

SECURING A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE FOR CHIANG MAI'S HISTORICAL
RUINS: A CASE STUDY OF TEN ABANDONED WAT WITHIN THE CITY WALLS



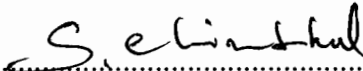
By
Tanwutta Thaisuntad

มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร สงวนลิขสิทธิ์



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.....
(Associate Professor Sirichai Chinatankul, Ph.D.)
Dean of Graduate School
15 / September 2008
.....

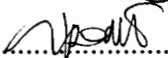
The Thesis Advisor

Professor William Logan, Ph.D.

The Thesis Examination Committee

 Chairman
.....
(Professor Trungjai Buranasomphob, Ph.D.)
.....

 Member
.....
(Professor William Logan, Ph.D.)
22 / 8 / 2008
.....

 Member
.....
(Nuanlak Watsantachad, Ph.D.)
22 / 8 / 2008
.....

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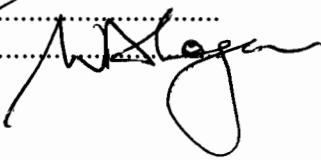
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TANWUTTA THAISUNTAD: SECURING A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE FOR CHIANG MAI'S HISTORICAL RUINS: A CASE STUDY OF TEN ABANDONED WAT WITHIN THE CITY'S WALLS. THESIS ADVISOR: DR.WILLIAM LOGAN. 167 pp.

This thesis is aimed at studying the abandoned wat dilemma within Chiang Mai's city's walls. Chiang Mai is reported to have some 948 abandoned monasteries (wat), including 99 in the old walled city centre where there are only 35 living wat and 10 abandoned chedi remains today. These sacred remains are situated in various places and fit into the contemporary land-uses. From the study, it was found that the abandoned wat remains have been seen as 'dead monuments' in managerial approaches to them over time. Furthermore, there are some social misunderstandings that result in unsustainable conditions into both their managerial approach and solutions. To clarify these social misunderstandings in people's minds is the first step to sustainable development. The next step is to focus on the present circumstances along the lines of the five categories identified from the ten case studies. Since abandoned wat remains are often seen as dead monuments, the securing of a sustainable future for these is based on an understanding of the 'livability and continuity' of sacred heritage through both tangible and intangible means of enhancing them.

Linking the chedi of abandoned wat to the everyday lives of local people will enable the remaining structures to continue to survive into the future. The three integrated factors of zoning management, sacredness fulfillment, and the linking of abandoned wat to the present context are another sustainable solutions. Good visions and diverse ways of thinking are crucial for the managerial approach, but the question how to stimulate people to achieve these new ways of thinking is harder to solve. Possibly, the ways to sustainability for the sacred heritage (abandoned/living wat) depend upon how to bring heritage awareness into people's minds. It could be said that, of all of the solutions considered in this research to achieving a sustainable managerial approach, trying to raise the people's vision, their way of thinking is the key. In fact, the sustainable future of any sacred heritage site is never concerned only with periodic reinforcement alone but also with how to encourage people to be aware of their heritage in both tangible and intangible ways.

Student's signature 

Thesis Advisor's signature 

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The ancient northern city of Thailand, Chiang Mai, has passed through 700 years of history. It was the capital city of the entire Lanna Kingdom that encompassed not only the northern region of Thailand but also southern China and part of Myanmar as well. Why is it still alive in this modern era, and why is it an attractive destination for Thai and foreign tourists? A lot of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, might be one answer to that question.

In this research, abandoned wat (Thai Buddhist monasteries) remaining in the city's walled area depict how the 'ancient' and 'modern' can exist in the same area. Tourists come here everyday to experience cultural heritage through the many gorgeous Buddhist monasteries that seem to be a bridge between the authentic Chiang Mai of the past and the present day city. But why does Chiang Mai have so many wat and ruins in the same old city? And why have so many been abandoned? Are they less significant than those that are still used?

These problems have never really been solved and still remain today. How can we secure these historic ruins through long-term management? Is the Fine Arts Department's current approach of physical reinforcement adequate to secure the sustainability of any religious heritage? A sustainable 'approach' might be another choice in this research, and possibly different approaches could lead to many different outcomes. More understanding about Chiang Mai's identity, the people's everyday lives, and a dynamic methodology are the way to see the abandoned wat dilemma clearer.

Statement and significance of the problem

In Chiang Mai's city walls, there are many wat that are still standing, some 'living' and some abandoned. These abandoned wat stand in the modern environment without any direct policymaking from the official stakeholders concerning their upkeep or protection. In this way, the remains of abandoned sacred places face a hostile environment and their survival is threatened. Each place is used in various ways to support present day living, such as being utilized for government offices, being used as the sacred places of elementary schools, existing among poor communities, and some are in the progress of being revitalized. Most of the problems they face involve local people and how their significance for long-term management can be secured.

Goals and objectives

The following are the goals and objectives of this study.

- To identify unsustainable conditions that face abandoned wat.
- To identify factors for sustainability of abandoned wat.
- To clarify unsustainable ways of thinking about abandoned wat.
- To seek a managerial approach for abandoned wat.
- To seek solutions for particular abandoned wat.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this research is that ‘physical monuments can only be made sustainable if ways are found to give them a life in the community.’

Scope of the study

The study area of this thesis is the old Chiang Mai city walled area, Chiang Mai Province, Thailand and the abandoned wat that still remain today with physical evidence.

Research methodology

This research is qualitative research; its methodology consists of primary data and secondary data analysis. The primary data analysis consists of reviewing literature sources and in-depth interviews. Reviewing of both Thai and English documents attempts to identify what is the latest key thinking for abandoned wat research. To cross this research territory, the researcher focuses on the ‘approaches’ in managerial and solution based on the basic assumption that *the different approaches lead to the different outcomes*. In this way, the stakeholders are mainly defined as ‘official approach’ (official agents, laws and academic researches) and ‘local approach’ (local community members, local Buddhist organization, abbots, and local religious customs) to be the target groups. Collecting interviews of many official agents in both direct and indirect responsibilities are needed, including with the local voices, particularly people who live and work everyday within the changed abandoned wat properties. For this research, there are 12 interviews with the administrative officers and 21 interviews with the local voices are referred. Different approaches of the ‘official approach’ and ‘local approach’ are elucidated. The most importance aspect of this primary data analysis is identifying what are the key factors of ‘unsustainable approach’ for the present dilemma.

The secondary data analysis is the next step. Results of the primary data analysis are rethinking to the case studies related to the present circumstances of the sites. The ‘official approach’ and the ‘local approach’ are different because of different *goals* are intended. Relationships between the current land-using, local people and the religious remains are linked to one another and emphasized rather than the official procedures alone. Abandoned wat remains are also rethinking as the ‘religious heritages’ rather than historic sites. Hence this analysis aims to identify what are the key factors of ‘sustainable approach’ by linkable to everyday lives and also set the *goal* to the local people awareness.

Processes of the study

The process of the study began with structural rethinking about general understandings of abandoned wat. In this research, such wat have been viewed as a 'phenomenon' rather than a 'problem'. While abandoned wat become a phenomenon, they can be described as existing within a cycle-system that leads to better long-term solutions. These factors are the matrix for seeking a sustainable future by seeking what the 'gaps' are, and how to 'fill' them within the system.

The processes of the study are as follows.

- To identify present abandoned wat research from many academic sources.
- To cross this research territory by creating processes for study.
- To interview all stakeholders as much as possible. These were mainly identified as people in official roles and local community members.
- To identify and compare ways of thinking about the abandoned wat dilemma from a managerial and solution-based approach.
- To identify what the unsustainable key factors are in the present circumstances as 'gaps' in an incomplete system.
- To identify what the sustainable key factors are in the present circumstances as 'fulfillments' to complete the system.
- To identify a managerial approach for general abandoned wat.
- To identify a way to secure a sustainable future for particular categories of the case studies.
- To conclude key factors for securing a sustainable future that is based on all case studies as a solution guideline.

Chapter 2

Literature review

Relationship between cultural heritage and its community

Pearson and Sullivan (2001: 18) said that

Most people want to know about their past, and to see and hear about the evidence of it. They want to learn about the past history, and some places are particularly suited to achieving this.

People, whether as individuals or in groups not only signify heritage places but also are the 'owners' of those places. Indeed, being of 'heritage' is also signified in terms of 'dimensions of time' and 'public relationship,' it is even mentioned as the historic, aesthetic and social attributes. All of these are always, inevitably, concerned with the flourishing of the past, present and future where the heritage term exists. Another distinguishing feature of cultural heritage is it tends to belong to the 'public' rather than private; even it is a private property. The community and people not only built the cultural heritage but also inherited responsibility for the role of making it survive for the next generation. The point is 'how' and 'what' is the suitable approach.

Each community and groups within the community have its own views on culture, identities, aspirations and practices that make community unique. So, it could be said that failure to respect cultural sensibilities can disrupt the life of the communities (Commonwealth of Australia, 1995: 36).

Indeed, community is not distinguished between 'nature' and 'culture' or 'place' and 'object' but rather integrated within a 'sense of place'. In this sense, it should be understood that 'heritage belongs to the community'. The community might be interpreted as being the gathering of public and private to the 'way to make a living' for the cultural heritage (Pearson and Sullivan, 2001: 105, 314).

Li Xia and Guang Ya (2005: n.p.) stated that 'public participation and involvement is the best guarantee of proper heritage conservation and management.' The Community voices should be allowed to contribute and should be enhanced in the conservation process. Taking into account the decision making process, voices of the community are required in terms of awareness, determination, practice and predictable to their historic place (Commonwealth of Australia, 1995:10). Indeed, Pearson and Sullivan (2001) stated that the significance of a place for the local community is a crucial determination. Certainly, its value never arises alone without social and contemporary owners who make heritage places profitable, make them alive and still protect their heritage values. Including the contribution of the 'people' is only the way to make heritage survive. Therefore, the sustainability of the cultural heritage is to a large extent dependent on the attitude and development approach of the 'people', rather than physical conservation and management alone. If the 'owners'

appreciated the significance of their property they would protect and sustain it by their own intentions.

Additionally, in terms of heritage conservation, Pearson and Sullivan (2001) asserted that the roles of the current society and community are differentiated from the past. In terms of current sustainable development, the local community is inevitably concerned with the new role of 'sense of identity' in their natural and cultural resources. Today, the conservation of resources, whether natural or cultural heritage, are taken to be a legitimate 'community task'. For instance, in all levels of participation, the correlation between awareness of 'identity' and 'ownership' is still crucial in terms of how to encourage local community to embrace multifaceted ways in conservation (Pearson and Sullivan, 2001). Although the heritage values would be presented in diverse ways to the wider public, the community should be the only one that can define their culture, identity and their cultural heritage value by their setting, traditional use of the place and memory. Cultural heritage conservation with community participation is a process that usually encounters conflicts and complexity. Moore (1986: 28) argued that 'most communities are organizations which have conflictive experiences at some time during their daily efforts'. Conflicts and arguments usually occur when various people participate in a decision making process. But discussions would bring people together for compromised solutions that involved 'different' objectives, experience, information, and situation assessment. The most important aspect is that people would find themselves in these processes as well (Lozare, 1994).

Without heritage management definitions and guidelines, there are only individual objectives and opinions. Tjosvold (1993) proposed a solution that the 'conflict' should not only be viewed as a negative situation but in practical terms, it is also a positive situation. Conflicts in the decision making process bring people together for 'creating the best solution' for all stakeholders. People from different backgrounds are directly confronted with different opinions and, by learning from each other, they could feel stronger, more confident and empower themselves for other complicated problems in the future. Continuity of 'public forum' and public presentation are needed for a long term management. 'Disagreement can be used to uncover prejudices' and the real needs for improvement can be discovered, resulting in acceptable aims for each participant. In short, the groups that use conflict for learning 'instead of focus on winning or losing would become stronger' (Sanoff, 2000: 12-13, 29)

Community participation methods

Presently, with the globalization network, the conservation movement tends to emphasize the need for more local participation and a bottom-up approach. Both of these ideas are accepted by international scholars for their possibilities in contributing to sustainable development. Unfortunately, local community-based practitioners still lack understanding, particularly in developing countries. The top-down approach in conservation has been embedded as well in the political systems of most South East Asian countries. Verba and Nie (1972: 23) noted that a lack of public participation is

the consequence of the real ownership, or the person who would be exactly affected or impacted, not being taken into account during the decision making process. In addition, the influence of participants needs 'equal distribution' and a high quality of 'motivation, skills and resources' throughout society.

Meanwhile, because everyone has a different opinion, it is impossible that every voice would be implemented. Democratically, majority and public hearings could be a solution to community agreement, like Sanoff, (2000: 3) said that 'plurality or number of people in such a group or community could be a key in decision making process because they believed that number is the primary source of community strength.'

Sanoff (2000: 23, 18), also remarks that despite people already having their 'vision and knowledge background' for determining what is suitable for them and also knowing what they want and need, they also are capable of 'changing their views'. 'People can be reasonable' in case of understanding that 'new information' can be linked with their background of knowledge. In this way, the decision making of the people can depend upon the 'situation' as well, that is the same people could change their minds when they are given a different situation. 'Difference' might be a factor for people in determining their degree of participation, such as in larger projects they could be involved in different stages and also prefer to participate in some stages of the project to others. Therefore:

The goal of participation is to encourage people to learn as a result of becoming aware of problem, best learning would occur while the process is clear, communicable, open and encourage dialogue, debate, and collaboration. By the people context that is a complicated definition for management, participation should be meant by themselves as well as the collaboration of people pursuing objectives that they themselves have defined through time (Sanoff, 2000: 37).

Indeed, Sanoff (2000) mentioned many reasons why people would participate, including the following:

- People will participate if they appreciate and believe that the project has a possibility to succeed, a 'sense of achievement' is needed, in terms of aim and occasion are clear.
- People choose to participate if they see what they will get from the issues and possible threats and benefits are clear.
- People need to participate at their own levels of interest and expertise. Even various levels of involvement require differences in technical expertise that require a commitment of time and energy, but the decision makers should begin the process upon commonly understanding, encourage and interpret to the higher level of planning.

From the perspective of local residents, obviously the local community can be considered both as 'specialists' and 'knowledge sources' in their properties and surroundings. The most important thing is that they always realize in a 'possibility of achievement' in terms of their participation. On a practical level, the local community

can survey, gather information, make lists of their community heritage sites and try to create advantages from them. This 'two-way' flow of profitability could contribute to the survival of both the local heritages and the community. This statement is also supported by statistics that if the participation process is initiated from the lowest base, the project has a higher tendency to succeed than those projects without grassroots support. Therefore, the bottom-up approach could be the best solution for contemporary problems, despite there also being many arguments that local community usually lack specific knowledge and professional schemes. Indeed, the intention of public participation is not only a 'tool' for possibility and achievement but rather brings 'collaboration', unity, affiliation and coordination that neighboring peoples can learn for management of their heritage assets together. Certainly, even with local community participation it is impossible for locals to achieve positive results in everything in development, so they also need 'guidance' from scholars or specific experts for successful completion of projects. In cases of lack of guidance, local people could become active only in current issue impacts, emergency solutions and situations of crisis but possibly fail in the long term proceeding to the main goals (Sanoff, 2000).

Burns (1979 cited in Sanoff, 2000: 10-11) asserted that 'awareness' involves making participants understand the reality of the environment and situation. People need to know how the process is operated and its factors to be able to proceed. The awareness step would contribute to participants' ability to speak the same language and bridge their differences in background and experience. If 'awareness' is a key point in participation, it requires practical tools for implementation that is attending to public concerns. The main point is how to present and explain the project to the public and people in community so that they would be aroused and decide to participate.

Sanoff (2000: 11-12, 221-222) argued that participation not only depends upon current issues and people's backgrounds but that there are many more complex and specific factors that contribute to the way projects proceed, such as timing, political, logical, emotional, technological and economic benefits. Participation always involves a 'diversity of expression' but paradoxically, 'in a small town the dimensions of cultural norms, social structure, local economy and decision making are much more interconnected than in a big city'. In this case, scale and characteristics of the city are a factor for participation as well. For example, many researches indicated that the residents in small towns have 'higher satisfaction with work, housing, leisure time activity, and the rate of participation tends to be higher in small communities.' (Sanoff, 2000: 222). The big, mega or capital cities are also complex and consist of huge numbers of people and institutions; moreover the dimensions of their communities are fragmented and disconnected by functions, divisions of power, roles and responsibility.

Nevertheless, Sanoff (2000: 13-14) argued that the principal of participation 'is no 'best solution' to a planning problem.' Each problem has a number of solutions and complexity, the best solution of each project might be mere 'possibility' from resources available or 'compromising' of a large number of people in each period. People always have different attitudes; 'interpretation of the facts' is required for

fundamental awareness and understanding in the same direction for a successful decision-making process. Respect for traditional and customary approaches and value judgments area are also the most acceptable.

Lastly, concerning the local community participation, members of social groups or the community should not necessarily be defined as only 'adult' but should also consider youth participation as well. As Moore (1986 cited in Sanoff, 2000: 19) asserted that,

Young people need to participate as equal partners in making decisions about their own environmental futures. Young people must be integrated into society, giving responsibilities, and have opportunities to influence their own livingness.

Unquestionably, heritage places belong to the next generation in a sustainability context. Young people are the reason and seem to be the only hope for the future. The reason is they are members of the community and society whose community activities could develop their 'sense of belonging' and become a 'social production'. Young people at present might have less capability, expertise, vision and economic stability than the adults, but it could be said that the survival of the heritages are in their hands. In terms of sustainability, both tangible and intangible heritages belong to the current youth or next generation. They always believe that their roles can also equally contribute to their community like most adults. In a multi-cultural society, children not only learn from and emulate adults in their experiences and practices but also have the capacity to adapt, create and sustain activities from generation to generation. Finally, youth participation in their community is the best investment for social and community problems and solutions (Sanoff, 2000: 18-19).

Intangible heritage management issues

Generally, cultural heritage emerges in both tangible and intangible aspects. McKercher and du Cros (2002 cited in Ativetin, 2005: 59) stated that tangible and intangible aspects can be metaphorically compared as 'hard culture' and 'soft culture'. If tangible heritage assets represent the 'hard culture of a community, its places and things', then intangible heritage assets also represent its 'soft culture, the people, and their tradition and what they know'. Good examples are provided by the Commonwealth of Australia that:

Tangibles like galleries, craft industries, distinctive landmarks, local events and industries, as well as the intangibles like memories, personal histories, attitudes and values (Commonwealth of Australia, 1995: 1).

Intangible heritage tends to be concerned with socio-cultural contexts rather than tangible heritage, where 'people' are the focal point in terms of the 'society' where they live in and identify their culture's meaning with. It might be said that the nature of people, such as ways of lives and individual attitudes, are complex and various. Intangible aspect consideration also needs multi-disciplinary approaches as well. In the case of intangible heritage, its place, setting and fabrics have a crucial effect to the authenticity when heritages are removed. According to the UNESCO (1998: 5), intangible heritage is defined as 'folklore or traditional and popular culture

that is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity'. If so it could be said that the intangible heritage is not only dependent upon the 'intangible defining' but also reliant on the dynamic of 'social' and 'cultural' aspects. Nowadays, such historic buildings are consisting of both 'physical' and 'spiritual' significant values, and these additional approaches of intangible cultural heritage are already accepted as a 'conservation trend' as well (Chao-Chiang, 2005).

In fact, the critical issues of intangible heritage were marked and discussed in several international conferences such as

- UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore of 1989

- UNESCO Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity of 1997

- UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of 2001

- International Council on Monument and Sites (ICOMOS) whose theme at the 14th General Assembly held in Zimbabwe in October 2003 was 'Place-Memory-Meaning: Preserving Intangible Value in Monuments and Sites'

- International Council of Museums (ICOM) where the theme of that general conference in October 2004 was 'Museum and Intangible Heritage'.

Unfortunately, from certain points of view, intangible cultural heritage may be treated as an independent or *special* category of the cultural heritage. But in terms of current heritage preservations, 'many of them are associated with the tangible cultural heritage managements' (Chao-Chiang, 2005: n.p.). So, the acceptance of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage at its 23rd General Conference held in Paris in October 2003 is the notable concepts. This paid attention to the value of the intangible manifestation of heritage, as the Article 2 of the convention defines the term 'intangible cultural heritage' as 'the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skill – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage'.

Although there are many current issues about intangible cultural heritage, in practical terms emphasis on it still has been lacking. It could be said that the physical preservation methods are rather comprehensive than somewhat that difficult to define such as spiritual, knowledge and cultural space. The point is that the management of intangible heritage needs 'community participation' more than that conservation of mere physical assets such as buildings. It is concerned with people who are more complicated, including their political and economic contexts and, moreover, psychological traits and attitudes. Moreover intangible cultural heritage is also concerned with the people's lives. In fact, 'both intangible and tangible heritage are based on the current global movement, which is attempting to promote awareness of the importance of respecting cultural diversity' (Inaba, 2003 in Stovel et al., 2005: 46). Affiliation between tangible and intangible values can enhance to the cultural heritage protection. For example, in case of additional change or alteration to the

heritage building, its 'intangible value' should be also respected and balance should be made with tangible values. Meanwhile, the beginning of Asian conservation approaches gaining widespread exposure to the Western concepts possibly becomes a complicated process. In this case, Chao-Chiang (2005: n.p.) stated in the 15th ICOMOS General Assembly and Scientific Symposium that:

The Western countries, which follow the concepts and values existing in many international documents are in contrast with the East Asian countries that tend to set up their own values by their culture methods.

The good examples are also stated in the Western definitions in conservation that they tend to emphasize the physical and tangible aspects in preserving 'ruins', 'fragmental heritage' or 'partially lost', but these cannot be accepted by Asian traditional renovation. It is true that the eastern countries still lack Western conservation expertise and few of them can differentiate between tangible and intangible aspects. For instance, the Eastern traditions in renovation way usually focus the '*completeness*' of the cultural heritage as it is a critical determination. '*Appearance*' is the key to signify whether a place still has life, a condition which is preferred by most community and ordinary people, particularly in religious society (Chao-Chiang, 2005: n.p.).

Nevertheless, Chao-Chiang (2005: n.p.) also proposed that:

People in Eastern Asian countries should keep in their mind that modern inhabitants cannot travel back to the past simply by freezing the tangible original appearance of the monuments. Nostalgically looking back without taking intangible values into consideration, as many preservationists have done, is not appropriate because the complex set of artistic, technological and socio-cultural norms, which conceived cultural heritage, have either disappeared or changed.

According to the religious aspects, most of the Eastern cultural properties are critically concerned with their people, settlement and environment. A sacred space is embodied as temple or monastery as well as inseparable parts of its ritual and activity. Affiliations between religious, intangible and living heritages can contribute to the 'sacred status' that appear to the public. These implications also provide to cosmological symbols, belief system and traditional settlement. Religious temple, community and its society are interrelated and become the 'symbolic center' in terms of their centralized location for traditional society. The term '*characters of sacredness*' is constantly implied throughout their people and community as psychological and spiritual life that are embodied by built environment, ritual and activity to be part of religious beliefs. Furthermore, 'it is obvious that religious aspects are necessarily included within intangible heritage' (Chao-Chiang, 2005; Inaba, 2003 in Stovel et al., 2005:46).

Religion: the fundamental characteristics of sacredness

Generally, religions are the ancient beliefs that still exist; they consist of two main factors as 'religion' and 'its followers'. In fact, not only the religion alone can make physical building transform to be a sacred place but also the believers. Nanda

and Warms (2007: 376, 378, 405) cited the affiliations between religion and social aspects as follows:

- Religion is always concerned with its 'people' in terms of being the key significations for lives of individual and society, moreover, it also encourages people to be more understanding in their 'physical and social environment'.
- Religion usually has roles to its surrounded society and is inevitably interrelated with the 'survival of society' and its existence. These roles not only signify and clarify but also preserve and sustain the social order as well.

The religious followers, community and society are the key factors to enhance and contribute the religions and their places to be the 'sacredness' and 'sacred places'. 'It is the mind of human being that gives these places their spiritual significance' (Parker, 2001 in Serageldin et al., 2001: 336). This argument also entails to not only religious places but also with the larger scale of cultural heritages that always concerns with everyday lives of their people, like Levi-Strauss (2001 in Serageldin et al., 2001 : 337) remarked that:

Historic cities and sacred places are not only built by human being but also experienced by them. Beyond the sacred place functions, they can survive in case of the ways of life, values, norms and representations that they bear are also respected.

As the religious heritage could be in its building, ritual and activities, the 'sacred place' can be survived not only by contemporary followers but also from generations to generations by continuity of customs as well as sustaining cultural heritage. Accordingly, the religious heritage with a place of central location in the community could raise several issues, such as what are the differences between cultural heritage and religious heritage and how to recognize and distinguish between them. In this aspect, Wijesuriya(2003 in Stoval et al, 2005: 31) said that:

The difference between 'religious heritage' and 'heritage' by nothing that religious heritage has been born with its values in place, while with other form of heritage; we need time and distance to be able to ascribe values to heritage.

So, 'its values in place' might be related with many aspects of the cultural heritage deliberations such as authenticity from the establishment reasons, sense of place and also with the 'sacredness' that could be a rationale for distinguishing and sustainability for the long-term management.

Sacred places: a living heritage context

The word 'sacred' is derived from a Latin term which technically means 'restriction through pertaining to the gods', the arising of sacred being could be asserted that it has 'unusual condition' than normal places, objects and everything else concerned, as well as initiative and ancient spiritual beliefs that it always concerns with people and their implicative tangible and intangible value (Shackley, 2001:

178). In this way, Parker (2001 in Shackley, 2001: 335) stated that if we take historical back to a few centuries, what is historic is also in a sense of sacredness.

In terms of place and building, it could be said that 'such sites come with inbuilt restrictions and prohibitions on human behavior'. Hence, the becoming of religious sacred places is also engaged with being of a 'structuring space', such as local, regional, nation, and international level. By ordinary views the increase in the number of believers and 'degree of sacredness' could correlate within 'individual's view of sacred space'. It could be also claimed that the sacredness 'is stratified with different levels of perceived sanctity' (Shackley, 2001: 14).

In fact, as the 'sacred space is completed and self-referencing that a system composed solely through signification of itself' (Baudrillard, 1988 cited in Shackley, 2001: 187), it is difficult to convey a concept of sacredness across cultural boundaries. On the World Heritage List, a 'great proportion of the 100 historic cities' and 'nearly 200 sacred sites are located in the developing world' (Levi-Strauss, 2001 in Serageldin et al. 2001: 375). Various international scholars have tried to create sacred site definitions which are mostly based on their geographical or physical characteristics and condition as the best solutions in sustainability. Shackley (2001) mentioned that a sacred site can be classified in effective ways as one which is based on 'site type and location' rather than on the religious tradition. Also, Levi-Strauss (2001 in Serageldin et al. 2001: 375) mentioned a focal point that 'function (secular/spiritual life)' and 'status (profane/sacred)' are also included to identify the sacred places.

In terms of the religious heritage, the sacred place is never isolated from the believers and followers who sustain them through time. Even though there are many sacred sites that do not arise from the religious perspective, being sacredness of all sacred spaces always need 'belief and believer' as the crucial factors. In the earlier times or primitive period, the visiting of a sacred site can be accepted as confronting with the great or greatest sanctity which usually becomes the 'holy experience'. In case of the present visitation Shackley (2001: 18) also remarked that various visitors could be divided into two basic groups:

1. Primary proposes is to gain a religious experience: pilgrim and religious activity.
2. Major motivation is visiting the element of the world's religious heritage: tourism and its visitor.

Patronage aspects

In Buddhism terms, the patronage is crucial that most of the significant religious buildings were supported under royal patronages in the past. As time goes by, the patronage roles to the sacred places tend to be patronized by local religious authority. Society and people still are the key factors for sacred sites and their patronages also imply to advanced religious conflicts. In fact, in religious terms, the believers have exact roles in terms of the relationship between religion and its patrons that are rather reasonable in creating sustainability compared to the local authority

alone. It could be said that before an arrival of urbanization to an old heritage city, its sacred buildings have always survived until today thanks to the religious communities (Wijesuriya, 2003). Li Xia and Guang Ya (2005: n.p.) said that ‘public participation and involvement is the best guarantee of proper heritage conservation and management. The survival of the religion and its religious places are stated by Wijesuriya (2003 in Stovel et al., 2005: 37) that:

The continued care of religious buildings from the time they were constructed, according to set principle and tradition, and with a skilled workforce, has been a part of the traditions and the livingness of the religion. Continued maintenance, and adequate funding with political and community support, were the other important factors.

Obviously, the religious built heritage is always different from other types of the built heritages in that they are usually concerned with the religion bonds and the believers who continually patronize the heritage. The ‘continuity’ relationship between the sacred place and its patrons is crucial in terms of a two-way exchange. Also with the position of centrality of the religious community, the continual relationship in maintaining and sustaining local activities, rituals and sacred customary can make sustainability a ‘sense of identity, pride, and self-worth’ for the group as well, because ‘it is important for that group to feel they are retaining ownership in the cultural and intellectual sense’ (Aplin, 2002: 352)

In terms of traditional activity, Simeoni (2003) stated that the best safeguarding instrument of religious heritage is always involved with the community. Conservation processes that participate with the community should respect popular tradition, cultural and religious values which propose maintaining cultural patterns. Moreover, permitting and supporting communities in the new patterns of creation is also required in terms of adaptation of current practices and the future reality acceptability. It might be said that if the traditional religious values do not survive or become incoherent with the common current values, the former would become the ‘victim of the present’ (Nyathi and Ndiweni, 2003 in Stovel, 2005: 66). Thus, activity and festival are the dynamic features of social and religious communities which could evolve and change in response to both secular and religious pressures.

Management aspects

The sacred site, by its nature, will inevitably encounter deterioration and ruin as well as other types of built cultural heritage, but this assumption might arise from only a physical condition determination. UNESCO has endeavored to link the restoration of monuments to the revitalization of historic urban centers as well as to safeguard and restore different kinds of sacred monuments. Levi-Strauss (2001) mentioned that there is no specificity or ‘universal formula’ for the restoration of sacred sites in an urban context. ‘Intangible values’ should be the primary base to conservation determination as the site represents the local population. Therefore, practical conservation by technical aspects alone might never effectively serve the complicated religious factors of the sacred sites. Distinguishing preservation between sacred and secular site could be specified by their ‘property ownership’ as well as

previous statement, that the sacred sites always have ‘uncommon condition’ in spiritual term and belonging of the public. ‘Attitudes of local community believers’ are inevitably concerned with the procedure of the decision-making and safeguarding process. It could be said that the conservation of ‘intangible values’ are difficult in practice, requiring a variable approach. Indeed, when dealing with the conservation of sacred heritage, Wijesuriya (2003 in Stovel et al, 2005: n.p.) proposed that:

The familiar top-down process of decision making should be changed to a bottom-up approach by placing priority on inherent values and the voice of the associated communities. It could be said that the most acceptable to the religious community is the complete restoration.

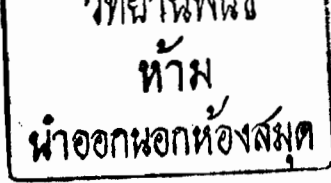
Consequently, as ‘sacredness’ is the inherited value that makes religious heritage different from other types of heritage building, appropriate principles are required to sustain the balance between conservation needs and the needs of the religious communities. Nasr (2001) proposed that the historic and sacred sites need to be comprehended and determined through common questions, such as why they are significant, who may use the site, what way to the site may be used and for what purpose. These roots can provide insights to the ‘location, buildings, and spaces that have special significance to people’. Moreover, these questions ‘contributively define to the social identity and sense of belonging’ as well (Serageldin et al., 2001: xii).

Obviously, ‘technical conservation knowledge is not enough to deal with the complexities of recognizing and maintaining the cultural and spiritual values of a site or place’ (Whiting, 2003 in Stovel et al., 2005: 18). If so, the appropriate solution for conservation of the most sacred sites should be a compromise between ‘modern conservation needs’ and ‘religious requirements’. In this way, the relationship between them could be also enhanced by the public participation, it is clear that ‘the heritage belongs to the present, and the present generation has the rights to use it’ because voices of the public community would be a guaranteed solution that contributes to the religious site in terms of the sustainable living (Wijesuriya, 2003 in Stovel et al. 2005: 42).

Indeed, Stovel et al. (2003: 3-4) cited the principles of an agreeable approach of reconciling between ‘faith’ and ‘conservation’, in six parts, consisting of:

1. Dealing with changing liturgical and functional needs
2. Dealing with the competing requirements of co-existing faiths
3. Dealing with the fluctuating interest in religion
4. Dealing with growing secular pressures on places of religious value
5. Dealing with the mystification of religious places and/or objects
6. Dealing with conservation interventions in term of continuity of ‘faith’ versus ‘scientific’ conservation.

Contrary to this, Wijesuriya (2003 in Stovel et al. 2005: 42) proposed a simpler concept for gaining acceptance from religious sentiment and its significances, consisting of:



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1. 'Worship'

- To provide an 'atmosphere conducive' to the public that focus on the religious activities and pilgrimages

2. 'Understanding'

- To provide the interpretations of the site

3. 'Impressions'

- To provide 'sentiment atmosphere' or 'sense of sacredness' of the site

Continuity, life and renewal: the characteristic of sacred place

In terms of continuity, Sekler (2001) and Nasr (2001) stated that 'human being' could be compared with 'cultural identity' in terms of a 'sense of continuity' toward the protection of the sacred sites and historic sites. Most preservation prospects could be supposed as 'investments' not only in culture but also with the thematic of 'continual existence' investments. Indeed, Nonnette (2001 in Serageldin et al., 2001: 131) asserted about relative living of built cultural heritage and city being that continuity is a characteristic of the change process to which even historic cities are subject because:

They are living bodies. If we do not agree that historic cities are living bodies and if we do not allow them to change and adapt to new lifestyle and new standards of living, then we sentence them to die.

In addition, as Williams (2001 in Serageldin et al., 2001: 403) said that the historic city should be placed such that they have 'life' which continues 'to be lived', cultural heritage might be exposed to risks or not be protected if people in the community cannot make it a living part of their everyday lives. In addition to most of traditional religious sources, such as 'Islam, Hinduism, the Chinese tradition and Christianity, and many other religious- the human body itself is often times compared to a city of kingdom, with all its political and social functions' (Serageldin et al., 2001: 4). Obviously, the continual living approach is provided in widespread international conservation fields by verifying them continually, its monitors and transformations are also accepted to be the critical tasks of safeguarding (Tucci, 2002 in Simeoni, 2003). Indeed, Sorkin (2001 in Serageldin et al., 2001: 62, 66) asserted the agreement that:

However, we must engage in a continuous process of judgment, of selecting what is the best in our social lives and in the settings we create for them... The point is that strategies for preserving historic architecture and cities are locked in a dynamic with strategies of innovation.

Thus, the primary goal of conservation continues itself, based on processes of renewal that continually 'revive the cultural meaning, significance and symbolism attached to heritage' (Wijesuriya, 2003 cited in Stovel et al., 2005: 1). Concerning the religious heritage aspects, Chatizigogas (2003 in Stovel et al., 2005: 70) mentioned that a framework of lively continuation and a process of addressing the sacred site to

be a 'home for the faith expression' is the only way to conserve the built heritage, religious objects and its collections. The 'continued care' that respects the construction period, tradition and skilled workers are regularly 'a part of the traditions and the livingness of the religion'. Moreover, 'political and community support within the continued maintenance and adequate funding are also the typically influential factors' (Wijesuriya, 2003 in Stovel et al., 2005: 37).

In terms of living condition, some use the word 'living' as an antonym of 'dead' and always defines the place that is still in use. For the heritage sites, it also specifically reveals to the surrounded people and local communities of them as well (Inaba, 2003). For instance, Wijesuriya (2003 in Stovel et al., 2005: 31) mentioned that:

The idea of 'livingness' is embedded in the religious heritage approach in terms of the 'continuity' because it is always stated to be a fundamental premise of conservation. In this way, survival of the original values and associable communities of this heritage are inevitable to be the most essential phenomenon of the continuity process, therefore these religious heritage implications are the vital identification that the conservation would need more conditions than the other types of heritage.

For the 'intangible' determination, it has been a vital discussion of scholars and conservation experts that the way to conserve the religious heritage or the so-called 'special case' should be explored through the assumption that 'the living heritage is inseparable from the framework of the religion or the belief system of its society.' Moreover, these experts also believed that the concept of 'living and changing' could be previously arisen before the arrival of modernization and globalization (Inaba, 2003 in Stovel et al., 2005: 45-46). Nyath and Ndiweni (2003) stated that living religious heritage also inevitably needs public supplement within the religious values and awareness for surviving as long as public community is still recognized. Stovel et al. (2005) and Inaba (2003 in Stovel et al., 2005:48) agreed in terms of manipulation and value identification that both of them, however, are inevitable to be concerned with negotiations between local-international, traditional-contemporary, religious belief-modern society all the time, these attributes also contribute that the religious living heritages or intangible heritages all over the world countries are distinguished and should be respected in their 'cultural structure of the concerned society'.

In practical ways of conservation, Inaba (2003) also asserted that it was commonly found that the built cultural heritages 'are fossilized or frozen' diverse features by conservational terms. Thus, Wijesuriya (2003) recommended the alternative solutions for specific characteristics of the intangible heritage that:

The concept of built-in continuity and the existence of original values and associated communities, make it necessary for professionals to re-examine their approach to conservation of sacred heritage (Wijesuriya, 2003 in Stovel et al., 2005: 37).

Also Inada (2003 in Stovel et al., 2005: 48) stated that the crucial approach of the 'living' is 'continuity' that can enhance the heritage values not only spiritual and sacredness of believers but also while maintaining the physical condition.

Obliviously, in the living sacred places such as temples and shrines which have been continuously used for the original functions, it was usually found that their physical conditions existed in greater condition than buildings that have been separated from the initial functions or were 'remodeled in order to survive'. It means that the best solution in maintenance could be created for sites so that they 're-incorporate into the everyday life of the community' (Chatizigogas, 2003 in Stovel et al., 2005: 72). Magar (2003) and Whiting (2003) proposed a continual approach where it is quite common to find a desire within the communities to replace 'old things' with 'new materials'. The renewal is seen as an opportunity for application and practice of traditional arts and knowledge. Wijesuriya (2003) stated that the purpose of such renewal is not necessary to retain the material contents but to sustain the 'cultural meaning', significances and symbolism of the heritage. 'It could be said that the authenticity of intangible-form heritage exists not in *material* but in *process*. How can we assess the authenticity of intangible heritage without material indicators?' (Inaba, 2003 in Stovel, 2005: 51)

In summary, Stovel et al.(2005: 9-11) declared the living religious heritage concept as follows:

1. Living religious heritage intends to signify 'spiritual identity' to 'human life'.
2. Living religious heritage is the key to understand the tangible religious heritage by the intangible significance values.
3. Living religious heritage would be at risk from:
 - 'Fluctuating' significations of the 'faith'
 - A lack of correlative understanding between 'nature of religious heritage' and 'conservation to sustaining faith'
 - A lack of 'respect' of 'religious communities'.
4. Living religious heritage always needs 'religious community' for conservation whose aims are:
 - To protect the 'living character' into the 'faith' context
 - To minimize conflicts between religious community and conservation authority goals in heritage conservation
 - To sustain survival of 'religious values' by respect the religious community's contribution and association.
5. Living religious heritage is inevitable to encounter the 'contemporary circumstance' in terms of conservation and adaptation. 'Lay authorities' should participate decision making and control 'limits on the degree of change'.
6. Living religious heritage should be respected in 'religious value in a multicultural context' in terms of 'strengthening interfaith dialogues on conservation issues'.

Sustainable approaches

Swarbrooke (2005: 4) said that ‘we do inherit the Earth from our forefathers, but borrow it from our children.’ That is, sustainability and sustainable development are provided by the ‘period dimensions’ of resource management which depends upon a balancing of generation to generation. The concept of sustainable development is now generally understood as being ‘sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (Our Common Future, 1987 cited in Brandon et al. 1997).

After these developments there was not only the awareness of natural resources but also the multiple aspects of resources that have to be interpreted. The ‘resources’ could be said are a whole picture of everything that we use and are inevitably to be inherited by the next generations. The main point of ‘resources’ also is not necessary that they be only nature, ecology or environment but also include the whole connectable systems. Many scholars have developed theories into practical ideas of their fields and have provided specific types of development and current projects that are concerned with aspects of the future.

Graham et al. (2000: 153) described sustainability as a ‘normative idea’ that is concerned with the ‘valuation of resources’, in terms of how such resources should be used ‘now and in the future’. He also proposed that preservation and development are the two fundamental strategic ideas in managing heritage. Moreover, the ‘sustainable heritage development’ is a challenge at ‘reconciling them rather than choosing between them’ (Graham et al. 2000: 153). Malliet (1998: 10-11) also cited that sustainable development should be considered in terms of:

1. Respect of the next generation resource and be aware in community
2. Quality of life as the main ideal
3. Minimizing destruction or causes of destruction to the irreplaceable resource
4. Preservation and conservation of cultural diversity
5. Encouragement of community in awareness of its resources

Therefore, the sustainability concept is concerned with an integrated approach that attends to the awareness of interrelated systems toward objectives. It means that the principles of sustainability consist of four characteristics, as Arphaphirom (2002) mentioned:

- Integration
- Deliberation
- Gradualism
- Participation.

At the same time, Arphaphirom (2002) asserted that the answers of sustainable development could depend upon diversity or pluralism which also needs various methods to study and solve the complicated problems. Acceptability to the complex social and sub-cultures are needed, including local identity and various attitudes

acceptability. Thus, Dhanakoses (2004) provided the sustainability's thematic approaches as:

- Holistic view
- Multidisciplinary knowledge
- Beyond the frontier
- Win-win approach.

In terms of cultural resources, Swarbrooke (2005: 52-55) said that one of the great challenges in managing any cultural assets are the need to 'mollify many stakeholders'. According to the definition, Ellsmore (2007) also clarified in his class at Silpakorn University that sustainable development is not concerned with only resources than need long-term management but includes the 'integrity' of the cultural environment. Economic and social aspects also provide for well being conditions at present and in the future. Inquiries also occur in this step as to why 'sustainability' or 'sustainable development' theory should be used with any cultural heritage management.

The sustainable development can be also mentioned is not only differentiated from the past but also enhances contemporary heritage places for future generations by community and relative systems. The key points of the '*resources for the future generations*' is adapted to be a *long-term management* that it is possible for the community to be both a 'tool' and 'owners' of the cultural heritage management process. As people love their home, they would not destroy but voluntarily preserve the home for their sons/daughters and possibly to their grandsons/granddaughters as the true 'cultural heritage' management.

