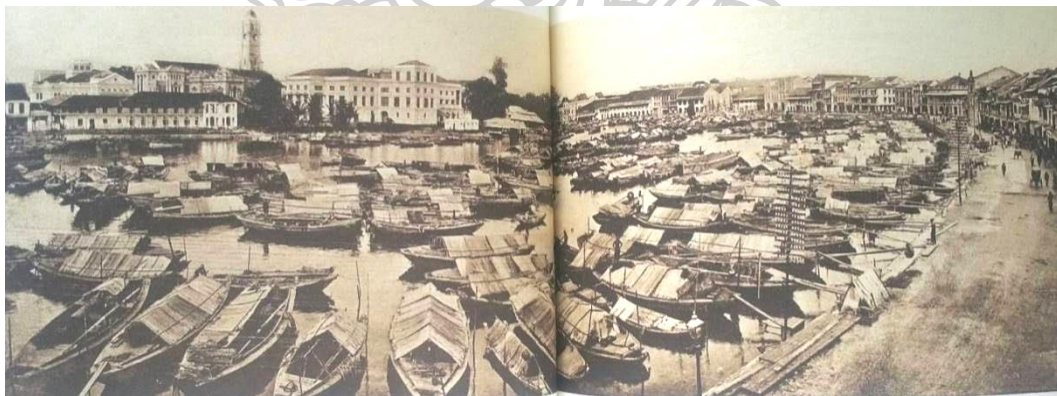


Figure 102 View of Battery Road showing the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank building (left), the Chartered Bank (right) and Tan Kim Seng Fountain (foreground).

Source: Singapore A Biography (2015)

Ask any local or foreign person living in Singapore to describe the country in just a few words and “multicultural” will surely be on almost everyone’s list. The people are a mix of four main ethnic groups and each of their heritages and values are deeply ingrained into the country’s past and present. The nation was built on immigrants from neighboring countries and the government has always insisted and

strived for harmony among its citizens.(Bravo-Bhasin, 2012) Singapore's economy has rapidly grown from that of a developing country to a newly industrializing country; not only that, but after independence it also transformed from an old colonial port to a modern city. Singapore had to demolish many historic building to enable modern skyscrapers and high towers for residents: the oldest boys' school, Raffles Institution, Chinese shophouses in Chinatown for example.

A shophouse would be built as the home of a merchant and his family. Business was conducted from the front room on the ground floor while the family occupied the rear of the building and the rooms on the floors above.(Davison, 2015)



Figure 103 This highly ornamented corner shophouse on Balestier Road encapsulates the quintessence of the Singapore shophouse, with its eclectic mix of Western and Chinese elements.

Source: Singapore Shophouse (2010)

The numbers say it all: at 76.8 percent of the population, the **Chinese** are known as hard-working, family oriented, thrifty, superstitious and traditional. They have a strong sense of mutuality, of being connected through affection, obligation and responsibility to specific other people such as their parents, siblings, family at large, community, nation. Many Chinese are Buddhists or Taoists but there also seems to be an increasing number of Chinese who believe in Christianity. There are still many traditions that are ethnically based and many Chinese Christians will follow these customs, e.g. celebrating Chinese New Year and upholding Christian beliefs at the same time. The Malays are the second largest ethnic group at 13.9 percent and Singapore's original inhabitants. They were once the majority but soon were overtaken by the Chinese. United by their common Islamic faith that plays a dominant role in their lives, the **Malays** are a warm and hospitable people who have left their indelible mark in making Singapore what it is today. From the food, to the street names, language, national anthem and more, the rich cultural background and Malay influence is evident everywhere on the island. Almost every Malay is Muslim, as are numbers of Indians and a small minority of Chinese. The Malays also have the greatest sense of community and charity-giving among the different races. Forming the smallest of the three national ethnic groups at 7.9 per cent, the Indians were also originally immigrant workers who arrived in Singapore to make money and provide for their families back home. During this time of growth and expansion for Singapore, their work was much sought after and has endured the test of time through such contributions as the Sri Mariamman Temple. As **Hindus**, they believe that living things have souls that are reborn after death, and that people's conduct in the present will have a direct effect on what becomes of them in the future. Slightly more than half of the Singaporean Indian population are Tamil Hindu. The remainder is mainly either Christian or Muslim, with a minority of Sikhs, Jains, Zoroastrians and Buddhists. Today in Singapore, the term '**Eurasian**' is most often used to refer to anyone with mixed European and Asian heritage (Portugal, Spain, Netherlands, England and France). Intermarriage with the local women occurred and over time a unique and distinctly European and Asian subculture began to thrive. The **Peranakans** (local born) are a mixture of Malays and Chinese, They even have a language of their own called Baba Malay.(Bravo-Bhasin)

