

MANAGING RELIGIOUS HERITAGE

**COMPETING DISCOURSES OF HERITAGE
AND CONFLICTS IN CULTURAL HERITAGE
MANAGEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF
LAMPHUN, NORTHERN THAILAND**

SASITSAYA SAENGPHEUNG

PhD

September 2011

Abstract

The nature of heritage is dissonant and heritage is likely to be part of conflicts or politics within and between classes, communities, ethnicity, identities or nations. One of the significant heritage debates is the presence of the Western Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) in non-Western societies, which may lead to tensions between stakeholders in heritage management.

Heritage management in Non-Western countries at times sits in a complex web of conflicts due to the existence of competing discourses that shape the way cultural heritage is interpreted and managed. This research explores how different heritage interest groups perceive 'cultural heritage' and respond to tensions in heritage management arising from the competing ideologies underpinning heritage management by mapping conflicts over heritage issues at the city of Lamphun in Northern Thailand.

There are different types of meanings and values attached to Lamphun's cultural heritage as a consequence of the coexistence of at least three major discourses: the traditional Buddhist/animistic worldview, the royalist-nationalist discourse and the Western AHD. This research has shown that while Western hegemony does exist, other competing discourses are equally influential. Heritage management will never be free of values or politics. In a place where management or administration is centralised, the parties that deliver globalised heritage practices are likely to be government agencies and experts. However, the outcomes of the implementation of these protocols, procedures or practices are often counterbalanced by traditional practices performed by locals and negotiations are necessary.

The relationship between parties that adhere to different heritage discourses is in fact on a continuum. Heritage is defined and re-defined by a range of communities as they negotiate their identities and sense of place. These negotiations will have ongoing influences and will change not only the content of heritage discourses but also which discourses are given power and legitimacy. Heritage management, thus, should be a dynamic practice. Even the dominant discourses can change over time. Thus, it is difficult to define a single or 'best' set of practices that are held to be 'universally true'.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
Acknowledgements	9
Declaration.....	9
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	10
The Case Study	12
Research Significance	16
Statement of Thesis.....	19
Structure of the Thesis	20
Chapter 2: Literature Review	24
Heritage as a discourse and the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD)	25
Outlining the problem	27
What is heritage?.....	30
History of cultural heritage management in Western society	35
Globalisation and internationalisation of heritage	38
The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC)	46
Thailand: a brief history.....	51
World Heritage listing in Thailand: global-local heritage issues.....	61
Conclusion	62
Chapter 3: Methodology: qualitative inquiry for understanding values and judgement in heritage studies	64
The nature of heritage and heritage studies.....	64
Understanding people’s perception of heritage in Lamphun: qualitative inquiry and empirical verification	67
Data Collection and Methodology	68
Analytical Framework.....	81
Difficulties and issues to consider in Fieldwork 2009 and 2010	82
Conclusion	85
Chapter 4: Lamphun, its cultural significance, history and heritage management.....	86

Lamphun's geographical characteristics	87
Background and history of Lamphun.....	92
Ethnic Composition.....	100
Lamphun's cultural heritage	102
Conclusion	134
Chapter 5: What constitutes cultural heritage in Thailand.....	136
Discourse I: The religious worldview.....	137
Discourse II: Nationalism and the Triad of Nation-Religion-Monarchy	159
Discourse III: The international or Western understanding of heritage.....	171
Lamphun, the coexistence of competing discourses and impacts on cultural heritage.....	182
Conclusion	183
Chapter 6: Communities and tensions between parties involved in cultural heritage management in Lamphun	185
Identifying conflict parties, history and context in Lamphun.....	186
Assessment of relationships between parties and their responses to heritage conflicts.....	213
Party orientation and conflict dynamics: tensions between different sectors of Lamphun's society and causative factors.....	216
Conclusion	247
Chapter 7: Globalising Lamphun's heritage and the involved parties' reactions to the proposal for World Heritage Listing.....	249
Background to the World Heritage listing project	250
Different parties' responses to Lamphun's proposal for World Heritage listing	257
Issues in the preparation of Lamphun's nomination for World Heritage listing	275
Other World Heritage Sites in Asia	280
Possible solutions for Lamphun's cultural heritage management and examples of other similar cases in Thailand	286
Political situation along the Thai-Cambodian border and the likely impacts on Lamphun	295
Conclusion	297

Chapter 8: Discussion on Cultural Heritage, Conflicts and Discourses on Heritage.....	299
Discursive nature of heritage: root of the problems.....	300
Heritage and Identity.....	303
Heritage, Buddhism and Identity	305
Globalisation, Internationalisation and Hegemonic Discourses in Heritage Management at Lamphun.....	308
Heritage, Archaeology and Communities.....	319
Conclusion:	325
Chapter 9: Conclusion	327
Appendix 1: Full survey and interview questions.....	336
The ‘Meaning of Heritage’ Survey	336
Interview Questions	337
Appendix 2:	341
A summary of the results of the ‘Meaning of Heritage’ Survey.....	341
Appendix 3: Relevant Thai legislation and documents.....	348
Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Arts and National Museums, B.E. 2504 (1961).....	348
Regulation for Monument Conservation, The Fine Arts Department 1985...360	
Abbreviations and Glossary	363
Bibliography	366

List of illustrations

Figure 1.1: Map of Lamphun	13
Figure 1.2: Lamphun and its key cultural heritage	15
Figure 3.1: Key heritage sites in the proposed conservation zone of Lamphun	72
Figure 4.1: Lamphun and key heritage sites	90
Figure 4.2: Heritage sites in the walled Old Town zone	91
Figure 4.3: Lamphun's key tangible heritage	103
Figure 4.4: The morphology of different cities in Northern Thailand	104-5
Figure 4.5: The conch-shaped city plan and the idea behind it	106
Figure 4.6: The current conditions of the six city gates	108
Figure 4.7: The main components of a Lanna <i>wat</i>	111
Figure 4.8: The four temples situated at four cardinal points of the city	112
Figure 4.9: Famous amulets of Lamphun found at the four 'spiritual fortresses'	113
Figure 4.10: Monuments in Wat Phrathat Haripunchai	115
Figure 4.11: Religious structures in Wat Phra Yeun	116-7
Figure 4.12: Wat Jama Thewi and the two Haripunchai <i>stupas</i>	118-9
Figure 4.13: Wat Ku La Mak	119
Figure 4.14: The Royal Elephant and Horse shrines	120
Figure 4.15: Three clusters of ancient monuments at Wiang Koh Klang	122
Figure 4.16: Wiang Koh Klang	123
Figure 4.17: Artefacts found at the excavation of Wiang Koh Klang	124
Figure 4.18 A map showing connections between places and intangible heritage	126