As the 'cultural resource' belongs to all people, the emphasis is to local community participation and its ownership of the sustainability. Also any development process should establish with the original community a 'sense of belonging' so that it regards its resources with 'awareness'. Indeed, the cultural heritage, especially to the religious or sacred place, always needs their 'public' for the support. The local community's role is crucially needed in terms of being 'smallest society' that continually patronizes its 'religious monument' surviving, as well as the situation where sustainability concerns always concentrate the 'local level' on practical planning and policy (Maclaren, 1996). Brandon stated that the 'cultural built heritage conservation is a social goal, which can be pursued at local, regional and state levels within urban management and planning' (Brandon et al, 1997: 460). This means that the sustainable way for the living religious places is not only concerned with but never separated from their patrons. It is also reliant upon answering a vital question of how to encourage the local community and society into awareness of their cultural resources. This inquiry could be more a 'surviving guarantee' than a conservation approach that focuses on the physical condition improvement alone.

Sustainability and the Buddhist approach

P.A. Payutto (2002) said that any success requires completely relative factors to be a destination outcome, such as objective of any project consists of its key factors, the 'causes of successful' are the complete of the relative factors. It could be said that whatever happens, it happens from appropriate conditions of itself without coincidence, that:

From a mango seed transforms to be a mango tree, not only a seed is concerned but also soil, manure, gas (Oxygen and Carbon dioxide) and appropriate temperature, it might be said that when relative factors are completed then mango tree can grow.
(P.A. Payutto, 2002: 197)

The three characteristics of the existence of things (*Tri-luk*) were clarified by P.A. Payutto (2002: 60-61) and Buddhadasa Bhikkhu (n.p.) as

1. 'Impermanence (*Anijang*)' means everything has a characteristic of the continual transforming as well as a dynamic process.
2. 'Conflict (*Tukkang*)' or suffering and incomplete means there is suffering characteristic in the whole things and affects whoever do not realize in them, then has to bear a suffering mind.
3. 'Soullessness or Non-self (*Anatta*)' means everything exists without meaning of its being. It could be mentioned that whatever things are identified, they are merely recognitions of whoever knows without the right way for realization.

Indeed, the '*Tri-lak*' was mentioned by Buddhadasa Bhikkhu (n.p.: 22) that it was the main doctrine of the Lord Buddha. It is said that 'whoever knew the Buddhism without the *Tri-lak*, he does not acquaint the real Buddhism.' Indeed, '*Anatta*' is a point of view to the things by the 'interrelated factors' that everything is conditioned, relative, and interdependent, there can be nothing absolutely free either physically or mentally. For '*Anijang*', it provides the universal things which are transforming as infinite circle of life from birth getting, elderly, ailing and finally death. In this way, the death was defined by Panyananta Bhikkhu (n.p.: 2-4) that 'it normally appears everywhere as well as a living and also is observable. Life is changing and becomes the death while it is not changing.' Both Buddhism and its religious temple are seen as having 'life' and being living things which are dying every minute. Current 'renewal' seems to be preferable in the commoner's minds rather than the 'authenticity' preserving of the Western theory. There is probably no need to focus on preservation of the 'past' (death) but rather we should concentrate on the 'present' (living) condition and circumstance. Thus, a crucial role of the Buddhist followers is to periodically give 'rebirth' to their religious heritages by 'renewal' and 're-complete' method in most of the living Buddhist heritages that still remain today.

However, it could be summarized that sustainable development is 'a development which requires human or people factor concerning and including cultural values to social and economic activities' (Arphaphirom, 2002: 4). Also with the Buddhist view, the human development should be another answer for the sustainability context. For example, P.A. Payutto (1997: 97) described that in the

Western approach, the 'compromise' is used when a conflict occurs in the term of pessimistic; it emphasizes to the *solution* by reducing of the needs. Economically, human needs are infinite, selfish and could not be improved. On the other hand, the 'compromise' in the Buddhist context tends to be more optimistic in terms of co-organizing to solve the conflicts by being sympathetic, and emphasizes to the *human nature*. Buddhism usually accepts the diversity of people and believes that alternative ways of life should follow their diversity as well. Human development's tool is everyday *practice*, not by creating the *rule*. The culture could be an informal discipline for effective social control rather than a law which also contributes to the ability of people to create their social identity, particularly in religious society. Human development is an integrated process that contributes to the cultural management and finally becomes the sustainable development.

In summary, the sustainable theory should be interpreted and adapted to the heritage management approach because its concepts lead us to negotiation and balancing between the present and the distant future where most of the cultural heritage attention is needed. The evolutionary approach from merely 'physical historic building' to be the 'cultural built heritage' should be a 'contemporary managerial approach' as well. According to the 'cultural resources' by the sustainable concept, the 'resources' are provided so that we always 'live' with them and necessarily 'use' them in terms of their most valid and greatest effectiveness. As the cultural (heritage) resources can be, how can we live, use and also preserve them as long as possible and still survive? Possibly, a key point could a preferable focus on the questions of *how to use* and *how to live* with them rather than *how to preserve* them in the same way.

Chapter 3

Chiang Mai identity: its evolution and commodification

Chiang Mai identity

As Chiang Mai is an old city that now lives and continues to evolve in a modern, contemporary context, it is impossible to preserve the whole city and its communities as if they were fossils. The 'real owner' is the local people whose daily lives are based in the old city. The way to consider about abandoned wat in Chiang Mai inevitably must involve an understanding of what was the context of 'Chiang Mai city' previously, as well as its 'life' in three dimensions of time (past, present and future). The city of Chiang Mai, which consists of local people and communities and the relationship to their 'living heritages' in terms of 'patronage' and 'awareness' might be a key element among various surviving factors. It could be said that the survival, existence and sustainability of living built heritage or built heritage are dependant upon the living condition of their 'real owner'. Social conditions might also be a key to the understanding of the 'real patronage' and local community participation as well. The evolution of Chiang Mai is never isolated but on the contrary is interconnected with aspects of a living city through time, such as politics, economic factors and society. So, impacts from outsiders that have influenced Chiang Mai city historically results in 'Chiang Mai-ness' or Chiang Mai's being today. As a result, various social aspects should be included in terms of local people's lives and their ways of life into the practical term. Not only awareness from the community is important but also the socio-economic and political issues as well. Even though the members of local community are truly aware of the significance and ownership of their heritage place, in the case of facing poverty they need to choose their life and their families survival first before conservation. These are the reasons cultural heritage management should be considered from a cultural context that is concerned with everyday life of the real owners.

Ideally, cultural preservation could be used to support the development of a 'sustainable identity' for Chiang Mai. Aplin (2002: 4) makes the point that 'the cultural heritage can preserve aspects of culture and history and add to our sense of belonging and group identity as well'. If this is so, cultural heritage can also be considered as the 'media' that always transmits the identity message to its audiences (Bianca, 2001 in Serageldin et al. 2001: 19). As a result, before considering cultural heritage in terms of a conservation and sustainability approach, it is preferable that we should know about what it is that we want to be preserved? Although we have the capacity to preserve the whole city or entire historic sites in excellent condition, the real aim is that we attempt to preserve the 'identity', the so-called 'genius loci' or 'spirit of place' and to safeguard the sacred heritage by protecting and enhancing both the tangible and intangible heritage

elements (16th ICOMOS General Assembly on September 29th to October 4th 2008 in Quebec). It is not only a building or architecture style or its condition but also with the whole of Chiang Mai being by considering culture and social aspects.

So, what is Chiang Mai's identity? In this term, the researcher intends to consider Chiang Mai identity or Chiang Mai-ness from two main perspectives, that of the city's evolution and the impacts from the outsiders that have affected social values and the native people. In the case of the impacts, they might have accelerated the identity distortion or on the other hand, the impacts can reflect the contemporary Chiang Mai-ness like two faces of coin. As a result, the identity should be considered without bias but from a holistic approach, like being open-minded when looking after your home and regarding your identity.

Who are the people of Chiang Mai?

The first people to occupy this area before the establishment of Chiang Mai kingdom were Lawa, Mon and Tai. Tai or Tai-Yuan is mentioned in many references but the native people might never have known or used these terms. In fact, native Chiang Mai people normally call themselves as '*Khon Muang*' or '*the people of the principality*'. These Tai-Yuan of local Chiang Mai possibly refers to the Tai who originated in central or eastern China around 2000 BC, and gradually migrated towards the southwest and finally settled in the present region of the Yunnan in southern China. It could also be asserted that the Tai-Yuan is a Tai ethno-linguistic group which migrated south across the Mekong River more recently, finally resettling around the region before Chiang Mai was founded (Freeman, 2001: 8-9). King Mengrai was also of the Tai-Yuan and proposed Chiang Mai to be the Tai's capital. Unfortunately, during the period of the Burmese rule (1558-1774), most Tai population of the Lanna area were captured and resettled in Burma. Beginning with the time of King Kawila (1782-1813), it took a period of 30 years for the variety of Tai ethno-linguistic groups in southern China and the Shan in Burma to resettle in Chiang Mai and thereby increase the population. Even though they came from different regions, they spoke the same language and the Tai still were the majority of Chiang Mai's inhabitants until the present day.

Until the time of modernization in the late 19th and early 20th century, Chiang Mai still was the heart of the northern region under Siam. An influx of commercial businesses and timber industrialists from foreign countries, such as the Bombay Burma Company, began entering the area during this time. These companies employed a lot of laborers from Burma in Chiang Mai's territory. Large numbers of migrants - Chinese, Indians and Siamese - came for commerce and work and were a key factor in changing the old city's demographics. In recent decades, with a population of 200,000 inhabitants (out of the provincial total of 1.4 million), Chiang Mai's city has in fact become the second city of the kingdom of Thailand (Lubeigt, 1994:117). Now '*Khon Muang*' could be identified by '*culture*' as the natives of Chiang Mai who still sustain Lanna traditions, maintain ancestor roots and speak the local language. Moreover, the diversity of ethnic groups is

accepted to be one of the Chiang Mai's cultural identities today (Laos PDR and Chiang Mai University, 1994).

Identity in evolution

Brief history of Lanna kingdom and Chiang Mai

Around the 8th century, before the establishment of Chiang Mai Kingdom, there was an Austro-Asiatic group, the Lawa, which occupied and settled around the foot of Doi Suthep Mountain. After that, between the 8th and the late 13th century, the migrations of Tai from Yunnan began. At the same time the Haripunchai Kingdom (centered in Lamphun) gradually declined. The Haripunchai Kingdom, that influenced Chiang Mai in its early establishment period, arose and was regarded as having hegemonic roles throughout the region of the lower Irrawaddy and Chao Phraya basins between the 5th -6th and the 13th century. The beginning of the kingdom is believed to have originated with Mon who migrated from Lopburi to the north, to settle down into the Ping, Wang and Yom valleys (Freeman, 2001). The Haripunchai capital of the Mon was the heart of Buddhist civilization in Lamphun, Chiang Mai and this region for around 500 years until its sacking by King Mengrai of Chiang Mai in the 13th century.

The word 'Lanna' was found in many manuscripts and stone inscriptions, but the oldest was recorded in 1553 at Wat Nang Jundee in Chiang Rai and its meaning is 'a million rice fields' and can be compared with 'Lan Xang' or Luang Phra Bang whose meaning is 'a million elephants' (Charoenmuang and Apavatjirut, 1987: 16). The establishment of Chiang Mai was referred to on a stone inscription at Wat Chiang Man as 'Nophaburi Sri Nakorn Ping Chiang Mai', the new city's name made by King Mengrai who was the founder of the Lanna Kingdom. The identification 'Lanna' usually means the entire kingdom but 'Chiang Mai' means only the capital city of Lanna. Today people still refer to 'Lanna' as the ancient kingdom, which in the context of the past is already 'dead,' but Chiang Mai is still a 'living' capital city of the northern region. The Lanna Kingdom and Chiang Mai history should be set as the period of political developments between 1296 and 1899, and can be divided into five periods (Ongsakul, 1996:104-407) as follows:

1. Establishment period (1296-1355)

Beginning around the 1220s, the Tai population in southern Yunnan began a movement southward across the Mekong River to dominate the region. King Mengrai, who was the founder of the Lanna Kingdom, was born on 23 October 1239, by the banks of the Mekong River at Chiang Saen. He was of noble blood; his father was the ruler of the principality of Chiang Hung or Jing Hong at present, capital of the Tai autonomous region of Xishuangbanna in China's Yunnan province. After the beginning of his reign at Chiang Saen in 1290, King Mengrai settled 500 families of goldsmiths, silversmiths and coppersmiths from Ava in this region for founding the constant capital city for Lanna in

the new location of ‘Chiang Mai’ which means ‘new city’. The Lanna Kingdom’s boundaries consisted of eight subordinate cities: Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae, Nan, Phayao, Mae Hong Son with Xishuangbanna in China’s Yunnan province and some part of Shan state in Burma.

The Chiang Mai period began around the 13th century until the mid 14th century when King Mengrai completely captured Haripunchai and the minor cities in this region. From the record, Chiang Mai city was established on 12 April 1296 at 4.00 o’clock, with advice from King Ram Kamhaeng (Sukhothai) and King Ngam Muang (Phayao), to be the capital city and center of commercial expansion. It was situated in a superior location because it could connect to other cities in Yunnan, Pagan and Shan. At the same time, there was initial urban planning done with zoning, irrigation and environmental development that was influenced by Indian cosmology and the local beliefs of the Lawa about settlement. The next year, in 1297, Wat Chiang Man, the first wat in Chiang Mai city, was founded and later in 1341 the city walls were made of bricks. The number of wat in the city’s walled area gradually increased following the being capital of the kingdom. Most of cultural heritages were in the Mon style of Haripunchai and influenced by the Pala and Sena school of northern India (8th -12th century) (Freeman, 2001).

2. Golden period (1355-1553)

The one hundred and seventy years of this period was a golden period, like other kingdoms of the past. It was the climax of civilization in areas such as leadership, religion, military affairs and art. One of the key factors was the influence of Singhalese Buddhism from Sukhothai that was different from Haripunchai. The Singhalese Buddhism originated from Sri Lanka and began in 1355, when King Pha Yu’s son, Keu Na became the King and invited Phra Sumana, who was a Sukhothai monk, to Lanna. In this period, Sukhothai arts also began influencing the Lanna style. The finest evidences of this were Wat Umong Maha Tharechan in 1376 and Wat Suan Dok, which was founded for Phra Sumana, and also the famous Wat Boromthat Doi Suthep which was built in 1371. In 1441, King Sam Fang Kaen was overthrown by palace officials. King Tilokaraj was crowned in his place and his period was the golden age of Buddhism and Lanna art. He built Wat Jet Yot in 1455 to be his funerary temple and to commemorate the 2000th year of Buddhism. Moreover, in 1477 the Eight World Buddhist Council was convened in Chiang Mai as well. In addition, Lanna art was enhanced and became truly unique in its stucco decoration and chedi style. Sukhothai style and its techniques also emerged in Chiang Mai sculptures and ceramics, which was a result of King Tilokaraj capturing Sri Satchanalai of Sukhothai.

3. Period of Decline (1525-1558)

Despite the prosperity of the golden period in Buddhist literature and religion, the kingdom also encountered several wars and defeats as well. Meanwhile, many wars with Ayutthaya and Shan were a consequence of the kingdom’s weakness. The countless

construction of wat and the employment of labor were also vital factors in economic and political crises in this period (Limsathaporn, 2001). In the year of 1551, Phra Mekuti, a Shan prince, accepted to be the ruler of Chiang Mai with the support of local princes. It was the same period when the King Bayinnaung of Pegu began the subjugation of all surrounding cities of Lanna states. Finally in 1558, Chiang Mai and the subordinate cities of Lanna were taken by Burmese and two centuries of Burmese suzerainty began (Freeman, 2001). In the period of 229 years of the Mengrai Dynasty, between 1296-1558, there were ten political crises, two rulers were killed, one ruler was captured, and also there were six Chiang Mai Kings that never finished their thrones because of assassinations and overthrows (Charoenmuang and Apavatjirut, 1987).

4. Lanna under Burmese rule (1558—1774)

The capture in 1558 by King Bayinnaung of Burma and the period that followed was a critical stage of Chiang Mai history, as the king conveyed the entire city population to Burma (Ongsakul, 1996). King Mekuti was deposed and Princess Wisutthithewi became the regent of Chiang Mai in 1565 with the support of a Burmese garrison. There were political issues throughout this time between Burmese and local princes. Chiang Mai became the base for attacking Ayutthaya and also completely succeeded in 1569 after a seven-month siege by Burmese troops. Finally in 1578, the Mengrai dynasty totally finished with the death of Princess Wisutthithewi. Burmese King Bayinnaung placed his son Tharawaddy Min on throne of Chiang Mai. In fact, under the control of the Burmese, some short-periods were taken over by King Naresuan and King Narai of Ayutthaya in 1598 and 1661, until Ayutthaya was entirely destroyed in 1767. Therefore, 200 years under Burmese rule without serenity was a period of abandoned Chiang Mai, most of the deserted wat deteriorated and became a jungle. There were wild animals such as elephants and tigers inside the city walls, and villages and farms outside became forests and the Chiang Mai city seemed to be an ancient city that had just been found. The result of wars with Burma caused other cities to be abandoned in Lanna, such as Lamphun, Lampang, Nan, Phare and Phayao (Limsathaporn, 2001).

In summary, the impact of the Burmese crisis influenced Chiang Mai's being in many ways, such as Lanna Buddhists preferring to ordain as novices more than monks, as the result of lacking both number and capacity in sustaining Buddhism through time. Moreover, culture, art and architecture were influenced by Burmese styles in chedi and buildings, including the Singa statues on stairway temples, local meals, local cigarette smoking of old women and word usage in language. (Charoenmuang and Arpawatcharut, 1987).

5. Lanna under Siamese rule (1774-1899)

Despite local princes of Lanna attempting to recover the kingdom from Burma, through time they never succeeded without reinforcement from Siam, due to a lack of warriors. Siam and Lanna spent 30 years together fighting against the Burmese rule until

they succeeded in 1804. This process began in 1774 led by Phraya Chaban of Chiang Mai and Chao Kawila of Lampang along with Siamese troops. Finally, they defeated the Burmese in Lampang and were successful in recapturing Chiang Mai. Chiang Mai city was deserted for 20 years and the proportion between population and city scale was not balanced. Until 1802 Chao Kawila resettled and was the ruler of Chiang Mai, with the contribution of King Rama I of Siam. The lack of population was solved over 14 years (1782-1796) by capturing Shan families of Keng Tung to resettle in the kingdom in groups organized by their hometown. These mostly surrounded the outskirts of Chiang Mai city and became a diversity of ethnic-group communities (Ongsakul, 1996).

Finally in 1871, Chiang Mai's authorities were diminished from Siam because of the expansion of British colonialization from Burma. This crisis could be seen as the critical point to the beginning of Siam centralization that proceeded from 1874 and Siamese high commissioners were appointed to Chiang Mai, which later was incorporated and transformed to be the 'Monthon Phayap' (northern state of Siam) in 1892. The strict governance policy for Chiang Mai was a protection strategy against British and French colonization. This policy was influenced from experiences in 1893 and 1904 when Siam was forced to cede the east and west bank of the Mekong River, including Laos, to France. Siam attempted to unify connections with Chiang Mai as soon as possible, by modernizing, such as installing a telegraph system that reached Chiang Mai in 1885 and constructing a railway in 1921. These were keys to enhancing the relationship between the states. The most important step was the visit of King Rama VII in 1926, who was the first Siamese King to visit Lanna. Then, finally, in 1932 Chiang Mai became a province of Siam with the overthrow of the absolute monarchy. Although 45 kings ruled over the city, from 1292-1939, before it became one of Thailand's 76 provinces, throughout its history Chiang Mai never lost its unique characteristics (Lubeigt, 1994). Moreover, traditional culture and fascinating architecture are the attractive destinations for tourists today.

Chiang Mai city: initial urban planning

Chiang Mai became the new capital of King Mengrai after consultation with religious functionaries about wall lengths and the structure of the city. For the defenses he consulted with his fellow rulers, Ngam Muang of Phayao and Ramkhamhaeng of Sukhothai. Generally, the city planning was influenced by Sukhothai, particularly the features like its square shape, walls and dike-rampart. The wall measuring is approximately 1.5 kilometers on each side. (Forbes, 2006:27). Thus, the area inside city walled is 2.03 square kilometers (Limsathaporn, 2001:86). So, in terms of location of the Chiang Mai city, Ongsakul (1996: 114) stated that this area is an excellent location and settlement because:

1. it is surrounded by the Kok and Ping basins which could allow for control of secondary cities in political matters and allow quick distribution of troops,

2. it is a suitable location for being a commercial centre that can connect to the north (Chiang Saen and Xishuangbanna -today known as Jing Hong) and south by rivers,
3. it is wealthy and is the largest plain for agriculture in this region,
4. the sloped plain between the foot of Doi Suthep Mountain and the Ping River creates water ways and there was a northeastern lake for supporting the city, moreover, this plain prevents flooding.

In addition, the old city design considered traditional beliefs about 'Taksa-Muang', or 'direction and position of the city'. Many positions of the city were defined by Indian astrology and city zoning. Ongsakul (1996:36-37) asserted that there were eight zones for different functions as follows;

1. Boriwan-muang (west) Suan Dok Gate, auspicious zone and residential zone
2. Aryu-muang (northwest) Hua Lin Bastion, auspicious zone conveying the long-life supporting of the city
3. Dej-muang (north) Chang Purk Gate, auspicious zone for the king first city accession after coronation.
4. Sri-muang (northeast) Sri Phum Bastion and sacred tree, auspicious zone
5. Moonla-muang (east) Tha Phae Gate, commercial zone conveying wealth.
6. Usaha-muang (southeast) Ka Thum Bastion
7. Montri-muang (south) Chiang Mai Gate
9. Kalakinee-muang (southwest) Suan Prung Gate and Ku Huang Bastion, the door for bringing dead body outside as it is an inauspicious zone.

Also, inside the city wall was planned for settlement zoning considering Taksa-Muang as follows

1. *Wiang kaew* is the zone of palaces that were always in an auspicious zone as Boriwan-muang, Aryu-muang, Dej-muang and Sri-muang. Wat Suthawat was for the king's palace.
2. *Sadue-muang* is the heart of the city, with Wat Saduemuang as the symbol.
3. *Market*, in the early settlement was in front of Wat Phra Singh, then was moved to Tha Phae Gate in Moonla-muang zone.
4. *Sanarm-luang* was defined as the zone for activities, royal ceremony and Wat Hua-kuang, now this area became shop-houses, streets and government buildings.
5. *Residences and wat* were settled in Moola-muang, Usaha-muang and Montri-muang zone.
6. *City gates*
7. *City walls* and soil wall outside the square-shape area.

Due to the Indian influence, Lanna people believed that the city represented a 'man' that has a day of birth, life, and a body. These characteristics are found in many cities in southern China, Chiang Rai and other Lanna cities. On the other hand it might also reflect the local beliefs of the Lawa before Chiang Mai was founded (Ongsakul, 1996; Lieorungruang, 2000). In fact, Xishuangbanna and Dehong of Yunnan province in China also have evidence of this belief in villages but on a smaller scale. In summary, Lanna cities always have three zones for functional definition by local beliefs that were more effective than laws for social order (Charoenmuang, 2004a), as follows;

1. Head of the city: auspicious zone
2. Heart or navel of the city: sacred and activity zone
3. Feet or tail of the city: inauspicious zone

In the period of King Kawila (1782-1813), during the time of capturing Shan families of Keng Tung to resettle in Chiang Mai, he made the settlement policies that:

1. the most important area or the square shape within the city wall was defined for palaces, royal families and accepted only Tai-Yuan for residence, and;
2. the royal craftsmen or local prince families were accepted to resettle by group of lineages in the square shape area but ordinary people must live outside the city for agriculture (Ongsakul, 1996: 270).

External impacts on Chiang Mai

Centralization policy

The next period, of King Rama V of Siam, inevitably saw a highly centralized policy to help the kingdom survive from western colonization. The modernization of Chiang Mai began in this period as well. The political connection between Siam and Chiang Mai was critically increased from 1892 when Lanna was incorporated into Siam as 'Monthon Phayap' or the northern state (Freeman, 2001). In the eyes of Siam, Chiang Mai seemed *foreign* because of distinctions in culture, tradition and language but the area was blessed by natural resources, particularly for the wood industry. There were 'Bowling Treaties' (1855) and 'Chiang Mai Treaties' (1856) as the solution of numerous conflicts between Siam and England. Most critical crises usually were arisen from colonial subjects and the ruler of Chiang Mai in profitable in wood partnerships (Mahidol University and Silpakorn University, 1994). The main reasons of reforming to be Monthon Phayap were as follows;

1. To protect Chiang Mai from British and French Empire that took over many surrounding cities and may mention about their boundaries.
2. To manage the teak-wood industry that would bring huge profit to Bangkok through tax revenues.

3. To enhance political and economic status, particularly the administrative structure in terms of political reform. (Charoenmuang and Arpawatcharut 1987:51-52)

Generally, the centralized policy of Siam towards Chiang Mai saw the deterioration of cultural identities, particularly in the symbols of beliefs and local absolute monarchy. The outcome of these impacts is that the native Chiang Mai people tend to be 'not proud in their culture' (Laos PDR and Chiang Mai University, 1994: 85). These processes started in 1898 by setting the same formal language in education and the founding of secondary schools in 1899 which specified the use of language in school. Then finally usage of local alphabets gradually vanished (Charoenmuang and Arpawatcharut, 1987). In this way, there was a policy to insert 'new power symbolism' in the zone of the ancient palaces to destroy 'old power symbolism', for example King Kawila's palace was changed into a prison. In fact, this zone should have been preserved but nowadays its surroundings and fabrics were transformed to be shop-houses and government buildings (Ongsakul, 1996). These political associations were gradually enhanced by a railway that reached Chiang Mai in 1921. Shortening the time spent for the journey from north to south from three months to be mere 26 hours by train (Mahidol University and Silapakorn University, 1994:80) was useful in establishing a recognizable, centralized affiliation. In 1933 the central government canceled the 'Thae-Saphiban' or the Monthon Phayap(norther state) and transferred Chiang Mai to be only a province of Thailand (Charoenmuang and Arpawatcharut, 1987).

Since then, the fact is that the highly centralized administration still remains like other provinces of Thailand but more specific. Chiang Mai today is placed to be the tourism city and center of the northern region as the majority of income in Chiang Mai are related to tourism and agricultures, and 12.59% of the country's 15 millions foreign tourists would visit Chiang Mai (Sethatho, 1989:18, Asian Tourism Roadmap Conference Symposium, 2005).

Charoenmuang(2003) stated the centralization characteristics that has caused impacts today as follows;

1. Thai state uses an excessive centralization policy for most aspects about ruling such as politic, economic, religion, society and culture.
2. These impacts are the local weakness that could be the implication of
 - 2.1 lack of power, responsibility and authority for local administration
 - 2.2 lack of participation, skill and experience
 - 2.3 lack of ownership
 - 2.4 lack of advanced policy but passive operation under the regulation of the central government
 - 2.5 lack of pride and preference for the central state capacity which was a result of imitation and pessimism of the traditional culture of the ancestor roots.

- 2.6 lack of awareness in local knowledge and current circumstances but intends to metropolitan norms.
3. The excessive centralization by period and continuity are also the consequence of
- 3.1 expansion of central and regional administrations while the locality is gradually transformed to a position of weakness,
 - 3.2 amount of central administrative officers outnumbering those in localities, for example there are approximately two millions into military and general government officers throughout the country,
 - 3.3 the central government has never transformed its legitimate authority to local administrations, arguably that the local authority is still weak in management and not ready for autonomy decision making.
- (Charoenmuang, 2003:12)

Modernization

In time of the Cold War the world was divided into three categories as the First, Second and Third World countries according to their ideological orientation. Thailand fell into the last category, seen as an ‘undeveloped country’ (or later, ‘developing country’). This means Thailand needed to ‘be developed’, according to the United Nations and to protect the communism invasions in Southeast Asia countries through coordination with the United States of America. The United Nations had the loan policy for these undeveloped countries but required the National Development Plan Proposal for determination (Charoenmuang, 1998). In late 1957, there were experts from the US and the World Bank who visited Thailand for social conditional research and they published ‘The Development Plan for Thailand’ which finally became the master plan of ‘The 1st Thailand Economic and Social Development Plan’. The essential contents are as follows;

1. The state is the infrastructure founder and supports private capitalists.
 2. The state would not deal in economic competition with the private sector.
 3. Expansion of agriculture products is for export.
 4. Construction of electrical sources is for modern industry support.
 5. Development of transportation systems must be prepared.
- (Seatthatho, 1989: 18)

Since then, there were nine plans until 2006 and the 10th National Economic and Social Development Plan is being taken into consideration of the council. The content of nine plans was the master plans for development throughout four decades that have affected Thailand and Chiang Mai today as follows:

1st Plan (1961-1966): Only this plan had been used for six years and intended to accelerate the economy for only Bangkok. The basic idea was the Growth Center Theory. In this time Chiang Mai was promoted to be a northern tourism center by an international tourism assembly and Chiang Mai University was also founded. The definition of

development in this plan lacked social dimensions, but it was still used along with many following plans.

2nd Plan (1967-1971): The state intended to enhance income and quality of life to the population by attempting to make the highest profitable use of natural resources with gains in productivity and economic stability. Progress of industry and Bangkok investment was emphasized.

3rd Plan (1969-1973): The northern and northeastern regions were also identified as growth centers in the development plan, which arose from complicated problems in Bangkok. The objectives were the increase of national income from industrial bases. The number of Chiang Mai's population was 20-30 times less than the capital city, so it was peaceful and quiet. The state and private sectors began many more investments in Chiang Mai tourism. Then the night bazaar was set up and tourism business brought a lot of income to the local community.

4th Plan (1974-1978): The Central Place Theory began by defining the policy and guidelines for development in primary and secondary cities of the regions. Chiang Mai was the primary city or growth center of the northern region but without any practical strategy, Chiang Mai could grow but only gradually. The central government planners seemed to be aware of only Bangkok's problems.

5th Plan (1982-1986): The potential cities for development were specified. As a result of a lack of funds, and the fact that Bangkok had been exceeding faster in development, the plan specified only four cities – Chiang Mai, Songkhla, Khon Kan, Korat and HatYai – for development as follows:

- There were the industrial bases, activities and enhancing agriculture in countryside of sub-ordinate surrounding cities.
- There were the central markets for agriculture products of the region.
- There were the centers of transportation between urban areas and countryside.
- Chiang Mai gained the highest potential for the development of the region due to its suitability in scale, population, economic, transport and tourism sources, and was defined to be the growth center of the northern region.

Chiang Mai municipality was also enlarged from 17.5 to 40 square kilometers in 1983. The Department of Town Planning, Ministry of Interior also designated Chiang Mai's Urban Plan that contributed to land use of sub-ordinate cities and city expansion.

6th Plan (1987-1991) the development of the primary cities was sustained like the 4th -5th Plan. In this term, Chiang Mai was also identified to be the center of commercial businesses, services and tourism of the upper northern region, as well as the center of industrial sources (Chiang Mai – Lamphun). The main guidelines were as follows:

- To develop urban infrastructure and accommodation.
- To promote tourism sources by redeveloping the surrounding conditions and standard services. For cultural heritage sites, the historic monuments and their sense of place must to be preserved.
- To encourage industry, handicraft and local material industries such as agriculture instruments, machines, transport facilities, cement and construction instruments were promoted. Also loans were provided for investment.
- To develop agriculture market centers for the northern region, supplementing vegetables, fruits and animal farms.
- To control efficiency of land-use for tourism contribution; Lampang was defined as the government administrative centre, industrial source and local services with connections to Chiang Mai, Lamphun and the northern region. Chiang Rai was also developed as a center of agriculture and local services connecting to Chiang Mai.

As a result, Chiang Mai in this period was developed in all directions; there were extended roads to be four lanes connecting to subordinate cities. It was the beginning of the development impacts such as traffic jams, as people from rural districts moved to the metropolitan cities for job opportunities. Numerous farmers could not survive with only agriculture. Agriculture was controlled by higher invested capitalists and also needed to bear costs for export. The central government still sustained the development policy and partnership projects, such as 'transforming battlefield to be commercial zone' which included economic partnerships with neighboring countries, such as the Economic Quadrangle Project between Thailand, South China, Laos, and Burma. Unfortunately, Chiang Rai was not prepared for these bases and finally was replaced by Chiang Mai.

7th Plan (1992-1996), Chiang Mai was more specifically intended to be the center of commercial businesses, services, tourism, industrial source, air transportation and education. Being an air transportation and education center of the region meant Chiang Mai was also the center of everything as if it were the 'Second Bangkok'. In fact, this plan was evaluated with the sustainability theory of development, where it was stated that environment and agriculture are reinforcing systems and were necessary to be preserved. Unfortunately, the plan lacked practical guidelines for implementation.

8th Plan (1997-2001): This plan focused more on 'people' or human resources and provided public participation in planning toward sustainable development due to the International World Summit's agreement. As for Chiang Mai, it was identified as the old city area that must to be preserved and new area sought for new modern city development. Consequently, the Official of National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) proposed to the cabinet for considering the 'Twin City Chiang Mai-Lamphun Project'. This project intended to be a principle for the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Plain development and towards the Mae Kong basin development project. Unfortunately, the period of this plan was impacted by 'Tom Yam Kung Crisis' or 'Economic Crisis' in

1997 that nearly destroyed the entire economic system. The 8th Plan was inevitably compromised and revised for economic recovery and began to use ‘Self-Sufficiency Economic Theory’ of King Bhumiphol as a solution to the economic crisis.

9th Plan (2002-2006): This plan was raised from ‘Self-Sufficiency Economic Theory’ which intends for economic recovery and sustainability by a ‘middle way’. In fact, this plan aimed to help the economic system recover from the economic crisis at the grass roots and begin to improve the government administrative system by decentralization under the ‘Constitution of 1997’. Unfortunately, there was a coup d’état by military leaders on 19 September 2006 and, as a result, the Constitution of 1997 which was accepted internationally was canceled. However, in the period of this plan, Chiang Mai had planned to construct mega projects for tourism and stimulating the local economy, such as an International Plant Exposition and the Chiang Mai Night Safari. The recent political issues are key factors for the next development plan and Chiang Mai’s provincial administrative policy as well.

10th Plan (2007-2011): This plan is still in progress, being put together by the National Economic and Social Development Board, under the theme of ‘Sustainability of Social Happiness’ which will carry out the ‘Self-Sufficiency Economic Theory’ and real base development.

Table1: Impacts of National Economic and Social Development Plans on Chiang Mai

Plans	Contents of NESDP.	Impacts to Chiang Mai
1 st (1961-1966)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stimulation of productivity for export rather than import - Intention towards Growth Center Development theory - Intention to construct capital city’s infrastructures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Establishment of Chiang Mai University in 1964 to meet local education needs. -The 1st International Tourism Conference in Chiang Mai. -Not much change affected by NESDP
2 nd (1967-1971)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Stimulation of productivity for export. -Intention to build economic growth 8.5% per year - Stimulation of industrial investment to the central region -Focus on rural and agriculture development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Construction of the 11th state highway that connects to neighboring provinces -Beginning of city intensively expanding to areas outside of the walled city area. -Advantageous agriculture section
3 rd (1969-1973)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stimulation of productivity for international export. -Intention to stimulate metropolitan, subordinate city and local development. -Beginning of Comprehensive Plan and Chiang Mai City Planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Not much effect from the NESDP, population proportion was less than Bangkok 20-30 times. -Beginning of Night Bazaar. -Increase of the service sector was valuable

4 th (1974-1978)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Stimulation of economic recuperation for the lower classes of the population - Stimulation of natural resources and environmental productivity. -Stimulation of regional investment to stem the flow of migration to metropolitan areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Beginning of NESDP's role in Chiang Mai economy -Lack of implementation plan for Chiang Mai development
5 th (1982-1986)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Definition of five specific regions for development by geographical area, such as upper northern region - Intention to develop primary, secondary cities and rural areas -Emphasis on rural development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Chiang Mai was defined as the primary city of northern region and center of commerce and services -Beginning of additional value-added services in addition to the focus on the agriculture sector -Development affecting only municipal areas
6 th (1987-1991)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Focus on Bangkok and its perimeter development -Emphasis on five primary cities, 19 centers of development and the eastern seashore -Initiate principles for land-use management -Stimulation of industrial investment to provincial areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Increase of land investment and departure of local owners -Chiang Mai as the center of the northern region. -Acceleration of infrastructure development to Chiang Mai
7 th (1992-1996)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Beginning of sustainable development ideal -Objections of regional development of the 4th -6th Plans, and guidelines <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1)Economic stability (2) Income distribution (3) Rural and regional development (4) Quality of life and environmental development -The first plan that affirms environment and quality of life rather than merely economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Urbanization to rural areas by road transportation -700th Anniversary of Chiang Mai -Increase of historic site damage and lack of conservation by academic methods -Gradually vanishing sense of Chiang Mai as an ancient city - Deterioration of quality in the Ping River and the change of Songkran Festival moving to the city wall's dike
8 th (1997-2001)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Intention to increase local participation processes -Emphasis on 'people' as the center of development -Encouragement of community and family stabilization - Accelerated local participation in local areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Economic crisis which foiled many land investments -Beginning of traffic crisis and the problem of a lack of public transportation -End of local yellow bus after 25 years of service
9 th (2002-2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Emphasis on sustainable city as a key factor in development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The center of Greater Mekong Sub-region /GMS. and aviation hub ,etc. - Many mega projects that did not match with NESDP's policies -Air quality has been below international safety standards, which then harmed the health of the population

Sources: Adapted from the Office of Economic and Social Board, Office of Prime Minister, and Charoenmuang, D.A.(2006), (2004a)

Under the role of the National Economic and Social Development Plans that created 'by Bangkok and for Bangkok' (Laos PDR and Chiang Mai University 1994: 94), Chiang Mai has been accelerating its transformation as the 2nd Bangkok. Although the NESDP attempted to distribute development from the capital city to the regions in practice, migration has persistently increased from rural areas to Bangkok (3rd -4th Plans, 1969-1978). Chiang Mai was defined as the growth pole of everything in the 5th -7th Plans (1982-1996), especially in tourism. Moreover, the tourism industry and overwhelming developments have affected the massive economic expansion through time since 1970, which raised many impacts, such as the lack of awareness in cultural heritage values and local attitudes (Mahidol University and Silapakorn University, 1994). Actually, Chiang Mai should not be the 'growth pole' of on a broad scale, but instead only in tourism, education and cultural conservation (Charoenmuang, 1993). Planning without cultural concern has gradually transformed Chiang Mai to a situation where it faces more complicated conflicts like what in Bangkok has faced and which it has never been able to solve.

Authenticity and commodification of Chiang Mai cultural identity

Marketing for tourism consumption

Tourism in Chiang Mai is similar to other regions of Thailand in that it mostly always involves a top-down approach. This was true beginning in 1924, when the first guidebook to Bangkok was created by a Danish author, under the authority of the Royal State Railways. The guide was meant to promote the country and provide information to the various foreign countries, particularly those interested in surveying, such as Western pioneers interested in natural resources such as mining and the forest industry. The railway system was the main key for the Western surveyors, as this made it conveyable to distant regions of the kingdom. It could be mentioned that the modernization period intended to connect the entire kingdom began by preparing infrastructure and transportation development. The tourism boom in Thailand really started during the Vietnam War when Thailand was the safest country to visit in Southeast Asia. Since the 1950s and 1960s, the attractions of the region were 'developed' for the benefit of the tourist industry. This process also included 'modifying of old festivals and traditional handicrafts for tourism' (Renard, 1999: 95). At the same time, tourism attitudes of the central government were embodied by the Tourism Organization of Thailand which was established in 1959. It began from the NESDP policy and international opinion that tourism was a new investment that led to profitable outcomes. In this way, this tourism promotion also was a cause of a new critical issue that resulted in an overwhelming influx of foreigners as well as GIs from the US's military bases around the kingdom. Tourism in this period is implicated as the cause of several negative impacts, especially in the roots of social problems such as prostitution. Statistics from 1964 show the kingdom hosted around 212,000 international visitors and since then tourism growth has increased dramatically every year. In 1979 the Tourism Organization of Thailand was upgraded to the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT). It could be mentioned that thanks

to the TAT and its promotion campaigns for historic sites and cultural impressions in this period successfully enhanced the international tourist's image of Thailand from 'a land of cheap sex for GIs' (Saipradist, 2005:12). In 2003 the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) reported a total of 10,082,109 international tourist arrivals that resulted in approximately 360 billion baht of tourism income. In terms of the TAT roles, its responsibilities are outlined in the *TAT Act (1979) Item 8*, which gives TAT purposes as follows:

1. To promote tourism and the tourism industry, including the professionalism of Thais and the tourism industry
2. To publicize Thailand in its beauty of nature, ancient places and materials, history, arts & culture, including other activities to encourage traveling
3. To facilitate and provide safety for tourists
4. To promote the outstanding features and friendship among people in the country and other countries by traveling
5. To initiate tourism development and the development of infrastructure and facilities for tourists (Saipradist, 2005:12).

Generally, it could be said that the TAT's roles include multifaceted *marketing* that intends to only increase tourist numbers and income but management of the 2,900 tourism sites around the country are not taken in as one of its roles. At present 60% of tourism sites are the responsibility of the Office of National Buddhism (historic and religious sites), while 30% of them depend upon management by the Department of Forestry (National Parks) and the rest are under the responsibility of Local Authority Organizations. In terms of tourism policy, the tourism industry is accepted in many developing countries as an industry that can create job opportunities, foreign exchange, and tax revenues (Desthuis-Francis, 2001). Basically, governments have emphasized the economic benefits of various aspects of regional development but nowadays they begin to improve 'quality of life and social well-being' as well (Allwinkle and Speed, 1997 in Brandon et al.1997: 270). In this direction, even though outstanding historic cities have gained many benefits from their tourism, they have limited resources as well. In many countries, historic cities not only exist as tourist destinations but also deal with the continual strain of being in metropolitan area of their regions. They are still a centrality within the population, politics, business and cultural activities of their residents through time. Arrival of overwhelming numbers of tourists inevitably causes cities to encounter two standards for external tourists (temporary) and internal residents (permanent). Limited local resources such as environment and infrastructure become imbalanced with the periodic demand rising. There is always a multiplicity of 'over-consumption' conflicts between 'residents' and 'guests', for instance the narrow urban streets that residents regularly use on their way to businesses and schools are also necessary to supply tourist buses and accommodate an influx of people during the high tourism season each year (Charoenmuang, 2006). Many built heritages are possibly adapted and reused for tourism purposes which make the sense of the everlasting historic city vanish (Allwinkle and Speed, 1997; Desthuis-Francis, 2001). These are obvious examples of

negative impacts to the local community of a tourism city. In this way, finding ‘balance’ between them is crucial and concerns with tourism policy and local management. Being a historic city destination for tourists could not be identified by only a long history, architectural style, or beautiful scenery but should determinate on how to make balance between local community and visitor need (Desthuis-Francis, 2001). In the way of sustainable tourism, the large profits from tourism should be distributed to the local residents who live everyday with their city, intention of tourism management should sets to enhance local amenity, not tourist facilities. It could be argued that tourists should be paid attention to as welcome ‘guests’ not as ‘bosses’ to be served by the local people.