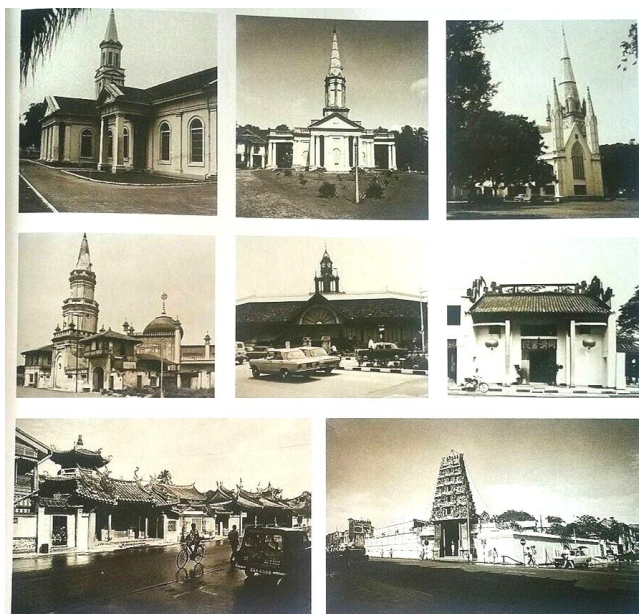


Figure 105 The first eight buildings granted legal protection as national monuments since 1973

Source: *Conserving The Past Creating The Future, Urban Heritage in Singapore*(2011)

At that time urban conservation was of less concern than development until the global trends turned with the rise of heritage conservation together with economic growth for strengthening national cultural identity. Since then, Singapore has increasingly included conservation of its urban fabric as an important part of its strategic planning. “In 1998 Singapore established an agency called the Advisory Council on Culture and Arts (ACCA) responsible for preparing the master plan of cultural policy in Singapore”.(Methaveevinit, 2016)

Singapore, as an offshore hub for global capital flows, is able to take advantage of this ‘multiculturalism’. The semi-peripheral, postcolonial state consequently is not simply or entirely disempowered when accepting contemporary capitalist formations. Singapore’s example of managed culture also moves attention away both from cultural contestation and from the margins and the idea of the West and the Rest – that is, from a question of center and margin – to semi-peripheral states and the institutions of advanced capitalism. The larger context for this phenomenon would be the rise of the East and Southeast Asian trading economies and intra-regional integration, which has contributed to capitalism being more multi-centric and also multicultural.(Wee, 2007)

The Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) had to undertake overall planning for the city to ensure that the city-state of 586 square kilometers with a resident population of 2.07 million (in 1970) could be supported with salubrious living conditions, and with facilitated economic growth. The first eight buildings granted legal protection as national monuments in 1973 (in Figure) were: Top, from left: Cathedral of the Good Shepherd (built 1843-47), Armenian Church (built 1835-36), St Andrew's Cathedral (built 1856-61); Centre, from left: Hajjah Fatimah Mosque (built 1845-46), Telok Ayer Market (built 1890-94), Thong Chai Building (built 1892). Bottom, from left: Thian Hock Keng (built 1839-42), SriMariamman Temple (built 1843).(Kong, 2011b) The success of this URA team in securing a breakthrough can be attributed to other shifts in Singapore that were occurring simultaneously and in 1985, after about 4 years of hard work, the URA was ready to announce its plans. It began with the unveiling of a comprehensive Conservation Master Plan, which had first been exhibited in 1986 and was now finalized and adopted. The Master Plan placed Singapore as a probable first among newly industrialized countries to develop such a comprehensive plan. The URA provides the framework for conservation of several areas, China Town, Kampong Glam, Little India, Boat Quay, Clarke Quay, Cairnhill and Emerald Hill and sharing its expertise with professionals and interested members of the public. About 200 units (half of the old buildings) of China Square were conserved. In order that the restoration work would return the shophouses faithfully to their original styles, URA officers scoured the National Archives for original floor plans, and searched out craftsmen with traditional skills to help in the restoration process. In July 2006, URA's conservation program won the Asia-Pacific Urban Land Institute (ULI) Award for Excellence.(Kong, 2011a)



Figure 106 Chinese Square before conservation (left) and after (right)
 Source: *Conserving The Past Creating The Future, Urban Heritage in Singapore* (2011)

In 2001, a new focus was placed on place – identity dominated the discourse with the focus on developing Singapore into a dynamic, distinctive and delightful city through new planning. This plan provided not only for planners but also the wider public to engage as a wide range of stakeholders and communities to share and discuss ideas and possibilities of how to preserve their neighborhood heritage as their assets. “It is the local milieu, which is fundamental in people’s everyday lives. This is because heritage has the power to stir emotions and reinforce group identities. Consequently, those who hold the power will often seek to shape the landscapes and their meanings. They are able to define what constitutes heritage and what elements of the past should be conserved.” (Belinda, 2005) The latest Concept Plan review was carried out in 2011. The review took into account the public feedback gathered by the National Population & Talent Division (NPTD) on building a sustainable population for Singapore. This population discussion resulted in the release of the Population White Paper in January 2013. (URA) It is one of the important success keys to the conservation plan in Singapore.

Currently (2016), the URA center has mounted an exhibition to educate outsiders. Students can learn from it and interpret the process of urban development and the wider conversation that conservation entails.



Figure 107 URA provides the framework for conservation, sharing its expertise with professionals and interested members of the public.

Source: *Conserving The Past Creating The Future, Urban Heritage in Singapore* (2011)