Figure 4.19: Relationship between intangible heritage and places in the Old Town zone	127
Figure 4.20: The Phrathat Bathing Ceremony	128
Figure 4.21: Traditional dance in dedication to Phrathat Haripunchai	130
Figure 4.22: Klong Luang, a percussive musical instrument	131
Figure 5.1: Diagram comparing what participants think is the meaning of the term 'cultural heritage'	144
Figure 5.2: Diagram showing types of heritage that participants are associated with	145
Figure 5.3: Diagram showing reasons for visiting heritage sites or getting involved in intangible heritage	145
Figure 5.4: Relic shrines in Northern Thailand	154
Figure 6.1: City wall at Tha-nang Gate	194
Figure 6.2: The Royal Elephant and Horse shrines	203
Figure 6.3: A new finial that will replace the old, but still usable, one and a donation box	219
Figure 6.4: Comparison of two square <i>stupas</i>	220
Figure 6.5: Modern structures are built on top of or in the vicinity of remnants of the past.	222
Figure 6.6: Modern structures are built on top of or in the vicinity of remnants of the past	222
Figure 6.7: The Royal Elephant shrine represents the coexistence of spirit cults and Buddhism in the past and at present	239-40
Figure 7.1: Luang Prabang	281
Figure 7.2: Hoi An	284
Figure 7.3: Sukhothai Historical Park	288
Figure 8. 1: Community consultation sessions	314

List of Tables

Table 3.1: List of expert interviewees	74
Table 3.2: List of ethnographic interviewees	75
Table 5.1: Table of participants' responses to the question 'Please name three (or more) items that you think are Lamphun's key cultural heritage'.	147-8
Table 6.1: A comparison between traditional Lanna and Kruba Sriwichai's achitectural styles	226-7
Table 6.2: Responses to the question 'Who do you think should be involved in the management of Lamphun's cultural heritage?'	231
Table 7.1: Participants' responses to the question 'What do you understand by the term World Heritage?'	253
Table 7.2: Participants' responses to the question 'Do you want Lamphun to be a World Heritage Site?'	255
Table 7.3: Participants' responses to the question 'Why do you want Lamphun to be a World Heritage site? '	255-6
Table 7.4.1: 'What do you think are advantages of Lamphun being a World Heritage site?'	256
Table 7.4.2: 'What do you think are disadvantages of Lamphun being a World Heritage site?'	256
Table 8.1: The number of tourists and excursionists in Lamphun from 2001-2005	310

Acknowledgements

I would like first to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Laurajane Smith and Dr. Kevin Walsh for the supervision and valuable guidance on my research and my life at university and all the encouragement and moral support for me throughout the time at the University of York. I am also deeply grateful to Peter Gouldsbrough and Steve Roskams for the useful comments in every Thesis Advisory Panel, and the Royal Thai government for the scholarship. Further, I also would like to thank all the staff, Friday heritage reading group, and colleagues at the department of Archaeology, University of York, whose knowledge enabled me to widen my knowledge and attitudes towards cultural heritage. Special thanks must be given to Gary Campbell and Dr. Malcolm Wren for editing my work.

In addition, my thesis would not have been completed without support from responsible figures in Thailand including: Dr. Pensupa Sukhata Jai-in, Mrs Benjawan Polprasert and all the officials at Haripunchai national museum; Mr. Witoon and Mrs. Pranee Tanthanachot and other experts and staff from Synchron Group Ltd; experts from ICOMOS Thailand; and Mister Sawang Malasam. I would like to thank these people for support, guidance and providing me with opportunities to participate in relevant activities and to access sources of information necessary for the completion of my thesis.

I would also like to acknowledge the useful contributions from Assistant Professor Somchot Ongsakul and other lecturers at CMU; Former Director of Sukhothai National Park, Former Director of the Regional Office of Fine Arts in Chiang Mai; Director of Lamphun Buddhism Office; Head of Lamphun Municipal Office; Town planning office; Mayor of the TAO; Dhamma Heritage Park and all other experts in the heritage fields and all the participants of the survey. Your valuable insights are an important part of my thesis.

Finally, I am forever indebted to my beloved parents, friends of the family in Thailand, lovely friends and housemates in the UK for their understanding, patience, support and encouragement every time I required it. Everyone has been instrumental in the successful completion of this research.

Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. The secondary data and other sources are identified in the footnotes and bibliography.

Sasitsaya Saengphueng, September 2011

Chapter 1: Introduction

Having been brought up in an historical town in Thailand, and trained as an archaeologist in the United Kingdom, I found that my perception of heritage has been influenced by different ideologies. In fact, my perception of heritage has constantly changed as I have grown up and been exposed to new experience. As a highschool student who was impressed with Indiana Jones and his quest for priceless artefacts, I came to appreciate objects and monuments of outstanding values and the attached narratives that fascinate the world. As an undergraduate archaeology student, I always believed that conservation of heritage should be a common interest of humanity and the destruction of authenticity was a serious crime against objects' value. As a consequence, I inevitably felt irritated that much of the physical heritage in Thailand has been renovated or restored by host communities, or even state agencies, with no respect for the original designs. I felt even more irritated when a number of friends and acquaintances showed too little interest in cultural heritage or cultural activities. However, as I exposed myself to various types of heritage practice in my fieldwork and in my private time, I started to understand that the community of heritage professionals is only one community of interest. In a place like Thailand, heritage management has never been free of tensions or conflicts and heritage professionals at times need to compromise their needs and expectations. A series of questions, thus, emerged in my mind: Should there be a globalised set of conservation and management practices? What might be the solution to conflicts over heritage issues, if different communities really understand 'cultural heritage' differently?

This research attempts to examine how, and to what extent, Western or international standardised heritage practices have been employed in Thailand, and how locals respond to this Western Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD). This research focuses on the city of Lamphun, the first historic town in Northern Thailand, where the World Heritage listing campaign was launched and mobilised by local heritage agencies, state agencies and some representatives of communities. The following sub-questions aim to investigate heritage management issues that occur in Lamphun:

1. What do Lamphun local residents perceive as 'cultural heritage'? What types of values and significance are attached to such heritage?

This thesis studies perceptions of heritage and associated values held by different parties: state agencies, the communities of monks, local communities and communities of experts. It also explores issues related to the meaning-making process of heritage, for example, the work explores how these communities link heritage identity and collective memory.

2. Are Lamphun residents' perceptions of cultural heritage different from the officialised meanings at both national and international levels?

After exploring what constituted Lamphun's heritage, and how the knowledge of heritage in Lamphun is constructed, this research investigates the differences and similarities between traditional and official Thai and international ideologies underlying heritage practices in Lamphun.