In the case of Chiang Mai tourism, railway policymakers observed and explained about Chiang Mai that:

The scenery was beautiful, many important sites existed, there were a variety of delightful ancient traditions, the population was polite and mind-mannered, all of which made the place appropriate for tourists to visit (State Railway of Thailand, 1964: 23 cited in Renard1, 1999:95).

These reflect attitudes of the central government towards Chiang Mai in the modern period (and continue even today), that numbers of visitors have gradually increased through transportation development. The railway systems not only conveyed a huge number from place to place but also were able to convey cross-cultural relations in social, economic and political aspects. A dramatic point of change for Chiang Mai could be observed in the period of the National Economic and Social Development Plans that defined Chiang Mai as the northern development pole, particularly the beginning of this process in the 4th NESDP(1974-1978) and in the plans following, that have transformed Chiang Mai’s physical and social conditions throughout the past thirty years. Chiang Mai has been positioning itself in three main focal points for tourism; as a fascinating place with natural tourism resources, a rich cultural heritage with both tangible and intangible aspects, and the pleasant characteristics of the local people. In terms of cultural tourism development, ‘the promoters of these new Chiang Mai customs were not from Chiang Mai and the activities were not developed for the benefit of the local people’ (Renard, 1999: 96). In the 1980s period, there were many campaigns for local culture revival, a trend that paid attention to ‘cultural identity embodiment’ or something where Chiang Mai-ness could be touched, seen and felt. Publicity was made in areas such as traditions, clothes, local dialects, and for encouraging local identity awareness. Unfortunately these ‘identity revivals’ campaigns were used and aimed for only attracting tourism (Charoenmuang, 2006: 124). Several customs and annual traditional activities were transformed and adapted to become ‘festivals’ to attract people from other regions and foreigner tourists. The Songkran (Chiang Mai’s new year celebration) was changed to encourage tourism and become a ‘Water Festival’ for foreigners and has become a new model for other parts of the country. The Loi Krathong Festival was similarly modified and became known as the ‘Floating Lantern Festival’. Until today, these processes are still continuing. Although tourism has brought the massive circulation of income to Chiang Mai and has distributed many profits to the local community though employment,

infrastructure and facilities for tourism developments, but there remains a lack of understanding and awareness of tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the both government agencies and local people. In fact, there was a lot of research done and recommendations made about Chiang Mai in terms of cultural revival, the old city conservation plan, and tourism management, but these recommendations and plans have never been implemented. The city growth also has been rising on the same track of Bangkok's city development. For cultural aspects today, Uraivan Tan-Kim-Yong, a professor from Chiang Mai University said that 'tourism here has gone too far, too fast...It is suicidal for culture. People fake everything to conform to what they think the tourist wants' (cited in Gray, 1999: n.p.).

The characteristics and negative impacts of Chiang Mai tourism can be summarized by an interviewed that was conducted on 20 December 2006 with Sithipong Wongsombun, a Chiang Mai native, who grew up in the old city section of Chiang Mai and today lives and owns a tourism business 'Northern Smile Travel' there. According to Mr. Sithipong

1. tourism has emphasized quantitative tourism,
2. there needs to be competitive costs of tourism by offering discounts, so the quality is reduced,
3. local and native people have adopted many more activities but more 'materialism' as well; their beautiful characters and good manners have gradually changed due to 'capitalism', and
4. the impacts on the environment is obviously perceived by temperatures rising for the last three or five years,
5. there is the lack of local community participation, except only close relationship between the religious place and its patronage community.

In the last 20 to 30 years Chiang Mai has been a *Mecca* of regional development and urbanization, and during this time it could be argued that the weaknesses of the city's growth plans have resulted in negative environmental impacts (Wannawongsa, 2002). Increasing negative impacts on the local ecosystem, society and cultural transformation have been discussed widely in articles and journals describing the tourism industry as a 'destroyer'. An obvious impact to Chiang Mai and other historic city tourist destinations is that their 'authentic culture' is always adapted and transformed by local people for 'tourist satisfaction', who feel a need to promote themselves as 'different' in everything that they represent (Gray, 1999). Moreover, local people always make satisfaction of tourists a priority by supply everything that they want, 'just for their money' (Saipradist, 2005:11). Most of the projects and mega projects in Chiang Mai have been related with tourism but always lack the '*real ownerships*' participation (Earwsriwong, 2006). Contributions of the central government policies, in terms of regional tourism center that

can connect to neighboring countries, have arisen from a realization that tourism can increase economic growth for the entire country in its Gross Domestic Product (GDP). But what are about local community spending and earnings? Local participation in all levels is needed but, unfortunately, the government might use only economic aspects in its decision making process for Chiang Mai tourism, such as *'identity merchandizes'*, *'past for sale'* and *'authenticity commodification'* in TAT's marketing strategic roles. In the way of sustainability, tourism profits should not be the main goals but instead should be local community development. Limitation of resources are needed for sustainable city because 'if a town or city is not appropriate for local people, new festival and activity creating for tourist attraction are useless for sustainable tourism development', moreover, during the period of famous festivals, the overwhelming numbers of tourists would interrupt local life and inconvenience participation of the *'real cultural owners'* in the traditional customs and activities of their ancestors (Charoenmuang, 2006: 612). As a result, it could be said that any distortion of authentic tradition might be a cause of gradual decline for the next generations, cultural prototypes, norms and sustainability.

Table2: Number of international tourists and tourism revenues of Thailand

Year	Number of tourists (persons)	Expansion (%)	Tourism income (million baht)	Expansion (%)
2001	10,060,000	+5.82	299,047	+4.83
2002	10,800,000	+7.33	323,484	+8.17
2003	10,000,000	-7.36	309,269	-4.36
2004	11,650,000	+16.46	384,360	+24.28
2005	11,520,000	-1.51	367,380	-4.42

Source: Adapted from the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), Charoenmuang, D. A. (2006)

The tourism industry of Thailand today is presently ranked 18th in the world and 5th in Asia, behind China, Hong Kong, Macao and Malaysia. For further steps, the Thai government is trying to drive Thailand towards a place as the tourism capital of Asia, in part by proposing Chiang Mai as an aviation hub from which connections can be made to the members of the GMS Greater Mekong Sub-region (Lao PDR, Cambodia, Vietnam, Myanmar and Yunnan Province of China) (Asian Tourism Roadmap Conference Symposium, 2005). In the case of domestic tourism, TAT mentioned that most Thai tourists look at tourism as supplemental factors to their life and leisure time and they usually visit only mega cities of the region. In an overview for Thailand's tourism in 2007, TAT sets a target outcome from foreigner tourists of 537,500 million baht and forecasted the number of foreigner tourists as 15 million persons (Sobthana Anprasert, Assistant Director, Northern Office Region 1, the Tourism Authority of Thailand, interviewed on 15 November 2006).

Table3: Number of domestic tourists and tourism revenues of Thailand

Year	Number of tourists (persons)	Expansion (%)	Tourism income (million baht)	Expansion (%)
2001	58,620,000	+7.09	223,732.14	+6.28
2002	61,820,000	+5.45	235,337.15	+5.19
2003	69,360,000	+12.20	289,986.81	+23.22
2004	74,800,000	+7.84	317,224.62	+9.39
2005	79,530,000	+6.33	334,716.79	+5.51

Source: Adapted from the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT)

Table4: Tourism revenues from international tourists 2004-2005

Category	2005		2004	
	Amount	% (+/-)	Amount	% (+/-)
Number of tourists (persons)	11,516,936	- 1.15	11,650,703	+ 16.46
Length of stay (days)	8.20	-	8.13	-
Average expenditure (Baht/person/day)	3,890.13	- 4.13	4,057.85	+ 7.51
Revenue (millions baht)	367,380.36	- 4.42	384,359.77	+ 24.28

Source: The Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT)

Tourism trends: man-made, hub and niche market

Although it is clear that TAT's roles are to be responsible for tourism marketing and strategic plans for the country, for a specific region like Chiang Mai, what is the condition of Chiang Mai tourism now and the future? TAT's attitudes and tourism approaches are crucial for considering cultural heritage management, particularly the social aspect that directly affects local people who are the culture owners. Paradoxically, why TAT approach is usually different from academic scholars and public media? It might be answered that there are differences in *tourism goals* for development and sustainability. Along these lines, there is a statement from Sobthana Anprasert, Assistant Director of the Northern Office Region 1 of the Tourism Authority of Thailand from an interview on 15 November 2006, that a strength of Chiang Mai is that it has numerous tourism resources in both natural and cultural resources, but the statistics from 2004-2005 are identified as showing that *cultural tourism did not succeed*. As a result, TAT believes that tourist would come to Chiang Mai not because of its rich and outstanding culture but because of its facilities and the convenience of infrastructure, accessibility, accommodation and transportation. It is not only facilities but also activities which are required to stimulate economic growth in the region. In this way, man-made destinations

and mega projects are chosen, such as construction of an international conference hall for the niche market, Chiang Mai Night Safari and recently the International Flora Exposition 2006. Moreover, TAT also believes that Chiang Mai if visiting can makes a 'trend' for domestic tourists then it is necessary to continually create 'new trends' to sustain the number of visitors year after year. Foreign tourists are preferred as a target group. From the government and TAT vision, Thailand today has lost in world trade exporting; furthermore, cheap products from China and Vietnam combined with Free-Trade Commitments have affected the country's competitiveness. As a result, it could be summarized that tourism is an area of hope for economic growth because it needs the lowest investment for profitable returns. In this way, the TAT also argues that we *must* encourage, create and construct man-made, hub and mega projects for proper economic growth. In case of culture, TAT supposes that cultural tourism cannot be the main commodification because *it is not correct to the target group* for Chiang Mai; culture is a point of strength but creating other new strength points are needed as well.

Chiang Mai tourism growth and statistics, a crucial measure of the TAT approach, are as follows:

Table 5: Chiang Mai tourism statistic 2005

Visitor category	No of visitor (persons)	No of visitors (%)	Growth (%)	Tourism revenue (M baht)	Ave expenditure/day (baht)	Ave expenditure/person (baht)	Length of stay (days)	Circulation income (M baht)
Foreigner	2,225,962	55.68	+2.44	17,327.85	1590.22	1570.17	1.61	261.31
Thai	1,771,814	44.32	+2.81	13,792.57	1265.77	1249.82	1.28	207.99
Amount	3,997,776	100	+2.55	31,120.43	2,853	2820.82	2.90	469.31

Source: Adapted from the Northern Office Region 1, Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT)

The attitude, point of view and approach to tourism can fluctuate, depending upon whose criteria and experiences are focused on. Voices from local organizations are required for the debate, which might be the right way for approaching tourism in Chiang Mai. Of course, local organizations' comments reflect a diversity of voices of the real owners of Chiang Mai culture as well. Bunlert Pelera, who is a vice president of the Chiang Mai Tourism Business Organization, argued that for Chiang Mai tourism to revitalize in the next year and beyond, it is necessary to revive the cultural city as a tourism strength. The recent tourism development was *a failure and contradicted the city's cultural life* and is a result of cultural tourism failure. Culture, history and local lives of the Chiang Mai city are still the most interesting themes for international tourists (Northern Post, 2006). Somrit Hikum, who is president of the Chiang Mai Tourism Guide Organization, added that *Chiang Mai city and its culture are gradually declining*, authentic cultural resources such as several wat have been crucially transformed and

archeological sites have deteriorated. 'Everyday lives of native peoples who represent the old Chiang Mai city's culture are steadily vanishing' (Northern Post, 2006:18).

Ideally, tourism as a positive force, in theory and practice, is accepted as a bridge in the gap between 'conservation' and 'development'. Many countries experiences show that tourism is the only sustainable way to protect their heritage sites. On the other hand, tourism is also a profitable method for governments to approach their heritage sites rather than paying attention to preservation (Saipradist, 2005; Charoenwongsa, 2004). These are the two faces of the same coin of tourism. It usually depends upon tourism's goals as to *who* will gain its profitable outcomes. But the holistic approach should be required for its sustainable management. It is possible that any stakeholder in tourism may not have the same understanding and follow the same track of sustainability because different people will always have different opinions. In terms of cultural management, *awareness* should be spread to all stakeholders as nearly as possible; although it could be a long term solution, it is worth waiting. It is important to be careful of what we do and what and how we participate in and enhance cultural heritage awareness. It also needs to be considered if we can encourage cultural awareness among the local people. These could be the basic roles not only for the stakeholders and local people but also everyone concerned, as everyone is the '*real owner*' of cultural heritage even though they might be from different regions, groups and communities.

Towards a cultural heritage approach

As Mala Kamjan, a native of Chiang Rai and a S.E.A (South East Asia) Write Award winner writer said 'the charms or fascination of Chiang Mai is the mixture of ancient and modernity' (Sarakadee, 1996: 130-54). Similarly, Suntaree Waechanon, who is a native Chiang Mai and a famous Lanna traditional singer, said 'all of the tourism in Chiang Mai is failed and useless, we need to ask ourselves if we have to do everything for tourists or if tourists should do everything under our customs' (Sarakadee, 1996: 130-154). These could be key points for considering Chiang Mai identity and tourism's impact today. In this direction, the articulation between commodification and authenticity is explained by Williams (2006:489) that 'the authenticity dimension refers to original versus imitative representations, and again is manifest throughout tourism and hospitality' As a result, it might be said that goal of 'tourist' and 'tourism commodification' are distinctive and contradictory. Tourist usually needs a *real* experience but commodification might not because its goal is focused on the *profitable* aspect. In terms of economics and commodification, it is preferable to focus on '*how to sell?*' more than '*which one is original and unique?*' Tourism possibly becomes unsustainable if its economic values and social values are not balanced. Cultural tourism in Chiang Mai might be viewed from the metaphor, on smaller scale, as a fascinating old farm that we inherit from our ancestors. There might be large area, a remarkable house, farm buildings, profitable fields and animals, a worker community, and its customs and daily discipline. In our period, we open this farm to the public and promote it to be a visiting destination. Certainly the visitors have to buy a ticket and we prepare basic

facilities for them. So, what is the best way to manage our farm? What should be the first goal for the decision making between the visitor and our farm? A good answer is a balance between them might be most acceptable, but if we must choose only one choice, certainly the survivability of our farm would be preferred. This is a good example of having a 'sense of ownership' for tourism decision making. In the case of ownership sensibility, if we feel about the city like our home, it might be clearer whether the approach should be cultural tourism or sustainable tourism. Nevertheless, tourism stakeholders should be aware that tourism is only a 'tool' for bringing benefits and enhancing social and economic values. It is not that the real owners or local people find it somewhat necessary to sacrifice parts of themselves, such as their social values and ways of life. To sum up, an appropriate approach to tourism could be described in a simple way as one that 'should bring benefits to host communities and provide an important means and motivation for them to care for and maintain their heritage and cultural practices' (ICOMOS, 1999: n.p.). This approach also includes care for identity and authenticity that should be preserved as well as maintenance of the so-called 'sustainable tourism development'.

Regarding the identity of Chiang Mai, considering its long history with wars, Burmese rule, centralized policy and current tourism, it could be asked what is Chiang Mai identity today? How does identity enhance cultural heritage conservation? In that identity is multifaceted and depends upon fluctuant definitions, most people feel that 'identity' usually comes along with 'authenticity' in similar and related considerations. This statement also implies that both of these are based upon 'normative and cultural cognitive elements around which meanings are constructed' (Albert and Whetton, 1985 cited in Horton, 2006: 536). Various static identity definitions could be possibly lost in terminology because it is merely represented but not real. For instance, another point of view to understand identity could be interconnected with the social aspects as follows;

...it could be useful to argue that identity is real in the social sense, the significance usually involves with significant culture in peoples' lives... It seems logical to treat identity as some thing that changes over time that relates to the society development among peoples; yet it can also said to be the continuity of purpose (Christian, 2000: 2-3).

In this direction, if identity is never static but constantly on the move, identity should be 'lived' through people, the local community and its culture. Urrey(1995) stated about the consumption of tourism as a metaphor as tourism being like a fishing village where its visitors always know that the place is surviving by tourism benefits. The point is if local fishermen and their families can live by tourism benefits, how the visitor can experience the identity and authenticity of the fisherman village? Indeed, tourists always need authentic experiences but how should they know which cultural identity is authentic? In this way, the next generation of tourism or so-called 'Post-Tourism' has appreciated that any cultural spaces such as urban, rural and whether ethnic group cultures have been transformed to tourism destinations. Accessibility of capitalists and the tourism industry are dramatic, they could be a cause of cultural identity and

authenticity distortion in many ways. Moreover, the fine image and positioning of promotions from the government in brochures, publishing, media and websites on the internet are artificial or *'fake'* as well as *'staged sceneries'*. Thai-ness does not arise from only ancient roots or a long history but actively in *'modern and everyday lives'* (Sutheranon, 2007:89-90).

Consequently, the Chiang Mai-ness or Chiang Mai identity should not be thought of as merely that *'...the scenery was beautiful, many important sites existed, there were a variety of delightful ancient traditions, the population was polite and mind-mannered, all of which made the place appropriate for tourists to visit'* (State Railway of Thailand, 1964: 23 cited in Renard, 1999:95) but should be related to that which makes Chiang Mai somewhat distinguished and unique. Certainly, it is not only fine architectural styles, traditional performances, food and traditional clothes but it is the wholeness of these elements together that are so-called *'Chiang Mai'*. In fact, it is the mere *'Chiang Mai's lives'* that are active everyday as well as the native people and even foreign tourists, visitors and central government administrators. The life of Chiang Mai is so ordinary and appears everywhere, not only in beautiful wat, its long period of history and tradition but also on the streets, and in the people, clubs, slums, five stars hotels, schools and even in the centralized policies of Chiang Mai. It could be said that Chiang Mai identity is the wholeness of things in terms of *'living'* heritages in the everyday life of local people. Cultural heritages, whether tangible or intangible, are only elements of Chiang Mai identity as well. In the case of conservation, every person is right and responsible to sustain and preserve his identity through cultural heritages by his approach and understanding. A primary objective for managing heritage is *'to communicate its significance and need for its conservation to its host community and to visitors'* (ICOMOS, 1999: n.p.). Lowenthal (1986) proposed that interpretation of the past is the reflections of modern expectations and aesthetics. In this direction, Chiang Mai's identity, authenticity and cultural heritage approach towards sustainable development are an interrelationship of various elements, and it could be summarized that Chiang Mai's life depends upon local people's lives, as their identity awareness is a key to identify the sustainability of the cultural heritage. Historic sites and cultural built heritages are only such buildings that consist of (old) materials if we consider only their physical determination. But, indeed, it should be considered that these historic sites and cultural built heritages nowadays are still alive and *'breathing'* as well as part of the culture, identity and native people. The contemporary maintenance, including their management, should intend to empower and give them a life in the community for the next generation. These are the focal points of why cultural built heritage such as abandoned wat should be preserved and what is the true goal in a conservation approach. The identity of Chiang Mai or Chiang Mai-ness is a social reflection which inarguably relates to its people. A critical conservation approach should focus on people who *live* with their heritage rather than historic buildings that *are going to die* in everyday deterioration. Certainly, if local people lack awareness in their heritage, it is impossible that their heritage will survive for the following generations. These are the key points of sustainable development for a cultural heritage approach.

Chapter 4

Elucidation of abandoned wat and chedi

This chapter intends to describe the abandoned wat and its chedi. In Lanna traditional culture, the two elements cannot be separated. Chedi and wat are similar in that they have evolution, existence, life, relationships and needs. An aspect that should be considered more is that they are 'religious and sacred places' that usually need an interrelation with people and communities who are able to constantly patronize them. The religious place or religion itself always needs believers and patrons who continue to sustain them but each of the religious roots has distinctive doctrines and principles. Although the original Indian religions, like Buddhism were dispersed to numerous distant regions such as China, Tibet, Indonesia, Japan and South-East Asia countries, paradoxically the 'Buddhism' in these countries has gradually blended with local historical, social and native culture as far as it was reached. This original Buddhism from India was finally transformed to be the 'specific Buddhism' of each country and cultural roots that became the national religious identity today. It could be said that the original Buddhism was not only interpreted, influenced and finally 'fused' with regional beliefs or initial religions but also to be the 'chain-reaction' to specific regions that less significant than cultivated pole.

Buddhism in Chiang Mai

Before considering about chedi and the problematic cause of wat abandonment, we must certainly reflect that these religious buildings were produced from the Buddhist ideology. Particularly in Chiang Mai, as well as other regions of Thailand, the preceding Brahman influence from India was conveyed throughout South-East Asia countries along with the sea-trade of Indian merchants. Around a hundred years after the Brahman spread, the arrival of Indian Buddhism was recorded in 304 BC as a result of Emperor Ashoka the Great of India who disseminated religious ambassadors to various distant regions (Bunnaruji, 2000).

In terms of Buddhism in Chiang Mai, before the Chiang Mai Kingdom was established, Buddhism was previously accepted in the form of Hariphunchai Buddhism that was merged with indigenous animism beliefs and Brahmanism. Like earlier Buddhism of the most regions, they usually transformed and tended to be multi-beliefs rather than original Buddhism from India. Until the Chiang Mai era, there were two occasions of Buddhism deriving by directly of the Singhalese (Sri Lanka) influences that more reliable as following:

(1) In the period of King Kuna in 1356, the king invited Phra Sumana, who was a monk from Sukhothai, to install Singhalese Buddhism in Chiang Mai and the King built Wat Suan Dok to be a permanent monastery and denominational school.

Phra Sumana had studied Buddhism from the Raman denomination of the Mons in Burma, and his denomination in Chiang Mai was called the 'Raman denomination' or 'Wat Suan Dok denomination'

(2) In the period of King Sam Fung Kaen(1411-1442), there was a monk group returned from re-ordination that had studied Buddhism of the original Singhalese denomination in 1424. The beliefs they taught were accepted intact along the lines of the principles and fine manners in Singhalese Buddhism, therefore their principle was called 'Singhalese denomination' or 'new Singhalese denomination' of Wat Pa Dang. (Littisorn, 1998)

Consequently, even both these Buddhist denominations originated from India they were distinctive in specific manners. The Singhalese Denomination from Sri Lanka believed that it still remained the authentic Buddhism and it could be said that not only Chiang Mai but also most of Buddhism in present Thailand was influenced by the Singhalese denomination. The Golden Age of Lanna Buddhism was King Tilokarat's period (1441-1487) as there was The Eight World Buddhist Council Convention held for revising and gathering of the Pali inscriptions by numbers of competent monks. Moreover, Buddhist learning of the Lanna monks also progressed, seen through the creation of abundant Buddhist literature in this period. In summary, during the Chiang Mai era there were three Buddhist denominations that were differentiated by principles, manners and certainly in architecture styles as following:

1. Hariphunchai denomination
 2. Wat Suan Dok denomination (Raman Buddhism from Burma)
 3. Wat Pa Dang denomination (Singhalese Buddhism from Sri Lanka)
- (Littisorn, 1998:18-20)

Unfortunately, present Chiang Mai Buddhism is legitimated through only two main denominations (Thammayuttinikaya and Mahanikaya), as is the case in Bangkok and the rest of Thailand, since Chiang Mai was united with Siam in 1892 under the centralized policy.

The wat: the monasteries in the Thai context

Prince Dumrongrajanuphap (2002) said that in the Buddha period, it was customary that Buddhist pilgrims and followers usually journeyed for making merit at the Buddhist sanctuaries (Buddha's birthplace, and places of enlightenment, first sermon and death). This traditional activity could be a primary foundation of original religious place in terms of the monks' shelter and worship. Meanwhile, the local people and community in position of the 'host' necessary and some of them attempted to make a profit as suppliers to the 'guest' by building shelters for the crowds of pilgrims. This process gradually developed to be a manner of making Buddhist merit by devotees always donating and building many shelters for the monk's facilities. In fact, in the Buddha period there were previously places of worship and shrines but the Buddha and his disciples usually were not permanently staying in any districts but preferably practiced and distributed their doctrines by continuous expeditions. After

the Buddha passed away, the monks gradually altered to dwelling in the sacred places and also needed people for maintenance and patronage. These practices were assumed as the beginning of 'living religious monastery' over time. Thus, the Buddhist enhancements of both 'place' and 'activity' concept were provided to other regions as distant as Buddhism arrival by ancient religious routes and finally became shrines, monasteries and gradually developed to be the 'wat' in Thai context.

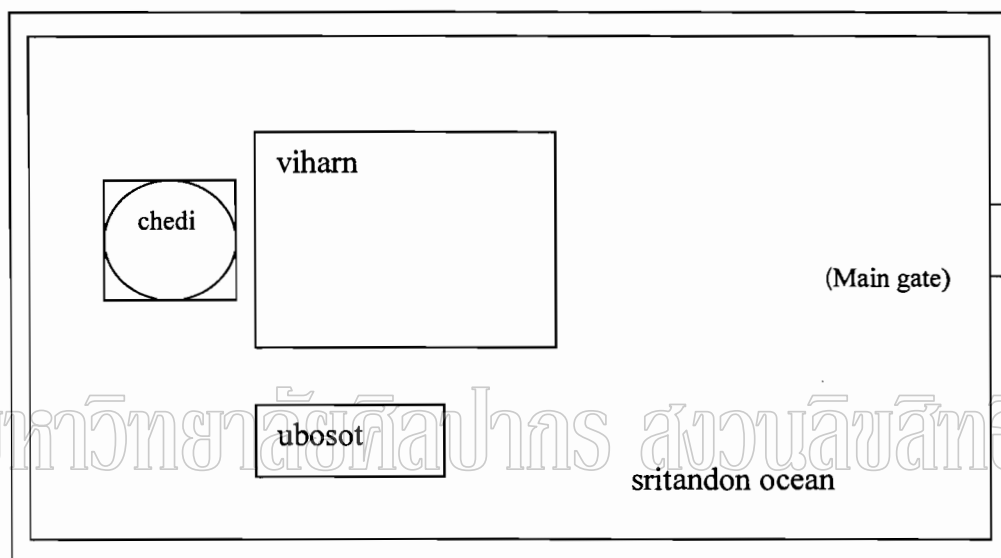
Generally, the principles of the Buddhist denominations are segregated as between the Theravada Buddhist or 'doctrine of the elders', such as Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Thailand, and the Mahayana Buddhist or 'great vehicle', such as China, Japan, Vietnam and Korea (Freeman, 2001:50). Both of these are usually distinguished by their cultural roots, beliefs and particular principles in a similar fashion of Christianity with its divisions between Catholic and Protestant. In the Thai context, the term 'wat' in Thai might be a problematic usage for understanding, especially for those of different religious and cultural roots, like the Western world. Most books and scholars have used the term 'temple', which arose from Judeo-Christian roots, as a useful interpretation. However, 'wat' is a Buddhist religious place which might be impossible to describe by referring to other contexts. A 'wat is a wat', which means that it can not be a temple, church, shrine, or cathedral because each word usually has a specific meaning and context. Unfortunately, in the English terminology there is no completely satisfactory interpretation, with the most contiguous description as a 'Buddhist monastery' (Freeman, 2001:35).

Buddhism has been enhanced and developed along with Thai society throughout history and the centuries that have passed. Influences and implications to the Thai-ness not only serve as a compass for life but also are reflected in aesthetic values such as classical Thai art, fine arts, literature, and particularly in the architecture style of religious buildings. The wat compound is divided into two boundaries: the 'phutthawat area' and the 'sangkhawat area'. Briefly, phutthawat is the area where sacred Buddhist statues and buildings are located and sangkhawat is the area for monks and novices dwelling (United Nations, 2003). In this way, the 'facing east' is also the vital point in Thai religious architecture. Without the geographic climate considering, the east is referred to as the direction the Buddha himself faced when he achieved the enlightenment. The main monastic building and the Buddha images within them also usually face east.

Most of the Lanna monasteries or wat of the northern culture could be differentiated from the central region of the country where the 'center of the universe' of Khmer ideology has roots. This Khmer architectural influence is implied by greater scale and symbolic embellishment with more powerful and affirming architecture used in legitimating of the kingship, which is opposite to the Lanna traditional wat that tends to be compatible with its environment and smaller (Leksukhum, 1995). A constant conformation of the Lanna wat is the interrelation of proportion, position and functional designation of three basic components, the so-called viharn, ubosot and chedi. Differentiations between the 'viharn' and the 'ubosot' could be identified by their function and role. Certainly, the viharn always is situated before the central chedi and always faces east and which can be identified as the main axis of the

enclosure as well. The most important architectural feature for the Lanna culture is the viharn always larger than the ubosot. The functioning of the viharn could be mentioned as ‘public functions’ rather than ‘exclusive functions’ of the ubosot, because the Lanna people usually place the functional usages of the viharn in terms of the multi-purpose use between public, religious activity and monks. These religious customs are possibly influenced from the Burmese culture which is distinguishable from the other regional Buddhist norm (Freeman, 2001; Leksukhum, 1995).

Figure1. Lanna wat traditional plan



Source: Adapted from Chareanmuang, D.A.(2006)

The Lanna wat traditional architectural planning, however, the design also provides for a particularly sandy courtyard which represents the ‘sritandon ocean’ which symbolizes the life-circle ocean that humans must swim across before reaching Mount Meru, as referred to in the mandala or tri-phum in Thai ideology. At the main gate there is a delicate embellishment arch which represents the heavenly gate and differentiates the boundary between the sacred place and the zone for ordinary people and life. The walled boundary and the main gate also serve to warn people to be respectful in action, speaking and mind when seeking access. These microcosmic ideologies are influenced by the sacred precinct as a kind of metaphoric allocation.

Additionally, the Chedi was not only created for Buddhist worships but also has been represented as the Buddha living body (Somjai, 2004). It is not only symbolized as the Mount Meru but also points to the ‘Buddhist enlightenment’ or Nirvana in the way of escapable suffering of human being. The Lanna chedi, which is a monument erected to honor the Buddha, usually is situated behind the viharn to the west and at the centre of the enclosure (Leksukhum, 1995). This customary format also contributes to easier archeological investigation of the numerous abandoned wat ruins by using indication of the chedi location. It could be remarked that the remnants

of chedi tend to continually subsisted by its material and also identify that its compound used to be a wat or sacred place for the present generation (Freeman, 2001; Chareanmuang, 2006; Wicheinkeaw, 1996).

Chiang Mai's wat: characteristics of the chedi

In terms of the architectural style, the chedi of Chiang Mai has been described as outstanding both in terms of quantity and uniqueness. In the case of the large number of chedi, the overwhelming number present a multiplicity of architectural style and scales as well (Walipodom, 2003). In fact, particularly in the city walled area, the majority of the chedi styles can mainly be indicated as either the 'bell-shape'(see figures 5, 6) or the 'pra-sat shape' (see figures 2, 3, 4) which also depended upon their Buddhist denominative roots (Leksukum, 1995, 1991). The location of Chiang Mai, being near to the kingdom of Pagan (11th -14th century) which had accepted the Pala-Sena school of India, influenced the Buddhist architectural style more or less in the 14th century period (Aung-Thwin, 1985; Dumrikul, 1997). In the beginning period, the Pagan style had both direct and indirect influence on Chiang Mai, coming 'directly from Pagan and indirectly from Haripunchai of Lampaon' and led to the initiating of the pra-sat shape (Leksukum, 1995:45). The characteristic of the 'pra-sat shape' is assumed to be evolved from the Brahman ideology of the 'palace of god' in Indian architecture. In the case of Chiang Mai, the larger Pagan pagoda and temple style tended to gradually evolve in the Chiang Mai into smaller chedi and finally became a truly religious architectural entity. This kind of the pra-sat style is also remarkable in that it is the most popular of the Lanna chedi styles through time (Leksukum, 1991, 1995). The earliest evidences can be identified by the octagonal base of the chedi of Wat Saduemuang, which is believed to have been built before the establishment of Chiang Mai. This innovation of the pra-sat shape is also the most constructive example before the arrival of Sinhalese Buddhism of King Kuna and Phra Sumana in 1356.

In terms of the 'bell-shape' architectural characteristics, this round-shape is recognized by its evolutionary route that dates from the 13th century as the style traveled through the Pala-Sena of India, the Polonnaruva of Ceylon and Sukhothai (Dumrikul, 1997). The arrival of Sinhalese Buddhism from Sukhothai also conveyed this architectural style to Chiang Mai and was a prominent step of the bell-shape evolution through time. Even though there were three influential styles it can be said that the initial 'bell-shape' of Chiang Mai is closest to the Sukhothai characteristic. The comparative study between the Sukhothai and the Sinhalese style could provide that they were created from the same religious ideology but the Sukhothai style is usually embodied by a slighter shape (Plemjit, 1981). This bell-shape of the Sukhothai style also influenced several regions and to be the representation of Sinhalese Buddhism in Thailand (Dejwongya, 1998) (see figures 5, 6).

Until the reign of King Tilokraj(1441-1487), both of the chedi styles were evolved to be a truly distinguishing. The related factor that stimulated this characteristic could be referred to as the rising of 'new Sinhalese denomination' which was re-ordained from Ceylon in the reign of King Sam Fung Kaen(1411-1442).

The addition of a Buddhist denomination to make three denominations, consisting of the 'Hariphunchai denomination, Raman denomination (Wat Suan Dok), and Sinhalese denomination (Wat Pa Dang)' (Littisorn 1998:18-20), influenced Chiang Mai Buddhist architecture with each of the denominations attempting to differentiate their Buddhist entity through the chedi characteristics (see figures 5, 6). For example, Wat Kitti, Wat Pa Dang, the round-shape chedi of Wat Inthakin (Saduemuang), Wat Suan Dok and the chedi of Wat Nang Leaw all were built in the bell-shape style but are dissimilar in specific details. It could be said that this period was the most flourishing of the various chedi development and 'each denomination can be obviously distinguished' (Littisorn, 1998-178).

Superficially, the bell-shape of the Raman denomination tends to sustain the initial Sukhothai characteristics rather than the Sinhalese denomination that was gradually transformed. The next step in innovation of the chedi in this period of the bell-shape was a gradual transformation of the base that followed the pra-sat's style base or from the 'round shape' became a 'multi-squares shape'. This architectural evolution is accepted as the utmost progress of a truly Chiang Mai chedi style. The outstanding examples can be seen in the 'chedi of Wat Phra Taat Doi Suthep, Wat Chetta, Wat Chomphu and Wat Duangdee which were built in the late 16th century' (Leksukum, 1995:121) (see figures 8, 9).

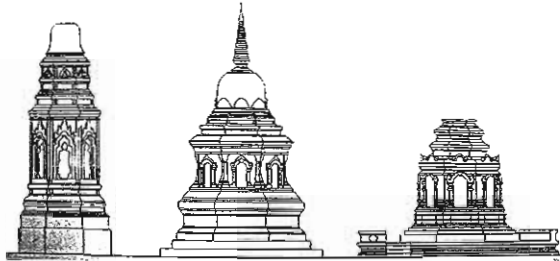


Figure2: The octagonal pra-sat shape



Figure3: The initial pyramidal Hariphunchai pra-sat shape

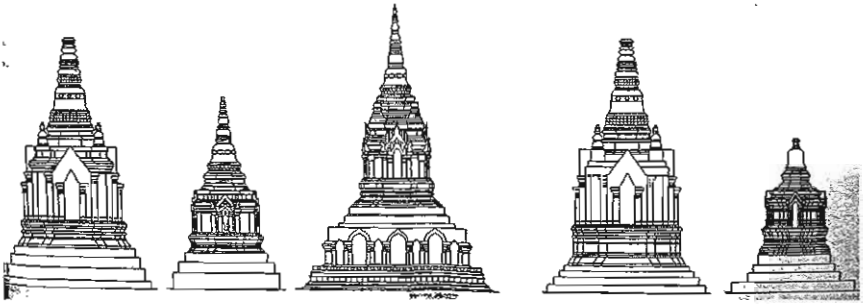


Figure4: The five summits pra-sat shape

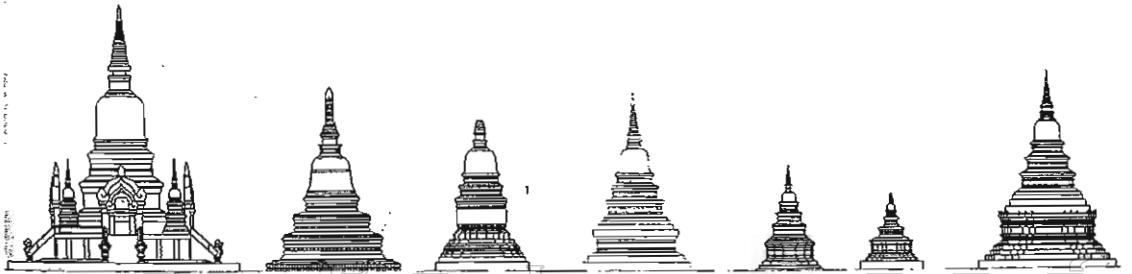


Figure5: The evolutionary bell-shape of the Raman denomination (Wat Suan Dok)

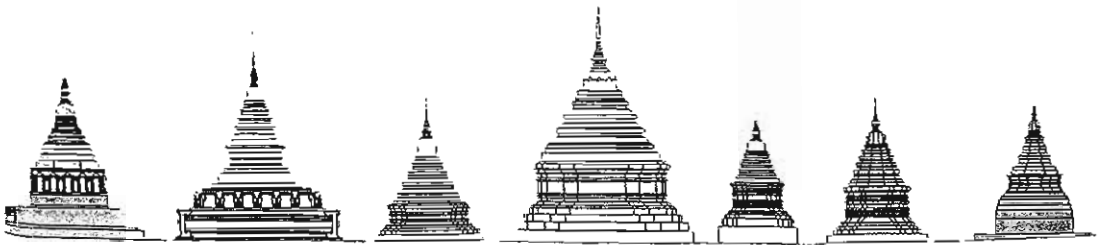


Figure6: The evolutionary bell-shape of the Sinhalese denomination (Wat Pa Dang)

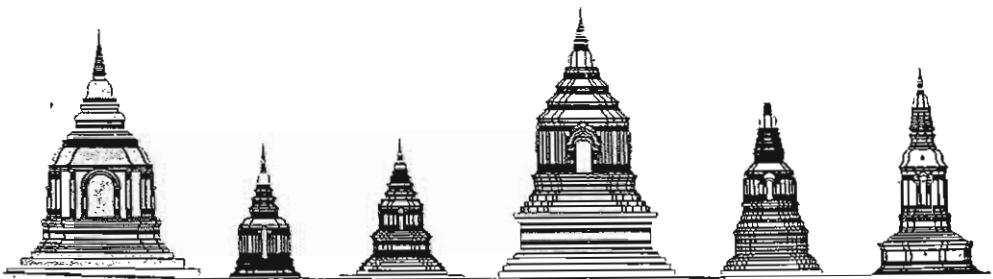


Figure7: The combination of the bell-shape and the pra-sat shape.

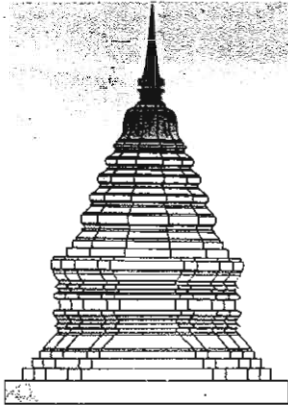


Figure8: Wat Chomphu

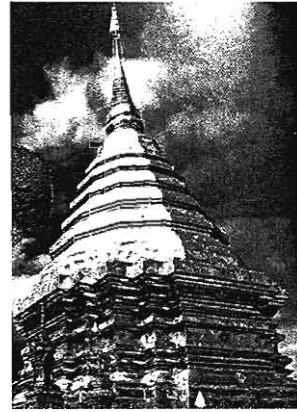


Figure9: Wat Phra Taat Doi Suthep

Sources: Figure2-8: Littisorn, R. 1998, *The Development of Lanna Chetiya*, Thesis, Silpakorn University

Figure9 : Jungpanitchakul, T. 2004, *Guidance to the Lanna Zodiacal Phra Taat*, Bangkok: Comma Press

Chiang Mai's wat: Who built them?

The numerous wat in the Lanna cultural region, particularly in the old city precinct of Chiang Mai, imply that there are a number of wat founders as well. Generally, regarding the wat in Chiang Mai, it could be assumed that whoever had the capacity to found a new wat, also had financial stability, strong faith and power that afforded both physical and spiritual establishment. Social conditions and the founder's hierarchy were key factors. Wat in Chiang Mai can be categorized by the two primary founders, those wat of royal patronage and ordinary wat. In the case of the city walled area, it has been summarized by Wicheinkeaw (1996:3-4) that there are five categories of the founders as follows:

1. Wat of the Chiang Mai King and the royal family: this category means wat that the rulers of Chiang Mai and their royal family members built, and these kings had continuity roles in terms of patronage, sustaining and restoration.

2. Wat of the aristocrat: the noble men had lower power and hierarchy in practice. Their various ranks usually were identified by definitive number of laborers or soldiers that could be employed and commanded, such as nai roi (commander of 100 laborers), nai pan (1,000 laborers), chow muan (10,000 laborers), chow san (100,000 laborers). Aristocracies usually established a new wat for religious purposes and gave their names and nobilities to be memorable wat's names. For example, Wat San Fang means the founder's name 'Fang' who controlled 100,000 soldiers as his responsibility. On the other hand, lower ranks of aristocrats could be related to the amount of wat and capability of founding, such as Wat Roi Jan means the founder's name 'Jan' who can control only 100 labors, those of his rank of 'nai roi' founded only two wat, Wat Roi Jan and Wat Roi Khor. These were a result of the limitations

on their power and financial status. Groups of the noble founders could be referred to their responsibility as well. For example, many wat were often named using the word 'puak' (group), such as Wat Puak Dab(sword) means the wat's founding group were responsible for weapons, Wat Puak Tam refers to the group of royal painters and Wat Puak Chang means the group of noblemen who had roles with the royal elephants.

3. Wat of the craftsmanship groups: this category refers to the group of craftsmen who founded wat for their community and group. The majority used a word 'chang' (craftsman), for example Wat Chang Lan (traditional earring maker), Wat Chang Tam (wat of traditional painter group). These groups of craftsmen were not necessarily noblemen but could be patronized by the royal family.

4. Wat of the noblewomen: for this category it is assumed that the founders might be the privileged lady or consort of aristocrat, for example Wat Nang Leaw ('Leaw' is the founder's name and 'Nang' refers to the lady's status).