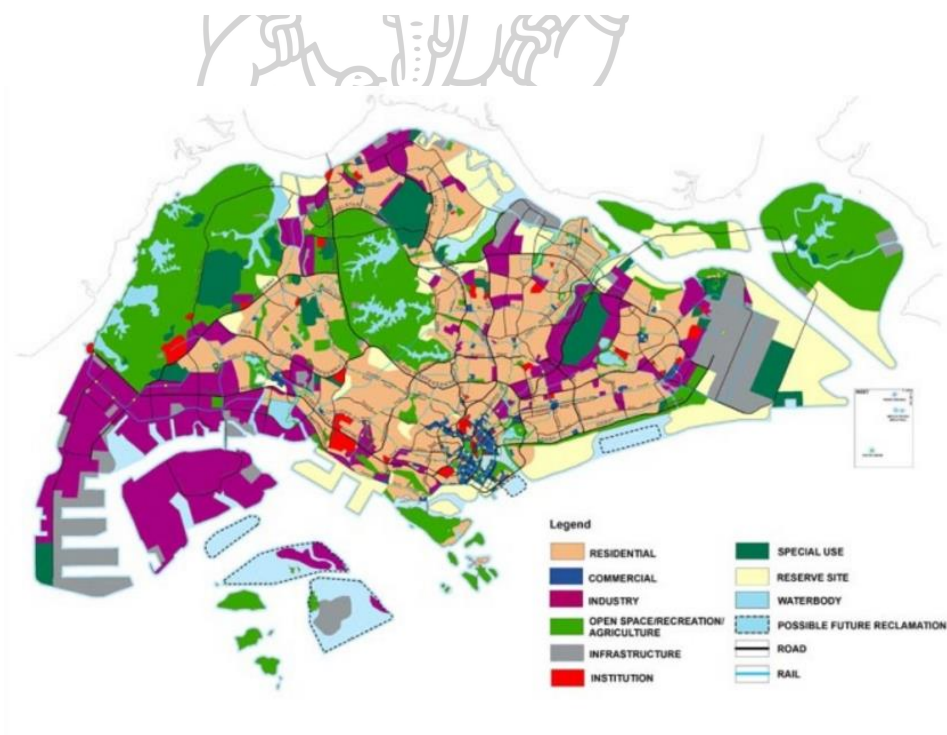


Figure 108 Concept Plan and Landuse Plan (2011)

Source: <https://www.ura.gov.sg/uol/concept-plan.aspx?p1=View-Concept-Plan&p2=Land-Use-Plan-2013>

4. Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia)



Figure 109 The Petronas twin towers
Source:Kualalumpur, Melaka & Penang(2011)





Figure 110 Putrajaya's grand avenue and inversion from kampung space.
Source: Ross King (2008)

Kuala Lumpur is the national capital and most populous city in Malaysia. The city covers an area of 243 square km (94 sq mi) and had an estimated population of 1.6 million as of 2010. Greater Kuala Lumpur, covering contingent areas such as the Klang Valley, was an urban agglomeration of 7.5 million people as of 2012. It is among the fastest growing metropolitan regions in South-East Asia, in terms of population and economy. Kuala Lumpur is defined within the borders of the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur and is one of three Malaysian Federal Territories. It is an enclave within the state of Selangor, on the central west coast of Peninsular Malaysia. In addition, Kuala Lumpur is home to the tallest twin buildings in the world, the Petronas Twin Towers, which have become an iconic symbol of Malaysia's futuristic development. (2016, 2016) The city was once home to the executive and judicial branches of the federal government, but they were moved to Putrajaya in early 1999. Some sections of the judiciary still remain in the capital city of Kuala Lumpur. The official residence of the Malaysian King, the Istana Negara, is also situated in Kuala Lumpur. Rated as an alpha world city, Kuala Lumpur is the cultural, financial and economic centre of Malaysia due to its position as the capital as well as being a key city. Since the 1990s, the city has played host to many international sporting, political and cultural events including the 1998 Commonwealth Games and the Formula One Grand Prix. (Conference) The urban area of Kuala Lumpur, like many contemporary Asian urban spaces, is a mixture of new clean lines of skyscraper modernity with its

highly ordered spaces and the haphazard chaotic sprawl of less developed and older communal sections. The latter are continuously being redeveloped to be renegotiated into the larger vision and trajectory of the city planners. The political and religious ethos of the country may sometimes test the geographical and cultural limits of the historical city, and a resulting development would be the creation of another completely new urban space.(Chua) The logic of the tourist gaze and place marketing have seen hitherto ethnically mixed places in well-established parts of the city rebranded into easily recognizable heritage enclaves. Moreover, leveraging on a tourist marketing slogan popularized since 1999, a ‘Malaysia, Truly Asia Centre’ themed attraction park, controversially sited on one of the few remaining green spaces of the city, is being planned.(L.Weiss, 2015)

Urbanscapes in KL present as decidedly multicultural. As an example, Brickfields in KL is an Indian enclave, although the population pool is less