3. What are the principles in conservation and management adopted by responsible organisations in Lamphun? Are there any difficulties in pursuing such management strategies? How do different communities respond to these heritage management strategies?

These questions are answered by studying current documents and principles in heritage management, and examining difficulties and conflicts of interest between parties involved in the current management systems.

4. Do local residents feel that heritage management is a duty they should engage in? Are residents involved in heritage practice in the city, such as community consultation, training, etc?

This question is answered by investigating debates or conflicts concerning different communities' opinions on heritage management, and analysing policy documents and regulations, such as the *Master Plan for the preparation of Lamphun for World Heritage* listing.

5. Why do different parties want Lamphun to be inscribed on the World Heritage list? Will the campaign for World Heritage listing create conflicts among different communities in Lamphun? What are local residents' responses to the proposal for World Heritage listing?

This question aims to further investigate local reactions to the World Heritage listing campaign, and explore the cultural work that the campaign does in Lamphun society.

6. If there are differences in values and practices between communities of interest, how can such conflicts be resolved? Will the use of regionally or locally developed principles reduce tensions among stakeholders?

This final question aims to explore what has been done, if anything, to resolve the problems identified by this research and to speculate on what a resolution may be for Lamphun.

The Case Study

Lamphun, the case study for this research, is the smallest province in the north of Thailand, with an area of approximately 4,505,882 km², or approximately 4.85% of the entire upper northern region (Freeman 2001: 107). It was the capital of the Haripunchai kingdom, which was located north of a group of kingdoms in Siampradesh (Wallipodom 1998). Haripunchai is thought to have been the northernmost kingdom, and was influenced by the Dvaravati cultures from central Thailand. Many chronicles suggested that Queen Jama Thewi, the first ruler of Haripunchai, came from Lavo, one of the Dvaravati states in the central plain of Siampradesh (Wyatt 1982). Lamphun was the administrative, cultural and religious centre of the Northern kingdoms from the early eighth century until 1296, when it fell under Lanna rule (Leksukhum 2006: 18). Although Lamphun's political significance, as the most dominant polity among Northern Thai states, was diminished due to the invasion of other polities, its cultural significance, as the centre of Buddhism among the Northern kingdoms, has been maintained. However, Lamphun's original cultural traditions were not handed down from ancestors to later generations without intervention from external influences. When Lamphun was incorporated into the Lanna kingdom, it adopted a wide

spectrum of Lanna arts and cultures, which remain the most dominant cultures in Lamphun.

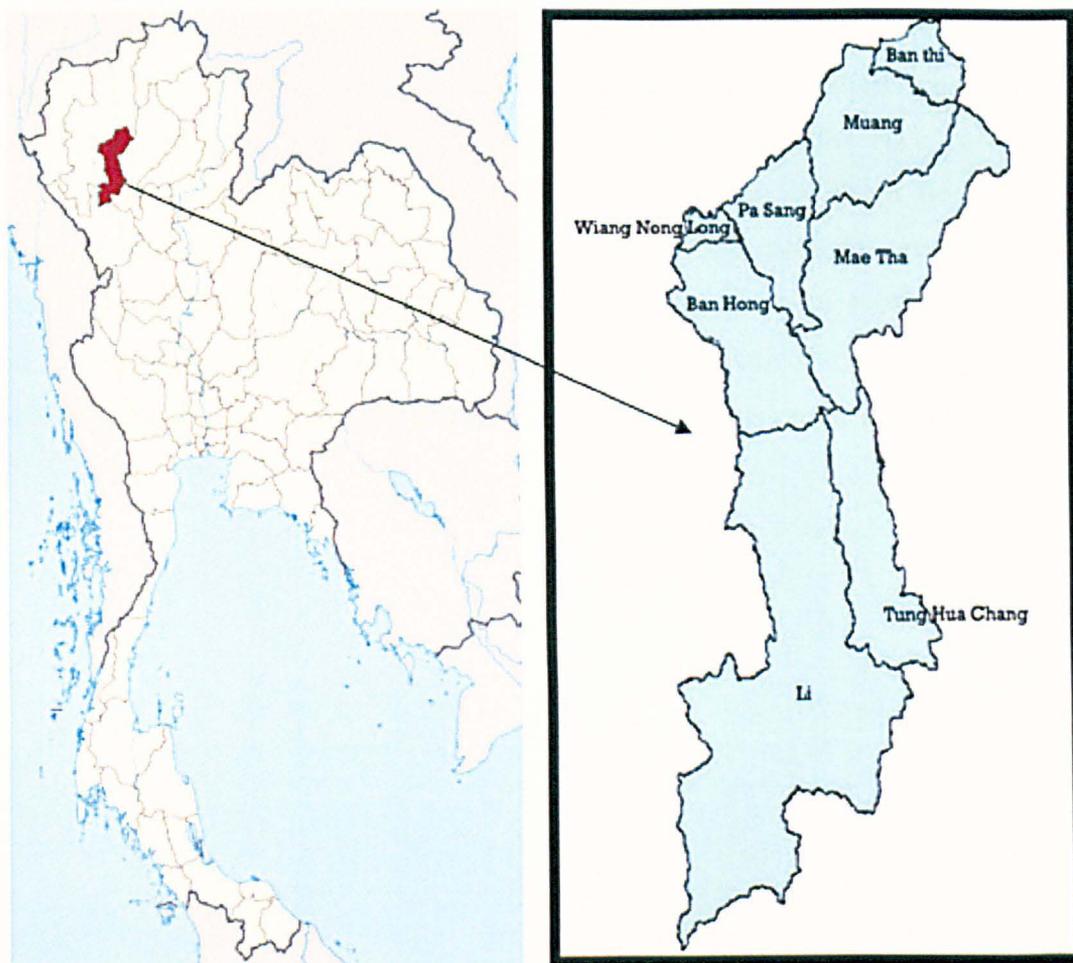


Figure 1. 1: Map of Lamphun

Lamphun is located in Northern Thailand. The city is divided into seven districts and one minor district.