5. Wat of the ethnic groups: this category refers to the period that King Kawila brought a lot of ethnic groups for resettlement outside the city walls, these groups founded their wat to be centers of community and both built new wat and renovated abandoned wat. These wat usually were named for their original towns or memorable city in the way of commemoration such as Wat Muang Tern ('Muang' refers to the city or town and 'Tern' is the town's name), and Wat Muang Guy (wat of the people from Guy town).

The abandoned wat: the hibernation of living religious heritage

A crucial point of view to the outstanding historic cities like Sukhothai, Chiang San and Chiang Mai is how to 'reuse' these cities in terms of contemporary living and sustainability into the future. What is the appropriate approach for management? The contradiction between 'ancient' and 'modernity' could be studied from the resettlement experiences that have gradually deteriorated or, in some cities, dramatically changed because of 'innocent development' of modernization and urbanization in many Asian cities, such as Ayutthaya, Bangkok, Hanoi, Beijing and Jakarta. Particularly in developing countries, excessive modernization without thought to basing the historic town background will cause damage to the proportion, scale, and functioning of the prominent 'sense of historic city'. Limitations on natural, physical and geographic resources should be considered equally as the social, economic and political aspects. The most important things are those cities that tend to have excessively declined. In this way, the degree of destruction can be evaluated by the 'core area' of transformation the extent of what still remains of historic buildings and monuments especially in terms of the ability to 'cluster' the community in order to minimize the fragmentations. In the case of Chiang Mai, a huge number of remarkable wat, either living or abandoned, inevitably are taken in to account in terms of;

the old city of Chiang Mai has been invaded, deteriorated and affected to almost of the core area vanishing. This process also identifies to the moderate degree of clustery

historic site's fragmentation... the moderate degree also refers to the Chiang Mai city has been critically transformed but still remains of the historic city sensibility. (FAD, 1989:144-145)

Obviously, not only the affiliation between the wat and its community are crucial in terms of the religious aspect but also have to be interrelated with the historic city context as well. Wat and abandoned wat could be distinguished by their 'living condition' that covers to both physical condition and the spiritual values of the sacred place. In a wider contemplation, however, the situation could be compared with the remarkable cases of religious precincts that were affected by World War II in European countries. Numerous churches in European communities had been ruined not only by direct bombardment on the battlefields but also by impacts of socio-economic, political and the altered mentality and beliefs of the local people. This huge number of demolished churches and towns from the World War II have been renovated over the past 60 years and restored for the present generation. So, a focal point that arises from the European abandoned churches is the 'living condition' which would be separated from any religious place if there is dramatic or critical change of social circumstance towards society and community fragmentations. Despite abandonment, Buddhist wat or Christian churches are unable to contradict their religious manners and roots but they both require similar improvement of both the physical condition and the 'faith fulfillment' of the patrons. Indeed, the abandonment of sacred and religious place phenomenon possibly occurs in all religions depending upon their specific social conditions and circumstances. A primary assumption is *any religious places would be abandoned if their society implications make the 'living condition' separate from the religious places*. Thus, this assumption entails managerial and conservative approaches. The best sustainable development for abandoned religious places on a universal level should not involve only physical condition improvement, but also look to contributing to the possibility of the '(re)living' for these religious places again.

Unarguably, social conditions usually are a focal point in abandonment of religious place. In terms of Thai context, abandoned wat tend to be referred to as the ancient wat of the Sukhothai, Ayutthaya or Chiang Mai periods rather than wat that were more recently founded and deserted. Some sites have survived throughout many eras and finally been transferred to being national historic sites. A few of them were renovated and revitalized to be the living wat again, and of course, many of the abandoned wat also were invaded, damaged and entirely transformed to be the 'new space' of current land-use developments. These dynamic processes always encounter the 'current issues', 'contemporary trends' and sometimes with the arguable 'necessity' impact as well as political, socio-economic, modernization and urbanization discourses. In this way, if the abandoned wat context is mentioned as 'ancient' then this contradicts with the current issues that are mentioned of as 'modern', suitable for contemporary lives and following the evolutionary process. Negotiations between 'old' and 'new', 'ancient' and 'modern' and of course 'death' and 'living' are constantly critical in the abandon wat contexts. If so, most abandoned wat inevitably will encounter these divergences. What is the best solution for them? How can they survive among the current crises? These problematic oppositions usually need sympathetic views, compromise and win-win situation processes, not

only in a managerial process but also when arising out of the development 'approach' that influences the whole system of the 'possible factors'.

Explanation of the abandoned wat phenomena could be approached as an examination of the systematic transformation from 'living' to 'abandoned' in a circular system. This process challenges the definitions of the common 'living monument' and 'dead monument' which are usually distinguished from each other. The Fine Arts Department of Thailand described the abandoned wat as a 'dead monument' which;

...used to be functioning in the past but was abandoned for some reasons, including with its society and tradition is not concerned with the present. Status ruins or is a remnant from the past rather than present functioning... (FAD, 1989:34-35)

The dilemma of the abandoned wat, however, might be explained by its natural being. A lack of life in and around it gives the abandoned wat a sense of incompleteness. An incomplete circuit of religious life might be due to the lack of one or several key factors, such as social change, a decline in faith, or a lack of monks, patrons, believers, and so on. These factors are always related and their presence makes wat become living religious places. If such is the case of the importance of these factors then the initial purpose of a wat's founder(s) and its patrons should be continually sustained. In this direction, the primary solution for abandoned wat should be the revival of the authentic and initial intentions of the founder(s). If the absence of 'living' is 'death', the abandoned wat can probably be interpreted as 'dead' religious places. In fact, the death of abandoned wat should be evaluated by the degree of possibility for revival and revitalization. Thus, a definition of an abandoned wat could be simplified to *'A (living) wat which lies unconscious (hibernating), waiting for a re-awakening (revival and revitalization) at some point in the future, to become a (living) wat again'* (adapted from the interview of Jumlong Kitisri and Supat Muangmutcha on 22 November 2006) Therefore, the condition of the abandoned wat phenomenon is more specifically related to these aspects of living and dead monuments. The most important characteristic is that it could be awakened when the arrival of some revitalization movement reaches critical mass.

Problematic causes of the abandoned wat

Critical social condition change: impact of wars

As previously stated, a religious community and certain social conditions are usually related to the 'living condition' of the wat. Wat can not separately survive without the religious circuit of the 'patronage network'. In terms of Chiang Mai, most critical social changes have been related to wars that influenced not only the socio-economic situation but also led to changes in local beliefs and the fragmentation of the local society. According to historical reflections, Chiang Mai's Lanna Kingdom experienced around 200 years of Burmese occupation (1558-1774). In the period after the war with Burma in 1774, Chiang Mai also was completely abandoned for 20 years (1775-1795). Thus the periodic wars with Burma might be a substantial set of crises

where the entire city became a desolate town that Buddhist wat was inevitably abandoned (Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997: 65-66).

In 1796, King Kawila established a new dynasty and attempted to resettle and recover the old city of Chiang Mai. The return of the native people contributed to the revival process of Buddhism in the city. The process proceeded by renovation and revitalized numerous abandoned wat which had suffered impact from wars with Burma. Unfortunately, limitation of socio-economic situation and resources necessarily to renovated few of initial wat by priority of historical and hierarchic significances (Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997:7). A huge number of wat that had been founded since the earlier dynasty and the Golden Period of the King Tilokraj of Chiang Mai (1355-1525) were also gradually revitalized depending upon the capability of their patrons. The diverse hierarchy of the founders of Chiang Mai's various wat played a role in the revitalization process. Chiang Mai's kings preferred to revitalize the wat that were under royal patronage rather than those less significant wat whose founders were lower on the royal or social hierarchy; such as wat of aristocrats, high status ladies, and various craftsmen's communities. As a result, wat always belonged to the community which patronized them, so wat lower on the hierarchy had potential to be deserted more than other higher status ones. It could be said that the absence of the initial community was a contributing factor in this situation. The resettlement process of King Kawila brought diverse ethnic groups from the regions in the North to the Chiang Mai urban area. These groups preferred to found new wat or transform abandoned wat into structures that followed the practices central to their communities rather than preserve of the former wat's authenticity. It could be hypothesized that the remnants of presently abandoned wat in Chiang Mai tend to be the wat of small communities rather than those predominantly tied to significant founders or royal patronage wat.

Chiang Mai's city and socio-economic conditions were influenced not only by regional wars between neighboring kingdoms but also the later World Wars II (1942-45) that disrupted the world economic system. Critical impacts from these wars to the Chiang Mai's society could be distinguished as 'socio-economic impacts'. While previous wars damaged both physical and spiritual features, the World War II impacts caused disruption in the way of 'bankrupt allies'. In terms of the wat's patrons, these socio-economic impacts also diminished the number and capacity of merit-making. Crises of the religious patrons entailed a lack of monks in residence as well (Neanhad, 2004:84-85). Although in this period there was a huge number of wat, the number of monks was very small. In most of the small wat communities in the old city, excluding the substantial royal wat, the average number of monks was merely two or three monks per wat. This condition exists in many wat even today. Thus, when wat lacked a monk who was a spiritual leader for the community, the patrons and devotees probably removed their moveable assets to nearby larger wat, waiting for arrival of resident monks again (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986). Possibly, a lot of these wat were permanently abandoned, deteriorated and leave only partial remnants and ruinous chedi in the present day.

Critical social transformation: centralization policy

-Reform of Buddhist organization and authority

The Siamese centralized ruling policy towards Chiang Mai was primarily a strengthening strategy for protecting Chiang Mai from British colonialization. Critical methods of Siam were employed not only Chiang Mai but also in several sub-regional cities in a way of 'Siamese colonialization process'. These schemes were not intended only for natural resource extraction, like the Western colonial approach, but focused on strengthening political stability as a whole. Siamese bureaucrats already experienced some failed lessons from the territory conflicts with the French colonizers in the King Rama V reign. The solution of the independence protection could not be an aggressive oppositional policy but a process of gradual stabilization and integration of the local political system within the centralized system. These approaches emphasized fundamental political reform but they also influenced traditional beliefs and local customs and likely also in the way of 'cultural refinements'.

In this direction 'religion', in political terms, might be assumed as a spiritual pole or a compass for multitudes of followers that is able to lead attitudes and activities. Chiang Mai's Buddhism had such a long continuous evolution, in the view of Siamese rulers, it inevitably needed to reorganize so that it shared the same religious norms. The crucial authoritative 'tools' used were the *Clergyman Act (1906)* and the *Elementary Education Act (1921)* in the King Rama VI era. The essences of this legislation were to transform the religious organization, and manipulate its authority to be the identical to the Siamese norms. Certainly the Buddhist society of Chiang Mai preferred their traditional beliefs that were autonomous. Obstinate monks continuously opposed the centralized policy by passive actions but finally, most of them gradually obeyed. Meanwhile, there is also a possibility that some of these monks in the old city of Chiang Mai had 'nonviolent resisted by leaving to distant rural wat for sustaining their faith' (Neanhad, 2004:88) This long term process could be a contributing factor to the abandonment of small wat and the lack of resident monks throughout the early 20th century during the time of the centralization period, just before the overthrow of Siamese absolute monarchy.

-Reform of educational institutions

Declaration of the *Elementary Education Act (1921)* was also a critical tool of the Siamese centralization policy. Impacts of the act not only affected socio-political reform of the local youth generations but also impacted the physical and social transformation of various abandoned wat as well. During this period of legislation by King Rama VI that led to the establishment of primary education, there were abandoned wat from the past situated in many good urban locations. As a result of the lower cost of investment and the advantageous position of the municipal government (Yu-bodhi, 1984), these unoccupied wat were transformed into new educational institutions. For example, Wat Sutthawaj (formerly the exclusive royal wat within the royal palace boundary) was transformed to be the Chiang Mai Technical Institute; Wat Cheitta was transformed to be a primary school 'Buddhi Sophon School' and Wat Kittii was transformed to be the Chiang Mai Kindergarten School. In the same

way, arrival of the Siamese centralized policy usually required new administrative buildings in the best urban location. Many vacant lands of the former wat were selected to be the best choice. Wat Jogkeaw was transformed to be the Office of Provincial Land, Wat Chiang Rung was transformed to be the Suan Prung Hospital. A statement by Thanit Yu-bodhi, in his director role of the Fine Arts Department of that period, stated that;

In case of the Chiang Mai College of Dramatic Arts founding, Mr. Krisri (Nimanhaemin) suggested of the deserted monastery's properties in the way of lowest national budget investment. He also conveyed to select a suitable land and finally the school was established. In the same way, the founding of the Chiang Mai National Museum previously sought land of the abandoned wat also but not suitable with our specifications. (Yu-bodhi, 1984: n.p.)

These processes were solutions that came about through short-term managements concerned with investment of the economic approach. They also applied an administrative way of thinking that probably involved public attitudes in some way. Most of the area in the old city walls that were not the lands of the former royal family palaces were wat, abandoned wat and religious communities. Many abandoned wat in this period were signified to be public spaces because of ideas that they were outdated, so they should be reused to support various contemporary functions rather than let them be unoccupied space. The outcomes of the transformation from 'sacred space' and 'public space' to be 'government official space' remain today as some places can preserve the chedi in good condition but some places have removed most of the historical evidence for new construction. This process was also a critical factor of wat 'permanently vanishing without remnants and evidences', as several wat can be found only in mystical and chronological inscriptions (Wichiankeaw, 1996:4-5).

-National Economic and Social Development Plan

After the critical centralization policy that intended to implement systematic political reform, the National Economic Development Plan (NESDP) marked the arrival of a new 'centralization tool', which intended to modernize the economic base. The essence of the NESDP, which began in the 1960s, was to accelerate productivity and economic growth as fast as possible by 'hurried development' using supplemental investments to develop the economic base. In the plan, development of infrastructure, such as road networks and electric and telephone systems were usually emphasized following the discourses of 'modern prosperity' and 'civilization'. These discourses were created on the concept of the NESDP in the same way of productivity enhancement and establishing of capitalism in Thai society.

In terms of Chiang Mai, the critical impacts from the NESDP not only have been related to the condition of higher economic growth but also dramatic socio-economic impacts as well. From the earlier NESDPs, in particular the 4th (1974-1978) and 5th (1982-1986), up until the current 10th Plan (2007-2011) have continued to define Chiang Mai as the 'development pole' of the northern region. The influx of modernization and urbanization has been embodied by dramatic increases in the

density of population as a result of increased job opportunities, along with tourism and changes in regional migration due to these 'opportunity magnets'. The negative impacts of the NESDP to Chiang Mai have been the 'limitation of resources' on the physical geography, traditional society, natural environment, condition of historic city and cultural implication conflicts. Basically, being of the 'economic pole' usually urges overwhelming numbers of people into the same magnetic field and entails problems of 'density' related to population growth and land-use. Furthermore, throughout the more than 40s years experience of the NESDP periods, Chiang Mai has encountered an imbalance of land availability with the flood of people requiring more property over time. Being a historic city is matter of fact that is not appropriate for a role as the development pole or as central location for regional modernization. Whether due to the density of inhabitation or commercial businesses, an invasion of developers making illegal construction on the abandoned wat properties has continued for decades up until today (Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997).

As a result, numerous abandoned wat properties have faced the impact of the Chiang Mai modernization movement. The 'public' and 'private' sectors are both key players in these problematic processes. In this context, many vacant and untidy wat usually serve a purpose as 'public' areas that, when overwhelmed with people, gradually transform to be 'private' properties. It could be stated that the period of the NESDP was the 'beginning of invasions by constructions of adjacent buildings, occupation by people from countryside and transferal of the abandoned wat properties to be illegal deeds' (Boonyasurat, 1988:3). Indigent people from the rural districts who were unsuccessful in agriculture investments have inevitably migrated to many 'opportunity poles' like Chiang Mai and Bangkok to find better lives. While impoverished families live in town, without property legitimately, they inevitably invade and use many public properties such as ponds, deserted wat, vacant areas, historic ruins, city walls, fortresses, ancient waterways, and city ditches. Remnants of chedi that have usually survived over a long period of time were also excavated in hunts for treasure. These situations also involve poor peoples from minority hill tribes. But, in fact, these invasions involve not only the extensive migrations of people from the lower-classes but also the more affluent middle-class as well. Despite wealthy people already possessing land properties, they always seem to require more and undertake 'transformative destructions of untenanted immovable assets, deserted historic sites, and former wat for profitability in both municipal and distant peripheries', these usual practices included 'tactics of transferable unoccupied lands that ruin monuments existed to become private properties' (Boonyasurat, 1988:2-3). Even though the abandoned wat in the urban area are recorded in various sources, 'they were completely deserted and transformed recently 40-50s years past because of the dramatic change of social and cultural circumstances' (Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997:65-66).

Relationship of wat, monks and patrons to city scale

In the old city area, behind the remnants of the city walls and ancient fortresses, most properties in this rectangle shaped area belonged to the Chiang Mai royal family. The palaces, numerous wat precincts and their patronage communities

dated from the monarchy period. While socio-economic and political changes transformed local rule to be under the Siamese central bureaucracy, the majority of the royal properties in the city walled area were also transferred to be public and central government properties. Some changed hands by 'selling and some of them were also donated to be public utilities' (FAD, 1989:93). The royal palace of the former King of Chiang Mai was donated to be a primary school along the lines of the Western educational system. The initial context of the town and community gradually (and in some periods, dramatically) transformed to become a more modern city but one in which the sense of the historic city had still remained. The sense of the historic city could be identified by numerous religious places that were both living and abandoned wat and included the surrounding religious communities. During the King Rama V period, the central government administration surveyed and recorded the number of wat in Chiang Mai, both inside and outside the city walls area. In 1907, it provided results from the survey that showed inside the old city there were 100 wat existing but 66 wat were abandoned. This evidence also matches with the oldest remaining local inscription, that remarked that in the 1820, there were 99 wat situated in the city walled area. Unfortunately, at present there are merely 32 wat that still exist and 68 wat have been abandoned (Charoernmuang, 2002; Mahidol and Silapakorn University, 1994; Wichiankeaw, 1996: 117, 121-123). The majority of these 68 abandoned wat had permanently vanished without any historical evidence, remnants of basements or chedi. Possibly, some of them had been damaged and transformed to be shop houses, government buildings and habitations the last one hundred years of the centralization and modernization period. Thus, it could be said that only 35% of all the wat in the city walled area have survived today.

As previously stated, there were various wat founders in terms of hierarchical status and ethnic community context. Firstly, founding a wat was not only a traditional form of merit-making but also represented a memorial of a memorable founder, his family and offered greater prestige in their status of religious patronage. Several wat were likely founded by merely ordaining a son of the founder and dedicated to be a public wat. Secondly, in the Golden Period of Chiang Mai's Kingdom (late14th-early16th century), political stability was also enhanced by the cultivation of Buddhist communities. Like other Golden Period histories, the Chiang Mai kingdom could perceive opportunities to enhance its religion and arts through the accumulation and evolution of its culture. The investigation into Chiang Mai's abandoned wat shows that most of them were founded in this period and also implies to the great decorative skills and architectural style of the civilization (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986; Wichiankeaw, 1996). Thirdly, to the native Chiang Mai people founding a sacred or religious monastery meant that one could achieve a great merit not only in this life but in the next life as well. It could be said that this traditional sanctification moved gradually from a popular 'trend' into a competition of wat founding. In terms of Buddhist beliefs, founding a new wat meant a great vehicle for achieving immense merit. On the other hand, from the political point of view, this process also contributed to the political stability of the rulers by diminishing the economic power and prosperity of the lower hierarchical founders by reducing opposition power to attempt an overthrow of the King (Walipodom, 2003). Fourthly, although the restricted area of the city walled square boundary was preserved for the

highest status among the Chiang Mai rulers, the royal family and Buddhist monasteries but there also were wat of the royal craftsman community. Fifthly, wat and their founders in the old city tended to be the higher hierarchical status than those in the external city wall area. The diverse Tai-Yuan ethnic communities from various regions were left to resettle outside the city walled area under the initial plans for urban zoning.

Table 6: Statistics of wat into city walled area

Statistics of wat into city walled area				
Years	Sources	Living wat	Abandoned wat	Total Number
1820	Ancient archive, in Wichienkew A.(1996:117)	99	-	-
1907	Panyawalo, P. 1907'List of wat in Chiang Mai City' cited in <i>Chronicle of Muang Prow Wang Hin</i> , Sanguan Printing: Chiang Mai, 1966.pp.37-40	34	66	100
1907	Mahidol and Silpakorn University (1994:130)	35	68	100
1996	Wichienkew A.(1996: 117)	32	68 (literature sources)	100
1996	Dumrikul, S.(1996:324)	36	20 (evidences remain)	56
2000	Lieorungruang, V.(2000:131)	36	19 (evidences remain)	55
2007	Researcher	35	10 (chedi remain)	45

Source: This table was created by the researcher.

Supply and demand of the patronage

The substantial popularity and competition of wat founding in the old city area was also a relatively key factor of abandonment. In terms of the modern '*demand-supply*' fundamental of economic theory, those high status wat of the bureaucratic founders did not arise from a valid *demand* base of the community patrons. Despite the hierarchical founders usually allocating many people to their wat as a new patronage community, this did not necessarily help to populate the old city area. These wat were not founded, situated or *supplied* on the real *faith* of the patrons. The imbalance of the religious 'supply and demand' of the actual patrons was also correlated with the political stability. The quantity and proportion of numerous wat and the limitations of the city are interrelated not only within geographic conditions, but with the socio-economic situation and political stability as well. It could also be mentioned that the number of wat continually increased but the size of the population

was static. In these terms, the imbalance between religious patrons and the number of wat in the old city could be described as a critical problem.

In the situation of Chiang Mai, dramatic changes, such as wars and epidemic crises, extensively reduced the populace. The surge of wat founding in a relatively short period inevitably required more of the kingdom's resources, such as labor, construction materials, time and money. These investments could be seen as crucial negative impacts for the next generation as the kingdom's economic and political stability weakened. Over time this type of crisis has often resulted in a period of decline for many historical kingdoms after overextending economically in their Golden Period. These could include the construction of Angkor Wat and numerous stone sanctuaries in the 13th century and the decline of the Pagan Kingdom with its 4,000 chedi in 14th century Burma. The nearby kingdom of Pagan could likely have influenced the religious belief of wat founding in as a form of quantitative merit-making. Pagan's resources were exhausted through the continuous founding of new wat.

Attention of the ruler was also a focal point of survival and stability of a kingdom. Politically, the basic balancing of social aspects (religion, ways of life and cultural implications), economic aspects (prosperity of the kingdom) and political aspects (capacity of the leader, military and bureaucratic system), are crucial aspects of survival. In the case of a ruler excessively paying attention or being obsessed with the religious affairs, the balance between social, political and economic control would be lost and result in growing weakness to politically autonomous stability.

In the ways of local Buddhist tradition that was influenced from Burmese culture, the native people of Chiang Mai generally preferred the practice of novice ordination rather than monk ordination (Charoenmuang and Arpawatcharut, 1987). This was partly due to the limitation of the population, where men who could be able to be both family workers and monks were always needed. When the novices grew up most of them usually left the Buddhist monk-hood to be the family workers in agriculture or craftsmen. A living wat always needed the adult monks rather than the novices. This lack of monks, which can help to identify the 'living status' of a wat, is the first step to abandonment. This imbalance of the proportion between wat and monks is the crucial key to consider the phenomenon of abandoned wat through time. Consequently, numerous small wat in a limited area, compounded by the small number of monks, along with the local Buddhist tradition, all were components that tended to affect the risk of wat abandonment. These factors occurred throughout the early period of Chiang Mai, even before the later centralization and modernization socio-impacts (Neanhad, 2004).

In summary, faith fulfillment is always the key factor in the religious patronage circuit. The previous statement is attempted to provide about the crucial essence of the problematic process of the *living* wat that possibly transforms to be the *abandoned* wat, dependably upon their *patronage capability*. The 'lack of patrons' is the critical matrix of entire problematic process. Indeed, the lack of patrons at any (living) wat tends to be due to three primary dilemmas.

Firstly, the lack can be due to '*social transformation*' under the influence of modernization, crucial changes from war, critical revolutions and so forth. In this way, these dilemmas are also mentioned as changing local attitudes as well other factors, such as the invasion of foreign cultures by mass-medias that possibly distort the authentic religious society.

Secondly, the problem may result from the '*imbalance in the quantity of wat and population*'. While the Buddhist society has changed and been impacted due to the proportion of population, the small wat had a tendency to be abandoned, except those that had prominent or royal patronage.

Thirdly, the '*decline in faith*', in simple terms, could occur wherever the faith of the religious community is destroyed or weakened. 'Faith' is a key factor and encourages the follower, devotees, Buddhist laymen and also socio-community to become the 'religious patrons'. On the other hand, patrons who distorted the authenticity of the religious faith would make a threat to their (living) wat as well. In the same way, whenever the faith of ordinary people decline to insignificant levels or retreat exclusively to dealing with their everyday lives, the (living) wat of their society and community tend to be gradually abandoned. This latter assumption might be more the case in the contemporary generation than in the preceding cases abandonment that more depended upon the dramatic social transformation. In the present time, the Buddhist faith could be diminished by various social results such as current fluid discourse, beliefs, public attitudes, and also with the religious institution itself, such as negative propensity of Buddhist monk's manners.

Unquestionably, if the *sacred* becomes *unsacred* in a monastery, this circumstance would also systematically '*short-circuit*' the Buddhist society and finally lead to abandonment in someway (Intharasart, 2003). In present, consideration of 'social transformation', 'imbalance of quantity of wat and population', and 'faith declination' aspects inevitably encounter a multifaceted situation of the current issues which consisting of political, social and economic aspects rather than choosing only one approach. Lastly, the dilemma of the abandoned wat phenomenon in Chiang Mai is related to the critical task of our generation as to how to preserve the religious significances of such heritage sites as long as possible. An answer to this problem may be tied to the larger question of how to encourage and contribute to the Buddhist community's survival and continuity.

Chapter 5

Towards securing a sustainable future for abandoned wat

Part 1: Elucidation of problems and dilemmas

This chapter attempts to elucidate the unsustainable approach and limitations in many official policies and ways of thinking about the case of abandoned wat. There are many possible social misunderstandings embedded in the minds of people concerned about the wat situation which may lead to the practical approaches to development. Different approaches bring different outcomes. The ways of thinking about the abandoned wat is a critical factor to assuring their sustainable futures. Multi-disciplinary approaches in addressing the abandonment of religious monasteries are always needed. It could be said that the religious heritage buildings are never valued in and of themselves, but only have value through the awareness of people and the religious society that helps them to survive. The physical monuments can only be made sustainable if ways are found to give them a life in the community. This is the key to a sustainable future as a whole.

Limitations of laws and authorities

In the past, Siamese rulers realized the historic nature of sites but particularly focused on the religious aspects of sacred places, such as Buddhist statues and monastery properties. This awareness can be implied by the 'Three Seals Law', the ancient law of the late Ayutthaya and the early Bangkok period, for example 'Section 49...if any thief damages the Buddhist statue, stupa, chedi or viharn...determination by the truth (judgment) to cut his fingers off' (FAD, 1989: 56).

This section of the ancient law is helpful in explaining how religious sites were preserved and regarded. Before the establishment of the Fine Arts Department, which was influenced by Western theory, historic site awareness usually needed the 'sacred function' of religious belief or concern with the monarchic institution. Securing of monasteries based on religious belief is different in significance in today's modern period, which is based on such things as architectural value and aesthetic value. The hierarchy of the site could identify the significant value of the building. Royal palace and the religious monastery are usually preferred more than the ordinary residences. The different hierarchies of the sites are also identified by the different materials, scales, and decorative styles. It could be mentioned that the higher hierarchy always gained the higher regard. Preserving of the chedi and temple were not focused on the question of how to make their physical materials survive, but were looking at how to make religious belief continue into the future by preserving sacredness.

The Fine Arts Department, Ministry of Culture

The conservation movement in Siam grew out of an awareness of various historic objects that had been collected by rulers and the royal family. They believed that a lot of those fragments from the past were evidence of Siamese civilization and should be presented as collections to the royal museum. The real action of conservation began with the establishment of the Archeological Club by King Rama V in 1906 (Akagawa and Tiamsoon, 2005). Rama V also paid attention to the ruins of the old capitals Ayutthaya and Sukhothai as part of a Siamese identity revival. In this period of encounter with colonization, the ancient civilization of the Siamese Kingdom needed to affirm that 'Siam is a civilized country' so as to protect the kingdom's independence.

In the reign of King Rama VI, the Fine Arts Department (FAD) was established in 1911 to protect and preserve both objects and buildings of cultural heritage (Akagawa and Tiamsoon, 2005). It was influenced by the *École Française de l'Extrême-Orient* (French School of Far Eastern Region). The EFEO intended to explore and preserve countless historic sites in the French Indochinese territories and it believed in the theory of 'not restore but uphold' (FAD, 1989: 95). Moreover, French scholars wrote many scientific and popular reference books that were concerned with this region and Thailand as well.

As a result, the beginning of the FAD's conservation projects used the French academy and encountered critical conflicts concerning construction material. The French theory allows for stone or laterite construction but most Thai monuments are made of brick masonry (particular for chedi). Thus, many results of the use of laterite were additional deterioration or entire ruin after three or five years practice (FAD, 1989). These were immense lessons for the FAD in preservation methods in its beginning period.

During 1963-1977 FAD was gradually transformed by many officers who had been trained by the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) of Italy. Therefore restoration approaches and methodology in this period followed the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, which is commonly known as the Venice Charter (1964) (Akagawa and Tiamsoon, 2005). The Italian academic approach differed from French conservation theory in terms of function and diversity of objectives to historic sites. It was also believed that the historic sites should not be only reinforced and finally ruined, but should have more functions to support the current society.

Moreover, historic sites should not only be symbolic of the past but be considered as relevant for present-day re-functioning, for example for economic development and tourism. Thus, in the period of the 4th - 5th National Economic and Social Development Plan (1977-1986), the FAD gained government funds to preserve and restore many historic sites. Unfortunately this was not intended to acknowledge the significance value of sites themselves but solely for providing tourism. For example, Sukhothai Historic Park was largely improved to stimulate national economic growth (FAD, 1989)

The coordination training of the ICCROM for FAD's officers still remains the main influence on national scholarship today. The Venice Charter is the role model of the FAD approach to conservation (Akagawa and Tiamsoon, 2005). The rise of the 'conservation guideline' for implementation, the so-called *Regulation on Ancient Monument/Site Conservation 1985* or 'The Bangkok Charter' (Peleggi, 2002: 28), was also greatly influenced by the Venice Charter's approach although adapted to the Thai social context.

-Conflicts between the Venice Charter and the Buddhist doctrine

FAD's role in conservation practice is empowered by legislation under FAD's the *Ancient Monument Antiques, Object of Art and National Museum 1961 (amended 1992)* and the *Regulation on Ancient Monument/Site Conservation 1985*. Referring to the definition of the 'Ancient Monument' by the Monument Act 1961, it seems awkward in light of the present conservation trends. The connotations of 'ancient' (in both Thai and English) are obsolete, past, isolated from the current issues, and already dead. The term 'ancient' could also be used to describe the attitudes of Thai society and leaders towards many historical sites. The negative connotation of 'ancient' as meaning anachronistic implies a dimension of the past that is separated from everyday lives which causes experiences of alienation for the locals and public concerned with living with and maintaining heritage sites. The term 'ancient' tends itself to be anachronistic in view of the current heritage approach which stresses the importance of linking heritage to everyday lives and future community existence.

Presently, widespread comprehensive awareness of conservation exists, making replacement of 'ancient' with the term 'heritage' an alternative choice that tends to provide the three dimensions of past, present and future in a more holistic way. These three dimensions of 'heritage' tend to encourage people to feel more of a sense of ownership, relationship, and togetherness. In the same way, the word 'historic site/place' tends to connect with the sense of 'ancient' and is always mentioned in the sense of archaic periods. Thus, the use of the word 'Ancient Monument' in the FAD law tends to imply the 'death' of the heritage. If ordinary people and the FAD already believe that the heritage sites are already dead, it could be impossible to acquire a successful accumulation of awareness and a sense of ownership that is critical for sustainability. Also it could be mentioned that these connotations are echoed in the preservation approaches, attitudes and misunderstandings which can lead to different managerial approaches in people's minds.

So, the way that Thai society looks at numerous heritage sites is also imperative, for throughout the connotation of 'Ancient Monument' in the official wording has a latent code that might reflect poorly on the potential for successful conservation in both the FAD and Thai context. Thai society may have learned a way of looking at heritage monuments, through the 'Ancient Monument' of the FAD word usage, which could result in unsustainable development taking place today.

Before the arrival of French conservation theory, the establishment of FAD and the beginning of Westernization in late 19th century, Siamese society was saturated with Buddhist ideology in its capacity as a traditional kingdom and religious society. Buddhism tended to be a crucial factor in the paradigm of Siamese social order, such as political and socio-economic spheres and particularly in people's ordinary ways of life (even today in traditional communities).

The heritage sites from the past are like universal objects; they have life, breath and a circle of life. Birth, old-age, sickness and death are the core concepts that can describe the deterioration and destruction of the life of a monument. People of either royal institutions or the lowest classes of society have a role to maintain and sustain the religion to the next generation. Survival and sustainability of the religious did not exist in the monastery buildings, but in the *mentality* of the believers (interview with Assistant Professor Vitul Lieorungruang, Faculty of Architecture, Chiang Mai University, 16 December 2006). Most of the significant heritage buildings are only part of the religion and not the essence; they deteriorate every single minute and die every day like all other things (Panyananta Bhikkhu, n.d.; Hanilton, 1995).

Good examples of this 'living' are the ways of thinking about the fragments of Buddhist statues and ruins of the chedi. In Buddhist terms, the notion of heritage and the human life being the same is a notion that possibly can be embedded into Buddhist followers towards the religious heritages. Examples of this occur when people in traditional society find fragments of Buddhist statues and when believers usually pay attention to the 'completeness' by seeking out the missing pieces (i.e. torso, head, hand and decoration pieces) and then try to recombine the pieces (Prasert and Griswold 1992: 393 cited in Peleggi, 2002, Charoenwongsa, 1995). Sometimes Buddhist statues still in use from the past have been re-combined with their broken parts. On the other hand, a variety of Buddhist statue's pieces have also been 're-completed' by creating a new larger Buddhist statue through collecting all the original pieces (Prasert and Griswold 1992 cited in Peleggi, 2002), such as bronze pieces being melted together or mortar pieces enlarged by the same material.

There was also another case of a chedi ruin in a religious community where the believers denied concerns with the 'authenticity' of its architectural aspects and instead preferred to make the chedi complete again as a living sacred monument (Charoenwongsa, 1995). The 'ko-kuan' ('enlarging' in the northern language) is the re-completing process of the north (Suksawaddee, 1996). Cases of this include the round-shaped chedi of Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang), a case study of this research.

At present, confrontation between the 're-completing process' and the Venice Charter still remain, along with conflicts concerning the FAD approach and the customs of religious believers. As Buddhist doctrine describes, if believers can give 'birth' to heritage buildings, then its deterioration and ruins are 'disease' and 'death'. The death of the monument can also be identified in Buddhist ideology depending upon the degree of ruin. As the 'death' of a monument is critically related to the degree of physical ruin, if it is unable to be restored it may become a 'dead

monument'. However, the believers can empower and give 'rebirth' by completely renovating it by contemporary techniques and style.

On the other hand, the FAD approach, which is based on the Venice Charter, usually focuses on the 'authenticity' of the site, particularly its physical condition, architectural style, and minimizes any alterations in reference documents. If traditional belief in conservation is *renovation* (continuity, dynamic, spiritual method, and livelihood) and the Venice Charter is *preservation* (static, scientific method, and dead), then this becomes a critical conflict between the traditional religious community and the FAD approach through time. Possibly, this dilemma commonly occurs because the 'authenticity' concept of the Venice Charter is an unfamiliar and awkward concept for traditional Thai society, particularly in Buddhist monasteries and traditional communities (Suksawaddee, 1996, Jokilehto, 1995).

-Conflicts between 'authenticity' and 'renewal'

Towards the present approach of Thai conservation, it is obvious that the problematic root conflict between the Buddhist belief of local people and the Venice Charter of the FAD is critical. The outcome is a conflict between the FAD approach and the traditional approach that is unsustainable. Along with the traditional approach, that is based on the 're-completely process' as a life to the heritage monument, ordinary people who believe in the basic Buddhist doctrine typically are concerned with the 'merit-making' aspects (Laos PDR and Chiang Mai University, 1994; Suksawaddee, 1996, Charoenwongsa, 1995). Certainly Buddhism has many levels for followers and these levels could be metaphorically seen as a 'pyramid of wisdom' that could be obtained for all classes of people. Depending upon the wisdom levels of the believers, the Buddhism of the local people may differ from that of the scholar and philosopher (Tambiah, 1977; Suksawaddee, 1996). Ordinary people prefer to believe in practical rituals, cults and supernatural powers rather than essence, philosophy and logical systems. Like the basic component of most religion, the first step in this approach seems to be the 'faith' of the followers. From the ordinary people's viewpoint, merit-making can be explained as something that the followers should do in such a way that when a good thing is given then the good thing would be returned. Getting 'the good thing(s)' might be wealth, good health, a good job, a good partnership, and a way towards a better life in the rebirth (Charoenmuang, 2006). This traditional belief of the Buddhist community affects the local conservation approaches as well, especially in monastery properties. Many merit-makings can be practiced at the religious institution through patronage, donation, construction of new infrastructure and facilities, and also the construction a new religious building. Like everything that the religion is concerned with, the followers always give their 'best' in offerings, including ideas in ways of restoration, rebuilding, renovation and removal of the religious building. The 'best' of the patrons is very simple, it is something that is new, fresh, invaluable, and complete. This is a reason why the religious believers attempt to keep the good condition of 'completeness' and 'renewal' to any wat over time, as reflected in the following statement:

The followers also believe that, what they give in this life-they would get the same in their next life; this is the reason why traditional people prefer to construct a new building rather than restoration (Charoenmuang, 2006: 464).

Along with the ‘authenticity’ aspects, if the Venice Charter focuses on the geographic and the physical preservation, then it can be also said that the traditional point of view is intended to ‘authenticity’ but in the way of religious custom and ritual that makes the Buddhism survive. This authenticity is also focused to the intangibles of faith and ‘authentic belief’ contained in the mentality of the followers. Because any religious building can be ruined by nature, it is merely ‘a thing’ in the universal circle of life that can rebuilt, but religious faith and belief *can not be rebuilt* in the same way and should be gained through the best support. In the same way, as religion and most religious buildings can survive through the faith of people, the functions of the sacred building and place are able to accumulate and contribute to the faith experiences to the next generation also.

Moreover, the ‘best’ offerings of the religious patrons are also concerned with the ‘present functions’ of the sacred place rather than its history and perspective (Suksawaddee, 1996) by using the latest technology and material in renovation and restoration. As with the simple idea of the determination of physical condition of the general buildings, if any (religious) building such as a viharn, monk’s shelter, and ubosot are critically deteriorated and unable to function anymore they probably do not need to be preserved. Following concern with people’s safety, most buildings using impermanent materials, like wooden buildings, are removed and rebuilt to renew their function. In the view of followers, the religion always exists in people’s minds not in the physical ‘authenticity’. It is likely that these religious beliefs and traditional approaches have contributed to Buddhism survival over 2,500 years until today, not the doctrines like those of the FAD and the Venice Charter’s roles which began relatively recently in 1960s.

Obviously, the FAD approach is so far different and might be in opposition to the religious community. In fact, most conflicts between the Venice Charter and the Buddhist doctrine, including this conflict between religious faith and the FAD approach, are very simple. They are all concerned with the problematic root of instilling *different goals* into the heritage site. Because the FAD and the Venice Charter set only the target of the authenticity of physical condition this target satisfies only the first state of sustainable management. It is the Buddhist doctrine and traditional believers who pay attention to the survival of the religion by periodic renewal. It is a matter of fact that with both of these opposing forces, it can be impossible to reach a consensus. This matrix is a causing divergences in the preservation of religious and sacred places which depend upon *different criterion* of the heritage *significances* (Suksawaddee, 1996). It is precisely the FAD practice at sacred places, where the dilemma of the significant conflicts between ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’ conservation approaches may be more critical than it is at other heritage monuments. The dilemma of the conflict between the FAD’s ‘conservator’ function and the traditional ‘restorer’ function is also reflected in the situation where the local artisans of Thai architecture can become *suitably adjusted* to local architectural techniques and sometimes use the same original materials without differentiation to

historical period (Suksawaddee, 1996; Laos PDR and Chiang Mai University, 1994: 107). Certainly if the local artisan approach can not meet approval with the Venice Charter in terms of authentic preservation, possibly the ‘best’ or appropriate conservation methods and management for the Thai social context can be united with each other.

Precisely, the Venice Charter consists of international guidance about conservation, restoration, historic site, excavation and publication that intends to secure the ‘authenticity’ of the physical aspects of places. Unfortunately it seems to be outdated and biased, and it has been ‘criticized for being too ‘Eurocentric’’ into the current preservation practice (Droste and Bertilsson, 1995: 14). These are the basic principles of the FAD also, and are reflected in the comments of an FAD administrator who remarked that ‘we should believe in authenticity’ (Sahawat Nannha, Director of the FAD Chiang Mai Office 8 on 28 November 2006). Moreover this ‘authenticity’ influence can be seen in *the Regulation on Ancient Monument/Site Conservation 1985*, which arose from and was adapted and based on the Venice Charter (1964)(interview with Apichat Suwan, a FAD’s conservator on 11 October 2007; Akagawa and Tiamsoon, 2005). Safeguarding ‘authenticity’ of the Venice Charter focuses on physical condition within preserving and reinforcement but lacks interdisciplinary, spiritual value, and local community participation. Most remaining historic sites in Thailand are sacred and religious places (Tangcharoun, 2004), so they need to maintain the intangible ‘sacredness’ and spiritual aspects of the ordinary people rather than only concern physical deliberation. Fortunately, the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) represents a critical step in the progress of heritage safeguarding, emphasizing that ‘heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong’. This approach is also incorporated with the latest issue of the 16th ICOMOS General Assembly on September 29th to October 4th 2008 in Quebec which focuses to the ‘genius loci’ or the ‘sprit of place’ as the main theme. Possibly, with the sustainable approach there is no need to choose only between the Venice Charter or traditional Buddhist approach but could be united with and encourage local awareness, rather than only take on roles of contractor, planning, and control under FAD’s approval alone (Laos PDR and Chiang Mai University, 1994).