Figure 111 Thaipusan, The Hindu festival
Source: Kuala Lumpur, Melaka & Penang (2011)

homogeneous and more diverse, with Chinese, Malays, and even Pakistanis from wide-ranging socioeconomic backgrounds. Richard Baxstrom(Richard Baxstrom, 2008) studied how the residents engaged and defined themselves even though many were excluded from the processes of the policies that governed their neighborhood. Despite the efforts of the authorities to control and frame religious practices and daily living as desired by the Islamic-leaning authorities, the urban spaces are frequently appropriated by the local communities to represent their own daily needs and aspirations. In Brickfields Baxstrom notes the Hindu community’s reform efforts that

replicate many of the state ideals of correct citizenship, even if they are not Islamic. The Sri Murugan's Centre combines *bhakti* (worship) practice with secular educational activities. These tutorial programs reinforce the notion that the Hindu community is not simply an "other" to Malaysian citizenry, and also assert the more pluralistic outlook that the educated Malaysian subject is also a spiritual subject.



Figure 112 Merdeka Square, Kuala Lumpur

Source: Arissara Nukul (2010)

The divine and the supernatural of temple deities cannot be ignored, such as when even the state's Kuala Lumpur Monorail agency had to confer with the local religious authorities over a reported accident involving ghostly forces! Such non-legal engagement reflects the gravity with which the state views the role of spiritual intervention in modern urban planning. Such engagement often works in favor of the temples to select a more auspicious time for relocation as well as to extract a substantial compensatory settlement. However in Baxtrom's study, belief itself is not limited to the divine sphere or religious institutions. Belief is more a conviction of one's rightful place and relationship to the immediate world. Brickfield's residents may have little influence in the formal legal process of municipal planning, but their grassroots engagements suggest that they invariably define and create a world they can live and believe in.(Chua)



Figure 113 Batu Caves (Malaysia Hindu Temple)
Source: Arissara Nukul (2010)

King (King, 2008) points out that the daily economics of living transform Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya into a more diverse reality of multiple worlds rather than the ordered spaces envisioned by the government. Even then, conflict among the authorities could be seen in the perpetual rivalry for Islamic legitimacy between the United Malays National Organization (UMNO) and Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS). Both parties champion and constantly clash over their projected views of Islamic identity. However, larger international forces are at play, and Islamic revivalism from the Middle East to Indonesia is redefining Islamic discourse in Malaysia. Everyday life in the real spaces of Kuala Lumpur's diverse street cultures still operates and challenges the notion of a perfect Islamic world. The bars and night clubs of Jalan P. Ramlee, Bukit Bintang, and Chinatown are spreading and even Malay Muslim women can be observed consuming alcoholic beverages. The wide availability of pirated DVDs and VCDs of pornographic and other dubious content are easily found in the back alley stalls. As King points out, such spaces are more Chinese-controlled and also more venues for global market commodities rather than Malay Muslim-inspired.

Such diversity is further asserted by carnivals and other religious festivals. The annual Hindu Thaipusam festival and the spectacle of the kavadi carriers fascinate the public

imagination. The raucous cacophony of Chinese New Year celebrations and the Formula-1 Grand Prix, plus the inclusive Malay Muslim Hari Raya festivities suggest the appropriation of public space by other forces than the state. However, it is the spaces of the shopping malls that might foretell the future of Malaysian society. The ephemeral and fluid nature of globalist trends from afar, and also demand for the newest and for perpetual changes, create an amorphous space that transcends race and religion. Suria Kuala Lumpur City Centre (KLCC), the Mines, and Mid-Valley Megamall are cases in point. The communities have been brought together to these and other shopping malls in an environment of modern consumption. King refers to such markets of global commodities as “post-modern hyperspace” where the superficial simulation of places from afar creates a sense of disconnectedness with no anchor to an actual place or home.(Baxstrom)

In the case of Kuala Lumpur, what we have learned from the Richard Baxstrom and Ross King studies is that in communities that are culturally diverse, the effort to understand the other cultural groups can occur without the loss of one’s own cultural identity and without threat to the ideal of a unified society.