Lamphun was chosen as a good case study firstly because of its cultural significance as the first historic kingdom in Northern Thailand, dating back to over 1,300 years ago (Freeman 2001: 107). Lamphun has also been well known as a prosperous religious centre since the time of its establishment (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). The Buddha relic shrine, Phrathat Haripunchai, which is located at the heart of the Old Town, emphasises Lamphun's importance as the religious centre of the region. Secondly, conflicts that emerge as a consequence of the coexistence of the competing discourses of heritage have been reported in Lamphun, and these will contribute insights into international and national

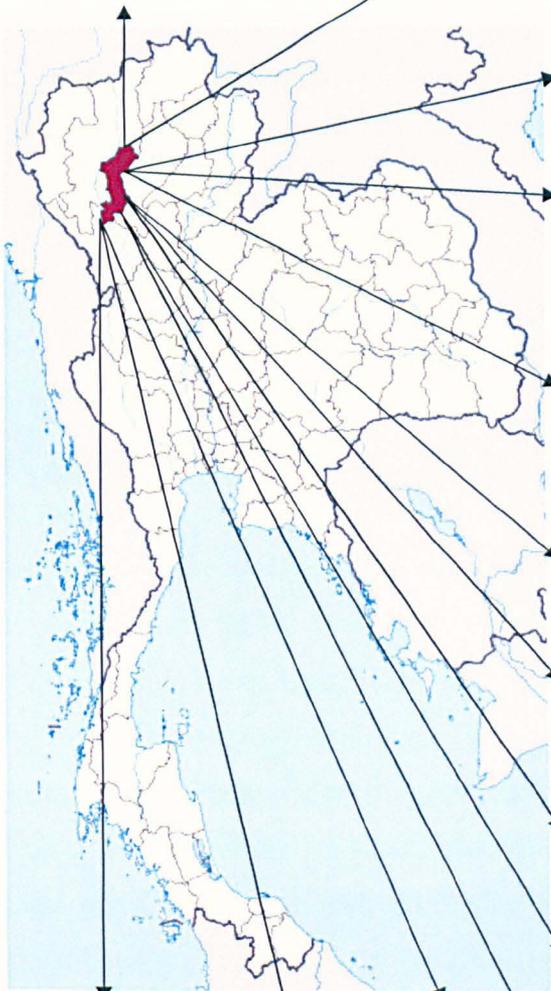
debates with regard to heritage management. Although Lamphun is still largely an agricultural province, an essential feature that helps to maintain a traditional and community-based way of life (Synchron 2009b), modern intervention and other activities, which have affected the authenticity and integrity of the fabric of heritage, can be seen within the old town (ONEP 2009: 21). The conflicting nature of Lamphun may reflect how different parties adhere to different heritage discourses in heritage management, and explain what underlies each party's perception of cultural heritage. Additionally, the 'Lamphun to World Heritage' campaign introduced to the wider public in 2004 has brought changes of practices, generated serious discussions on heritage issues among local residents and experts, and made the conflicts more visible to local residents and observers. (See map of Lamphun's key tangible and intangible heritage on the next page)



← Budha Relic shrine, located at the heart of the city and in the heart of locals.



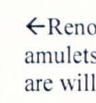
← A large number of living wats, including the 4 wats designated 'spiritual fortresses' by the first ruler. Quintessentially religious town.



← Connection to the Dvaravati culture.



Mystery of ancient ruins yet unsolved.



← Renowned Buddha amulets antique-lovers are willing to fight for.



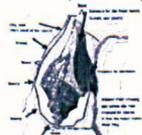
← Richness of seasonal, agricultural and Buddhist intangible traditions.



Home of the Tai Yongs and their unique traditions.



Textile production sites, famous for cotton hand-woven cloth.



Conch-shaped city layout: unique town morphology.



← Heritage sites related to the Queen Jama Thewi folklore.



Mon and ancient inscriptions



Old buildings, various architectural styles

Figure 1. 2: Lamphun and its key cultural heritage

Research Significance

This thesis uses the influential work of Denis Byrne, which focused on the influence of Western or Eurocentric ideologies in cultural heritage management in non-Western countries, particularly Thailand, as its starting point (Byrne 1993: 240). Byrne established that ancient places and objects are not socially constructed by single acts of interpretation, but interpreted in the light of lingering and dominant discourses. In Thailand, Western ethics and ideologies were imported by the government, and have become an influential discourse in heritage management. Nonetheless, Thai traditional discourses have not totally been supplanted, and are still active in many places, and in some cases local beliefs or cultures have influenced the reception of Western ideologies (Byrne 1993: 245). These discourses influence heritage practices at different levels. This thesis builds on Denis Byrne's thesis of 1993, by exploring how the different heritage discourses that he identified work in different communities at the local level in Thailand, using Lamphun as a case study. It first explores the influence of traditional Buddhist and Animistic beliefs on the public perception of cultural heritage. It documents how tangible and intangible heritage is understood according to Theravada Buddhist and Animistic ideologies to see whether heritage practices in Thailand, particular in the area of the conservation of Buddhist heritage, have changed since the completion of Byrne's thesis in 1993. This thesis also explores the cultural work of other 'secularist' ideologies that have been imported from the Western world, the Western conservation ethic, and most importantly, the nationalist ideologies constructed for the creation of a unitary nation-state.

Byrne expressed concerns in his thesis that the implementation of Western conservation ethics in non-Western contexts would result in significant local tensions. This research thus aims to document this tension at a local level. It also explores the extent to which both Western conservation ethics and the nationalist discourses affect local heritage practices and it explores how local communities respond to this ideological imposition. It finally maps conflicts between communities, identifies the discourses that each party adheres to, and analyses relationships, including power relations, between parties that are in

conflict in Lamphun in order to see if there might be a possible solution to untangling what are complex webs of conflicts.

In relation to global heritage issues, this research also contributes to the international debates on whether there is a Western hegemony in heritage management. It explores the cultural work that the Western AHD, as defined by Smith (2006), does to different communities at a local level in a non-Western country, where perceptions of cultural heritage and values attributed to cultural heritage are different from the Western context. There have been growing debates over the appropriate use of Western ethics in non-Western countries (Byrne 1991, 1993; Logan 2002; Smith 2006). The response of Asian-Pacific countries to the scepticism about the universality of heritage conservation ethics has resulted in the development of regional charters and principles. These were developed in order to identify regional or national values, significance and raise awareness of cultural diversity (UNESCO 1995: xxi). Despite the fact that universality of practice in heritage management has been challenged by some Western and non-Western heritage scholars, Thailand has followed Western strategies in the conservation and management of cultural heritage, including the Venice Charter, the Washington Charter and other international guidelines, such as those promoted by ICOMOS, ICCROM and ICOM (Sanghitkul 2004: 6). In addition to the issues relating to the internationalisation of heritage, the discussion also includes the usefulness of World Heritage listing in the Thai context. This research focuses the investigation on the case of Lamphun and the proposal for World Heritage listing driven by local heritage agencies and draws some examples from other heritage sites in Thailand and in Southeast Asia. It also explores responses from different communities, and discusses how conflicts have been dealt with by different communities and heritage agencies.