On the other hand, in terms of the national law that empowers the FAD, even though the first act was legislated in 1961 before the Venice Charter (1964), which came four years later, there is a similar attempt in both for ‘authenticity’ protection. *The Ancient Monument Antiques, Object of Art and National Museum 1961 (amended 1992)*, or so-called ‘Monument Act’ makes the role to protect historic sites by registration and declaration of prominent and long-surviving historical heritage to be a national ‘Ancient Monument’. This securing of the most historic sites also gives the prohibitive orders to the ‘FAD’ for an ‘offender’ of the law as follows;

Section 32 Any person who trespasses ancient monument or damages, destroys, causes depreciation in value to or makes useless of any ancient monument, shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding seven years or to a fine not exceeding seven hundred thousand Baht or to both.

If the offence under paragraph one is committed against the registered ancient monuments, the offender shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years or to a fine not exceeding one million Baht or to both.

Section 7 bis. No person shall construct any building according to the law on the control of building construction within the compound of ancient monument registered by the Director-General except permit has been obtained from the Director-General.

Section 10 No person shall repair, modify, alter, demolish, add to, destroy, remove any ancient monument or its parts or excavate for anything or construct any building within the compound of ancient monument, except by order of the Director-General, or permit has been obtained from the Director-General. If the permit contains any conditions, they shall be complied with.

Section 35. Any person who violates section 10 or does not comply with the conditions imposed by the Director-General in the license under section 10, shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years or to a fine not exceeding three hundred thousand Baht or to both.

Source: The Fine Arts Department's website (www.finearts.go.th)

In this way, the highest objective of the law is the attempt to secure the historic site from any change by definite penalty. Moreover, any change of the historic site, particularly a registered Ancient Monument, must also require agreement from the 'Director-General' of the FAD. Use of the phrases '*any person*' and '*no person*' are obvious evidence of the FAD's power over the public concern. Paradoxically, compared with the outdated 'Three Seals Law' that has many excessive penalties, even though the Monument Act of FAD is less severe with penalties following the trends of modern democratic society, the law still remains embedded with a sense of 'hegemonic power' of the ruler like the absolute monarchy period. Possibly, the power of ancient law still remains within the contemporary FAD's top-down approach.

-Ancient Monument registration: the FAD's tool

The process of registration of cultural heritages under state protection was first begun in France in 1873 (Akagawa and Tiamsoon, 2005: n.d.). In the case of Thailand, this began following the second Act of *Ancient Monument, Antiques, Object of Art and National Museum 1961 (amended 1992)*, or so-called 'Monument Act', which has been implemented the past 40 years, although it would be rare if ordinary people could clearly recognize the roles given to FAD. Section 7 of the second Act is the critical section that empowers FAD to declare some historic sites to be the 'Ancient Monuments', with powers laid out as follows;

Section 7 The Director-General shall, for the purpose of keeping, maintaining and controlling ancient monuments under this Act, have the power to cause, by means of notification in the Government Gazette, any ancient monument as he thinks fit to be registered, and to determine such area of land as he thinks fit to be its compound; which area shall also be considered as ancient monument. Cancellation and modification of the same may likewise be made.

If the ancient monument to be registered under the foregoing paragraph his owned or lawfully possessed by any person, the Director-General shall notify in writing the owner or possessor thereof. The owner or possessor shall, if not satisfied there with, be entitled within thirty days from the date of his or her being aware of the Director-General's notification to apply for an order of the Court requiring the Director-General to stop registration and/or determination of such area of land as ancient monuments, as the case may be. If the owner or possessor fails to apply for the order of the Court or the Court gives, when the case is final, the order rejecting the application, the Director-General shall proceed with the registration.

Source: The Fine Arts Department's website (www.finearts.go.th)

The Monument Act was amended in 1992 but only some sections were improved without a true reform of the whole structure. As for definitions detailed in the latest edition, the significances of the 'Ancient Monument' are redefined as;

'ancient monument' means an immovable property which, by its age or architectural characteristics or historical evidence, is useful in the field of art, history of archeology and shall include placed which are archaeological sites, historic sites and historic parks.(Akagawa and Tiamsoon, 2005: n.d.)

In the first edition, the significances of the 'Ancient Monument' usually were identified by the 'age' being at least 100 years of existence. The lack of clear and definite boundaries also resulted of the critical invasion into many historic sites. It covered only the registered Ancient Monument, which has allowed the numerous, more recent heritage sites to deteriorate without proper securing of their heritage values. At present, with this latest edition, the declaration of any historic site to be an 'Ancient Monument' is identified by the relative factors of significant values. The age of a site does not necessarily have to be 100 years if its significant value is acceptable. In such cases, even a site in existence for 40 years, but having outstanding historical values, could be accepted. The weak points of the age, definite boundaries and significance values in the original law were reconsidered and amended and are the key distinctions between versions. The amended Act also covers many historic sites that are still not registered as an Ancient Monument in order to protect against further ruin. Including the more definite boundaries has also proceeded as well, as noted in the comment of an administrator of FAD in Chiang Mai as follows;

The FAD's procedures to the historic sites either registered to be an Ancient Monument or not are the same; the differences are only the penalties. We can not register all, but it is necessary to select only some of the highest significances. Because of official registration always needs more government funds for maintenance.

(Art and Culture, 1985: 29; FAD, 1989: 66; interview of Sahawat Nannha, the Director of the FAD Chiang Mai Office 8, on 28 November 2006)

As the funding support is crucial, the current 'possession' of an Ancient Monument always needs to be identified. The FAD's principals under the law about financial support are as follows;

- In case of the Ancient Monument situated without possession, the FAD necessary to obtain financial supporting.

- In case of the Ancient Monument is possessed by the government office, the office would takes responsibility financial support in restoration and maintenance. The restoration process must be controlled under the FAD's conservation principal.
- In case of the Ancient Monument is possessed by the private owner, the owner would takes responsibility in financial support both restoration and maintenance. The restoration process must be controlled under the FAD's conservation principle.
(FAD, 1989: 72-73)

In addition, both editions of the Monument Act 1961 and amended 1992 version empower the FAD to register a lot of valuable historic sites to be an Ancient Monument. Since 1935, there are over 2,200 listed monuments (Akagawa and Tiamsoon, 2005: n.d.). In the case of Chiang Mai, there are 95 historic sites that have been registered (www.finearts.go.th). Paradoxically, even many cases of the abandoned wat remains were declared to be Ancient Monuments but the Office of National Buddhism has never concerned about the financial support for preservation. For instance, the rental occupants of the abandoned wat's land properties, such as schools and government offices, have the direct responsibility in financial maintenance and restoration.

The Office of National Buddhism, the Prime Minister's Bureau

Wat abandoned either earlier or more recently used to be sacred public centers of the religious community. While the social change usually is the vital impact when any wat is deserted, the 'public role' still remains as the area tends to be a 'public space' in some way within the current social management. The management or change of any abandoned wat property always concerns the possession of the land property and deed. The Office of National Buddhism (ONB) of Chiang Mai, also called the Chiang Mai Buddhism Office (CBO), is the local authority which takes responsibility for direct management and regard. In the case of ruined monuments or archeological structures still remaining in the abandoned wat property, it is necessary to have FAD cooperation for conservation and development (FAD, 1989). So, the 'abandoned wat' is defined by the ONB as;

Abandoned wat is the circumstance that lack of monk dwelling but has not been ceased and still be a juristic entity...therefore, abandoned wat, deed and its asset necessarily requires legitimate authority for management, regard, and also transfer to be its own property... (FAD, 1989: 77)

In this way, the legitimate role of the ONB is defined by the *Clergyman Act (1906) Section 3* that 'any wat that was abandoned and lack of the monk dwelling, the wat and its land property would be possessed by the kingdom's administrative responsibility.' Including with the *Clergyman Act (1962) Section 72 Paragraph 2* that also defined about possession of the wat's property that 'in case of the wat was completely ceased, its asset and land property would transfer to be the public religious asset' (FAD, 1989: 77). In the interviews of Jumlong Kitisri and Supat Muangmucha, it was stated that the legitimate authority can take responsibility in abandoned wat management affairs by following the *Ministerial Regulation (2005) of the Prime Minister's Bureau* concerning the use of public religious assets. Additionally, the

Clergyman Act (1962) Section 34 also has narrowly defined that the ONB also take responsibility by the principle as follows;

- The deeds of the abandoned wat and their assets could be a cause of contradictions among populaces in taking advantages without legitimate manipulation.
- They could be a cause of social conflicts and chaos.
- Thai government has contributive policy to the profitability of the Buddhist organizational affairs.

(Interview of Jumlong Kitisri, the Director of the Chiang Mai Buddhism Office and Supat Muangmutcha, an administrative officer on 22 November 2006)

Because the direct roles of the ONB involve how to manage all abandoned wat's properties, categories of abandoned wat have also been created based on various public purposes. Categorization of the abandoned wat's properties can be evaluated by two criteria of physical condition. First, for the abandoned wat properties that still have remains of ruins and historic monuments, the ONB usually surveys and lists the property with an 'Abandoned Wat Deed' as a step in the wait for possible revival. Second, for the abandoned wat properties where all evidences of there being a religious place have entirely vanished, the ONB usually lists the property as a 'Public Religious Asset' for profitable use and regard as follows;

1. Abandoned wat properties that are based on the 'Abandoned Wat Deed' could be rented at a low cost for agriculture and habitation purposes. This category intends to benefit the poor populace.
2. 'Public Religious Asset' which lack the evidence of wat and are impossible to be revitalized, could be rented at a higher rate or a valid market cost, such as rental for a hotel business.

(Interview of Jumlong Kitisri, the Director of the Chiang Mai Buddhism Office and Supat Muangmutcha, an administrative officer on 22 November 2006)

In fact, not only is abandoned wat management the main role of the ONB in each province, but it is also concerned with the various affairs of the living wat and local Buddhist organizations as well. Generally, the meaning of the 'wat' is also defined by the official definition as 'the place for making of ritual and religious activity that normally consists of ubosoth and viharn, and there is the monk dwelling.' (Matichon Dictionary of the Thai Language, 2004: 801). There is an also official criterion for founding a new wat or reviving a pre-existing one, which consists of several factors, required as following;

1. Suitable location and surroundings to be a monastery.
2. Advantage of a new wat should be covered two square kilometers dwellers.

3. A new wat should cover at least 1,000 patrons from the surrounding community.
4. A new wat should be separated from earlier wat at least two square kilometers, except when affirmable that people would sustain patronage in the future. (Somjai, 2004: 20)

-Dilemma between the ONB and the FAD legitimacy

Focusing on the 'Abandoned Wat Deed' and 'Public Religious Asset' management, the ONB has direct responsibility in how to make beneficial land-use for these former sacred spaces a supplementary religious affair (Northern Post, 2003). Paradoxically, in terms of the still remaining historic buildings or Ancient Monuments in the site, the legitimate roles of the FAD and the ONB seem to be *overlapped* in conservation practice. Particularly in the abandoned wat phenomenon there are concerns that inevitably will involve both authorities (FAD, 1989), as the laws that empower the ONB are focusing only on land-use profitability but the FAD are only protecting of historic building, registered Ancient Monuments and their definite land boundaries. The legitimate role for the same 'land' is embodied by the conflict of different *laws* and *policies* for different *objectives* (interview Sahawat Nannha, Director of the FAD Chiang Mai Office 8 on 28 November 2006). Also, this problem of different legitimacy could be explained to the inappropriate circumstances of various abandoned wat existing among a modern living city's section of old town. Most of these are the dilemmas of illegal invasions in the way of encroachment of adjacent construction and poor community dwellers. Various 'invaders' might be rural migrants, investors from other regions, and local shop houses that sometimes are involved with the tactic of illegal possession and exploiting the weaknesses of the government authorities (Boonyasurat, 1988). For example, referring to the case studies within the city walled area, in the period before the successful revitalization of Wat Chet Lin, the remnants of chedi were situated among a complex slum. Also Wat Nong Yah Praeg, which is located in a good area for site-seeing and public awareness, is unfortunately situated among a poor community and hidden behind a commercial building that both have encroached on wat lands. This commercial building was rented out by the Chiang Mai Municipality City as a part of the 'Abandoned Wat Deed'. Unless integrative solutions and management are undertaken, the FAD will be unable to designate, preserve and enhance the 'sense of sacred place' as a whole. The ONB role of making profitable land-use through an economic approach and earning as much as possible through yearly rentals also contributes to the loss of sacred value and historic site deliberation (Northern Post, 2003). Possibly, both of these parallel legitimacies will never be able to reach a consensus on issues such as these. This 'chicken and egg' problem that pays attention to only legitimacy is not only a cause of unsustainable management, but also damages significance values to the heritage place through time by such passive operation.

Limitations of responsibilities and approaches

The Fine Arts Department, Ministry of Culture

A sense of the centrality of power dates back to the outdated 'Three Seals Law' that had been used since the period of the late Ayutthaya to the beginning of the Bangkok Period, before the arrival of modernization in the late 19th century. When the FAD was established in the reign of the King Rama VI in 1911, along with the establishment of the 'Monument Act' 1961 (amended 1992), it could be said that the political power of the centralized absolute monarchy and latter dictatorship of military government still remained (Satayanurak, 2007). The legislation of the Monument Act in 1961 that is the core power and principle of the FAD also arose in the same period of the declaration of the first National Economic and Social Development Plan (1961-1966) and the Cold War (1946-1990) during which Thailand was ruled by military governments, and is referred to as the so-called 'dictatorship period'. There were almost two decades of rule under Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat (1958-1963) and Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachon (1963-1973) who attempted to rule Thai society by totalitarian power and decisive control (Satayanurak, 2007: 5). This absoluteness of 'power' possibly still remains today and is reflected in the unsustainable approaches and preservation attitudes that are combined with the 'tools' in use by the FAD today.

-Unless 'people' in the FAD approach

Nowadays, the way of thinking about heritage conservation tends to focus on integration and an interdisciplinary 'humanization' with a focus on the relationship between 'man and town' and concern for the 'human policy of life and future' as other viable conservation choices (Genovese, 2005: n.d.). As Genovese (2005: n.d.) argues;

Only the balance between public and private actions (each one developing their own specific role) can guarantee the conservation of the cultural heritage for the benefit of the community.

This argument contributes to the concept of the sustainability of heritage places, which always need people who are concerned with maintaining 'balance between tangible and intangible values' (Genovese, 2005: n.d.). Relationships with people always require integrative processes. Unfortunately, the FAD approach in conservation employed so far is very different, as the operation usually is based only on the law and physical reinforcement without concern for people. This is a concern of the FAD Chiang Mai Office as well, which has said, regarding relationships with the people, that 'it is such a good choice, but the FAD process is not quite often done in this term, we lack expertise' (interview Sahawat Nannha Director of the FAD Chiang Mai Office 8 on 28 November 2006). As in the case of abandoned wat, there is the FAD's description of abandoned wat remains that it is a 'dead monument' which:

...used to be functioning in the past but was abandoned by some reason, including with its society and tradition is not concerned with the present. Status ruins or is a remnant from the past rather than present functioning...
(FAD, 1989: 34-35)

In an interview with Sahawat Nannha, Director of the FAD Chiang Mai Office 8 on 28 November 2006, Director Sahawat said that, 'the way of the FAD in looking at the abandoned wat case is normal and not a special case. It is always treated in the same approach and regulation of the others.' In fact, the cases of abandoned wat are more complex, multifaceted and fluctuating than the FAD's description. They have hibernated and are waiting revival. This characteristic makes them not existing as completely 'dead monument' under the definition. The most important factor is that they *could be reawakened*. Certainly not all abandoned wat remains can be revitalized, as they need many related factors and timing. Despite the fact that for some it may be impossible to reawaken, they still remain as sacred places in some way, as the status of a sacred place always needs and concerns the believers.

This practice of sacred place management is similar for other local monuments in Thailand, as the central FAD regularly sets a centralized policy and restoration scheme without incorporating local organization concerns. The FAD's officers are instructed and familiarized with the conservation research following the Venice Charter rather than employing an integrative conservation approach and cooperative management (FAD, 1989). Also, the charter focuses on authenticity safeguarding only in terms of physical reinforcement, and the architectural and characteristic aspects that are considered as a good beginning in the *first step* of the management process. But a sustainable approach inevitably requires the involvement of more people who are concerned along the lines of types of ownership, participation, and community integration as the *next steps*. This further step follows the current international approaches such as the ideas incorporated in the recommendations of the *Budapest Declaration on World Heritage* (2002), the *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Conference Linking Universal and Local Values: Managing a Sustainable Future for World Heritage Amsterdam, 22-24 May 2003*, and *The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (January 2008). Despite the fact that FAD has accomplished various roles in the conservation of monuments it has always lacked a focus on local public benefits (FAD, 1989). Regarding only physical reinforcement could be inadequate and generate conservation 'gap' that leads to an unsustainable management of heritage through time, particularly in the cases of religious heritage. The lack of participation from local religious, social, and scholarly authorities which represent the real ownership always produces a critical conflict from the lack of awareness and participation. Unfortunately, the FAD conservation practices as still carried out only result in a state of a 'good beginning' but can not reach to the contemporary and relative living needs of both heritage places and the people concerned (Dumrikul, 1986).

- 'Qualitative' or 'quantitative' preservation

It is clear that the FAD's role, under its legal empowerment, practically only focuses on the 'authenticity' of the physical concerns. Periodic reinforcement and restoration usually occur as the FAD's core duties. It is impossible for the numerous heritage sites and the roughly 2,200 registered Ancient Monuments to be regarded by the FAD alone (Akagawa and Tiamsoon, 2005: n.d; interview Assistant Professor Vitul Lieorungruang, Faculty of Architecture, Chiang Mai University on 16

December 2006). Despite these heritages being the national treasures the FAD finds it necessary to prioritize the securing of sites by a ranking of the most outstanding and significance values (FAD, 1989: 66; Ditsakul, 1995: 108). The dependency upon the bureaucratic system always generates the problems of restrictions in government funding and delay. Conservation schemes under the national expenditure budgets are also critical, as it could be asserted that a lack of funds is always a permanent source of arguments and complaints (Laos PDR and Chiang Mai University, 1994). Briefly, it could be mentioned that the long project periods and lack of financial support are the crucial challenges of the FAD's conservation practice.

A good example of the FAD approach, attitude and practice might be observed in the operations of the regional FAD office in Chiang Mai, the so-called FAD Chiang Mai Office 8, which is responsible for the four provinces of the northern region - Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphong and Maehongsorn. Following the FAD approach into Ancient Monuments, there are 165 registered Ancient Monuments in this region (Chiang Mai 95 sites, Chiang Rai 46 sites, Lamphong 18 sites and Maehongsorn 6 sites)(www.archelological-data.go.th), excluded in these numbers are numerous historic sites that have still not been registered or surveyed, particularly many abandoned wat remains in Chiang San of Chiang Rai and the old city of Lamphong. In the case of the FAD Chiang Mai Office 8, with its extensive number and diversity of sites to manage, the structure of administrators is as follows;

1. Director of the FAD Chiang Mai Office 8	1 position
2. Section of general administration	2 positions
3. Section of archeology	4 positions
4. Section of architectural design and restoration of historic site	5 positions
5. General officers	8 positions

The FAD Chiang Mai Office 8 does not operate all the processes of conservation practice but only designates, plans, and controls the improvement of physical condition. Although there are temporary employees and contractors associated with the most of conservation projects, the proportion between FAD's officer staff and registered Ancient Monuments is 1:8.25. A mere 20 officers of the FAD must take into account all the significant heritage sites that are not registered as well, as required in the Second Act of the Monument Act 1961 that was amended in 1992. This proportion is obviously inadequate and makes it difficult for operations to proceed in an efficient way. As most Thai historic sites are sacred places (Tangcharoun, 2004), more of FAD's task since 1992 must include sites that have almost been abandoned and are still living heritages, numbers of which are unclear but must be brought into an accounting. Certainly most of the historic sites will never face immediate destruction at the same moment (except in cases of natural forces) but face gradual deterioration, but the FAD attempts at periodic reinforcement only serve to leave them in a circular system of ruin. Along with the policy of the priority of significances of the sites, sometimes the degree of ruin results in 'urgent preservation projects' with steps made for immediate reinforcement while there is a wait for later supplement budgets. Even though the Second Act intends to secure all significant heritage sites it is a matter of fact that the FAD has found it impossible to proceed

effectively with procedures all meeting the same standard, as the Director of the FAD Chiang Mai Office 8 noted that ‘...we agreed that the quality of the last year projects is approximately 95% because there were an overwhelming number of conservation projects which unable to bear’ (interviewed Sahawat Nannha on 28 November 2006).

Along with its scholarly critics, there are many other critical arguments of the FAD role in conservation practice. It is reasonable to mention that inadequate resources of bureaucratic structure, government funding and the limits of time are the crucial related factors of ineffective practices. As the FAD yearly projects follow the national expenditure budgets, results are inevitably becoming measured by the ‘quantitative outcomes’. Limited yearly dispersals of government funds necessitate many projects to unnecessarily finish within the last four months of the project period (interview with Assistant Professor Waralun Bunyasurat, Department of Thai Arts, Faculty of Fine Arts, Chiang Mai University, 9 January 2007). With projects regularly finishing according this last four month procedure, it is almost impossible to expect a high quality in the physical improvement of sites. These weaknesses are frequently critiqued by scholars, who argue in various media that the way of qualitative conservation should be preferred by a decrease in the quantity of projects and a refocus on increasing quality. The FAD conservators argue that ‘the quantity of conserved Ancient Monuments must be in accordance with the yearly master plan which can guarantee that the government funds were proceeded then not to be returned’ (Kanchanakom, 1991: 85). The qualitative approach is also difficult to define and evaluate, requiring longer periods of time, skill and devotion, it is viewed by FAD as the ‘hard way’. In terms of effective management and economy, less time and investment always produces more profitability, with the so-called economic approach seen as the ‘easy way’. The key point is that what has occurred here is that the ‘hard way’ and the ‘easy way’ are the important choices for the government and the FAD to select. Even though the economic approach is necessary for management, more quality is needed in terms of the art, cultural heritage, conservation and safeguarding of the heritage monument to find a more sustainable way. Thus, while the FAD achieves ‘quantitative outcomes’, it is unsuccessful in the role of being a ‘good conservator’(Kanchanakom, 1991; interview with Assistant Professor Waralun Bunyasurat, Department of Thai Arts , Faculty of Fine Arts , Chiang Mai University, 9 January 2007). Unavoidably, the goal of the FAD is ‘yearly budget management’ that does not lead to success in its role as the ‘authenticity protector’ following the Venice Charter and its *Regulation on Ancient Monument/Site Conservation 1985*.

Sympathetically, excluding the capacity of the officers and administrators, the FAD’s bureaucratic system and the administration structure always has suffered and been criticized for having a lack of personnel and budget (Northern Post, 2003: 10). The received budget of the Ministry of Culture in the year 2006 was merely 0.03% of all the national expenditure budgets for 2006. Moreover, the FAD, which is the main role of the Ministry of Culture, gained only 118 million baht for the whole conservation from which, ‘we can carry out the conservation tasks upon our passive capability’ (interview Sahawat Nannha on 28 November 2006). For the cases of sacred heritage places, a FAD conservator and administrator argued that most of the problems are due to a lack of budget as well as a lack of understanding on the

conservation standards employed by the FAD, other government authorities, and wat authorities (interview of Apichat Suwan, a FAD conservator on 11 October 2007 and Sahawat Nannha 8 on 28 November 2006.) If so, the problematic budget makes it mostly impossible to create a sustainable future for historic sites through the FAD's legitimate role alone, especially for the case of abandoned wat remains that will always be regarded with less significance. The dependence on the fluctuating state of current economic issues, the bureaucratic system practically acts as a large firm of the country that inevitably falls into using an economic approach. The basic principles of the management approach currently employed could be simplified by stating that any government authority producing less, in terms of social and economic profitability, will find it difficult to have more financial support approved or promoted because 'any investment of cultural heritage conservation is wasting and lost' (FAD, 1989: 11)

Chiang Mai Buddhism Office, Office of National Buddhism

As previously stated, the phenomenon of abandoned wat is a special condition that tends to be dynamic rather than static in status and always exists among the definition of 'living monuments' and 'dead monuments'. Possibly, the 'hibernation' characteristic might need a 'special' strategic approach as well. In the past in northern culture, the phenomenon of deserted monasteries was normal and continually occurred in a circle of 'abandonment-revival'. Moreover, there is 'kud' or the Lanna folklore which describes, regarding the situation of public religious space of any former wat, that the land and ruins of any abandoned wat should not be changed in any case, whether adapted, reused, a beneficial land-use, or for making profit. Change without revitalization and a religious purpose could be a cause of bad luck and a curse for the people concerned (Mahidol and Silpakorn University, 1994: 20). In the ways of traditional society, the status of a place being a religious place and its sacredness tends to be preserved and secured. Possibly, before the arrival of centralization and modernization in Chiang Mai, most of the deserted religious monasteries were unoccupied without invaders and the making of beneficial purposes in line with the smaller populace. Unfortunately, in modern lifestyle, with the abandoned wat phenomenon still remaining and having encountered with a rise of the secularization process, what and how is the suitable management for this phenomenon?

-The dilemma of the 'sacred space' into the 'profitable space'

Since the arrival of modernization period, several wat in Chiang Mai inevitably saw a re-functioning of their land-uses. These former wat which used to be 'sacred spaces' also encountered a transformation to a new function and status of 'profitable spaces' that still exists today. As previous stated, the abandoned wat properties are categorized as either 'Public Religious Asset' or 'Abandoned Wat Deed' with different management. Focusing on the Abandoned Wat Deeds in the urban area that still remain part of the historic monuments and could be revitalized, the Office of National Buddhism(ONB) generates rent from almost all former wat for a low cost for the public benefits of schools and dwellings. In these areas re-functioning might contradict with the original purpose and become the root of the current conflicts. The purposes of the wat's founders are the same that the wat were

found for the religious communities and they usually were the 'public spaces' even they are unoccupied. Until the ONB management is activated, not only the former wat are inevitably to be rented as 'profitable spaces' but transformed to be 'private spaces' also. The 'private spaces' are arising on new circumstances and usually closed for the public, such as public schools require enclosing for their students security and poor communities necessary to allocate the sacred public spaces to be many lots for their complex households.

Inarguably, with these changes, the spiritual significance and being of a sacred place are distorted in many ways of social perception and individual mentality. This is possibly a weakness of the ONB approach. In the view point of the economic and social approach, physical and geographic management usually proceed without consideration of the 'intangible value' of the sacred place and sensibility of the spiritual experience. Despite the official Abandoned Wat Deed management waiting for the possibility of status revitalization, a declination of the sacred place is difficult to recover. Deterioration of sacredness and sensibility always concerns the faith of Buddhists, not only currently but can accumulate and be embedded to the next generation as well. It could be said that whatever the abandoned wat are served and transformed, there should an encouragement of awareness to arouse the people's concern. The sense of place and intangible values should be fulfilled in the management approach to prevent a religious dilemma in the long-term management.

-Passive action of rental management

Focusing on the Abandoned Wat Deed management, passive action could be said to have caused the yearly debts that have occurred by the principles and the perspectives of the management. The migration of the rural people who were 'invaders' coming into historic sites of the former urban wat, since the beginning of the 4th National Economic and Social Development Plan (1974-1978), was solved by the ONB by replacement of the 'invaders' into 'dwellers' with yearly rental contracts. Low rental rates still remain today for poor communities or slums in the urban area, yet these rates do not reflect a valid market price. These households mostly have dwelt from generation to generation and in some places are living without any completion of the basic infrastructures. Working in 'hand to mouth' jobs with low incomes, the people see continued debts year after year. Frequently, some initial dwellers sublet their possessions to external people and investors and then move to better conditions of living. The ONB usually takes responsibility not only for deserted monasteries, but also living Buddhist temples and many Buddhist organizations. It is inevitable that the organization is more focused on more prominent Buddhist issues. Possibly that this dilemma of the Abandoned Wat Deeds has occurred because these sites mostly seem to be 'dead monuments' from the past rather than current Buddhist affairs and part of the Public Religious Assets management, which is more focused on following current market prices. The ONB seems to have no way out its passive management towards the slum problems. Moreover, the passive action and failure in the rental management system are causing many social problems for poor communities and also leads to a lack of awareness of the significance of the heritage monuments. The sense of the sacred place is damaged by this uncontrolled landscape,

with poor infrastructure leading to a low quality standard of living for local slum dwellers. These related factors also continually cause a decline in the religious faith of both dwellers and Buddhist society. Although most of the historic chedi in the city walled area were registered to be Ancient Monuments not at all are guaranteed with suitable maintenance. The lack of an active strategy gradually deteriorates both the physical condition and spiritual value of the historic remains in many ways. The prominent cases in the Chiang Mai covered in this research on the urban area are Wat Ched Lin, Wat Chang Lan and Wat Nong Yha Plaeg.

On the other hand, the Public Religious Assets management also suffers from a critical failure of the rentals system that likely weakens the overall property management situation. Many properties of former wat that are without historical remains and unable to be revived are also rented by following the market price dynamic. These properties have been taken over by various businesses such as hotels and shop-houses in the urban area. As a result, possession of the land confers the advantage of being able to use the good locations in business and investment. Manus Pakpum, Director of the Central Department of ONB has commented, regarding Public Religious Asset and Abandoned Wat Deed management, that 'there are almost 10,000 rai of the Public Religious Assets were defaulted and invaded by mostly the local mafias' (Kom Chad Luek, 2007:15) Moreover, Phra Dhama Kittimaythi who is a committee member of the Clergy Association said that:

...the problems are collected for a long time without investigation...now we have a problem that the affairs of the Public Religious Assets are procedure without the department of legal proceeding, there is only in the central office (Kom Chad Luek, 2007: 15).

In present Chiang Mai, the Director of the CBO Jumlong Kittisri declared that:

There are 930 abandoned wat are rented by villagers around 600 rais from 1,000 rais and 97 sites are situated in the urban area. These properties can make a profit to the CBO around 4-5 million baht per year... there are contestations with the privates about possession and invading into the court around 10 cases (Kom Chad Luek, 2007: 15).

These comments provide some examples of the obstacles faced in the management. Unarguably, the ONB has weaknesses and has encountered with failure in the management of former wat's properties. Despite heritage monuments of both registered and non-registered Ancient Monuments being situated only in the case of Abandoned Wat Deed, there still remain abandoned wat in the rural area that have not been surveyed for either the Ancient Monument or the Abandoned Wat Deed registration.

Unsustainable thinking of Thai and Chiang Mai societies

In both Thai and Chiang Mai society, there exist a diversity of relationships, ideologies and individual paradigms that are comprised of many layers of perception. As well as general societies, the misunderstanding could be embedded in many ways of life, such as tradition, folklore, taboo, law, education, politics, customs, and

religious belief. Particularly in the everyday lives of the people, many social misunderstandings are produced by the society and may affect the society in their circulation. The relationships between the misunderstandings, society, and people are never isolated and static, but dynamic and changeable by many factors. The misunderstanding seems to be the *illusion* for social manner and awareness; it distorts the *fact* into various objectives by layers of people's acceptability. Also, transformable of *falsity* to be the *truth* in people's perception is the core concept of the research as a whole.

The bureaucratic system: efficiency or weakness

The characteristics of bureaucracy are provided by Max Webber as follows;

Each office has clearly defined duties; all offices are organized in a hierarchy of authority; all activities are governed by a system of rules; all offices have quantifications; incumbents do not own their positions; employment by the organization is defined as a career; and administrative decisions are recorded in written documents (Hughes and Kroehler, 2005: 131)

The bureaucratic system in Thailand is also included in this description. It has possibly existed in the same way since the reformation of the centralized policy in 1892 in the reign of King Rama V. The traditional laws and ancient rules were replaced by an administrative system with the nearby colonial territories (Earwsriwong, 2006), such as British India and Singapore, as the role model of the Westernization process. Because the colonial system usually had factors of hegemonic leaders, centralization, a pyramid of the state authority, and a hierarchy within the populace, it could, unfortunately, be said that this 'imitation' of the colonial system may still remain in Thai society as a top-down bureaucratic approach that has been in practice up until today (Earwsriwong, 2006: 34). Finally, the bureaucratic polity completely replaced the absolute monarchy in 24 June 1932, after the uprising of the mostly Western-educated officers of democracy (Dhiravegin, 2006).

In fact, bureaucracy is a type of organization system (Strati, 2000). In the view of basic management, it is inevitably concerned with the approach of *efficiency* and *productivity* as the life of the organization. Survival of the business firm and industrial unit may be identified by a rise of its profitability as the main cause. Focusing on the administrative system and the political circumstances, however, they crucially affect preservation of national monuments in some ways. Many comments from scholars and social critics usually provide that 'the Thai bureaucracy is insufficient' and there is 'no hope and nobody hopes for the Thai bureaucratic system anymore to initiate ideas for something better' (Panigaboot, 2002; Earwsriwong, 2004: 161-162). But in practice, most people still *trust* and *rely* upon this system. Particularly in heritage preservation the government authority is seen to be the only hope.

In abandoned wat management, the way to success usually proceeds with interrelation of the official authority and the public sector. Generally, Thai society is consisting of a *hierarchical status* of people and institutions (Siffin, 1966: 128) that includes classes and races as well as models of bureaucratic system that are complex.

Moreover, 'Thai society typically uses the bureaucracy as the model for relationship arrangement..., therefore it is usually bound with the administrative power' (Earwsriwong, 2006: 34). If so, the bureaucracy seems too strongly embedded within Thai society as a reflection from a mirror. Despite the bureaucracy being a type of organization system, it may need still more organization for the Thai context. 'Culture of the Thai bureaucratic institution' tends to pay attention to the highest level of the social hierarchy, 'it attempts to rule and control the population under its power' (Art and Culture, 2002: 10). Du Gay (2000, 109) has described a characteristic of the system being that:

It is constitutionally surprising because the operative functions of governments can be fairly distinguished from private manufacturing and service functions in that they are regulatory and based on legal powers over the citizen.

The bureaucratic system seems to be constructed for the official and large organization that prefers the public scale rather than only responding to profit from investment. Also it was designated to standardize the subordinate sectors into a definite hierarchy. Thus, the peak of the hierarchy is centralized to the central government along with the top-down approach. Possibly, a weakness of the government authority could be found here. It could be seen in both of officer's approaches and systematic roles of the bureaucratic system. Most of the heritage dilemmas usually arise on the 'centralization into policy and process' by 'over-viewing of local population concern who own the cultural heritage' (Suksawaddee, 1996)

- 'Active' or 'passive' roles

Obviously, the Thai bureaucracy is always concerned with the centralization and hierarchical status, as most people prefer focusing on the national level rather than the local community. It is also included to the hierarchical status that both of many authorities and their officers are difficult to be the 'learnable organization', because:

...the administrative system prefers to the top-down approach rather than populace, including with lack of inspiration and basing on the real circumstance, the diversity of solutions are impossible to be created (Ngamwittayapongsa, 2006: 56).

As a result that the national regulations, centralization and the hierachical system are the crucial factors in Thai bureaucracy following the Thai society and circumstance, it could be said that 'the dominance of centrally designed and enforced regulations mean that obedience and compliance become synonymous with efficiency' (Salaman, 2005 in du Gay, 2005: 147). Obviously, the efficiency of the bureaucratic system is different from the business organization, it not necessary to based on the productivity and rising of profitability from the current market. The official bureaucracy seems to be only a special case of organization that does not exist on a reality base but usually depends upon the master plan or the national policy from a periodic government's cabinet. Also, it was initially designated for the managerial state and political system rather than focusing on the public benefits as the main goal. Unfortunately, the religious heritages always belong as a local community concern, if

the bureaucratic system 'tends to be valued for itself rather than as a productive instrumentality, innovation is not highly relevant, and many even be regarded as undesirably disruptive' (Siffin, 1966:163).

Thus, these arguments might be answers for the critical weaknesses as to why - 'we carefully operate on the passive strategy, unable to be active' (interview of Sahawat Nannha, Director of the FAD Chiang Mai Office 8 on 28 November 2006), and why-'the government authority usually operates into only passable grade' for efficiency evaluation (interview Assistant Professor Waralun Bunyasurat, Department of Thai Arts, Faculty of Fine Arts, Chiang Mai University on 9 January 2007).

-'Legitimacy' or 'goal'

As the bureaucratic polity is constructed for the large scale of official government that is based on the empowerment of national regulations, it is also embodied and practiced throughout the routine managerial system of the government authorities and officers. Because the bureaucratic polity is never separated from the state's policy, both inevitably need various regulations as a glue and bridge to connect each other. Moreover, these regulations and national laws in all levels are the 'power' as well as the engine of the state and official authority to implement and practice. In short, it could be claimed that 'the power of law is the state' and the 'legitimate power is authority' (Earwsriwong, 2007a: 91; Hughes and Kroehler, 2005: 294)

Also, with the Thai bureaucratic polity and society, the national law seems to be the only 'sacred' rule for the state rather than for their citizen's lives. By its principles and structural system, despite there being a master plan and national policy, each ministry usually has its laws and Ministerial Regulations that empower all roles and frameworks (Tangcharoen, 2004). Paradoxically, these laws frequently overlap and sometimes contradict each other. Many conflicts between government authorities frequently arise between the different laws and policies (Tangcharoen, 2004). Possibly, different *goals* for the same problem, coming from the different view points and legitimacies, are difficult to be integrated.

The religious monuments that become concerns of the bureaucratic approach are also included. Again, the Fine Arts Department (FAD) and the Office of National Buddhism (ONB) are usually involved with management and development, with both of them having their own goals, policies and laws for the same subjects that are intricate and yet rarely integrated in development (Tangcharoen, 2004). As a result, setting the *goal* and realizing its achievement always needs integration from the stakeholders. The most important factor might be the starting point of the process. If both usually begin at the legitimacy, which is the defined specific duty and responsibility, without looking at the overview and outcome, their roles may be only parallel lines that are never connected and become difficult to achieve. Setting the *goal* should focus on how to develop the abandoned wat, not on how to keep the roles within and following the bureaucratic powers' legitimacies. Legality is a good standard for beginning but achievement of the outcome is better (Osborn and Gaebler, 2005 in du Gay 2005). Thus, these weak points of the Thai bureaucracy could be

described by the FAD itself in the abandoned wat case that ‘someone who takes accurate responsibility are the ONB and the FAD, but both are legitimated by different laws and policies into the same place’ and ‘we accepted that the FAD always employs the legitimate power likely in a habitual manner’ (interview Sahawat Nannha on 28 November 2006)

Chiang Mai identity

Referring back to chapter 3, the centralization policy of Siam towards Chiang Mai began in 1898 in the reign of the King Rama V. After that, there was a creation of the later social misunderstandings that served various purposes and periods. Throughout the Chiang Mai perspective, the centralization policy of central Siam was also developed and embodied into the Nationalism of the World War II and the Cold War period. Similarly, the Nationalist policy or ‘Thai-ness’ continually centralized traditional ideologies by emphasis capital and elite traditional cultures as the role model and neglecting the local way of lives (Chanamoon, 2007: 17). In some period, the state ruled the citizen by principle of cultural reform and Westernization. These processes were included to reproducing of Thai identity through the official language, literature, history, and elementary curriculums (Chanamoon, 2007: 17). The key role was attempting to replace of ‘capital model of culture’ into ‘traditional and local livings’. Also, the state policy throughout the ‘national identity’ establishing could be described that the state must to revival and possibly recreate the ‘Thai-ness’ by approval into the same prototype for national perspective and security. This phenomenon also occurred in most Southeast Asian countries after World War II in the way of a national identity revival (Tanprawat, 2006 trans.). Finally, the cultural outcome from the political impact of the centralized period and the social view of the ‘Thai-ness’ redefining is the same, it is ‘deleting identity of languages, traditional clothes and local architectures’, moreover both of them accommodated the Chiang Mai people into having a ‘lack of pride in their culture’ (Laos PDR and Chiang Mai University, 1994: 85).

After this, in the period of National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP) Chiang Mai was placed as the northern pole and the stimulation of provincial productivity was needed. A new social manner possibly has been reproduced into the modern economic approach. From the old subordinate kingdom of Siam, Chiang Mai has also gradually transformed into a new role of ‘tourism city’ of Thailand. The new role and new social perception has been embedded into the modernization progress. Despite it has intended to the economic growth but preferred to national level rather than locality and host community (Charoenmuang, 2006). Lack of local community participation in tourism policy still remains even today. Profitability from tourism seems to be the only hope for the Thai government because it possibly involves the lowest investment. The revival of traditional Chiang Mai has been sought not for ‘authenticity’ but for tourist commodification. Paradoxically, the long-term confusion into the ‘tourism city’ is strongly embedded in local people’s perceptions that they must sacrifice everything for tourism, even in ways of life, ancestor identity, and their cultural authenticity. Chiang Mai and its people are rapid changing along with their everyday lives. As one native social observer has said:

...local people like us produce illusion and staged culture to sell to tourists but we fall into our traps that we made, including that we must live with them everyday, every season and probably permanently (Kam Paka, 2007: 89).

In the local sacred places, many religious monasteries seem to be the most popular tourist destinations in the city walled area. A good example of the loss of Chiang Mai's authentic identity could be explained by the religious architecture of the present wat. As social critics have suggested that 'identity is not static; it is constantly on the move' (Christian, 2000: 2), Chiang Mai's identity also embodies and 'moves' through 'replacing of the central region style into the Lanna religious building', moreover, 'the authentic buildings are devalued and infrequent 100 year-old buildings still remain because the wat's abbots and their patrons demolished them by themselves' (Charoenmuang, 2006: 464) This example is clear that the centralized process still remains in the perceptions of religious organizations. Those buildings may represent the authentic identity of Chiang Mai, yet were distorted and damaged by the real owners themselves. In this case, they prefer to remove old buildings (authentic identity) and to replace them with new buildings (definite identity from capital city) in styles difficult to make compatible with the old city surroundings. As it has been said, it is 'rare of the Chiang Mai people would appreciate in value, significance and preserving' (Laos PDR and Chiang Mai University, 1994: 111).

Probably, not only do social distortions from centralization and tourist impacts still remain but so do the historical effects. Chiang Mai was ruled by the Burmese for 216 years and has been under Siamese control around 117 years. This may be causing the native people to seemingly be passive with their existence. They 'tend to avoid contradiction with the others...even request or opposition' (Suksawaddee, 1996: 157). The lack of local awareness in the Chiang Mai authenticity may make it difficult to achieve the sustainability of any religious heritage.