5. Canada



Figure 114 The waterfront in Victoria.
Source: Canada and Greenland(2009)

The core groups of Canada’s society are those whose ancestors originally came from France and the British Isles. Every state creates its own mythological past that is reflected to their citizens, the French “nos ancêtres les Gaulois” for example.

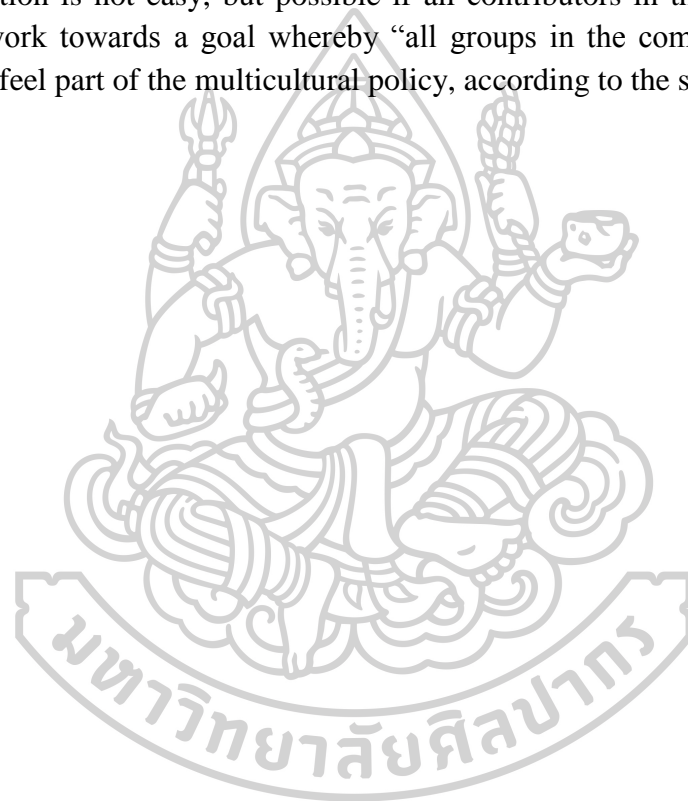
The two main groups were called “founding races”, although an increasing number of immigrants has been constantly transforming Canadian society. In Quebec, self-awareness is different from the previous French Canadian nationalism in that it has been limited to Quebec and has been growing. The Canadian Government did what governments do when they are confronted by a new and difficult situation: it appointed a Royal Commission, i.e. an ad hoc group to do research and present recommendations. The Pearson Government created such a Commission on July 19 1963, under the name the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Its mandate was “to inquire and to report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races”. The Commissioners were smart enough not to use the term ‘founding races’ – the word race was considered negative because of racism – and preferred to call them the two ‘founding peoples’, an expression still in use. The British-French duality is not only European-centrist, it is also demeaning for people who were in Canada before the settlers. It implies that the Amerindians and Inuits created nothing and that those of neither British nor French origin were mere adjuncts to what had already been established. The aboriginals of Canadian, respectively Indian and Eskimos, are known as Amerindians and Inuits. Multiculturalism, valid for every Canadian group, including founding people, linguistic minorities and visible Canadians, may use the expression culture and ‘cultural’ impact, but it has mainly an ethnic and political implication. Rights depend on the individual belonging to a group, be it founding peoples, aboriginal or visible minorities entitled to affirmative action programs. The reality is that ethnicity does have an impact on the various rights Canadians enjoy but it is politically incorrect and unpopular to stress ethnicity. Culture and Multiculturalism are convenient expressions to qualify policies towards ethnic groups even if they pretend to deal with all Canadians. A multicultural policy is the Canadian answer to potential ethnic conflicts. Quebec, which claims to be distinctive in, or from, Canada has a similar attitude. Instead of multiculturalism it advocates cultural convergence where everybody communicates in French. Cultural communities, also called allophones, cover all those who are neither from old French or English stock nor Aboriginals. Many studies divide Quebec society in three groups: Francophones, Anglophones and Allophones, as if it was equivalent to French Canadians, English Canadians and Others. It is not clear if people speaking either French or English but of different origins are allophones or cultural communities (eg. French speakers from France, Belgium, Algeria, etc. and English speakers from the United States, South Africa, etc.). To have a concept without a definition, to call cultural what is ethnic, allows Canadians to avoid the issue of ethnicity. Montreal provides a good example of the relationship between culture and ethnicity. In 1984, the Montreal Urban Community decided, in order to improve relations with ‘ethnic minorities’, to create a new body: the Advisory Board of the Chairman of the