This thesis also contributes to the debates concerning the power of nation-states in the adoption of the Western AHD in the non-Western context and in the construction of an 'imagined' national community. There are many scholars (Winichakul 1994, 2000; Anderson 2006; Peleggi 2007; Askew 2010) who have proposed that the transfer of Western ideologies, science and technology into Thailand was a selective process. The ideologies that were imported were intended to support nation building and the construction of 'Thai identity'. This research explores the causes and consequences of the Western

AHD, nationalist discourse and conflicts that emerge at the local level as resistance to the imposition of local heritage practices.

The studies of formal and informal heritage practices and communities' responses conducted as part of this research may also contribute to an understanding of the issues concerning what constitutes cultural heritage, including the perception of tangible and intangible heritage in Thailand. The social process of meaning-making and identity-making, and the ideologies that underpin heritage management, will also be discussed. As Byrne's work (1993) illustrates, traditional Thai perceptions of authenticity and spirit of the place are different from Western notions. Spiritual values attached to tangible heritage and associated cultural traditions influence local communities' maintenance and conservation of tangible heritage (Shinawatra 2004: 99). The Thai perception of heritage has been influenced by different layers of ideologies as indicated above, thus the study of how the knowledge of heritage is constructed in Thailand will re-emphasise the idea that cultural heritage is a cultural process rather than an element of inherent value.

This research also contributes to the international and national issues of community heritage, a concept that has recently been included in the public policy of several countries, including Thailand. The notion of 'community' in public policy is often seen as occurring due to concerns about social exclusion, multiculturalism and cultural diversity (Smith and Waterton 2009). From the experts' point of view, community participation in heritage management is seen as part of sustainable development (Vongsa 2006: 158; Pattakiattichai 2006: 161). However, the way in which communities and government agencies communicate with each other can be fraught with misunderstanding, and will be different from place to place. The 2009-2010 fieldwork explores the relationship of heritage and communities, and the understanding of 'community participation' on the part of both government agencies and local residents.

Statement of Thesis

With reference to Lamphun, the research findings generally suggest that more than one discourse on the meaning and nature of heritage exists in Thailand. These discourses influence heritage practices at a local level, and the coexistence of competing discourses in heritage management often puts pressure on cultural heritage agencies and local communities. The relationship between parties that adhere to different discourses is on a continuum. Social, cultural or political circumstances often define the most influential discourse.

The three dominant discourses of heritage in Thailand are the traditional Buddhist-animistic ideologies, the royalist-nationalist discourse and the Western AHD, and all three have been used at different times to legitimise or delegitimise certain community identities. The Western AHD is seen as an influential discourse as it has shaped official heritage practices performed by state agencies and local government officials. However, the import of the Western AHD is the choice of the bureaucracies involved in heritage management. In the case of Thailand, the nationalist discourse led to the construction of 'Thai identity' as well as the modernisation, or 'civilisation' of the country (Winichakul 1994; 2000). The Western AHD was in fact imported to enhance the national narrative and the developing twentieth century Thai identity. Western sciences and ideologies have been employed in Thailand in order to make the country 'civilised' in the eyes of others and in order to unify other tributary states into a unitary nation (Winichakul 2000). The nationalist discourse also put pressure on local communities at a psychological level since local heritage practices have been impinged upon by outside practices. Another discourse exists at the local community level, where traditional practices have been so deeply entrenched in Lamphun society that they are not easily replaced by external practices framed either by the AHD or by the nation-state discourse.

In addition to these discourses, modernisation, commercialisation and industrialisation are bringing changes to existing cultural heritage. The conflicts that have emerged in Lamphun start at the ideological level. Conflicts in heritage management include value conflicts, structural conflicts, data conflicts, interest conflicts and relationship conflicts. Some conflicts may be resolvable, whilst

others are hard to resolve. Thus, the likely solution may be to be aware of the differences that exist around Lamphun, and in Thailand more generally, and to include an explicit awareness of these difference in conservation plans and other heritage management practices, while also making these practices dynamic or adjustable to social-cultural and political changes and difference. The first priority may be to solve relationship conflicts, and create necessary dialogues between different communities, so that different parties can proceed to work on other issues. While this has often been done in Western contexts, the recognition that there are different discourses and understandings of heritage and that different communities may have different needs and aspirations for heritage is something that has not been extensively studied in Thailand. Thus this thesis makes a contribution to Thai heritage policy and practice by identifying the degree and types of conflict that can and do occur over heritage issues and how these conflicts are complicated by the tensions created by the three different framing discourses.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter two reviews the literature related to the Western hegemony in heritage management as well as the nation-state hegemony. Debates about the globalisation of heritage, intangible heritage and community heritage are also discussed. The chapter starts by establishing the concept of ‘discourse’ and AHD, followed by a discussion of how cultural heritage is perceived in different ways, and how Western notions of heritage have influenced heritage practices across the globe. It then explores the issue of the globalisation and internationalisation of heritage practices, through the work of international heritage agencies, particularly the work of UNESCO, via a discussion of two significant conventions, the World Heritage Convention and the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. It finally establishes understanding of the impacts that such phenomena have on Thailand in relation to the historical context of the country.

Chapter three outlines the methodology used in this research, as well as the explanations of and justifications for the use of methods and techniques, and the choice of Lamphun as the case study. This research focuses on understandings of ‘meaning’, ‘values’ and ‘experience’ attributed to physical objects or sites and intangible heritage. It also emphasises that heritage can be understood as a discourse. The research methodology was designed to extract qualitative information from targeted sources, with a quantitative summary used to verify and illustrate the trends and themes in the fieldwork data. The data collection for this research was conducted among local residents of Lamphun to compare the official meaning of heritage with those perceived and understood by locals. Data collection techniques in the 2009-2010 fieldwork were divided into four main parts: the Meaning of Heritage Survey, observational data from participant observation, document research and semi-structured interviews.

Chapter four outlines and discusses the geographical, political, and social-cultural factors that shape the nature and characteristics of Lamphun’s cultural heritage, such as the social and political history and ethnic composition of the region, which influences the way the knowledge of heritage is constructed. It discusses the way in which local residents’ perceptions of heritage in Lamphun are heavily influenced by a Buddhist worldview, mythical aspects of oral history, religious texts or supernatural beliefs that result in an alternative interpretation and management of cultural heritage. Lamphun’s heritage is mostly associated with Buddhist traditions, spirit cults or the narrative of Queen Jama Thewi, the first ruler of Haripunchai.

Chapter five identifies the dominant discourses that influence local-level heritage management; this includes the traditional Buddhist-animistic worldview, the royalist-nationalist discourse and the Western AHD. These dominant discourses determine how both tangible and intangible heritage is constructed and managed.