'All Ancient Monuments belong to the Fine Arts Department'

As previously stated, the Thai society and social system still strongly remains of the hierarchical status and, moreover, 'Thai culture is such a bureaucratic characteristic' (Earwsriwong, 2006: 34). Following these roots, relationships between the state and its citizens could be described in the way of 'a father and his children' relationship (Riggs, 1967: 324). Despite the replacement of the absolute monarchy with a democratic polity since the 1930 uprising, equality of the democratic ideal has never been a success. Also, the accelerated modernization process of the National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP) also caused economic and social impacts to the Thai grassroots society. Possibly, economic impacts from the imperative social transformation to capitalism urged the Thai population to struggle more in their everyday lives, leading to the dramatic invasion into many historic sites with valuable chedi, sacred places and abandoned wat, which also particularly occurred in the old kingdoms of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya. One way or another, the Thai government in the period of the Cold War and dictatorship period found it necessary to protect these sacred places by decisive legislation of the first FAD's Monument Act in 1961. But it acted much like the outdated 'Three Seals Law' where the hegemonic power was transferred through penalties for damages and invaders.

Although the Monument Act (1961) was amended in 1992, the decisive power to protect the historic site still remains. It could be identified that any change of the registered Ancient Monument must require permission of the FAD's 'Director-General' (FAD, 1989) as seemingly the FAD is the only owner and possessor of entire historic sites (Intharasart, 2003; FAD, 1989; Kanchanakom, 1991). Thus, both the 'Director-General' and the Ancient Monument registration are a cause of the preservation approach thorough time. Possibly, this monopolistic role has generated misunderstanding for the ordinary people that the FAD *can do no wrong* and own all registered Ancient Monuments, including the idea that local people should trust in its conservation roles without any argument (Kanchanakom, 1991: 84-85). Possibly, this legitimacy has also created the FAD's prototype and its organizational culture to believe the same. All registered Ancient Monuments also belong to the FAD and they are seemingly indirect prohibited to local public; finally the law is becoming matrix of the right 'ownership' error.

Focusing on the abandoned wat among their religious communities, most of the members always act in a passive way in preference to the main legitimacies of the FAD and the Office of National Buddhism (ONB) collaborations (Tianprasert, 1999). Most of the Thai population usually trusts and believes that the FAD *must* be responsible and regard all registered sacred monuments with physical sustainability. In fact, the local community, who is the real owner, seems to be *excluded* by the FAD law and FAD's procedure. Relationships between the local people and their abandoned sacred places have been changed and alienated to each other. The error of exclusions may provide for the long-term management, periodic preservation, yearly maintenance and all financial supports *must* be only the responsibility of the FAD alone.

Meanwhile, lack of local participation is also critical, the 'ownership' confusion not only excludes the 'real owner' from their 'heritage', but is also taken in to account with the significant 'value' determination as well. In this view, as a result of the legal state that nobody could own a registered Ancient Monument and most deserted wat usually lack of living conditions, there has arisen a 'gap' between people and their heritage, which has transformed *public areas* (living/abandoned wat) to be *private property* (FAD's Ancient Monument). The gap may provide a lacking of connection between them and finally the loss of ownership awareness as a whole. However, the lack of interconnection is the key that it always exists along with the local people while the abandoned wat does not have meaning to them. While the people just know the value of chedi in history and fine architecture, it lies on the fact that a lack of awareness may lead to the impossibility of achieving sustainable development.

Unfortunately, in some cases the local people have accepted that they not only lack awareness and involvement, but also may have considered that the abandoned wat are unnecessary- 'they could live without their heritage existing' (Intharasart, 2003: 45). Politically, they also believe that:

...the abandoned wat are responsibility of the state sector. The community should not be involved...because the people recognized that they should be following the state sector defined (Intharasart, 2003: 45)

However, this argument could be described to the trace of the present dilemma of political and social viewpoint in many ways. Beyond this, sustainability is impossible to be created from the state and the FAD alone. It needs more local community awareness and ownership as well, as Srisaka Wanlipodom, an important Thai archeologist said that the 'historic sites and artifacts should be considered part of the collective memory and identity of local communities, not the national-state' (Peleggi, 2002: 33).

Conclusion

From an optimistic point of view, the present abandoned wat crisis is reflected in the social circumstance in many ways. An alternative sustainable approach to the problem of the abandoned wat should be incorporated the intangible value such as religious patron and being a sacred place within the decision making process rather than physical improvement alone. The official responsibility and legitimacy that is included in regulations and laws are also critical factors to understand as only the 'tools' of short-term management. The long arguments of this chapter attempt to clarify what the key factors of an unsustainable approach are and how to improve upon them. There is a focus on the limitations of many stakeholders, particularly in the government authorities in the way of organizational efficiency. Social and political prospects are also determined as unsustainable thinking of the Thai society. Also, the most important feature of this chapter is the argument that any religious heritage always belongs to the local community, as only trust and reliance in the official roles is impossible to reach sustainability. Ideally, it might be more effective if the cultural heritage approach leads to sustainable *goals* rather than the day-after-day *limitations* of law, legitimacy, responsibility, lack of personnel and government subsidy as the passive way of thinking.

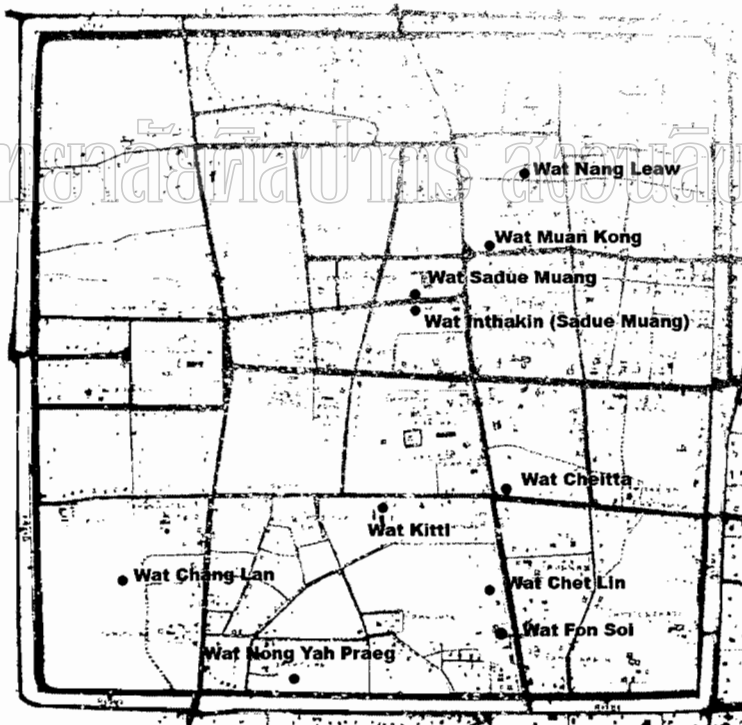
Chapter 6

Towards securing a sustainable future for abandoned wat

Part 2: A sustainable future for wat remains in the ‘abandoned’ categories

The previous chapter attempts to prove that there are ‘unsustainable’ factors in the official limitations and social misunderstandings into the abandoned wat management. To clarify the unsustainable thinking in people’s minds should be the first step. Beyond this, the sustainable solutions are impossible to provide as long as they depend upon the official ‘initiative’ alone: it needs local ‘initiative’ rather than relying only on official agent procedures. Also, there is critical misunderstanding by most people that the Ancient Monuments always belong to the Fine Arts Department alone. Therefore, the way to encourage people to become aware of their ownership of heritage monuments is the main solution base.

Figure10: Mapping of the case studies



Source: This map was adapted from Sodabunlu(2006:138) by the researcher.

Abandoned wat in the educational institutions

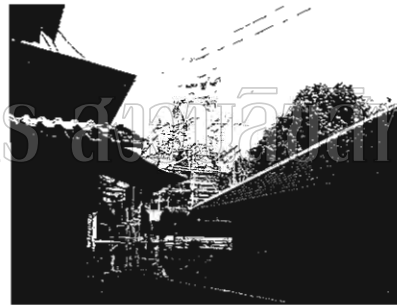
At present, the state's educational plan emphasizes technical knowledge to supply only the industrial section and business firms with the official 'knowledge' without knowledge of the local way of life (TTMP, 2006). A gap in the Thai educational role to find an unsustainable solution regarding heritage monuments is the formal curricula and knowledge in most schools where they are 'alienated' from the everyday life and real experiences of the students. Paradoxically, 'when the local people are connected to the educational system that changes their beliefs into modern knowledge', they usually 'look down on their own community knowledge' (Wright, 2006; Ngamwittayapongsa, 2006: 83). Most of the Thai students study the same basic curricula but never learn about their intellectual ancestors and ethnic sub-cultures (Ngamwittayapongsa, 2006; Charoenmuang, 2004b). The educational impact of the centralized policy has not only failed in raising local cultural awareness but has also made it difficult to assimilate local 'initiative' into heritage protection.

Figure 11: Abandoned wat in educational institutions

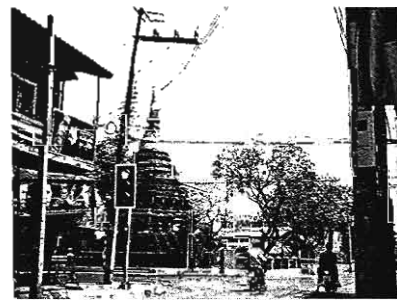
Wat Muan Kong



Wat Nang Leaw (Yuppharat College)



Wat Kitti (Chiang Mai Kindergarten)



Wat Cheitta (Buddhistsophol School)

Source: All photos were taken by the researcher.

Educational roles

In the case of Chiang Mai, the educational impacts first began when the centralized policy was initiated in 1892-1899 and Chiang Mai was united as a province of Siam. Since then, a crucial effect has been the prohibitions against teaching about local history, traditions and the local language that has become a lost connection between educated people and their local knowledge. Recently, despite the state attempting to reform the educational system by the decentralization policy

introduced in the 9th National Economic and Social Development Plan 2002-2006 (NESDP), success has proved elusive. The current 9th- 10th Plan that began to focus on local awareness and political decentralization has encountered several social dilemmas. In 2001, the Ministry of Education employed a policy of local awareness revival, the so-called 'Our Locality' curriculum, which granted permission to create more subjects about local intellectuals, 30% of which to be integrated with the standard curriculum. Unfortunately, this policy has been neglected by the majority of schools due to 'the teachers lack of local knowledge to teach'; and also a belief that the standard curriculum is safer, preferable and better than their own creating (Charoenmuang, 2006: 607; Sapniran, 2006:40). This is a gap in the awareness of Chiang Mai identity that leads to unsustainable heritage in some ways.

-Local awareness curriculum

Since 'education is a process of cultural transmission' and 'the school itself is a cultural site' (Pai and Adler, 2001:8, 16), the crucial roles of the school are included to establish 'behavioral norm' and 'process of socialization' to the young students (Pai and Adler, 2001: 13; Huges and Kroehler, 2005:382). This means that the role of the school to its students is critical in establishing and possibly predicting the future of securing the heritage as well (Prott, 1991 in Mac Lean, 1991). Yupharaj College has an outstanding active role in its local identity curricula. Its 'initiative' is accepted as the pilot project of many regional schools that set the goal of local identity awareness. In brief, there is a ratio of 30:70 between the 'Our Locality' and the standard curriculum that is mostly made up of social study subjects. This curriculum consists of three subjects: Chiang Mai Study; Locality Study; and Yupharaj Study. Three levels of Chiang Mai's identity are provided in both the classroom and the site-survey, particularly in the Locality Study and Yupharaj Study which pay attention to greater understanding of the surrounding places and the old city context. (Prumjit Sukasem, Jiraporn Piriyaapan and Swat Jantalae, the Head of Policy and Planning Section and teachers who teach and constructed the Yupharaj Study and Chiang Mai Study curriculum, interviewed on 21 December 2006). Regarding the Yupharaj Study, this program covers two semesters which focus on knowing about the history of the college and neighboring district communities. Moreover, it achieved the Outstanding Innovation Award 2005 from the government. As Prumjit Sukasem and Surapong Yanasan, the Chief of Policy and Planning Section and Assistant Director of the Yupharaj College, stated, 'to achieve sustainability of the local religious heritage, we must establish young people's awareness...at least so that the youth will not destroy and the sacred beliefs' will still remain (interviewed on 5 January 2007).

The case of Yupharaj College is the good example to the other abandoned wat in schools that they could be adapted to create their own locality curricula in order to secure in the long term, not only to their chedi but also their cultural identity as well.

-Buddhist and local identity learning centers

Most of the chedi remains in schools are usually overlooked by the school management. In fact, the ancient chedi are possibly linked to the educational role by

learning approach. Depending on the point of view, the chedi are not simply out-dated buildings from the past but can 'teach' the students about the present as well. For example, local history, architectural style, engineering techniques, Buddhism, art, design, tourism, and the sacred heritage preservation are all linked to the standard curriculum. The life and continuity of the chedi are maintained not only by religious ritual but also by the cultural resources and knowledge of the schools.

In comparison with other examples, such as Chiang Mai Kindergarten (Wat Kitti) and Buddhistsophol School(Wat Cheitta) in this research, the case of Yupharaj College is the only school that is remarkable in direct activity concerning its own chedi. This place is a good example of enhancing the ancient chedi by educational and learning methods throughout curriculum initiatives. Both Wat Muan Kong and Wat Nang Leaw chedi in the colleges are also included as 'learning centers' and 'educational media' for young researchers to find a greater understanding of their local culture and religious places. For example, the life and continuity are fulfilled by learning activity, the two chedi are taken into account for site-survey, interviewing the neighboring communities for all new students as the group assignment. It aims to interpret the school by presentation, exhibition and sometimes making a brochure for the public. Obviously, the functions of the ancient chedi still remain not only being sacred places but being crucial 'learning sources' for the present educational roles. Two abandoned wat are revived by initiating the new function of learning and altering the everyday perception of the students. Although the 'Yupharaj Study' has only been in practice for two years, it would be a possibility for the sustainable future of chedi in the long-term awareness of the next generation of local people.

Educational institution's sacred places

Generally, the cultural awareness term studying the abandoned chedi is a rare attention of the school's executive administration (Assistant Professor Waralun Boonyasurat, interviewed on 9 January 2007, Department of Thai Art, and Faculty of Fine Arts). All chedi remains in schools are different in several ways: some are preserved whilst others are adapted to serve contemporary functions. They seem to be the only evidence of the authentic identity of Chiang Mai. In this way, the young students, who could be the only hope of a sustainable future, can experience the importance of maintaining the chedi in their school and accumulate cultural awareness of their religious heritage here and now. The most important gap is between 'current' young students and the 'outdated' ancient chedi as the opposition of 'new' and 'old'. Sustainable enhancement of their relationship could form a bridge to connect each other, depending on how to make the chedi familiar and avoiding alienation between them.

-Chedi interpretations

Despite many of Chiang Mai's official schools being situated in abandoned wat properties, only a few schools feel ownership and treat the chedi remains as their sacred heritage. A management conflict occurs here as a critical social misunderstanding states that the Ancient Monument belongs to the Fine Arts

Department and the schools are not necessarily responsible (Tawee Bunmuan, Director of the Buddhist Sophol School, interviewed on 13 November 2006).

In fact, all chedi remains in schools are sacred monuments; they should be managed following a religious approach in order to secure their sustainable futures. For some reason, despite the fact that they are all sacred monuments, possibly different managerial approaches lead to different outcomes. For example, being an ‘Ancient Monument’ of the Fine Arts Department and being a ‘sacred monument’ of the school. Certainly, the ancient chedi in all the schools in this research were registered as Ancient Monuments. Some approaches encourage awareness of the students; others are gradual damaging the chedi’s everyday values. To have or not to have a sustainable future for most ancient chedi cannot be considered on its own but depends on how the ‘current people’ assign significant ‘value’ to them. Learning from the four different managerial approaches of the three schools could provide better ways of thinking about these chedi and how to interpret them to the students.

The chedi as the Ancient Monument: Wat Muan Kong in Yupharaj College



Figure12. The Burmese style chedi of Wat Muan Kong at the main gate of Yupharaj College. These photos were taken by the researcher.

The chedi remains of Wat Muan Kong at the main gate of Yupharaj College is a good example of using the Ancient Monument definition of the FAD as the core managerial approach. The area of the former Wat Muan Kong was developed to be part of the school’s main street, a parking lot for two wheeled vehicles and the latest building. These landscape re-functionings and the construction of a new building legally proceeded under the *Monument Act 1961 (amended 1992)* that any new construction is prohibited from the restricted area by only physical considerations. As well as the other abandoned chedi, its restricted area is minimized to avoid the juxtaposition of contemporary lives without a buffer-zone and intangible value determination. It could be said that the current adaptive reusing of the chedi and its adjacent constructions represent ‘good’ tangible management as well as ‘bad’ intangible management. For example, the two-wheeled parking lot is too close to the chedi; most students may perceive day after day that the ancient chedi area is where their parking lot is situated without any sense of a sacred atmosphere remaining. Although a wooden pavilion is not directly situated to obscure the chedi, it indirectly deteriorates the chedi’s value by landscape site-seeing. Current functions seem to be

the main goal rather than the integration of the chedi's values. Such facilities for the students may be within the legal requirements but they are nevertheless 'invaders' to the chedi, suggesting that zoning management is possibly needed.

As the previous discussions in Chapter Five indicate, this FAD law seems to be the managerial approach for the 'dead monument' without appreciating the chedi's significant value, its sense of sacredness, and its surrounding concern. The chedi remains here seem to be an untouchable 'dead monument' at the main gate of the school rather than the school's sacred monument. Despite being situated in the school, it is still isolated from the students' perceptions and thus remains alienated from the students. This chedi is never truly seen as a sacred monument, as is evident by the students' lack of respect for the monument, and thus it remains a ruin from the past that is never involved with their everyday lives. Also, it relies on the fact that it is impossible for legal definitions to cover everything. If the abandoned wat's remains were seen as a sacred monument and sacred space, the managerial outcomes would be different and possibly no legal protection would be needed.

The chedi as evidence of local myth: the Chiang Mai Kindergarten



Figure13 Chedi of Wat Kitti still remains at the center of the site; it is also emphasized as the school's sacred monument. These photos were taken by the researcher.

The large chedi of the former Wat Kitti still remains in good condition and, being the central monument of the site, is likely to stay in its initial setting. This wat was abandoned during World War II (see appendix) and archeological evidence still remains that has the greatest potential to revitalize (Phrakru Duangtip, an abbot of Wat Mae Tang, interviewed on 3 December 2006). Due to the chedi's location, scale, the fine condition of the remains, and local referent myth, the valuable chedi has been accepted through time as the most important sacred monument of the school. Also, thanks to the good cultural establishment of Kunying Bupan Nimanhaemin, who was an initial principal of this school, there are many school's activities that are usually concerned with the large chedi as the school's most important sacred place. For example, the orientation ceremony for all new students includes making an offering to the chedi and introducing the chedi's myth by the older classes' performances. The ancient chedi that is situated at the center of the school is also emphasized annually on 7 July, the anniversary of the school's establishment, by such rituals as purifying the

chedi, which most students participate in. Many relationships with the chedi are the role model to other schools that are situated in abandoned wat properties following the recent locality revival trend and policy from the central government. (Wantanee Chaiyawongkum and Suphot Sikanta, the Assistant Director and her assistant teacher, interviewed on 14 November 2006; Manat Chuaut, the school's driver, interviewed on 8 November 2006).

Obviously, different managerial approaches to the chedi always lead to different outcomes. The chedi is also emphasized as the identity of this site, not only as a 'Buddhist monument' but as a 'monument of local myth'. There was a light and sound show of the students to present the chedi's local belief to the public. This show was the school initiative and was coordinated with the Chiang Mai Municipality City and Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) on 9-11 December 1991. Although the successful show was only intended for educational benefit and the chedi's periodic restoration, it also stimulated the cultural identity awareness of the local community. As Wantanee Chaiyawongkum and Suphot Sikanta, the director of this performance, Assistant Director of the Chiang Mai Kindergarten, and her assistant teacher, said, 'the best way to achieve sustainable religious properties is through the faith and religious belief solution' (interviewed on 14 November 2006).

Although the chedi is seen as the most important sacred monument that leads to sustainable 'initiatives' in other official schools established in abandoned wat properties, most of the students, officers and teachers do not really pay respect to the chedi when they are passing by. Perhaps the chedi is too emphasized as the 'local myth evidence' from the past about 'Kun Luang Wilanka', the leader of a local tribe who built the large chedi in order to negotiate political power with Queen Chamathevee who ruled this region before Chiang Mai was established. This interpretation to the students year after year potentially overlooks other clearer historical evidence and archeological research. Being the Buddhist monument of Wat Kitti should be interpreted to the students more in the way of the Buddhist wat, historical concerns with nearby communities, and, crucially, should be linked to the present and the students' everyday lives. The next generation should be able to imagine the chedi within the context of future society rather than the large fragment from the past that is already finished and out-dated. In this way, the securing of a sustainable future could be possible.

The chedi as the Buddhist and moral learning center: Wat Nang Leaw of Yupharaj College

According to the creation of the 'Locality Curriculum', the chedi in schools are not only 'learning centers' and 'educational media' but are also 'cultural resources' (Bruner, 1999). Wat Nang Leaw in Yupharaj College is a good example of the transformative function from an ancient abandoned wat into the school's 'learning center' and 'cultural resource'. Life and continuity are fulfilled by the rebuilding of the viharn (Buddha image hall) at the same location and basement of the former wat. The large initial Buddhist statue was completely renovated by adding gold-leaf and enshrining the Buddha's relic as a living sacred place. This new viharn has been

transformed into a Buddhism and moral classroom, the so-called ‘place of the Buddhist doctrines’ to serve contemporary educational functions. In management terms, there is a foundation to maintain this place and Buddhist activity, including the annual Buddhist donation (pha pa) for educational benefits in the name of ‘Wat Nang Leaw’. At present, the chedi is completely restored through the covering of gold-leaf plate and the installing of the ‘chut’ (sacred umbrella) that identifies a living chedi. (Prumjit Sukasem and Surapong Yanasan, interviewed on 5 January 2007)



Figure 14. Wat Nang Leaw in Yupharaj College, before and after the rebuilding of the new viharn. The latest chedi renovation has been completed. These photos were taken by the researcher and from the college’s archive.

This managerial approach is an outstanding ‘initiative’ that is appropriate to secure its sustainable sacred existing. Revitalization into a living wat again seems to be the best chance of protecting any abandoned wat, though a revival into both a ‘sacred place’ and a ‘Buddhist learning center’ in some schools could be another strong possibility. There is no need to revitalize all cases but potential adaptations to the present circumstances, whilst acknowledging the heritage’s significant value, must also be enhanced. Unarguably, this transformative function can be the crucial link between the students and the sacred ‘existence’ of the abandoned wat in schools to lead to a brighter future.

The chedi as a sacred monument: the Buddhist Sophol School



Figure 15 Wat Cheitta at the main gate of the Buddhist Sophol School: there are campaign signs; interpretation signs; and a small playground. The chedi is a monument at an urban junction and has also been designated as the school’s symbol. These photos were taken by the researcher.



In comparison with the other three schools in this research, the case of the Buddhist Sophol School has an outstanding relationship between the sacred chedi and its students. All of the three schools have an ancient chedi and some also have a chedi at the main gate (Wat Muan Kong of Yupharaj College and Wat Cheitta of the Buddhist Sophol School). Surprisingly, it is only at the Buddhist Sophol School that the students always pay respect every time they pass by. From observations, at least two times a day, most of the students pay respect through a 'wai' (Buddhist salute) to the chedi at the main gate as the school's sacred place and for auspiciousness. There is also a two-sided sign in the chedi zone that asks people to, 'pay respect to the chedi and ask for auspiciousness before going to the classroom/home', which identifies the chedi and this area as a sacred zone. Possibly, if the chedi still maintains its religious belief as an initial sacred place, particularly in the young students' minds, the chedi could survive as long as its sacred condition exists. This chedi has also been emphasized as the most important sacred building since the school was established (see appendix). Moreover, the chedi has been designated as the school's symbol. To the present day, the teachers and administrators realize that the school is situated in the former wat and it must be respected. As the Director of the Buddhist Sophol School said, 'the chedi is a monument of worship, every time one enters the school, one must pay respect first' (Tawee Bunmuan, interviewed on 13 November 2006).

In fact, whatever is the case of Yupharaj College, Chiang Mai Kindergarten and the Buddhist Sophol School, all of their chedi remains are truly 'sacred' religious heritages, not only 'Ancient Monuments'. Methods to secure a sustainable future should be based on their 'sacred condition' rather than only legal definitions. A lesson from both approaches is very simple and should be set as a guideline for development: if the chedi was constructed to be a sacred building, its 'sacred condition' should be a main key of managerial approach and development. This is an intangible approach that should be more integrated with normal tangible approach.

Abandoned wat among the poor communities

Unfortunately, both policymakers and local people often misunderstand that the lack of economic capabilities, such as low income, unemployment and job opportunities are only the keys to practical solutions. Also, with the standard of living in urban areas, a lot of slums always exist alongside the arrival of urbanization and modernization. Numerous 'ordinary people' living in agricultural communities in rural areas, inevitably become 'poor people' when moved to urban areas through the impact of modernization (National Housing Authority and Chiang Mai University, 2006). Living in 'slums' is the lowest investment needed to survive in the high cost of living in any city. 'Officially, they do not exist.' (UN-HABITAT, 2003:6)

Living in the sacred space

In the case of Chiang Mai's urban area, a large number of poor people migrated to the city for better opportunities after the 1st National Economic and Social Development Plan 1961-1966 until Chiang Mai became the northern pole in the 4th NESDP 1974-1978, a role that continues into the present Plan. Most of the abandoned

wat properties were gradually invaded for lowest investment, becoming habitations as several complex slums. While most abandoned wat properties were occupied and unable to supply more migrations in the period of the 4th Plan, this phenomenon implies that many abandoned wat properties in the old city were rapidly changing in both physical and spiritual condition. A focal point is, although they may have already installed electric systems and household's numbers, they still lack the right of possessions and ownership of their land and properties (National Housing Authority and Chiang Mai University, 2006). Over time, throughout the last 30-40 years, most of Chiang Mai's initial slums have gradually developed into the 'poor communities' of today, following the better standard of living and socio-economic circumstances. The majority of the dwellers resettled for a long time, most stayed at least 20 years and still remain the first generation of invaders (Daoruang Tavorn and Jarapong Sittichai, leader of Muan Nhien Kong Community and her husband, interviewed on 3 December 2006). However, at present, there are around 39 slums situated in the urban area, which includes 35 communities located in the area of the Office of National Buddhism's jurisdiction (National Housing Authority and Chiang Mai University, 2006: 39, 44).

Figure 16 Abandoned wat among the poor communities



Source: All photographs were taken by the author

-Zoning management

According to many poor communities in the abandoned wat properties, there is a critical dilemma for policymakers within their solution approaches that is usually overlooked. As Emile Durkheim noted, 'religion is centered in beliefs and practices that are related to sacred as opposed to profane things' (Huge and Kroehler, 2005: 368). Everyday lives without control leads to the indirect deterioration of the sense of sacredness and finally results in the permanent vanishing of heritage. The complex of poor families has not only invaded the abandoned wat properties, but also with significant value, the sense of sacredness and the existence of the sacred sphere as well. Those properties are never sustained as sacred places but inevitably support contemporary reusing. This phenomenon had never occurred in Lanna history before the period of centralization and modernization and is possibly the root cause of the

following present paradoxes and dilemmas. Accepting this, the revival of Lanna culture and customs, and the so-called ‘kud’ that typically distinguishes between the ‘sacred’ and the ‘profane’ zone should be integrated into current policies. If the profane is normally interpreted as ‘everyday’ lives, ‘routine life’, ‘ordinary experience’ and ‘common place’; but the sacred refers to ‘extraordinary’, ‘mysterious’, ‘merit-making’ and ‘spiritual experience’, then the possible way to compromise and maintain both in the same place is through *zoning management* (Huge and Kroehler, 2005; Nel and Ferre, 1963; Berger, 1967).

The zoning management of the ancient chedi and the community living consists of the ‘residential zone’ and the ‘sacred zone’ which should be entirely distinguishable but linked by religious faith. This process does not only enhance the physical aspects such as the landscape, basic infrastructures and the condition of living, but also increases the intangible value of the sacred atmosphere and the relationship between the community and the ancient chedi. In this way, both the ancient chedi of Wat Nong Yah Praeg and Wat Chang Lan have similar characteristics. They are located in the center of the community, hidden from public participation, and already enclosed in order to prevent residential activities by the official agents (see appendix). Therefore, the ways to improve the sacred zone are dependent upon being able to link both chedi to public participation, regenerating the order of the sacred/residential zone, and defining its buffer zone for the long-term management.

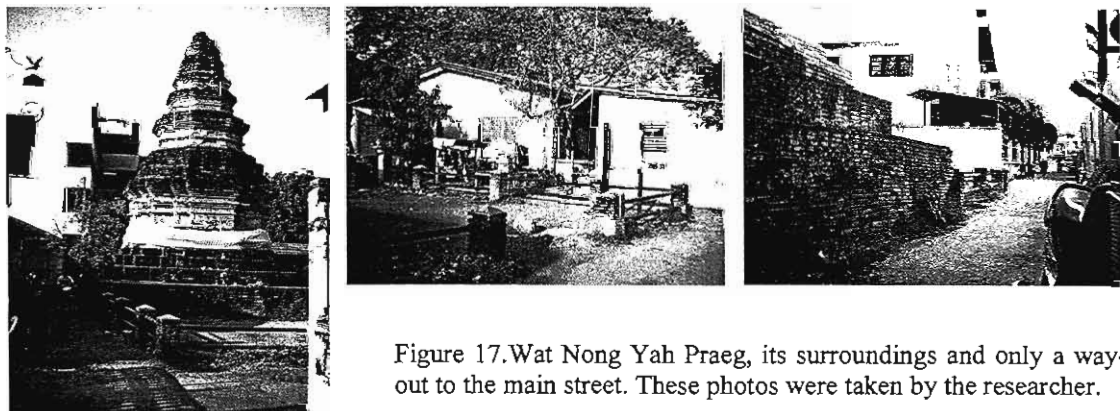


Figure 17. Wat Nong Yah Praeg, its surroundings and only a way-out to the main street. These photos were taken by the researcher.

According to the public participation solution, the greatest weakness is that the chedi are usually obscured and hidden in many ways. The gap between the ancient chedi and the public should be lessened. Most of the abandoned wat in poor urban communities should be actively exposed to raise public awareness as much as possible. For example, the chedi of Wat Nong Yah Praeg should be presented more to the public by removing the commercial buildings and allocating it as a public space following the former wat context. There are also a lot of inappropriate constructions in this area, such as higher adjacent and set-back buildings from the heritage monument. Lacking effective and active local regulations to control such construction is also a critical problem. Possibly, if these inappropriate conditions are more exposed to the public, local people and the wider public will gain more opportunities to learn,

discuss, and increase their religious heritage awareness. This process would probably lead to better legislation and a sustainable solution in the future.

Also with the case of Wat Chang Lan, this site is similar to other abandoned wat in the urban area, in that they are typically located behind the modern buildings, hidden away in small communities, and usually lacking the promotion and accessibility due to 'cultural treasures'. Tourism mapping may be a possible solution that brings the public to visit the sites rather than simply removing contemporary buildings. As a result, the old Chiang Mai city is usually promoted by the TAT as a 'touristy city', creating new tourist destinations which are possibly mapped and networked as 'clues' in the way of 'treasure hunts' for specific and educated tourists who love to investigate local history by site-seeing. (Sittipong Wongsombun, owner of the Northern Smile Travel, interviewed 20 December 2006) These active roles intend to stimulate not only local awareness but also wider public accessibility. When these poor communities are acknowledged in the public perception, it not only enhances the significance of their sacred heritage, but also their quality of life, since the level of crime, especially drug dealing and robberies, falls as a consequence.

Next to the zoning management and buffer zone defining, the way to reallocate the physical orders of the 'sacred zone' and 'residential zone' should start at the ancient chedi. Despite both ancient chedi being covered by the *Monument Act 1961 (amended 1992)*, it is inadequate for securing a sustainable future. The policymaker should look beyond this law by setting the limit for construction further back from the chedi and defining the appropriate 'buffer zone' between the chedi and the residential zone. At present, the case of Wat Nong Yah Praeg is in the process of landscape and infrastructure improvement by co-ordination between the community and the Ban Mun Kong project of the Community Organization Development Institution (Public Organization) (CODI). The Wat Chag Lan community is also in the process of collecting funds and proposing the development scheme to the CODI. Readjustments of the basic infrastructures, the order of habitual residences, the set-back and the buffer-zone are also included to physically improve the area by planning specialists. When the physical conditions of poor communities are improved and the zoning of the sacred and the residential zone are clearer, including the sites are being more opened to public awareness, then securing a sustainable future for the two ancient chedi could be possible.

Community empowerment

Unarguably, the way to a sustainable future of the ancient chedi is to view the situation through their communal living. As in other cases of the invasion of public property, the right of possession is the core issue of the dilemma. The gap in the relationship between the members of the poor community and their ancient chedi occurs here and leads to the current unsustainable circumstances. Generally, most of the poor families are illegally dwelling like the invaders in the past: even though there are presently annual rentals to the Chiang Mai Buddhism Office, they usually lack payments and investigations (Kom Chad Luek, 2007). They also realize that they have no right to possess their land properties in the way of temporary living and so must

probably leave someday. The poor people are forced to live in these areas because of the lower cost of living within the urban sources of jobs and schools (National Housing Authority and Chiang Mai University, 2006). Subconsciously, their everyday lives are full of anxiety and their communities never become really permanent communities, only temporary communities for job opportunities. If right of possession is the root of the problem, an indirect way to make them sustainable should start here. The only condition of entire poor communities in the abandoned wat properties is that they never want to leave their residential surroundings (Daorung Tavorn and Jarapong Sittichai, interviewed 3 December 2006).

-Right of land possession

The best community empowerment is encouraging the community's members to solve the problem by their own capability; they need a 'supporter' rather than a 'director' from the external organizations (Bamrungranya, 2006: 118, 125; Lister, 2004; Giddens, 1984). Practically, the project of Ban Mun Kong is a good example of community empowerment following the bottom-up initiative. The most outstanding aspect is that it focuses on a sustainable solution to the right of land possession by the community base of initiative and possibility. The Ban Mun Kong (constant home) is a project of the Community Organization Development Institution (Public Organization) (CODI), that works as an agent between the community and official procedures to develop the basic infrastructures and quality of life in the poor community and slums. This organization also allows members of the community to create a development scheme for housing loans (low interest) as the group cooperation. The conditional approval usually depends on the group's financial capacity, leader and cooperative system that intend to increase the community awareness of ownership and initiative. Design and planning with landscape, infrastructure installation and architectural development are also included in the organization's roles. Despite the right of possession in the Abandoned Wat Deed, the installation of the official public facilities is so complicated that it is virtually impossible. The main role of the Ban Mun Kong is to attempt to find a compromise and act sympathetically towards this dilemma by being the agent for the long-term possession contract with the Office of National Buddhism. It could be said that this project intends to directly influence slum development, changing slums and poor communities into standard communities. (Fahsai Siraprapa, the Chiang Mai CODI staff, interviewed 4 January 2007)

At present, both groups of Wat Nong Yah Praeg and Wat Chang Lan have already submitted their development schemes to the CODI but, during this research period, only the case of Wat Nong Yah Plag has been approved. The ancient chedi of this community is situated between two groups of the community- the western and the eastern group. In the future, the 30 households of the eastern group will be regenerated, provided with basic infrastructures, and improved by landscaping to offer better protection against the frequent flooding in the rainy season (leader of the eastern group of the Nong Yah Plag Community, interviewed November 2006). Although the eastern group seems to suffer more from poverty and having a lower physical condition and quality of life than the western group, the success of group

cooperation and the better quality of life in the future might be a role model to the eastern group and the others to gain more confidence and awareness of their own capability to form initiatives. Possibly, while the community's members feel a sense of 'ownership' from their permanent living in the abandoned wat property, not only their residential environment could be improved but also the chedi may gain better maintenance and an initiative towards preservation by the dwellers. The sense of ownership could be realized in both private and public property, including the poor community and its chedi in a two-sided relationship. If the ancient chedi are taken into account with the everyday lives of the community then a sustainable future could be possible.

Community initiative

Another paradox of the poor communities in the abandoned wat properties is that 'the poorest people are always the most aware and the greatest believers in religion' (Chatsuman, 2007: 65). Even though poor people lack the economic capacity, they have strong beliefs and faith. Most of the poor communities that are occupying the former wat's lands still have faith in Buddhism and merit-making. Particularly with the elder people, there are still examples of occasional offerings and everyday respect. From many interviews, members of the poor communities are never satisfied with their community's condition and need to improve the earlier chedi, both physically and in the sense of being the sacred place of the community (an unknown member of the Nong Yah Plag Community, interviewed on 25 November 2006; Daoruang Tavorn and Jarapong Sittichai, interviewed 3 December 2006). Hence, the Buddhist root in sacred space and people's minds is a choice. The best possibility in this case is the special approach which makes the sense of sacredness and the sacred atmosphere endless. Possibly, the 'life and continuity' of a sustainable relationship between the community's members and the sacred chedi leads to a truly 'sacred place' in the community rather than simply an Ancient Monument, which represents the dead monument under shades of the social misunderstanding and the FAD. How and what are the key factors to make it real?

One possible way is demonstrated by the success of the Wat Chang Lan case, where it was able to initiate improvement of its chedi remnant and become the community's sacred place. In comparison with Wat Nong Yah Praeg, the condition of the historic chedi and the quality of life are lower. The remains of the chedi are only a masonry base without a prominent history or clear reference. Included within this area used to be a small wat belonging to a nobleman which was difficult to access, making this wat and its chedi frequently overlooked and 'abandoned' by the FAD, academic researchers and even the Chiang Mai people. Throughout its history, the historic chedi has never been restored and excavated; there are only local myths and interviews to identify its existence. In 2006, before the landscape improvement, the physical condition of the ancient chedi was critical; the chedi area seemed to be a place for recycling garbage and it was difficult to differentiate. There was a serious invasion of the adjacent shelters and the chedi was becoming a mere part of the poor communal living environment. This can describe the condition of the defeated historic monument which has been overcome by the residential zone in the same land.

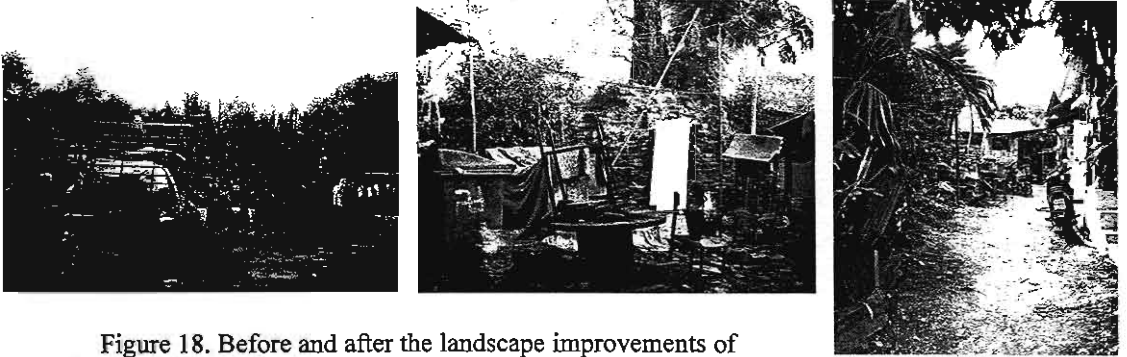
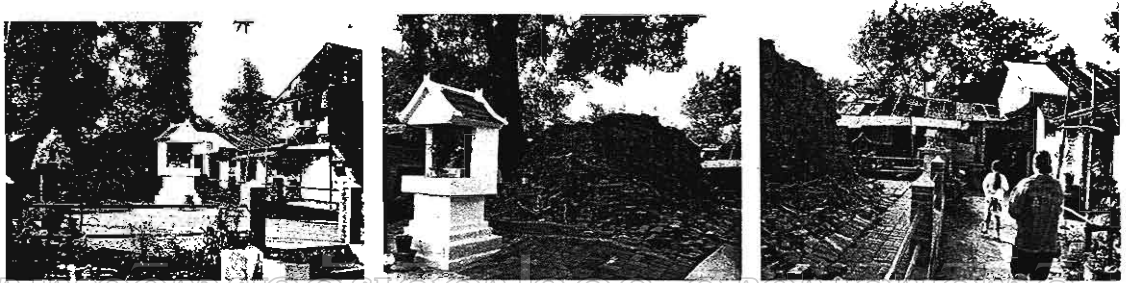


Figure 18. Before and after the landscape improvements of Wat Chang Lan in March 2006- present. These photos were taken by the researcher.



In fact, this condition represents two faces of the same coin: the isolation and neglect from the public and the official perceptions, particularly with the FAD's role. They also stimulated the members of this small community to realize that the way to improve the ancient chedi's landscape could not be delayed for external contributions. After one last chance, the chedi would possibly be ruined and finally vanish permanently if the community's members were still passive. Finally, the community 'initiative' for landscape improvements was embodied not only in the chedi but also with its public facilities as well. Focusing on the chedi's regeneration, the best thing they could do to contribute towards securing a sustainable future for their heritage is initiating something for their heritage rather than simply waiting for the FAD's legitimacy. When they became aware of this, the following process of practical solution was reached by seeking donations for the project. Lack of financial support was the greatest obstacle in every process. In this case, the FAD was the 'supporter' and 'tool' of the community's committee, offering technical assistance, design and approval. The way of thinking about the ruined chedi is very simple: first, it is necessary to enclose the chedi as a restricted area to avoid negative impacts from the adjacent dwellings; the next step is to preserve the chedi with the cooperation of the FAD. Although this way to enclose the historic monument was influenced by other significant chedi's protections, such as Wat Cheitta and Wat Nong Yah Plag, the case of Wat Chang Lan was able to achieve the same goal through only the capability and possibility of their financial status. The community's leader also believed that 'if the chedi is in a better condition, then good maintenance will naturally follow' (Daoruang Tavorn and Jarapong Sittichai, interviewed 3 December 2006).

- The Buddhist follower's approach

The outstanding feature of this community is the view that the chedi is a 'sacred place', not a general Ancient Monument like the others. Possibly, this community initiative could never have arisen without the leadership and vision of Daoruang Tavorn, the leader of Muan Nhien Kong Community in which the Wat Chang Lan Community is also included. Certainly, she and the members of her community are Buddhists, and the Buddhist views about their ruined chedi are different from the FAD and scholars, who insist that the chedi is the remains of the former wat and not a dead monument. She and her husband said that:

Wat and religious buildings always need people to stay and maintain them. The best way for sustainability is having a wat and monk... if there is no monk here, it should be replaced by the villagers... We want the chedi to be a wat again; we pity the chedi (Daoruang Tavorn and Jarapong Sittichai, interviewed 3 December 2006).