Executive Committee of the Montreal Urban Community on Inter-cultural Relations. This Board has no connection with culture in its traditional sense but with ethnicity. It became engaged in two fields, police and mass transportation, not known for their cultural role. The goal was 'to promote tolerance and equality and to fight racism'. During its first years of activity, the Board did a good job in defusing potential racial clashes in Montreal. What is revealing is that it was precisely those affected by ethnicity and sometimes racism, mainly blacks supported by other ethnic groups, who questioned the peculiar meaning of culture in Canada. They did not believe the problems they were facing were of a cultural nature but of a racial one. To emphasize this awareness, they wanted two words to be added to the already long title of the Board; it would become a committee 'on intercultural and interracial relations'. The Montreal case is revealing. Faced with a perceived problem of racism, a local authority creates an 'intercultural' body. Its goal is to improve relations between the majority and the minorities. These minorities want to call the problem by its name, 'interracial', and not simply by a euphemism, 'intercultural'. Representatives of local government were reluctant to use the term race but eventually agreed to do so. The Montreal case is also an exception. In similar circumstances, federal and provincial governments prefer to label relations between the majority, i.e. the founding peoples, and minorities, i.e. the ethnics, as being of a cultural nature. Culture in Canada as elsewhere, means both a self-image of society and cultural industries. When used in Canada, in expressions such as Multiculturalism, Cultural Convergence and Cultural Communities, it acquires a political connotation and reflects a power structure, in either a bilingual framework (Canada) or an unilingual one (Quebec), with its minorities and all living in harmony. Multicultural policies do not deal so much with cultures but with minorities and focus largely on visible minorities, and ethnic-racial terms. The reality is a power struggle between individuals and groups, including ethnic ones, which is a difficult political problem. The chosen strategy is to use positive sounding terminology, as if calling 'ethnic' 'cultural' will solve the problem. Culture is an aseptic word to describe an ethnically fragmented society. The more Canadian society persists, the more it will rely on culture for its self-definition. (Bauer, 2000) In 1701, New France, the French colony in Canada, had at last secured the neutrality of the Iroquois peoples, ending prolonged Indian wars. France ruled virtually all of what is now eastern Canada, as well as territory in the Mississippi Basin. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, French rule in Canada had ended. (Driver, 2009)

Christianity is the religion with the most followers In Canada, but changes in immigration patterns have promoted a wide range of other religions in the early twenty-first century. The most prosperous regions of Canada have changed over time. The eastern provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were the hub of economic activity in the eighteenth century. Following confederation in 1867, the center of economic gravity moved to Quebec and Ontario. During the twentieth century,

Ontario emerged as the industrial hub of the Canadian economy, housing around one-third of Canada's population and the largest share of its industry. With the advent of globalization and the economic importance of oil, the western provinces of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and, particularly, Alberta have become more prominent players on the Canadian economic landscape. Coastal British Columbia, which contains Vancouver (Canada's largest port), has a strategic geographic advantage with respect to the lucrative trade links with Asia, and Alberta's oil reserves have generated great wealth in that province.(Driver, 2009)

What we have learned from the case of Canada is that the idea of multicultural implementation is not easy, but possible if all contributors in the community put in efforts to work towards a goal whereby "all groups in the community should have benefit and feel part of the multicultural policy, according to the state of reality".



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