Chapter six maps conflicts over heritage management arising from the interplay between different parties that adhere to different discourses, with reference to the case study of Lamphun, to illustrate how different parties react to particular heritage issues and to each other, and how these parties are influenced by the

existence of heritage discourses. Stakeholders in heritage management are divided into conflict parties. Secondly, the context of conflict will be discussed through an assessment of the relationships and reactions between parties and conflict levels. Lastly, party orientation and conflict dynamics will be further investigated by dividing past conflicts into conflict styles (value conflict, structure conflict, interest conflicts, data conflict and relationship conflict).

Chapter seven further explores the conflicts in heritage management which intensified after the proposal for World Heritage listing. This chapter discusses how World Heritage listing represents an attempt on the part of local heritage and administrative agencies to 'protect' the authenticity and integrity of Lamphun's heritage. World Heritage listing, which is seen as part of the globalisation of heritage practices, or the spread of the Western AHD through international heritage agencies, has become embedded in Lamphun's cultural policies with support from government agencies, local government, and some representatives of local communities. However, conflicts between the parties in the current heritage management system often generate problems regarding the practical aspects of heritage management which need to be resolved if Lamphun local authorities decide to proceed with the World Heritage listing.

Chapter eight develops the discussion from the insights discussed in the previous chapters. It proposes that Lamphun's cultural heritage includes a wide range of entities, and its management sits within a complex web of internal conflicts between different communities. The nature of cultural heritage is dissonant and conflict-ridden. Cultural heritage is closely associated with the production of identity and sense of place. Value conflicts in cultural heritage management may not be retrievable, but tensions can be reduced by addressing the fact that there are differences in the way heritage is understood.

Chapter nine concludes the research findings, outlines the limitations of this piece of work and possible areas that can be developed in the future.

This thesis was undertaken at a specific point in time, and analyses a particular case study. However, it also argues that the issues associated with the

case study are ongoing issues in Thai society generally. These include conflicts over claims of ownership of heritage, conflicts between caretakers and spokespersons of the past, and the ongoing question: 'for whom is cultural heritage conserved?'. Social and cultural changes also raise questions with regard to whether or not such changes are part of natural cultural development or are threats to cultural heritage. Conflicts over cultural heritage reflect its dissonant nature. This thesis emphasises that the best solution for heritage conflicts might not be the implementation of standardised international or national codes of practice, but one that addresses the needs of all parties involved in a conflict and that attempts to provide psychologically satisfying results for all interests.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

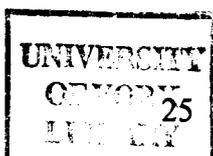
This thesis re-emphasises the discursive nature of heritage and also seeks to discuss the idea that ‘heritage discourses’ influence the different ways in which heritage is understood. It is thus difficult to define the ‘best’ management practice as the interplay between political groups, identities or ethnicities may vary across space and cultures. This thesis uses the concept of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) developed by Laurajane Smith (2006). Smith (2006) argues that there is a set of practices that influence the way heritage is defined and implemented in Western society, which finds synergy with Denis Byrne’s proposition that there is Western hegemony in cultural heritage management in the non-Western world (Byrne 1991). This work also seeks to expand Byrne’s (1993) proposition that there are different discourses in Thailand that affect the way heritage is interpreted at different levels. Such discourses include Western conservation ethics adopted by government agencies and the elites, and the traditional Buddhist worldview embraced by local communities. This chapter reviews the heritage literature, discussing in particular the debate on the nature and role of heritage discourses in cultural heritage management and the social-cultural factors underlying heritage practices in Thailand. It first introduces the concept of ‘discourse’ and the Western AHD, which will be the central concept of this research, and outlines the concepts and ideas that underpin this study. The chapter then explores the debates over the definition and meanings of ‘heritage’, and reviews recent debates concerning the dominant discourse in heritage management in both Western and non-Western countries. Secondly, the chapter provides background information on Thailand, including a brief history and a discussion of the complex issue of modernisation and nationalism that significantly shape the way the Thai heritage has been conceived and managed. The final section discusses the more practical heritage issues at regional, national and local levels in Thailand that will be developed in more detailed discussions in later chapters.

Heritage as a discourse and the Authorised Heritage Discourse

(AHD)

Central to this thesis is the concept that ‘heritage can be understood as a discourse’. This approach to understanding heritage practices has been proposed by some heritage scholars, such as Smith (2006, 2009) and Waterton (2010), whose work relates to the influence of discourses on cultural heritage policies in the UK and in the international treaties and conventions that deal with cultural heritage. The meaning of discourse in this context is based on Critical Discourse Analysis, which sees semiosis as an indicator of social processes (Fairclough 2001) and identifies how people organise themselves and act through particular discourses (Fairclough *et al.* 2004). It is not only limited to the use of language, but it also refers to social practices or sets of ideologies that construct the way heritage is understood and practised. Fairclough (2001, 2003) suggests that every practice is an articulation of diverse social elements within a relatively stable configuration, always including discourse. He also stresses that discourses are diverse representations of social life which are inherently positioned and discourse figures in broadly three ways of practice. It figures as part of social activity. It also figures in representation, which means social actors often produce representations of other practice as well as their own practices. Discourses include representations of how things are and have been, as well as imaginaries – representations of how things might or could or should be (Fairclough 2001:3, 2003: 26). In addition, discourse figures in ways of being or constituting identities (Fairclough 2001:3). Smith (2006: 15) suggests that discourses frame the way we think and the practices we engage in. Thus, it is also useful to understand the relationship between discourses as discourses constrain and constitute various relationships between people. The concept of ‘heritage as a discourse’ emphasises that heritage is not a fixed-unchanging thing, but something that is constructed, created, constituted and reflected by discourse, a set of ideologies that influence human practices (Waterton 2010:4).

Smith (2006) suggests that there is a dominant heritage discourse that has shaped the way people think about, talk about and view heritage in Western countries, and this is termed the ‘Authorised Heritage Discourse’ (AHD). The



AHD favours Western notions of grandiosity and monumentality as a legacy of Romanticist philosophies (Smith 2006: 191). In addition to the great, the good and the elite, the AHD also validates and underpins national narratives and reinforces the idea of innate cultural values tied to the materiality of heritage, time depth, aesthetics, and expert knowledge (Smith 2006: 299). In addition, the Western notion of heritage management embraces a universal practice or the idea of a 'shared' heritage of humanity. Therefore, heritage is to be preserved by the current generation for the educational or aesthetic wonderment of future generations. As such, the AHD both privileges and marginalises certain forms of heritage and the existence of the AHD may provoke confrontational exchange between identity groups whose sense of heritage sites them outside of or in opposition to the AHD.