Even the views from the leader and Buddhists are straightforward but profound in management approach. To be precise, if this is a religious place, all concerned should be viewed in a religious light. It also needs sacred methods to maintain its sacred condition. Transformation from a 'ruined chedi' into a 'community's sacred place' is identified by some typical symbols of the Lanna wat that are installed in the viharn and on the Buddhist statue. The viharn, which is always situated in front of the chedi, is also minimized but emphasizes the Buddhist statue inside. Although this place is not a living wat that has a monk, the characteristics of a wat are fulfilled by the religious activities of the community's members. Another reason to improve the community's sacred place is because people in the community usually have no time to participate in nearby religious activities; this allows them the opportunity to participate in religious activities in their own community instead (Daoruang Tavorn and Jarapong Sittichai, interviewed 3 December 2006).

Also in the view of the policymakers is the possibility that community initiative could be learnt from the simple ways of the commoners, Buddhism and also the leader's vision. Although the leader of the Wat Chang Lan community's methods are simple, they always keep *active* roles. Since a lack of awareness is the greatest barrier to initiative establishment, encouraging people to be prouder of their community might be the first thing to do. In this way, Daoruang Tavorn attempted to bring her community to wider public attention by participating in the 'Trees in Communities' project. This conservation project is a narrative within a photograph competition which is designed to enhance the important trees in various communities. Fortunately, the large old tree (at least 80 years old) at the chedi remnant of Wat Chang Lan won the first prize award in 2006 so that not only the Chiang Mai people could 'see' this community clearer, but all the members of the community have also become 'award winners' which in turn leads to a greater awareness of their communal identity.

Another success of the management term is using religion to seek of funds for the project and a way to collaborate with the poor people. Lacking the financial support seems to be the crucial factor in the success and quality of any project. The case of Wat Chang Lan was a particular group rather than the national and high significant heritage. As its significant value is low, the incentives from the official

organizations were seemingly impossible. Most of the project's funds were collected from donations (pa-pha for Wat Chang Lan) religious followers in nearby communities. These 'pa-pha' for the abandoned wat imply that being a wat, in the view of followers, it will always be a sacred place and never a dead monument.

Last of all, what we can learn from this case is, the path to success involves uncountable solutions in both direct and indirect ways. Successful projects need the local people to satisfy not only the leader or the policymaker; the best way to improve a home is letting the owner do it himself.

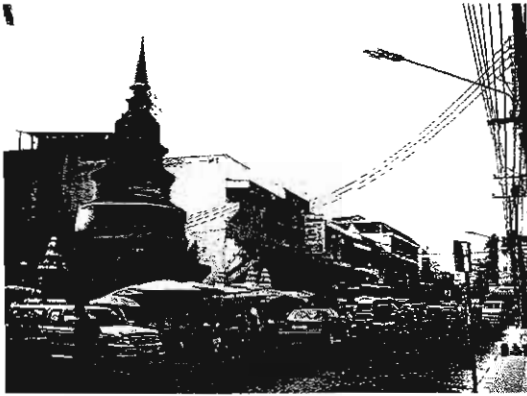
Abandoned wat in the Buddhist revitalization process

As previously stated, the abandoned wat in Chiang Mai urban areas are in various different circumstances. For sustainability, long-term management is crucial and usually concerns the 'renewal of the physical fabric' and 'active economic use', only focusing on tangible development. This is not enough, as it needs to include public awareness and social participation (Tiedell et al.196: 18). In this way, the role of the local Buddhist organization is crucial. The Boromathat Doi Suthep Foundation is a Buddhist organization with many roles, one of which is the revitalization of the abandoned wat in Chiang Mai. The key person is Phrathepworasithajarn, the present abbot of the Wat Phratat Doi Suthep. The organization was founded on 26 March 2001 and has already revitalized ten wat in both urban and distant districts. Many public donations and Wat Phratat Doi Suthep's activities are the organizational funds used to contribute to local Buddhist and educational activities (Northern Post, 2001). For example, recent renovation project of the Wat Nang Leaw chedi and the construction of the 100th Anniversary Building of Yupharaj College benefited in this way, as did the case of landscape improvement at Wat Chang Lan, when the community's leader stated that, 'if our funds from donations are not enough, we may ask for a contribution from the Boromathat Doi Suthep Foundation' (Daoruang Tavorn and Jarapong Sittichai, interviewed on 3 December 2006). Potentially, these religious projects could provide another *active* 'possibility' of the local Buddhist networking that is different from only the Fine Arts Department and the Office of National Buddhism's *passive* roles in making a sustainable future for the abandoned wat.

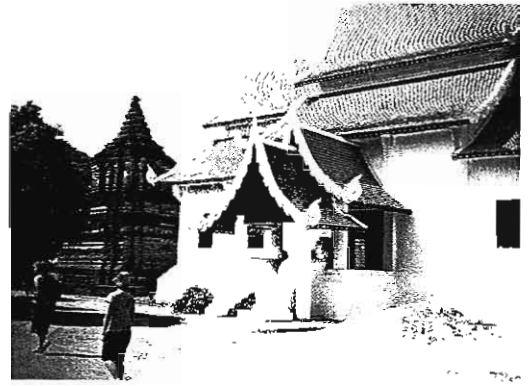
Typically, the view of the official agencies regarding the land of abandoned wat is that they are 'public properties' that must make a profit for the state. On the other hand, the view of the local Buddhist organization is that they are 'sacred properties' that must sustain their sacred value for the survival of Buddhism. Particularly with the followers and patrons, they always require revitalization for the abandoned wat (Phramaha Arthit Artipanyo, abbot of Wat Inthakin(Sadurmuang), interviewed 11November 2006). The main objective of the Boromathat Doi Suthep Foundation includes the concern that the inappropriate conditions of many 'sacred properties' cause depression to Buddhists and this needs to be improved, in order to avoid becoming sources of crime, robberies, slums and drugs. As Boontham Yosbuth, the secretary of the foundation, pointed out 'these properties should be revitalized into living wat again and have the monks preserve and sustain the religious heritage; it is

the responsibility of the priesthood to manage them' (interviewed 11 November 2006; Phramaha Wisanu Jarudhammo, abbot of Wat Chet Lin, interviewed on the same day).

Figure 19 Abandoned wat in the process of revitalization.



Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang)



Wat Chet Lin

Source: These photographs were taken by the researcher.

Strengths and weaknesses

Any solution approaches are two faces of a coin. Certainly, the revitalization role of the Boromathat Doi Suthep Foundation is praised by local Buddhist networks. Although the revitalization of any abandoned wat seems to be the best way of securing a sustainable future, it is also criticized by academic scholars. Why? Does this approach really contribute to sustainability?



Figure 20. Before and after the Buddhist renovation and the 'sacred umbrella' of the Wat Chet Lin chedi. These photos were taken by the researcher.

Not all abandoned wat can be revitalized; they need something more for long-term management. The remarkable strength of the foundation is the 'active role' and the 'compromise method' of the local Buddhist organization in terms of contemporary management. This 'active role' always focuses on two main strategies: the 'revitalization possibility' and the 'compromise method'. The possibility of revitalization depends on the economic and patronage aspect. The economic

possibility may provide all factors that would bring responsive profitability to the revitalized wat, such as good location, prominent chedi remains, or relevant local history. Although the foundation claimed that the most inappropriate circumstances are prioritized, they are never small or common wat. The patronage possibility is crucial and concerns the new roles of the revitalized wat. For example, Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) has been revitalized and has made progress with its new role of being a 24-hour cultural center to support tourism, including having the monks describe local traditions in English to foreign tourists (Boontham Yosbuth, interviewed 11 November 2006). In the future, the revitalized wat will probably need not only local but also wider public patronage. The Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) case also includes the active role of Buddhist broadcasting (FM 96.0 MHz.) at its office as the foundation's voice to wider Buddhist networks as the contemporary faith fulfillment. In the view of the foundation, these possibilities are needed for the sustainability of the revitalized wat. They are further advanced from the conditions of the Office of National Buddhism (ONB) that requires only a definite number of patrons and location determination. For the current situation, sometimes the patrons and the followers may be seen as religious 'markets' and 'customers' that need an active strategy for controlling.

The 'compromise method' is another characteristic of the foundation's efforts. It is crucial in concerning people, particularly in the right of land possession of Wat Chet Lin in this research. This site is a significant wat in Chiang Mai's history and was taken over by residential invaders. Although these households were not all poor, even some of the middle-class lacked a good quality of life and some had no right of possession at all. Many 'benefits' in these possessions are critical to the revitalization process as removing both buildings and dwellers is the inevitable choice. In the Boromathat Doi Suthep Foundation's view, conflicts resulting from 'beneficial' possessions could be resolved by 'beneficial' compensations as a win-win situation. Despite most of the residences being illegal and therefore being no need to compensate for removing, the foundation proposes market-price payments and negotiation with all households (600,000-1,000,000 baht/household) (Phramaha Wisanu Jarudhammo, interviewed 11 November 2006). Although this sympathetic method has such a high investment, it has proved very successful and most of the 10-20 households have already been removed, with only 3-4 households remaining in the area. Finally, Wat Chet Lin has been revitalized into a living wat again without any contestations.

Another case is the revitalized Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) that has been critical in reaping nearby commercial benefits. The large Buddhist statue and chedi are situated beside the same street as the commercial buildings, and since the revitalization process needs to enlarge the viharn following the original basement into the street, the street had to be closed. There were some contestations about losing the commercial benefits so that finally the wat committee decided to enlarge only 1.5 meters into the street in order to keep one lane open for street circulation (Boontham Yosbuth, interviewed 11 November 2006). This compromise is based on a gradual strategy; more faith in public awareness is needed, and when the public awareness is fulfilled, enlarging to the original scale or even closing the street may be possible

(Phramaha Arthit Artipanyo, interviewed 11 November 2006). Avoiding any future contestation is the best way forward for all revitalization processes.



Figure 21. Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) on an official day, Sunday walking street, and its office. These photos were taken by the researcher.

On the other face of the same coin, there also are critics of this revitalization process in various ways. Focusing on only Wat Chet Lin and Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) in this research, they suggest that the ‘patronage aspect’ and the ‘academic preservation aspect’ are the two greatest weaknesses.

Sustainable solutions for the weaknesses

The ‘patronage aspect’ is the key factor in all revitalizations that is able to identify a sustainable future for all living wat. Transformation from an ‘abandoned wat’ into a ‘living wat’ inevitably requires its patrons to make it living. In traditional society, a living wat is centered and patronized by its religious community. In the Boromathat Doi Suthep Foundation’s view, the current religious patrons are both local and wider public patronages. A larger scale of public participation is preferred for a sustainable future. Many new active roles are assigned to the revitalized wat according to the contemporary circumstances. In the case of Wat Chet Lin that is situated near a couple of wat in the same district, the local patrons are constant, it tends to require the wider public patronages or occasional merit-makings from other regions to survive rather than the nearby communities. These patronages are different from the traditional Buddhist society. As the abbot pointed out, ‘today we can stand on our own feet’ (Phramaha Arthit Artipanyo, interviewed 11 November 2006).

The Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) case is also situated in a good location and pays attention to tourism and being an interpretation center. In terms of the conflicts of land and heritage developments, these factors might be difficult to form a consensus with the conservative groups and nearby residences: ‘surely, the owners of the food businesses at the commercial buildings would not patronize this wat’ (Assistant Professor Woralun Bunyasurat, interviewed 9 January 2007; Warawut Chantamolee, an owner of Doktalom Décor in the old city, interviewed 1 December 2006). The different ‘beneficial goal’ of the wat and owners of the food businesses should be better interpretation to each other.

Both cases could be identified as a ‘gap’ between a wat and its nearby community that is overlooked and possibly resulting in the ‘alienation’ of each other.

Lack of 'ownership' by the local communities makes it difficult to create a sense of 'awareness' about the upcoming living wat. Nowadays, the nearby communities of Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) have reached a medium level of satisfaction (Suwalee Wongkongkheew, Head of Supplement and City Development Affairs, Chiang Mai Municipality City, interviewed 8 November 2006). The revitalized wat should equally belong to both nearby communities and public patronage, the emphasis being that a 'wat of the community' should receive greater contributions (Earwsriwong, 2007b). As Somsak Wiriyasakulthong, Acting Chief of the Religious and Cultural Supplementary Section of Chiang Mai Municipality City, pointed out, 'the wealthy people do not really think about religious affairs...the poor commoners are usually the people who make merit at their nearby wat: this group is whom the wat should be made sustainable for'(interviewed 13 November 2006)

The 'academic preservation aspect' of wider scholars seems to be the weakest point of the foundation's process. As a result of this, the *Regulation on Ancient Monument/Site Conservation 1985* was adapted and based on the Venice Charter (1964)(Apichat Suwan, an FAD's conservator, interviewed on 11 October 2007; Akagawa and Tiamsoon, 2005). Both focus on securing the 'authenticity' of the heritage monument so that the renewal and rebuilding should avoid the authentic scale and differentiate all 'new' materials from the original. Therefore, rebuilding the viharn is inevitably means erecting it larger or smaller than the original basement. As well lacking evidence of architectural style, the new buildings are also designed following the current style and materials. The lack of investigation into the original style of the viharn is crucial and leads to unsatisfactory proportions between the original chedi and its new viharn (Dr.Duangjan Arpawachrut Charoenmuang, The Social Research Institution, Chiang Mai University, interviewed 18 December 2006).

Focusing on the case study, the new viharn of Wat Chet Lin has already been constructed in the Lanna revival style that is too large and diminishes the original chedi. In the case of the new viharn of Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang), the original basement was situated in the street, making it impossible to rebuild larger without closing the street. The smaller scale of the new viharn is designed in the Lanna revival style as well. Potentially, these new buildings could lead to the distortion of history, the historic monument, and the wrong preservation prototype for other cases. These unsatisfactory academic preservations may also lead to quantitative revitalization and continuing the faith of the local people through future generations, particularly amongst the educated people.

Although both of these new viharn were designed by a remarkable Chiang Mai architect and all the revitalization process is legal, in the way of academic preservation, they should be further investigated as much as possible concerning the base of the authentic style and material. The revitalization process probably aims to ensure the 'survival of Buddhism' by making it into a living wat again as soon as possible. However, the weakness is that the economic approach seems to be preferred to the religious approach which always requires public participation (Dr.Duangjan Arpawachrut Charoenmuang, interviewed 18 December 2006). If all abandoned wat belong to the local Chiang Mai people and Buddhist followers, then more local voices

should participate in the revitalization of them. Projects such as the design competition for the new viharn style, the coordination with the local Buddhist network, inviting the nearby food businesses owners to become involved in policymaking, and specialists from the local universities could be accepted (Ounjijin, 2006). Local participatory voices in the policymaking of the significant religious monastery could lead to clearer demands of the patrons and direction of the public roles. Sustainability of the sacred chedi has never arisen from only the legal definitions and economic approach but should be integrated with public participation to secure and enhance its sacredness in the future.

Abandoned wat in the commercial zone

As Sigmund Freud said, ‘everything religious is sacred’ (1939:120), including the ruined chedi of the former Wat Fon Soi at what is presently a local market. This area of the original chedi and viharn of Wat Fon Soi was revitalized in 1938 to become another nearby wat of the same name (an abbot of the present Wat Fon Soi, interviewed 12 November 2006; see appendix). Transformation from the ‘sacred area’ into a ‘commercial zone’ is another dilemma of the abandoned wat in Chiang Mai. The views of the people concerned are crucially needed to determine the site development. This district is the Chiang Mai Gate Market, the only remains of the traditional morning market (only 4-10 a.m.) in the old city (Srinoisai, 2007). Also, the dilemma in this area is similar to other cases that lack awareness and ownership, including the way of not thinking about the chedi as a living sacred place. The present abbot of Wat Fon Soi noted in the same way that some local voices claim that the chedi belongs to the Fine Arts Department (FAD) (the abbot and Srimon Morakotwichtkarn, the owner of a retail-shop opposite the chedi, interviewed 12 November 2006). In fact, the ruined chedi is in the possession of the revived Wat Fon Soi under the wat committee. In addition, the FAD focuses only on physical strengthening to ensure the survival of heritage but sustainability is the integrative role of all stakeholders and that is more complex. This is a basic factor that makes it difficult to succeed in sustainable development, not only in this case, but also with most of the abandoned wat in unsustainable circumstances.

Negotiation between the ‘profitable’ zone and the ‘sacred’ zone

After World War II, the chedi area was unoccupied but has recently been regenerated for residential and commercial buildings profitability, and the ruined chedi has also recently been enclosed by official agents (Srimon Morakotwichtkarn, interviewed 12 November 2006; see appendix). The territory of the present Wat Fon Soi, which includes the ruined chedi, covers the main street shop-houses to a small commercial stall that is adjacent to the chedi. Another dilemma in this case is that Wat Fon Soi’s committee usually focuses on profitability via an ‘economic approach’ that always overlooks the multifaceted aspects of the religious monument. This committee is comprised of the former abbot and the community’s members, who together manage the wat’s beneficial area. Unarguably, the managerial approach always reflects the way of thinking about the ruined chedi that leads to different outcomes. The present abbot pointed out, ‘the old chedi is not related to the new wat’, whilst the former abbot pointed out that ‘we planned to restore the chedi in Wat Fon Soi and

then restore the ruined chedi at the market as the next step' (the present abbot, interviewed on 12 November 2006; Wichai Kantasri, a former abbot, interviewed on 10 February 2008) Obviously, the ruined chedi seems to be a lost connection to the present Wat Fon Soi and its people. Almost all of the former wat area is excluded and alienated to the present wat, local community and the Chiang Mai Gate Market. It could be said that the abandoned wat remains are encountered by the 'commercial invaders' everyday.



Figure 22. Before and after the building of a new commercial stall, and the nearby chedi of Wat Fon Soi revival, possibly this is the original style of the earlier ruined chedi. These photos were taken by the researcher.

Therefore, the social misunderstanding about the FAD and the relative 'gap' between the chedi and local people would possibly be lessened by a greater emphasis on the chedi as a 'sacred place' and landscape improvements and faith fulfillment to create the appropriate condition and atmosphere of a sacred place. Improving the condition of the sacred place is necessarily the first managerial step because it could bring more religious faith to the local people. If a 'sacred place' is interpreted as a 'sacred place', not only a 'ruined chedi' or an 'Ancient Monument', this way of thinking may lead to better maintenance, management and a solution regarding religious heritage.

-Zoning management

Like the cases of Wat Nong Yah Praeg and Wat Cheitta, the chedi enclosure is minimized to avoid everyday physical invasions from the surrounding situation. Although this method of basic zoning is based on the Ancient Monument definition, it does not adequately cover the significant values of the religious place. The religious term always needs to concern more people. The most important point is, the sense of sacredness and the sacred atmosphere that basically lead to faith fulfillment, are overlooked. At present, the commercial stall is the most obvious inappropriate building. This area used to be a house but was then removed to be a small market this year by the Wat Fon Soi committee. Although the height of the new adjacent building was approved by the Fine Arts Department (FAD), these managerial methods are inadequate to maintain a sustainable future (Wichai Kantasri, interviewed 10 February 2008; Pornapa Wongsurit, 11 February 2008). Unfortunately, this construction also critically obscures and deteriorates the significant values of the chedi and its landscape site-seeing. Unarguably, this is a confrontation between the 'commercial invaders' and the 'religious heritage'. This case is a good example of the 'sacred

zone' being overwhelmed by the 'profitable zone' and demonstrates the importance of the zoning management being able to distinguish the one from the other for long-term management.

Consequently, the buffer-zone and more set-back are needed for sustainable management. Enlarging the sacred zone from the original enclosure to include the commercial stall is a choice. Practically, the adjacent buildings of the chedi's enclosure are the residences to the north and the shop-houses to the east. The southern area is also a narrow street and the opposite shop-houses may be difficult to regenerate or remove. The best possibility at this time is making the buffer-zone to the west by removing the recently built commercial stall and leaving it as an empty space. After removing the commercial stall, a negotiation between the 'profitable zone' and the 'sacred zone' in the same area would be possible by persuading the vendors to sell their goods on the ground (kad gong kong - a traditional market on the ground) from only 4-10 a.m. every day following the time of the Chiang Mai Gate Market, after which it usually declines because there are no customers (Srimon Morakotwichtkarn, interviewed 17 February 2008; Pornapa Wongsurit, interviewed 11 February 2008). Regarding the buffer-zone and the chedi that is situated behind the market, after 10 a.m. this area should be left clear, clean, and without vendors or their goods as the main rule for daily renting.

Ideally, the rentals from this temporary market should be collected and put towards general maintenances, such as cleaning and removing the overgrown vegetation in the chedi area during the rainy season. Beyond this, part of all the profits from this area, consisting of rentals from the shop-houses, houses (around 2,000 baht/household per month), and complex rented rooms, should be added to the chedi's foundation for maintenance. The profits from this foundation would be sufficient for long-term management in periodic strengthening and some religious activity about the chedi. On some occasions, the public activities could also be set in this area as a center of both the wat and the market community.

In this way, the chedi would be more elegant and uncovered to the public, although it depends on being able to resist the economic approach into the commercial area which would be difficult since leaving an empty space is seen as a wasted investment. This negotiable solution is a pilot project not only affecting the sacred zone and the buffer-zone but also leading to increased awareness of the community in this area. When the fine condition of the chedi area is reached and appropriated for a sacred place condition, including the accumulation of heritage awareness and religious faith, the other adjacent residents might be gradually transformed into a more sacred zone and buffer-zone in the future. In particular, the foundation for the chedi is an alternative for the voices of the community, through the wat committee, to autonomously manage their religious heritage. The FAD usually prioritizes the most significant heritage for proceeding and inevitably overlooks the heritage of lesser significance; its sustainable initiative may be impossible. Therefore, the FAD's role should be only as a conservational 'tool' to support the wat committee 'initiative' for long-term sustainability.

Enhancing relationships of the local market and the chedi

Since ‘a landscape is sacred because humans perceive it as sacred’ (Carmichael et al. 1994:7), the former wat that used to be sacred places are different from other types of heritage. Being concerned with the follower, ceremony and faith following the religious way, they may need a special approach to make them sustainable. While the connection is lost between these religious places and their people, they may remain merely ruined buildings in people’s minds, not sacred and living.



Figure 23. The chedi at the time of the morning market and the nearby market’s shrine. These photos were taken by the researcher.

Being a sacred place of the local market

According to the Abandoned Wat Deed, the ruined chedi comes under the possession of the present Wat Fon Soi (the present abbot, interviewed 12 November 2006). The original location of the chedi and viharn is usually filled with many shop-houses and a lot of vendors every morning. There are vendors of the Chiang Mai Gate Market not only in the adjacent commercial stalls but also in both sides of the narrow street in front of the chedi. Various people from many districts, including hill-tribe people, come to this market everyday. The most important point is, they are not truly members of the residential community in this area or Wat Fon Soi patrons (Pornapa Wongsurit, interviewed 11 February 2008). Indeed, there are two groups of people: the Chiang Mai Gate Market’s people; and the people who live in this district. It could be said that the ruined chedi is situated between them and thus the ownership awareness overlaps. Perhaps sub-consciously, in the view of the market people who mostly live in the districts, the chedi is a ‘dead monument’ of the FAD that has nothing to do with them. For instance, the view of the residents, including the Wat Fon Soi committee and its patrons, is that it is a ‘dead monument’ from the past, outdated and untouchable from the FAD legitimacy. Moreover, the living and religious place of the present Wat Fon Soi is identified by its definite walled boundary, not by the local history, historical evidence or its context. There are only 2-3 households of the oldest dwellers in this area who continually make offerings and periodically clean the chedi themselves without any contribution from the FAD, ‘because the FAD officers usually visit once a year there are a lot of abandoned wat in Chiang Mai, they rely on the FAD’ (Srimon Morakotwichtkarn, interviewed 12 November and 17 February 2006). This is another consequence of the ‘gap’ between people and the chedi in the same area that makes it difficult to achieve sustainability both nowadays and in the future.

The 'sacred places, in almost every case, demand offerings' (Carmichael et al. 1994:1); this is also true of the case study: 'in the market, there are people who worship the chedi but they prefer to ask the Jao Phor Din Dum for their business prosperity' (Pornapa Wongsurit, interviewed 11 February 2008). The 'Jao Phor Din Dum' is a small spirit shrine behind the Chiang Mai Gate Market which is situated almost opposite the commercial stall and the ruined chedi. Also, it is worshiped everyday which also implies that the sacred place is necessitated here. Possibly, to enhance the link between the local people and the chedi, the shrine should be reinstalled into the buffer-zone of the chedi (once the commercial stall has been removed). This key thinking suggests that not only should all sacred places be situated in the same zone for zoning management, but also that the market's spirit shrine would encourage the local people to feel a greater 'sense of sacredness' and 'sacred atmosphere' in the sacred zone that would bring life to the chedi again. Cooperation between the wat committee and the Chiang Mai Gate Market's committee is needed to regenerate the buffer-zone, as the temporary morning market in this area could only be sustained on the ground. If the local people in both the market and Wat Fon Soi's patrons are aware that this zone has 'real' sacred places, the believers will continue to keep these sacred places in good condition and management, until this zone declined of its sacredness again. This example is not only a strategy of resistance against the invasion of the 'commercial zone' by the active role for the 'sacred zone', but also demonstrates how to transform the Ancient Monument of the FAD into the sacred place of the local people in order a sustainable future could be secured.

Abandoned wat in the cultural center and museum

As Garcia Canclini pointed out '...to enter the museum is not simply to go into a building and look at works; rather, it is a ritualized system of social action' (Canclini, 1995:115). Another case of heritage chedi in this research is the remnant of the abandoned wat under the management of museums. One example is Wat Sadue Muang, the oldest chedi in Chiang Mai and the focus of the Chiang Mai City Art & Cultural Center's. This chedi is not clear in its history but is historically linked with the chedi opposite the revitalized Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) (see appendix). At present, there is a master plan to revive the old city's identity by coordinating local official agents such as the Department of Public Works and Town & Country Planning and the Chiang Mai Municipality City. The old city revival plan is an attempt to revitalize the public space and center of the old Chiang Mai city, most of which involves adapting the remarkable official buildings to become the local museums. In the future, the center of the old city would be a museum zone about the revival of northern identity and also a plaza for cultural and public activities. Although there are co-ordinated plans between Chiang Mai's official agents, the different objectives have encountered many legitimate problems (Suwalee Wongkongkheew, Head of Supplement and City Development Affairs, Chiang Mai Municipality City, interviewed 8 November 2006). The Chiang Mai City Art & Cultural Center is also included and it could be said that this place is also an inspiration and a role-model for the following official building adaptations. At present, it functions under the Chiang Mai Municipality City's role, subsidy and the income from the tickets sold.

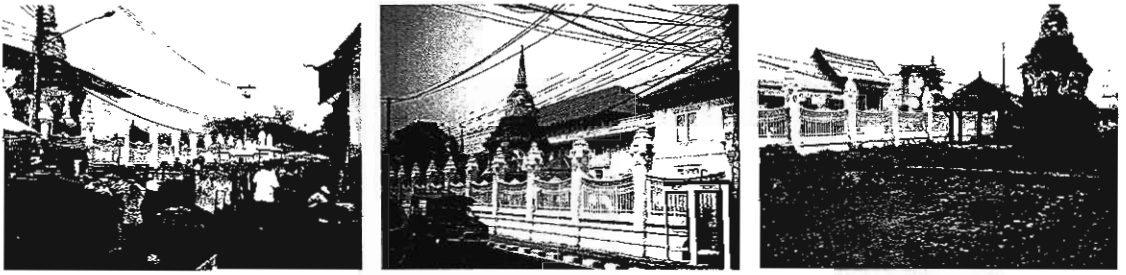
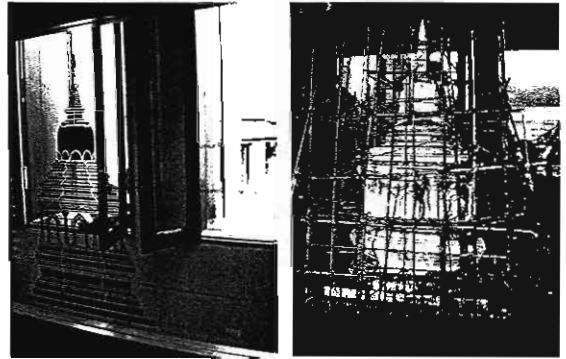


Figure 24 Wat Sadue Muang on Sunday walking street, its viharn basement, and chedi interpretation inside the museum. These photos were taken by the researcher.



Enhancing relationships between the local museum and the chedi

At present, the chedi in the Chiang Mai City Art & Cultural Center is not clear and still lacks archeological excavation to understand the related setting of this area, although the Fine Arts Department (FAD) maintains that it is the chedi of Wat Sadue Muang. This chedi has survived through various settings of different periods such as an initial royal palace, the city hall and the present local museum. Throughout its history, it has survived without any real link between its various circumstances, particularly between the various different people in the same area. Unarguably, this chedi is part of the most significant heritage of Chiang Mai regarding its local history, age, architectural style, as well as being the monument of the first king (see appendix); but it is silently situated within the walled area away from public concerns. Despite being situated in a good location in the city; being in good condition following the FAD reinforcement; being involved with the local museum; and being seen by the huge number of people every Sunday walking street; the valuable chedi still seems to be isolated from neighboring everyday lives. Surprisingly, few of the local people actually know about the chedi's significance, local history and the link between them to the chedi. Furthermore, the valuable chedi seems to be overlooked by the museum's staff, exhibitions, visitors, and activities. Therefore, the possible way of integrating the abandoned wat into the museum may start by opening the museum to the public, focusing on more active museological roles towards a 'living exhibition' and the public participation in a sacred place.

-The chedi as a 'living exhibition'

As Elizabeth Pye noted, 'the way objects are displayed in a museum can influence their perceived significance' (Pye, 2001:75). Likewise, the way of managing the chedi in the local museum reflects not only the value given by the

museum administrations but also the views of the local people. The basic managerial dilemma here is whether the chedi should be a 'museum's object', an 'Ancient Monument' in the museum area, or respected as a 'sacred place'. The best possibility might in fact be all of these, but different in emphasis to support the needs of contemporary society. In comparison with the other abandoned wat categories in this research, this case has the best chance of enhancing the significant value of the chedi by its current circumstances. The role of the local museum is to link the chedi to the public, not only by focusing on past descriptions but rather by focusing attention on the present and the future possibilities (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994).

At present, the chedi is situated inside the local museum's boundary, and there is an exhibition and model about the chedi's its history and style of architecture by a smart design that connects the 'outdoor' chedi with the window's view. The 'indoor' interpretative exhibition of the museum building seems to be rather emphasized. This museum is intended to be a learning center and avoids excessive displays of antiques. The remains of the chedi are the only 'authentic' evidence from the past that should be more emphasized rather than 'replicas' description. Emphasizing the 'outdoor' chedi as another exhibition is crucial in order that the visitors are able to learn from the 'real' factors, such as comparing its historical fabric to the present old city. The chedi being situated at this initial position means that this 'outdoor' exhibition and 'real' experience for the audiences could be rather effective in terms of cultural learning and enhancing the significant value of the chedi to the public.

For example, there is the upcoming 'open museum' project in the chedi area to uncover a recently excavated area (Suwalee Wongkongkheew, interviewed on 8 November 2006). It also needs a good managerial system, such as water draining or appropriate shelter to protect direct deterioration to the unearthed basement. If the project is possible, the chedi would be more emphasized by the unearthed archeological evidence at the center of the old city, and the local people would be able imagine the layers of time and link them to the old city where they live everyday.

A new role of the abandoned chedi here is being the outdoor museum's object in presenting a 'living exhibition' for cultural learning. Beyond this, the valuable chedi is more emphasized as the 'must-see' object, like most museums which usually have prominent collections relating to their identities (Spalding, 2002: 47). The main theme of this museum is identified in its brochure as 'discovering the true identity of Chiang Mai' and 'understanding its history, customs, way of life, arts and culture'. Interpretations of the traditional customs and the establishment of the city inevitably refer to this chedi (see appendix), and the museum may allow the audience to experience 'real' evidence, including the chedi area and the exhibition path. In fact, the invaluable chedi should be emphasized more as the museum's symbol or 're-branding' in its marketing and promotion schemes. Most of the visitors might then recognize this chedi as a highlight of the museum exhibition rather than simply an Ancient Monument inside the museum boundary. The invaluable chedi is not only an object of the museum, but also part of the 'living exhibition' itself; therefore, should the chedi be emphasized as a fossil or as a living thing?

-The chedi as the museum's sacred place

As Julian Spalding noted, 'the challenge to a museum is to make what is evoked as authentic as it can be' (Spalding, 2002:27). Perhaps the way to expose the chedi to the public might be more advanced, not by fossilizing within a lot of interpretative texts, but by 'emphasizing the context' as it is still alive (Hall, 1987 in Hall and Seemann: 81; Kurin, 1989). In this way, the authenticity of the chedi is very simple and possibly changes the way of thinking across the border of the museum and its management. The 'wall' of the museum was constructed while this place was the Chiang Mai City Hall and that has separated the chedi from public awareness. This chedi is also linked with the opposite revitalized Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) that consists of another earlier chedi and the large Buddhist statue by historical setting (see appendix). As sacred monuments, both sites should be connected to each other, glued together by religious activity. At present, not only the street and wall are barriers but also the different managerial approaches of the wat and museum. Practically, there is no need to remove the wall but it is preferable since it compromises the main gate which welcomes Buddhists from the opposite wat to come and worship the chedi. Although this negotiation might contradict the regular procedure, in terms of good management, everything is possible.

Generally, almost all of the official offices and even the residences have their own spirit houses, and so it could be said that every place usually has its sacred monument. This possibility could be initiated by the administrators and the museum staff by paying respect to the museum's sacred place first. This might also include initiations of the annual religious activities since these are part of the process of reviving the sacredness of the chedi. If the staff of the museum believe that the chedi is truly their sacred place, better management of the chedi as both a 'sacred place' and 'living exhibition' would naturally follow. In this way, a link between the opposite revitalized wat and the sustainability of the chedi could be possible. Ideally, it needs to start from the museum taking charge to co-ordinate with the opposite Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) following the master plan of the old city revival.

However, being both a 'sacred place' and the 'living exhibition' might be different to most museum procedures. Being a 'sacred place' usually requires both people and activity. Since the 'people' are the only key factor needed to make it sacred, the two groups of visitors to manage are the religious followers and the museum's audiences. The outdoor chedi is the target of its believers who regularly visit; most of them are local people and religious patrons. On the other hand, most of the indoor museum's audiences are usually educated tourists or other regional visitors who have a real interest in Chiang Mai. Both groups are able to learn from each other. For example, the tourists can perceive the 'real' experience of local religious worship and there is an opportunity for the religious believers to bring more audiences by their connecting and relating to people. The local museum, where foreign tourists and other regional visitors are usually the target group, may then include the local patrons as another target group also. In this way, the gap in the relationship between the museum and local people would be fulfilled by becoming more familiar and forming a link

with each other. Including these different target groups in the same area would bring more people and life to both the museum and the chedi.

Another role of the museum is the need to satisfy both groups of customers, the more 'educated tourists' as well as 'common Buddhists'. The securing of a sustainable future for the chedi could be achieved through the integration of both roles as a 'living exhibition' and a 'sacred place'. This sustainable solution is another challenge to the stakeholder approach that the chedi in the museum is not only the 'museum's object' and an 'Ancient Monument', but also a 'sacred monument' which needs a special managerial approach to make it sustainable.

Conclusion

Theoretically, the 'unsustainable condition' in this research is identified by the lack of *awareness* of the various stakeholders, particularly in local communities who always and must care for their abandoned wat. Intangible value is an alternative choice that should be integrated with tangible value of the official procedures. Perhaps securing a sustainable future for these abandoned wat could be sought through fulfilling or accumulating the awareness of the stakeholders. The relationship between the local community and its sacred place should be enhanced by *life* and *continuity* fulfillment. A crucial way to achieve sustainability and survival seems to be the continued sustaining of their *sacredness* and the *faith* of religious communities towards a local *initiative* regarding heritage protection.

In particular, the solutions for the case studies should be based on the present circumstances. Different approaches to the current predicament inevitably consider their different settings, surrounding contexts, and adaptive reuses. Although different situations might require different, more specific approaches to attaining sustainability, becoming a sustainable sacred place could be achieved through the understanding of contemporary life and involvement with the people in day-to-day practices.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The ‘dead monument’ approach in hibernated sacred places

Securing a sustainable future for abandoned wat is possibly different from general heritage protection. In managerial terms, general heritage monuments are identified as ‘living monuments’ and ‘dead monuments’. Particularly in Buddhist heritage, the ‘living monument’ category is provided to a wat that has a monk dwelling in it. A ‘dead monument’ is identified as an abandoned wat. Lacking of a monk there is the crucial marker of identification rather than the duration of any abandonment period.

However, in fact, the abandoned wat phenomenon represents the ‘hibernation’ of the religious place. They only temporarily lack ‘life’ and they could be ‘awakened’ by a revitalization process (interview with Jumlong Kittisri, 22 November 2006). It could therefore be said that the abandoned wat phenomenon exists among living/dead monuments as a *special* case which needs a *special* approach to it. As a result these former Buddhist wat are usually seen and defined as ‘dead monuments’, both for the local Buddhists and in terms of official procedures usually employed. With this mistaken view it is difficult or impossible to accomplish sustainability whether in the present or the near future.

Unsustainable way of thinking and the limitations of official roles

The present ‘unsustainable’ circumstances have occurred here because of critical ‘unsustainable’ social misunderstanding. Possibly, the misunderstanding that disused wat are ‘dead monuments’ is the matrix of the following embedded unsustainable approach in people’s minds. In this way, the problem and dilemma of abandoned wat management can be elucidated and criticized. That is, the clarification of this embedded social misunderstanding is needed before any policymaking can be made towards their sustainable development. The main unsustainable understandings in Thai and Chiang Mai society are identified as follows;

1. The bureaucratic system
2. The Chiang Mai identity
3. The Ancient Monument

1. *The bureaucratic system*

The bureaucratic system may incorporate a way of thinking that impacts upon everyday Thai life. (Earwsriwong, 2006). Most Thai people are too dependent upon official procedures in a top-down way. From the study, it was found that the

bureaucratic system is still required today for large organizations such as state polity and official authorities. The 'passive' and 'legitimate' operations are a basic weakness underlying the reaching of a sustainable future for heritage protection. Particularly in abandoned wat remains management, the Fine Arts Department (FAD) and the Office of National Buddhism (ONB) are directly responsible.

1.1 The limitations of official legitimacy

Definite laws and authorities are the core structure of the FAD and ONB's operation system. From this study, it was found that the FAD's empowerment laws structurally consist of relative conflicts that are difficult to support within Thai Buddhist society. There are conflicts between the Venice Charter and Buddhist doctrine. The main discussions are about 'authenticity,' which is the main key of the Venice Charter, and it is impossible to get consensus concerning 'renewal' way of Buddhist society.

Another limitation of the FAD operation is Ancient Monument registration. In the present amended law of the FAD, despite the fact that Ancient Monument registration focuses on significant heritage for special protection, all historic monuments are also covered (interview with Sahawat Nannha, 28 November 2006). Unfortunately, in practice the FAD inevitably prioritizes the most significant heritage sites for protection. This weakness usually overlooks and neglects many lower, local, and unregistered Ancient Monuments, and they fall into inappropriate states. This is the condition of many chedi of the abandoned wat that are the focus of this study.

In the same way, along with the overlapping of ONB and FAD legitimacies, the ONB's roles focus on only abandoned wat properties and how to reuse these unoccupied spaces for public facilities that can generate state income. For instance, the FAD is responsibility for historic monuments only in the capacity of periodically reinforcing them. That is, it is concerned purely with their physical condition. With different legitimacies and practical approaches towards the same abandoned wat properties, it is difficult or impossible to achieve a sustainable goal (interview with Sahawat Nannha, 28 November 2006).

1.2 The limitations of official approaches

There is little concern for people within the FAD's operative approach. In fact, abandoned wat remains are 'sacred places' where devotees and their religious practices are needed for sustainable solutions. The FAD is the official agent to protect only the physical conditions of Ancient Monuments, but it is never to properly manage them. It could be said that the FAD is the 'preserver', not the 'manager'.

From this study, it was found that the FAD's procedures usually are too dependent upon the yearly national budget, and the last three months before the upcoming national budget is often the period of implementation. The regular quality of conservation projects is only passable and sometime lower than needed (interview with Assistant Professor Woralun Bunyasurat, 9 January 2007). Thus, this managerial

weakness of the system seems preferable to 'quantitative' procedure rather than 'qualitative' procedure.

In addition to the ONB's practical approach, this study found that there is a principal conflict between the idea of 'sacred space' and 'profitable space' in former religious properties. The Abandoned Wat Deed is the ONB's definition of abandoned wat management, that is, land that still has remains as historic evidence or Ancient Monuments on its property (interview with Jumlong Kittisri, 22 November 2006). The main role of this is to manage beneficial rentals that are necessarily lower than market-cost as a means to supply places for dwelling and agriculture. This managerial approach is not only out-dated and ineffective for urban rental management, but it also is the cause of many slums in abandoned wat properties. Some sites that have valuable chedi remains have greatly deteriorated over the years by such inappropriate living practices by the tenants. They have also been quite impossible to improve with such passive operations by both authorities until today.

Consequently, the legitimacies of both the FAD and ONB are divided and unintegrated for the purpose of long-term management. In fact, the 'legitimacy' seems to be the starting-point rather than the development 'goal' for most official procedures. Sustainable management for abandoned wat is impossible from such official procedures alone but needs an 'initiator' to integrate the many official roles in the same direction. It could be said that there is too much dependency upon official roles - and this is a core mistake in finding solutions for the abandoned wat dilemma.

2. Chiang Mai identity

Lack of Chiang Mai identity is a critical factor behind the top-down approach. From this study, it was found that the lack of Chiang Mai identity has arisen from a variety of historical reasons. The most focal impact was political centralization from Siam to Chiang Mai which affected social and cultural understandings, and particularly education. This encouraged young natives to refuse their ancestor culture which was then replaced by only the Bangkok standard (Charoenmuang, 2004). This centralized policy still remains and is embedded in National Economic and Social Development Plans (NESDPs). Despite recent plans which were intended to decentralize the political system and encourage localization, these have never been satisfied in practice (Charoenmuang, 2003).

The vital outcome of centralized policy is that the native people are not truly proud of their traditional culture (Laos PDR and Chiang Mai University, 1994: 85). There is a gap between the next generation and local intellectuals. The young natives prefer the Bangkok lifestyle; they migrate to job and educational opportunities, and sometimes seem to look down on themselves. With this lack of Chiang Mai identity intact, it may be impossible to raise any sustainable 'initiative' and 'initiator' from among local people to secure local religious heritage.

3. The Ancient Monument

Misunderstanding about the Ancient Monument in the people's minds seems to be at the heart of unsustainable practices. From various interviews with officials and local community members, it was found that surprisingly they spoke with one voice stating that 'all Ancient Monuments belong to the Fine Arts Department'. This social misunderstanding possibly originates in the content of *The Ancient Monument Antiques, Object of Art and National Museum 1961 (amended 1992)*, and its so-called 'Monument Act'. The FAD itself believes that they must protect with law Ancient Monuments (only buildings and their surrounding areas) but it overlooks managing their relative setting and people environments. This misunderstanding of the common people inevitably leads to the lack of local ownership, awareness, and initiative for sustaining local heritage.

In fact, the FAD and the state have never possessed all historic sites and Ancient Monuments. Because of its legitimate role and the weaknesses in the official system (lack of funds, personnel, and over responsibility) the FAD has only been able to operate a passive role and find short-term solutions (interview with Sahawat Nannha, 28 November 2006). These limitations force the FAD to prioritize the most significant or national monuments for preservation. Unfortunately abandoned wat remains usually are lower down the list and mostly are only locally significant. Therefore, the way to address this misunderstanding should be a starting-point for establishing sustainable ownerships and enhancing local 'initiative'.

General characteristics of the old city abandoned wat remains

A sustainable future for abandoned wat remains can be obtained by considering the circumstances the wat are in. This research can be summarized into the following general characteristics of Chiang Mai's abandoned wat phenomenon;

1. Abandoned wat remains always exist among living/dead monument definition; they are in hibernation and need special approaches to sustain them.
2. Mostly abandoned wat remains are of local significance and are lower on the scale of other 'national monuments' of significant value. This is a reason that they need local 'initiative' rather than state procedure to make them sustainable.
3. A critical dilemma for urban abandoned wat remains are that they are out of sight from the public. They are usually situated on narrow streets or hidden in poor communities and government offices. A way to develop their sustainability is to link the wider public to chedi remains as much as possible in both direct and indirect means of participation.
4. Most of the chedi remains are seen as 'dead monuments' and as 'Ancient Monuments' of the FAD, not as religious monuments or sacred places.
5. The chedi remains usually are obscured by modern or official buildings. These reflect the unsustainable outcomes that come from the 'dead monument' managerial approach toward abandoned wat cases.
6. Abandoned wat remains are also 'sacred' and 'religious' monuments that differ from other general heritage buildings. They need a more specific 'religious approach' to integrate them with normal procedure.

7. Abandoned wat remains are heritage buildings and land properties that are 'sacred places' and 'religious monuments'. They need 'people's' participation to make them sustainable. The laws and various official roles should only be 'tools' for their development.

8. The chedi remains inevitably encounter people from varying socio-economic and religious backgrounds. They are never static and always need 'active' rather than 'passive' roles from official procedures.

9. A solely 'economic approach' to abandoned wat development will never lead to sustainability. It must be integrated with social and religious concerns through multi-disciplinary methods.

Four managerial keys for the abandoned wat phenomenon

Since people see chedi remains as 'dead monuments' rather than religious monuments of wat in hibernation, ways to bring 'life and continuity' to present day abandoned wat could be a good way forward for this research. This could be done by enhancing the relationship between 'local communities' (how to live with the heritage places) and the 'sacred places' (developing a sense of sacredness) by applying integrated solutions that create tangible and intangible value. Practically, the four keys for policymaking are identified as follows;

1. Zoning management

Zoning management is attempting to distinguish 'sacred' and 'profane' zones for better management. Mostly abandoned wat remains are difficult to differentiate from each other.

2. Public participation

Participation with the wider public is also critical since most of the abandoned wat remains are usually out of sight and obscured by contemporary land-use. This is opposite to their initial use as public monasteries. More participation from both the local and the wider public can stimulate awareness to the problems.

3. Sustaining of the sacred place condition

To continue the sacredness of a place as long as possible is a choice. It would focus on securing the actual and sensed sacredness for the future in various ways. It would relate to current roles of enhancing a place. The crucial way of sustaining sacred places is how to make them remain sacred. A sacred place must be a sacred place in any case.

4. Local community ownership

This solution is crucial and leads to local awareness. While local awareness is adequate then the ability to initiate solutions could be possible. All heritage

monuments are never sustainable by official proceedings alone but they must be integrated with local voices who are the real owners, not the state.

Securing a sustainable future for the abandoned wat

According to the case studies, ten chedi remains in the city walled area are categorized by five abandoned wat categories as follows;

1. Abandoned wat in educational institutions
 - Wat Cheitta of the Buddhist Sophol School
 - Wat Kitti of the Chiang Mai Kindergarten
 - Wat Nang Leaw and Wat Muan Kong of the Yupharaj College
2. Abandon wat among poor communities
 - Wat Chang Lan in the Muan Nhien Kong Community
 - Wat Nong Yah Praeg in the Nong Yah Praeg Community
3. Abandoned wat in the commercial zone
 - Wat Fon Soi's ruined chedi at the Chiang Mai Gate Market
4. Abandoned wat in the Buddhist revitalization process
 - Wat Chet Lin
 - Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang)
5. Abandoned wat in cultural center and museum
 - Wat Sadue Muang in the Chiang Mai City Art & Cultural Center

The fulfillments of 'life and continuity' are the main goals of sustaining the abandoned wat remains. Most of these religious remains are only ancient chedi. In the managerial approach towards religious monuments, it is necessary to consider the 'sacred' and 'profane' realm in policymaking. Enhancing the relationship between them in this research is mainly integrating physical improvement (zoning management) and sacredness fulfillment (being a sacred monument).

Also, links must be made with ancient chedi and the everyday lives of the local people. These 'local people' may comprise of Buddhists, commoners, and particular groups. From the case studies, there are *particular* groups of people that require *particular* approaches to the chedi remains relating with them. They are linkable to schools, local markets, local museums, revitalized wat, and poor communities. Therefore, the ways to fulfill integration are the three following possibilities;

1. Zoning management

Zoning management is always needed in cases that encounter contemporary 'invaders'. These invaders can cause tangible and intangible impacts from the profane zone into the sacred zone. Managing contradictory zones is a main guideline for all the cases in this research. Some outstanding circumstances that should be exemplified here are the abandoned wat remains among poor communities and the one in the commercial zone category.

In the category of poor communities, the ruined chedi of Wat Chang Lan and the chedi remains of Wat Nong Yah Praeg should be regenerated as a 'sacred zone' and a 'residential zone' that includes the buffer zone between them. The initial center of the sites should be preserved as the starting-point to readjust for the adjacent buildings set-backs. The chedi of Wat Chang Lan seems to be a critical case, despite there now being a sacred zone by enclosure, but there still remains some adjacent shelters. A buffer zone should be designated here for walking around the chedi enclosure and which separates the sacred zone from the residential zone. Also with the chedi of Wat Nong Yah Praeg, there still remains an impermanent shelter where it is still unable to walk around the chedi. This space should also be developed into a buffer zone for the site.

Under the commercial zone category, the ruined chedi of the original Wat Fon Soi should also be regenerated as a 'sacred zone' and 'commercial zone' for better management. Since the Chiang Mai Gate Market in this area is an early market (4.00-10.00a.m.), the buffer zone of the ruined chedi could be adjusted into a small market on the ground for the market time (interview with Pornapha Wongsurit, 8 and 11 February 2008) but must it be cleaned and cleared as a public space everyday. This negotiation of 'buffer zone' into a 'public space' which links the ruined chedi to the market people during market time could lead to a more respectful and sacred atmosphere at the chedi. After a period of time, this public space could become the center of this market community and local activities.

2. *Sacred existing fulfillment*

As mentioned chedi remains are mostly seen as dead monuments, and focus is purely on their physical reinforcement. This approach contradicts the 'hibernation' state that could be revitalized in the future. Sacred monuments are sacred monuments. All ancient abandoned chedi should have their sacredness secured as long as possible. The most importance thing is that chedi remains are never sacred just by themselves, but they need a relating to 'people' to make them sacred. Of the many ways there are to improve the sacred condition of any religious heritage, people are needed to set the target groups. All cases of sacred chedi should be more fulfilled. The most outstanding cases in this research may provide the abandoned wat remains in poor communities and the educational institutions.

In the category of poor communities, the Wat Chang Lan community is a good example of a local viewpoint that brings different outcomes to the chedi. As this chedi's significant value is lower than that of national heritages, non-registration of the Ancient Monument, and it being out of sight in a poor community, means that this chedi is overlooked from public participation. The view from community leaders is like the view of Buddhist followers, simple but profound. That is, if the chedi is a Buddhist monument then it needs a sacred atmosphere and respectful condition. Certainly most of the community members work hand to mouth, so they have no time to make merit at the nearby wat. Another way of thinking is so simple that the ruined chedi and its area should be made into a truly sacred place of the community. The chedi, even though only the base remnant remains, is a Buddhist monument of a wat

that needs some monks and devotees to take care of it. From the view of the community leaders, replacing the community members for maintaining is a good choice (interview with Daoruang Tavorn and Jirapong Sittichai, 3 December 2006). Finally, the chedi and its landscape have already been improved by the way of a local Buddhists initiative. Obviously, a way to look at and think about the chedi is crucial and leads to various outcomes. Views from Buddhist followers could be another choice for sustainability.

In the category of the educational institutions, Wat Kitti and Wat Cheitta chedi are remarkable cases. The large chedi of Wat Kitti in the present Chiang Mai Kindergarten, by its scale, physical condition, fine scenery, location, and proportion to the site are factors that contribute to the chedi still being a center monument and a sacred monument of the school. Moreover, the sacredness fulfillment is also strengthened by the establishment of the chedi for political reasons between indigenous tribes and the greater kingdom before Chiang Mai's establishment (interview with Wantanee Chaiyawongkum, 14 November 2006). It could be said that this chedi is not only a Buddhist monument and sacred monument of the school but also it is evidence of local myth in this area. As a result the chedi has been seen as an important sacred monument of the school, and there are school activities and annual ceremonies in the way of worship at the chedi. This is the two-way relationship between the sacred chedi and the school's spiritual norm. The most important thing is the way they perceive the chedi, whether as a Buddhist monument or evidence of a local myth, both are sacred monuments that lead to sustainability - rather than only as an Ancient Monument alone, which always isolates it from everyday schooling.

In the same way, Wat Cheitta chedi of the Buddhist Sophol School is also outstanding within a Buddhist sacred monument - not only in the school but also with the neighbor residences. It is situated as a junction landmark, being in a good location for public perception everyday. Moreover, some nearby businesses in the same area, such as the owner of the opposite modern coffee shop worships the chedi everyday with his products. Also with the schooling, this ancient chedi is seen not only as a sacred monument but the organizational culture here also realizes that the school is situated in a respectful abandoned wat property, so the officers, teachers and students usually pay respects to the chedi every time when they pass by (Tawee Bunmuan, on 13 November 2006). It is also clear here again that the way to look at and think about the chedi is very important and it leads to different outcomes. Many ways to fulfill the sacredness of the chedi, at least for the local people would help them continually respect and be aware of the chedi. These lead to a sustainable future for them rather than them remaining only as a 'dead monument' and ruined chedi that is isolated from everyday living and is the responsibility of the Fine Arts Department alone.

3. Linkage with the present context

Linkage with the present context is also needed. It is crucial to link 'out-dated' chedi remains to 'modern' circumstances such as land-use and everyday life. Without this link to current circumstances and Buddhists participation, abandoned wat remains are becoming useless ruins, alienated, and contradictory to contemporary living. They

must be protected following Ancient Monument law but only through 'dead monument' procedures. A crucial point is that the chedi management should be associated only with roles that enhance their significant values. Most roles usually engage them with the chedi context, such as Buddhism, local history, architecture, and education. Some remarkable cases are exemplified here for rethinking about other cases. Such are the abandoned wat remains in educational institutions and the Buddhist revitalization process category.

In the educational institutions category, Wat Nang Leaw of Yupharaj College and Wat Kitti of Chang Mai Kindergarten are selected. At present, the ancient chedi and the large Buddhist statue of the former Wat Nang Leaw at the officer residences area were adaptively rebuilt to support the educational roles. A new viharn was rebuilt at the original position in contemporary Lanna style and made into a Buddhism and moral learning center. The chedi was also completely renovated into a living chedi. Transformation from 'Buddhist temple' to a 'Buddhism classroom' is a successful adaptive reuse where it has been linked with the present educational role of Yupharaj College. This revival also enhances the significance value of the chedi remains and its area.

In the same way, the chedi of Wat Kitti is emphasized as an important sacred monument and evidence of local myth at the school. It is also represented as the spiritual center of the school in many annual ceremonies, such as the day of school establishment, graduation, and at student orientation year after year. Moreover, people are collecting archeological objects in this area, and exhibiting these to the students at the building beside the large chedi. Obviously, the chedi is linked to present day learning in both direct and indirect ways with the students.

In the Buddhist revitalization process category, there is the revitalized Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) that consists of a round-shape chedi and a large Buddhist statue. These have also been adapted to current issues not only through physical improvement but also through the 'active roles' of public patronages. From the view of the abbot and secretary of the Barommthath Doi Suthep Foundation, Wat Inthakin (Sadur Muang) should have new roles for public participation such as in becoming a tourist information and interpretation center about Lanna culture. The new roles also include being a wat without walls to welcome visitors, and in which the monks also speak English (interview with Phramaha Arthit Artipanyo and Boontham Yosbuth, 11 November 2006). These are the new 'active roles' for a revitalized wat that are different from the traditional Buddhist monasteries today.

Conclusion

Linking the chedi of abandoned wat to the everyday lives of local people will enable the remaining structures to continue to survive into the future. The three integrated factors of zoning management, sacredness fulfillment, and the linking of abandoned wat to the present context are another sustainable solutions. Good visions and diverse ways of thinking are crucial for the managerial approach, but the question how to stimulate people to achieve these new ways of thinking is harder to solve.

Possibly, the ways to sustainability for the sacred heritage (abandoned/living wat) depend upon how to bring heritage awareness into people's minds. It could be said that, of all of the solutions considered in this research to achieving a sustainable managerial approach, trying to raise the people's vision, their way of thinking is the key. In fact, the sustainable future of any sacred heritage site is never concerned only with periodic reinforcement alone but also with how to encourage people to be aware of their heritage in both tangible and intangible ways.

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Glossary

Chedi	: The Thai Buddhist stupa
CODI	: Community Organization Development Institution (Public Organization)
FAD	: The Fine Arts Department
Haripunchai	: The old kingdom of Lamphun before Chiang Mai founding (5 th -13 th century)
ICOMOS	: International Council on Monument and Sites
Kad gong kong	: A Lanna traditional market on the ground
Ko-kuam	: ‘Enlarging’ in the northern language
Kud	: The Lanna folklore about inauspicious living
Mandala	: Ideology of the universe of the Asian Buddhist countries
Mount Meru	: Symbolic of the sacred mountain which is the center of the universe of Indian influences into Thai traditional belief.
NESDP	: National Economic and Social Development Plan
ONB	: The Office of National Buddhism
Pha-pa	: An annual Buddhist donation
Tri-phum	: Specific Thai ideology of the universe.
Ubosot	: Executive Buddhist temple for the monk religious activity, particularly in the northern region
UNESCO	: United Nations of Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
Viharn	: Buddhist temple for monk and public religious activity, particularly in the northern region
Wai	: The Thai salute for the Buddhist statue and elder person
Wat	: The Thai Buddhist monastery and its boundary

Appendix

Brief history of the case studies

Abandoned wat in educational institutions

Wat Cheitta :the Buddhisophol School

Wat Cheitta was believed to be deserted around 60s years ago. It was founded by King Cheittatiraj or Chaicheitta, a king from Luang Prabang who ruled Chiang Mai for two years (1549-1551). He founded Wat Cheitta and its chedi to commemorate himself in the 16th century (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986). In 1936 Wat Cheitta's boundary was transformed into an elementary public school, namely 'Buddhisophol School' and was started up by a high status monk 'Phra Buddhisophol' in 7 August, 1925 (Nernhad, 2005a:146). The reuse of Wat Cheitta's area meant that they had to remove the deteriorating viharn for more space and safety. The chedi of Wat Cheitta is the only historical evidence that still exists within the school and among its students as a sacred building throughout time. The architectural characteristics of the chedi is similarly to the famous chedi of Wat Phrataat Doi Suthep that is also recognized as being in the truly Chiang Mai style of the period of the 17th century (Dumrikul, 1997).

The most recognition given to Wat Cheitta's chedi was in 1997 by the 'Development and Restoration of Environment Aspects of Chiang Mai's Historical Ruins' project of the Faculty of Fine Arts, Chiang Mai University. The chedi of Wat Cheitta and other remarkable chedi were selected to be preserved and improved on the occasion of the 700th anniversary of Chiang Mai city as a pilot project. For this reason, a section of the Buddhisophol School's fence was made into a religious monument for the public. This development project was also announced to be an outstanding public monument from the Association of Siamese Architects (under royal patronage) in 1997 (Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997:118)

At present, the Buddhisophol School has around 1,400 students and 60 teachers (according to an interview with Janwan Keawsawang, a security guard at the main gate nearby the chedi at Buddhisophol School on 8 November, 2006). The property of Wat Cheitta was listed as an Abandoned Wat Deed since 16 August, 1939 (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986). Including the chedi, it was registered to be an Ancient Monument by the Fine Arts Department on 27 October, 1981 (Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997:33)

Wat Kitti: the Chiang Mai Kindergarten

Wat Kitti used to be a wat of the five highest prominences, that is, a most significant wat, under royal patronage before the centralized period. It was founded by King Muang Keaw for his mother's funeral and a large chedi was built to enshrine the crematory bones in 1504 (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986:5). After that an archive remarked that the large viharn of Wat Kitti was donated and moved from the royal

palace of the Chiang Mai rulers. This viharn used to be a main royal building of King Kawilorot until he died in 1870 (Nernhad, 2005a: 92) in the period of the centralization of Siamese government.

Unfortunately, Wat Kitti was abandoned in the period of World War II because of a lack of patrons, and there were too many important wat in the same area. Another crucial cause of abandonment was the lack of monks dwelling there when the last abbot died in 1946 (Nernhad, 2005b:93-95). The wat was completely abandoned when the patrons and the officials removed various movable properties to the nearby wat for protection, such as the Buddha images and valuable objects removed to Wat Ku Tao, huge wooden posts of the viharn and ubosot reused and adapted to be buildings of Wat Tung You (Nernhad, 2005b:110).

Because of its remarkable religious status and its large area, there have often been found a diverse range of archeological objects underneath the grounds: such as human bones, ceramic bowls and fragments of earthenware. A recently discovery in 2004 was found by unearthing for construction. Around two meters underneath the new canteen's basement there was found a ceramic kiln, ceramic fragments and earthen jars, these antiques were also exhibited to the students (interview with Manus Chu-aut, an official of the Chiang Mai Kindergarten on 8 November, 2004).

The chedi of Wat Kitti is a huge chedi of rare size in the old city walled area; its architectural style refers to the chedi of Wat Phrataat Hariphunchai of Lamphun. Possibly, this style was in favor in the 16th century with the chedi of Wat Phrataat Hariphunchai as the prominent prototype. It could be assumed that the chedi of Wat Kitti was influenced by this and diminished in scale from 47 meters to become 25.5 meters in the original (Ruangkhana, 1973:78-81). Moreover, the chedi of Wat Kitti was registered as an Ancient Monument on 25 July 1975 and the property was listed to be an Abandoned Wat Deed by the Office of National Buddhism on 29 August in the same year (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986:7).

After Wat Kitti was completely abandoned in 1946, the Ministry of Education decided to establish a primary school there with yearly rent to the Official of National Buddhism since 1954 (Hansongklam, 2004: 17)

Wat Nang Leaw and Wat Muan Kong: the Yuppharaj College

In the present area of Yuppharaj College, there are two small chedi consisting of Wat Muan Kong at the main gate and Wat Nang Leaw at the official resident zone. Excluding the boundaries of these, almost all of the school area was the royal palace and properties of the King Inthawichayanon and his family members. As part of the educational reformation of Siamese centralization, Yuppharaj College was an initiative established to be a leader in the modern schools for the northern region. The King Rama VI of Siam (when he was a crown prince) visited the school and named it 'Yuppharaj College' on the 24 December 1945 in accordance with land donations of King Inthawarorotsuriyawong (1901-1909) (Ongsakul, 2004a:48-49).

Possibly, the two small wat there were adjacent to the royal palace and royal families dwelling, and when time passed and they encountered lack of royal patronage, including the impacts of poverty during World War II, these two wat were totally abandoned when their last abbots passed away. Finally, the Yuppharaj College also included the two abandoned wat properties by yearly rent to the Office of National Buddhism.

It is recorded that Wat Nang Leaw was under the patronage of King Inthawichayanon (1870-1896). He also built the viharn to make religious merit in 1906 (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986). The chedi and the large Buddhist statue were the only historical evidence left when the viharn deteriorated and gained serious leaks during a raining season. It was also recorded that a group of Buddhist followers removed three valuable Buddhist statues and properties to a living wat in Doi Saket district for protection.

Wat Nang Leaw was completely abandoned around the 1940s during World War II (Ongsakul, 2004a:48-49). The land property of the wat was listed as an Abandoned Wat Deed on 4 April 1972 (Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997:28). The octagonal base chedi was believed to be built in the 16th century with similar characteristics as the chedi of Wat Cheitta and Wat Phrataat Doi Suthep but it was also distinguished by Burmese influences on the top (Dejwongya, 1998). Furthermore the chedi of Wat Nang Leaw was registered to be an Ancient Monument in 1987, when the Principal Somchai Nopcharoengkul (1982-1992) had a policy to develop the Wat Nang Leaw area as a Buddhist and cultural learning center.

Meanwhile, the chedi was completely renovated to be a living sacred monument again by fulfilling the 'chut' or the 'sacred umbrella' that represents the Buddha's status on the chedi summit. The basement area of the viharn was rebuilt in contemporary Lanna style as a building for studying Buddhism, the large Buddhist statue was also completely renovated with gold-leaf and it was enshrined with a Buddha relic in its highest point. It could be said that the viharn of Wat Nang Leaw was rebuilt and re-functioned following contemporary educational roles. Fortunately, the area of Wat Nang Leaw has been living not only as a sacred place but also with the educational role of the study of Buddhism (Ongsakul, 2004b Lieorungruang, 2000).

Wat Muan Kong, by its name is implied to be of the rank 'Muan' (commander of 10,000 soldiers). This wat was founded in the reign of King Tilokaraj in 1442 (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986), but the present chedi is not older than the Chiang Mai revival era of King Kawila in 19th century (FAD, 1982). The chedi of Wat Muan Kong is the only historical evidence remaining nowadays.

It was built in the Burmese style that was influenced by diminishing and distortion. Possibly, before the period of the centralization policy in 19th century, there were numerous timber businesses owned by British's subjects from Burma (Shan, Tai, Mon) working in Chiang Mai and the northern region. These people who gained prosperity from the timber businesses also renovated a lot of urban wat with Burmese

characteristics. Despite the history and renovation record not being clear, in 2004, there was a project to develop the area surrounding the chedi and some human bones and fragments of earthenware underneath the ground were found as well as Wat Kittī (Ongsakul, 2004b:48).

Generally speaking, finding human bones always astonishes archeologists because by Buddhist custom, dead bodies are usually cremated. Both the archeologists and historians required more excavations and research. In fact, most of the archeological evidences in the city walled area are often found by constructions for both private and official buildings, unfortunately, they normally avoid the Fine Arts Department investigation. The cases of Wat Muan Kong and Wat Kittī were also taken in to account in this way. The boundary of Wat Muan Kong was listed by the Abandoned Wat Deed on 21 February 1976 and its chedi was registered as an Ancient Monument on 27 October 1981 (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986; Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997).

Abandoned wat among poor communities

Wat Chang Lan: Muan Nhien Kong community

Wat Chang Lan is a small Wat that was abandoned for a long time and its record is still not clear. Its history could be referred to in an old archive of the official survey of the wat in 1897. It says that Wat Chang Lan was still a living wat but already lacked monks dwelling there, as there were only three novices living there at the time (Hansongklam, 2004:30).

Other sources however could be referring to it. That is, in its two nearby historical relatives, Wat Mae Tang and Wat Muan Nhien Kong, local chronicles speak of it. The chronicle mentions a kindly couple, Nan Mae Tang and his wife who made a treasure of golden coins from their rice trade journey and brought it back to make golden traditional earrings. Finally they became a prosperous family and founded Wat Chang Lan to be their commemorative place (Chang Lan means a traditional earring craftsman) and so they built a small chedi to contain their remaining treasure.

After that, this chedi became another wat and was called Wat Mae Tang following its founder. Later, Nan Mae Tang also acquired the rank of aristocrat and was responsible for the royal treasury in the period of King Kuna (1355-1385). In this period he also founded Wat Muan Nhien Kong as his third wat (the wat's name possibly referred to his rank 'Muan' who commanded 10,000 laborers, 'Nhien Kong' means prosperity or a lot of golden coins), (interview with Phrakru Duangtip, abbot of Wat Mae Tang on 3 December 2006).

At present Wat Chang Lan has only a remnant of the chedi's base to identify it as a sacred place among the poor families of the Mun Nhien Kong Community. As statements from the local community show;

When I was young the deserted chedi still had its proportion and shape, also the viharn's base still existed. After that the viharn was transformed into a sport center and

playground for the village, crowds of people gradually settled into the wat boundary and became a community as you see it nowadays.

(A statement of Sriboot, 75 years old from the Chang Lan community, cited in Hansongklam, 2004:30)

Even the architectural evidence of Wat Chang Lan's chedi is not clear in its style and founding period. Possibly, as far as historical sources go, there could be reference to it in some statements of the native community members such as follows;

There is a tale from the past that when the chedi still remained at its peak, there was an emerald Buddhist statue over there. It was the same size as a man's fist and later it was sold to a royal family member. This period could mention the time before World War II. I think the chedi is not too high because its base is not quite large, the art style tends to be a similar type of the abandoned chedi of Wat San Tha Hoy and Wat Chiang Song at Chiang Mai Gate.

(A statement of Phrakru Duangtip who is the abbot of Wat Mae Tang on 3 December, 2006).

Nevertheless, the boundary of Wat Chang Lan was listed by the Abandoned Wat Deed on 18 August, 1939 but it has never been registered as an Ancient Monument (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986). This abandoned wat could be evaluated as in the highest degree of physical ruin and having a serious lack of historical sources.

Wat Nong Yah Praeg: Nong Yah Praeg Community

Wat Nong Yah Praeg is an abandoned wat that is situated among a poor community, as well as other communities that settled within the abandoned wat's properties; they are called by the wat's name. Also in the Wat Chang Lan historical sources, the history of Wat Nong Yah Praeg is not clear in terms of its founder and activities record. A member of the local community said that;

When I was eight years old, already only the chedi remained. My older brother told me that the wat had been deserted since World War II. When the end of the war was coming there were soldiers and villagers who searched it for treasure by digging that finally became a large hole damaging it. After a couple of years passed, the wat's area was covered by vegetation and there was a pond and waterway in front of the chedi. At this time local people always used this area for their animals. It was also a playground in my childhood for me and my neighbors. When modernization came, the city walls were destroyed and cart tracks were transformed into many roads for cars. The pond and water way in front of the chedi was filled. The chedi of Wat Nong Yah Praeg was abandoned over time. Until the recent couple of years, the Fine Arts Department restored the chedi, especially the large hole was filled in and an enclosure was made.

(A statement of Aui Kam Bounsai, who is a native 75 years old neighboring in 2004, cited in Hansongklam, 2004:55)

In fact, attempts to protect the chedi of many abandoned wat by building boundary enclosures were the initiative of the 'Development and Restoration of Environment Aspects of Chiang Mai's Historical Ruins' project in 1997 of the Faculty

of Fine Arts, Chiang Mai University as well as the Wat Cheitta project at the Buddhisophol School.

According to the chedi architectural style, even though is not clear in records, scholars say that the chedi was possibly constructed in the 16th century or before the year of 1557. It was registered to be an Ancient Monument on 22 April, 1986 (Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997:94; Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986).

Abandoned wat in a commercial zone

Wat Fon Soi: the Chiang Mai Gate Market

Wat Fon Soi in this research means the remnant of an abandoned chedi which is at the same area of the Chiang Mai Gate Market. Apart from this area toward to the north around 10 meters, there is a wat that also called Wat Fon Soi and it still exists. Both of them are related, the original was possibly founded in 1488 by a nobleman 'Muan Soi' or 'Pun Soi' the name which finally became 'Fon Soi'. The oldest achives refer to 'Nirat Hariphunchai' in 1517, in the 'Chronicle of Wat Phrataat Chom Thong' in 1601 and the 'Chronicle of Wat Bupharamsuandokmai' in 1562. All of them mention the existence of Wat Fon Soi as a living wat (Wichiankeaw, 1996:22, 204, 227).

It could be mentioned that Wat Fon Soi was patronized by the royal family members, and the abbot was also a local prince that made the wat rather prominent than others of the same zone (Nearnhad, 2005a:156, 2005b:72). It was abandoned in the 18th century in the same period of the Chiang Mai city's desertion from the last war with Burma (Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997; interview with Srimon Morakotvijitkarn on 12 November, 2006).

The remains of Wat Fon Soi were revived in 1938 and the former wat area was rented out for making money from shop houses, merchant lots and housing. All of the land property is the original deed of the earlier Wat Fon Soi (interview with the abbot of the Wat Fon Soi on 12 November, 2006).

In accordance with architectural aspects of the former Wat Fon Soi, in 1999, the Fine Arts Department excavated the area of the temple and restored the chedi in 2003. Possibly it was originally built between the late 16th-early 17th century in the typical prasat-shape (Forbes, 2006:49) and it is still not registered as an Ancient Monument.

Abandoned wat in the Buddhist revitalization process

Wat Chet Lin

Wat Chet Lin is a good example of a successful revitalization process by the initiative of the local Buddhist organization. In the past, it was a prominent wat in the Mengrai Dynasty and was continually patronized under royal patronage. The

chronicle 'Nirat Hariphunchai' in 1517 clearly mentioned the importance of this wat, and it says that it was a royal custom that every ruler of the Mengrai Dynasty (1258-1558) had to change their cloths to a white suit at Wat Pha Kaw (white suit) and go to make merit at Wat Muan Tum, then they had to visit Wat Chet Lin for the pouring of holy water on the head in royal matrimony. Finally the ruler could change his cloths again to be the king for coronation.

In the record, King Meakuti (1551-1558) was the last king of the Mengrai Dynasty who achieved this process (Hansongklam, 2004; Nearnhad, 2005a). Possibly, Wat Chet Lin was selected as the significant wat for the coronation by its geography, as there is a large pond 'Nong Chet Lin' in the area as an outstanding characteristic. This pond is believed to contain water from Doi Suthep's sources and is the only one found in the city's walled area.

Historically, in the period of centralization, Wat Chet Lin was mentioned by official survey of wat in the city walled area and its surroundings in 1877-1897. Possibly, it was abandoned after this survey because it is never found in any later records, probably it could have been abandoned before 1927 (Nearnhad, 2005a:12).

Until 1966 the area of Wat Chet Lin was rented from the Chiang Mai Office of Land for constructing officer residences. Later in 1977 the removal of the Chiang Mai Office of Land was a cause of vacancy to this property again, and since then various local families occupied the area through both paying low rentals and invasion.

On the 30 of January, 2003, the arrival of the Boromathat Doi Suthep Foundation was the beginning of the revitalization process with attempts to move the invaders to other places. The process focused on compromising with people and physical development by rebuilding the viharn, religious buildings and inviting monks to stay in it as a living wat again. At present, Wat Chet Lin is a success and it is a living wat that comprises 33 monks and novices, including the progress of the reconstruction of the viharn and negotiation with the last group (of around 10 families) of invaders for removal (interview with Phramahawisanu Jarudharmo who is the present abbot of Wat Chet Lin in 11 November, 2006).

In terms of historical evidence, only a large Buddhist statue's head and a prasat-shape chedi still exist. The chedi dates back to the 15th century, but it is not clear who was the founder. The architectural style is identified by the experts as a chedi built with Sukhothai and Mon influences, and it was already registered as an Ancient Monument on 22 April, 1986. (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986; Hansongklam, 2004; Dumrikul and Boonyasurat, 1997)

Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang): the round-shape chedi

Revitalization of Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang) is an outstanding initiative of a local religious organization. The relation between 'Wat Inthakin (Sadu-muang)-the round-shaped chedi and the adjacent former Wat Sadue Muang-the octagonal chedi (within the boundaries of the Chiang Mai City Art & Cultural Center) is an

extraordinary example of the time layering of land use in sacred places. Both areas are concerned with local beliefs of the 'city's navel' or the central zone of urban designation. This belief also is identified by the installation of the city's pillar. (Dumrikul, 2006). Moreover, Chiang Mai city is not only identified as a sacred place but it is relevant also in terms of political institutions as well. This area and its adjacencies were the sacred zone, with grand palaces and royal family's residences. In the past, the grand palace or 'wiang keaw' not only was a ruler's residence but also was a supreme representation of entire kingdom and its administrative centre (Ongsakul, 1998).

Indeed, there are two remarkable chedi in this area; the round-shaped one and the octagonal chedi. Both of them were erected in the original Haripunchai style in the earliest period of the kingdom and it was believed that one of them enshrined King Mengrai's ashes (Forbes, 2006; Thamanit, 2005). The whole area of both can be described by three periods of overlapping land use; King Mengrai (1258-1311), King Kawila (1782-1813) and the centralized period of the 19th century.

In King Mengrai's reign, the area was believed to be the place which installed the city's pillar since the early establishment of the kingdom. There were two names concerned, namely 'Wat Sadeu Muang' and 'Wat Phra Khaw' (the royal private wat). Some historical sources mention that both of them probably existed in different periods. In 2005 there was an archeological excavation of the Fine Arts Department in the area of the octagonal chedi that identified that Wat Sadeu Muang was re-established as Wat Phra Khaw. This argument is based on an old map of King Inthawichayanon's reign (1870-1896) and mentioned that Wat Phra Khaw was already abandoned without Wat Sadeu Muang (Ongsakul, 2006: 48-49). It could be mentioned that these wat names are not clear in historical documents. Possibly, they were the same wat in different sources. Nevertheless, whatever they were, all of them were completely abandoned in the period of Burmese occupation (1579-1727) (Dumrikul, 2006).

In the reign of King Kawila who revived Chiang Mai city, he collected many valuable objects from abandoned wat remains outside the city walls to this area and re-established Wat Inthakin as a commemorative of the ancient city's pillar which used to exist (Ongsakul, 1996:54; Charoenmuang, 2002). Possibly, if this area was two wat, the revival of Wat Inthakin comprised of the two former wat remains (Charoenmuang, 2007; Thamanit, 2005). In the same way, King Kawila also erected a large Buddhist statue 'Luang Pho Khao' (the white Buddhist statue) in 1794 that still exists today (Forbes, 2006).

Despite the re-birth of Wat Inthakin which consisted of both former wat remains in the same area, it was possibly abandoned again before the centralized period following the official survey in 1939 (Wichiankeaw and Dumrikul, 1986). Finally with the arrival of centralization policy, for some political reason, the area between the two ancient chedi remains was separated by the creation of Inthawarorot Street (Forbes, 2006; Srithong, 1993; Laos PDR. and Chiang Mai University, 1994). Some local sources argued that this street was a narrow walkway in the wat, and

became a street as a result of the official survey's mistake (interview with Boontham Yosbuth on 11 November 2006, secretary of the Borommathat Doi Suthep Foundation). However, it could be mentioned that the street has caused disconnection and management difficulties until today.

As time goes by, the consequences of reinstalling the city' pillar in Wat Chedi Luang impacts the setting of sacredness in this area. It is being both the center of the old city and the political symbol of Chiang Mai's rulers (Liorungruang, 2000). Recently, the area was listed by the Abandoned Wat Deed and has been rented by the Chiang Mai Municipality City to build a conference hall. In 2006 the rental contract was canceled following the revitalization process of the Borommathat Doi Suthep Foundation. At present the round-shaped chedi is part of the living Wat Inthakin (Sadue-muang) and the octagonal chedi is situated on the boundary of the Chiang Mai City Art & Cultural Center.

In terms of its architectural aspect, even the chedi of the present 'Wat Inthakin (Sadue-muang)' was built in the original pra-sat shape with Hariphunchai and Mon influences in the 14th century, but it was later enlarged to a bell-shape in around the 15-16th century as it presently remains (Forbes, 2006). The chedi was registered as an Ancient Monument on 14th March, 1980, and the wat is successfully revitalized to be a living wat in 2006 (Nawakarnprasit, 2005:18).

Abandoned wat in the cultural center and museum

Wat Sadue Muang: *the octagonal chedi*

The octagonal chedi of Wat Sadue Muang is similar to the round-shaped chedi of the present Wat Inthakin (Sadue-muang). There are no apparent historical documents from this period. The present name was identified by the Fine Arts Department from archeological excavations and local chronicles (Nawakarnprasit, 2005). This area was believed to be part of the royal palace in King Kawilorotsuriyawong's reign (1856-1870). Possibly, from FAD's latest excavations, both chedi were the same royal executive wat where the old city pillar was erected (Ounjaijin, 2006). Also, this research succeeded in clarifying the complex of wat names from many resources - Wat Saduemuang, Wat Inthakin and Wat Phra Khaw were the same wat in different periods throughout the circle of abandonment and revitalization.

The rising of Inthawarorot Street is the key to understanding the relationship of the two ancient chedi. Paradoxically, the street was allocated adjoining a large Buddhist statue. Moreover it was the intention to damage the sacred setting of local belief and separate the two earliest chedi permanently (Forbes, 2006; Srithong, 1993; Laos PDR. and Chiang Mai University, 1994; Liorungruang, 2000). After this rare political and social act of reform, the octagonal chedi was enclosed by the Chiang Mai City Hall's boundary until 1984. Then the Chiang Mai City Hall was removed to the Mae Rim district. This period was the beginning of transformation of the city hall to a

museological role of the ‘Chiang Mai City Art & Cultural Center’. The octagonal chedi still exists as a ‘living museum’ at the cultural and spiritual heritage exhibition.

In terms of architectural aspects, the octagonal chedi is remarkable in being of Hariphunchai and Mon influence in the earliest Chiang Mai period. It was assumed from the stucco decoration and architectural style that it was erected in the 14th century and periodically renovated through time (Forbes, 2006). However, there was the latest preservation by the Fine Arts Department in 1983 and it was already registered to be an Ancient Monument on 14 March 1980 (Nawakarnprasit, 2005:18).

Table7 General information of the abandoned wat case studies

Abandoned wat's names	Periods of founding	Periods of abandonment	Year of successful revival	Chedi styles	Ancient Monument registrations	Listing of abandoned wat deeds
Wat Cheitta	1549-51	Around 60s years ago, WWII	-	Bell -shape	27 October, 1981	16 August, 1939
Wat Kittii	1504	1946, WWII	-	Bell -shape	25 July 1975	29 August 1975
Wat Nang Leaw	16 th century	1940s, WWII	-	Bell -shape	1987	4 April 1972
Wat Muan Kong	1442	Not clear	-	Burmese style (19 th century)	27 October 1981	21 February 1976
Wat Chang Lan	Not clear, before 1897	Not clear	-	Not clear	-	18 August 1939
Wat Nong Yah Praeg	16 th century, before 1557	WWII	-	Bell -shape	22 April, 1986	Not found
Wat Chet Lin	15 th century or before 1517	Before 1927	2006	Prasat-shape	22 April, 1986.	Not found
Wat Inthakin (Sadue Muang)	14 th century	Burmese occupation (1579-1727)	2006	Bell-shape (enlarged 15-16 th century)	14 March, 1980	Not found
Wat Sadue Muang	14 th century	Burmese occupation (1579-1727)	-	Octagonal prasat-shape	14 March, 1980	Not found
Wat Fon Soi	1488	18 th century	-	Prasat-shape (late16 th -early 17 th century	-	Not found

Source: This table was created by the researcher.

Biography

Name	Tanwutta Thaisuntad
Born	22 March 1977 Bangkok, Thailand
Education	B.F.A.(Printmaking), Srinakarinvirot University M.F.A Graphic Art, Silpakorn University
Scholarship	UDC. Scholarship of the Faculty of Architecture and Environmental Design, Mae Jo University to study Ph.D. Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism (International Program) at Silpakorn University
Occupation	Lecturer of the Faculty of Architecture and Environmental Design, Mae Jo University, Chiang Mai

Awards

- 1998 -Collection Supporting Award (Thai Farmer Bank), 15th Exhibition of Contemporary Art by Young Artists
- 2000 -Award Winner Contemporary Art Competition Organized by Thai Farmer Bank
- 2001 -Collection Supporting Award the 16th Exhibition of Contemporary Art by Young Artists
-3rd Prize Bronze Medal of Graphic Art, National Exhibition of Art

Selected groups of art exhibitions

- 1997 -1st Exhibition of Watercolor and Oil Paintings of Srinakarinwirot and Chulalongkorn University
- 1998 -15TH Exhibition of Contemporary Art by Young Artists
-10th Toshiba “Bring Good Things to Life” Art Competition
- 1999 - Art Thesis Exhibition
-“FUTURE IN MIND” by Jarg Geismar and art students from various universities in Bangkok with Goethe Institute at National Gallery, Bangkok
-45th National Exhibition of Art
-16th Exhibition of Contemporary Art by Young Artists
-Contemporary Art Competition Organized by Thai Farmer Bank
- 2000 -“Summer X Open Art Space”, Si-Am art space, Bangkok
-Print Exhibition “Thirty: First”, Mercury Art Gallery. Bangkok
-46th National Exhibition of Art
-17th Exhibition of Contemporary Art by Young Artists
-12th Toshiba “Bring Good Things to Life” Art Competition
-Contemporary Art Competition Organized by Thai Farmer Bank
- 2001 -47th National Exhibition of Art
-18th Exhibition of Contemporary Art by Young Artists
-13th Toshiba “Bring Good Things to Life” Art Competition
-Petroleum Authority Exhibition of Art, Bangkok
-International Print Triennial in Kanagawa 2001, Japan

- 2002 -48th National Exhibition of Art
 -19th Exhibition of Contemporary Art by Young Artists
 -14th Toshiba “Bring Good Things to Life” Art Competition
 -“PRINT” works by students from Tama Art University and Silpakorn
 University, Bangkok
- 2003 -49th National Exhibition of Art
 -The International Print and Drawing Exhibition on the Occasion of
 60th Anniversary Celebration of Silpakorn University, Thailand
 -International Print Biennial in Beijing, China
 -The 11th International Print and Drawing Exhibition 2003, R.O.C
 Taiwan
 -“PRINT Exhibition Tokyo 2003” works by students from Tama Art
 University and Silpakorn University, Japan
- 2004 -50th National Exhibition of Art
- 2005 -51st National Exhibition of Art
- 2007 -International Print Exhibition, Japan and Thailand, Kyoto Hanga, 2007

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