Therefore, the presence of the AHD not only defines what heritage is, but also identifies the legitimacy of certain bodies of expertise to control heritage and thus how heritage should be managed. The AHD constructs an authorised mentality that frames the practices of heritage organisations and becomes a part of the process of maintaining cultural heritage conservation and supports management principles that in turn serve and emphasise the existence of the AHD. Smith's work (2006) implies that the AHD's influence on heritage may be seen through the work of heritage professionals and heritage agencies as they are an interest group directly influenced by the AHD. The AHD has been embraced in earlier international heritage legislation and policy documents and plays a key role in determining national and international heritage management strategies in the Western world. Clear examples are illustrated in the work of Smith (2006) and Waterton (2010). Smith's (2006) research illustrates how the AHD that has underpinned Western government cultural policies and international policy documents marginalises some particular types of heritage, such as labour heritage, Indigenous heritage, and dissonant or 'dark' heritage. The analysis carried out by both Smith (2006) and Waterton (2010) of the Venice and Burra charters and the World Heritage Convention indicates that the AHD, as embedded in these documents, has generated a community of practitioners and expertise which adopts a set of 'shared' conservation values or notions of heritage (Smith 2006: 113; Waterton *et al.* 2006). Waterton (2010: 2) also criticises the British government's policies of 'social inclusion' that encourage

ethnic minorities or the deprived sectors of society to expose themselves to 'cultured' activities. She points out that such policies privilege mainstream culture and at the same time neglect the notions of multiculturalism, often simply attempting to assimilate minority understandings of heritage into the dominant understanding of culture and history.

Nonetheless, the AHD is not static or unchanging and it is open to challenge. Heritage is a cultural process, as Smith argues, that can adapt and evolve, but the ideologies imbued in the discourse often impede changes in heritage practice and even the perception of heritage (Smith 2006:114). The following section outlines the problems that can emerge from the coexistence of the AHD and other influential discourses on heritage in Thailand. The Thai government and locals, it is important to stress, are not passive recipients of the imported Western notions of heritage and conservation ideologies.

Outlining the problem

The central theme of this thesis is the study of conflicts or tensions that have emerged as a consequence of the existence of competing discourses in heritage management at a local level. This section will briefly introduce the tensions and conflicts that emerge from the existence of the two significant, yet conflict-driven, sets of ideologies. Detailed discussion and analysis of each topic raised in this section in relation to a specific case study will be presented in chapters five, six and seven.

Cultural heritage in modern day Thailand has been influenced by different discourses and different political factions over time. Nevertheless, the phenomenon that generated crucial and radical changes and allowed new sets of ideologies to become rooted in Thai society is the modernisation of the country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which imposed a modern secular worldview upon the traditional spiritual one. This modernisation, or civilisation in the view of the Thai elites, was part of the nation-building process. As a consequence, the two significant processes to be investigated in this research were the transfer of Western ideologies that influence the perception of heritage and the construction of national narratives by the Thai nation-state.

These two processes have constructed order and generated tensions and conflicts in heritage practice on various scales.

Western ideologies, including Western notions of heritage, have been transferred to Thailand through the established societies of Westerners, the Thai government, international heritage agencies and even Thai heritage academics and professionals (Byrne 1993; Winichakul 1994, 2000; Peleggi 2007). The major legislation relevant to the conservation of cultural heritage largely consists of adaptations from Western documents, such as the Athens and Venice Charter (Jiajanpong 2005). The establishment of museums and heritage organisations, namely the Fine Arts Department, has essentially been influenced by Western ideologies since the time of Thailand's modernisation in the early twentieth century (Winichakul 1994, 2000; Peleggi 2007). Byrne (1993) observes that the current discourse related to cultural heritage in the Western world has emerged as part of modernism, whereby the concepts of the divinity and the holiness of paganism and early Christianity have been separated from everyday practice. However, in many non-Western countries, including Thailand, spiritual continuity and the significance of religious worldviews still play an important part in day-to-day practice (Jiajanpong 2005). These concepts have influenced national cultural policies in non-Western countries through the work of international heritage organisations and through colonialism (Byrne 1991 1993).

However, in the case of Thailand, the import of the Western AHD is in fact part of state hegemonic discourse. Some scholars, such as Winichakul (1994), Peleggi (1995, 2002, 2007), Askew (2010) and Connors (2005), suggest that the powerful force that shapes heritage policies in the non-Western countries comes from the nation-state. Unlike other neighbouring countries, Thailand managed to escape Western colonialism, but this does not mean that the country has not been affected by Western ideologies. The state deliberately crafts heritage policies to serve political purposes and has selectively imported Western ideologies that it sees as complementary to its goals, which were mainly related to the development of Thai identity and the Thai nation-state (Winichakul 2000; Askew 2010). That is, the embedding of the Western AHD in heritage practices and cultural policies is a choice made by the nation-state. Western notions of heritage were utilised for the reaffirmation of the Thai religious and dynastic institutions as underpinned by the nationalist discourse as well as in response to

the demands for modernisation of practices as to be discussed later in this chapter. Local heritage practices, thus, have been imposed on by two layers of dominant ideologies.

Tensions between heritage professionals who adhere to Western conservation ethics and local residents who wish to preserve the spiritual values of heritage sites have often been reported by Thai heritage managers and archaeologists (Musigakama 1989; Jiajanpong 2005). One of the most criticised incidents was the conservation of Sukhothai, the famous World Heritage and national historical park. A number of local groups were opposed to the principle of 'conserved as found' and rather wanted to see the Buddhist icons restored to their original beauty (Jiajanpong 2005: 29). This conflict led to a major addition to conservation principles, which allows practitioners to take cultural and spiritual significance into account when working with sacred heritage sites (Byrne 2004) (see chapter five for details). However, at a local level conflicts between communities of interest have continued. Similar cases are still happening throughout Thailand as noted by heritage professionals from across the country that I have met and talked to throughout the fieldwork and in my private time. Heritage sites in Lamphun, my case study, have often been used as examples of heritage conflicts in national and local heritage forums¹ that I have participated in. Another example often used is the conservation of mural paintings in Thailand. In many cases the head monks have completely erased the old, archaeologically valuable but faint, painting and repainted it in a livelier, more colourful, animated style (Jiajanpong 2005: 30). The main source of tension here is that experts tend to place emphasis on the authenticity of the fabric of heritage sites while the value of these sites as sacred sites for local residents seems to be in conflict with the expert preoccupation with 'authenticity'. In conclusion, the Western conservation ideologies and the nationalist discourse have become influential discourses that have shaped heritage practices through the work of government agencies and the 'elite' of Thailand (Byrne 1993; Peleggi 2007). The problems associated with the hegemony of the state could be that the nationalist cultural policies reduce the

¹ ICOMOS consultation sessions, Thailand Charter discussion session, Academic seminar held by the National Museums, etc.

diversity of local traditions and the centralised structure of state heritage agencies also create psychological barriers that defer cooperation between parties involved in the heritage conflicts (see chapters six and seven). The Western ideologies practised by state agencies and a community of experts also generate conflicts in heritage practice, particularly in the area of conservation and maintenance. The existence of the nationalist discourses also generates significant tensions and conflicts at ideological and psychological levels. The root of the problem is that cultural heritage has varied meanings for different communities. This chapter now discusses the meanings of heritage in order to establish a basic understanding of how different perceptions may develop into heritage conflicts on different scales.

What is heritage?

The term 'heritage', derived from a French word 'héritage', literally means the property or heirlooms passed on from ancestors to the following generations (Davison 2008: 31). Meanings and values attributed to heritage vary temporally and geographically as the perception of heritage depends on a person's personal background, interest and experience. However, some heritage scholars (Byrne 1993; Taylor 2004; Glover 2005; Smith 2006; Waterton 2010) believe that there is a hegemonic discourse that shapes public understanding of cultural heritage and such discourse is adopted by international heritage agencies as discussed earlier and in later chapters.

According to the formal definitions of heritage that Jokilehto (2005) assembled from formal documents prepared by a range of organisations in different countries at different periods for ICCROM in 1990 and ICOMOS CIF (Comité international de la Formation) in 2005, the perception of 'heritage' varies over time and new categories of heritage have periodically been introduced to the heritage circles. Carman (2002: 15) reviews the meaning of heritage from the literature published between the 1970s and the 1990s, and suggests that generally heritage was earlier perceived as physical remains left from the past in a landscape. Various terms may be used to describe different categories of heritage in the formal documents and the literature from different parts of the world, and these include such terms as archaeological heritage,

archaeological resources, historic areas, historic environments, historical monuments, cultural resources, ancient monuments, antiquity, and cultural property (Jokilehto 2005; Carman 2002: 12; Schofield 2008: 16; Skeates 2004: 9).

Recently, the definition of heritage has been expanded to include intangible elements, such as languages, cultures, traditional knowledge, cultural performances and other cultural expressions (Smith 2009). The most widespread and accepted concepts regarding the meaning of heritage, however, include an emphasis on conservation and inheritance (Harrison 2010: 9). Different countries may use different terms when referring to heritage. For example, the term 'historic environment' is a term often used in the documents produced by English Heritage, an authoritative heritage agency in the United Kingdom, to refer to places or physical environments as follows:

'The historic environment is all the physical evidence for past human activity, and its associations, that people can see, understand and feel in the present world. It is the habitat that the human race has created through conflict and co-operation over thousands of years, the product of human interaction with nature... England's historic environment is one of our greatest national resources... From prehistoric monuments to great country houses, from medieval churches to the towns of the industrial revolution, it is a uniquely rich and precious inheritance. But it is about more than bricks and mortar. It embraces the landscape as a whole, both urban and rural, and the marine archaeology sites around our shores. It embodies the history of all the communities who have made their home in this country. It is part of the wider public realm in which we can all participate.'

(English Heritage 2009: 10)

This definition of the historic environment lays emphasis on the built environment or the material aspect of heritage, whilst the intangible that has been associated with the historic environment is in the form of memories and imagination (English Heritage 2009: 11). Thus, it may be possible to say that the historic environment is part of 'cultural heritage' in a broader sense.

The idea of innate value and inheritance is also conveyed in the definitions of some international heritage organisations. UNESCO's definition of cultural heritage is:

Our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations and can be categorised into monuments, groups of buildings and sites.

(UNESCO 2011a)

UNESCO puts 'heritage' into different categories, including cultural and natural and intangible heritage (UNESCO 2011a; UNESCO 2011c). According to the World Heritage Convention, cultural heritage may be categorised into monuments, groups of buildings and sites. Natural heritage includes natural features, geological and physiographical formations, and natural sites. Natural heritage is generally assessed by its aesthetic or scientific value (UNESCO 2011a).

Other concepts that are associated with heritage have periodically been brought to public attention. Cultural landscape is another term that has recently been brought to public attention by UNESCO and ICOMOS. The World Heritage Committee, at its 16th session, adopted guidelines concerning the inclusion of cultural landscapes in the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2011d). The definition given for cultural landscape is the combined works of nature and humankind, which express a long and intimate relationship between peoples and their natural environment (UNESCO 2011d).

More recently, the Faro convention 2005, or the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, have defined the term cultural heritage as follows:

A group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time.

A heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations

(Council of Europe 2005)

The meaning of heritage defined by the Faro convention has been broadened as the concepts of changes and continuity have been included in the definition. Heritage is also perceived as inclusive, not exclusive, specifically for

experts. This definition provides greater flexibility for what can be perceived as heritage and who can manage it. The concepts of inherent, unchanging universal values were not emphasised here. However, the significance of places and materiality is still affirmed and the definition may be more related to tangible heritage and associated cultural traditions. Some other forms of intangible heritage, such as dance, music, traditional knowledge, consider the locality as a dimension without it being subject to places or sites in a definitive way (Skounti 2009: 75).

The intrinsic value of heritage has recently been challenged (Harrison 2010: 25). Heritage can also be regarded as a dynamic process or a set of practices, involving the declaration of faith in the past (Skeates 2004: 9; Harrison 2010: 9). Various heritage scholars (Lowenthal 1998; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Walsh 2001; Bagnall 2003) believe that heritage management is a very selective process that may involve collective remembering or forgetting with regard to the past. Lowenthal puts forward the idea that heritage today exaggerates and omits and thrives on ignorance and error, and that at its heart heritage is a 'fabrication' of history (Lowenthal 1998: 111). He further explains that heritage endows bearers with prestige and purpose, separating the 'others' from their claim for superiority. Therefore, heritage cannot be universally significant or have universal meaning (Lowenthal 1998: 112). Smith (2006: 44), in opposition to most of the above definitions, proposes that heritage is not a site or a thing, but rather a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering, that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present. Thus, the idea of the inherent value of heritage is challenged, and heritage can also be defined as various cultural practices summarised under the following headings:

1. Heritage as identity

Material culture physically or symbolically represents identity by fostering the feelings of belonging and continuity (Smith 2006: 48). Therefore, heritage can both stimulate and act as a symbol of political struggle, and ownership of cultural heritage may also be associated with political power (Harrison 2010: 154). Cultural heritage, therefore, may be used to authorise and marginalise different groups in society, for example, the claims over sovereignty

by Indigenous groups, or the struggle of ethnic minorities to make the physical representations of their identity recognised by central government (Smith 2006).

2. Heritage as memory and remembering

Heritage can be used to create collective memory (Walsh 1992:4) and collective memory can also construct the way heritage is understood and interpreted (Benton 2010: 1). Walsh (1992: 4) argues that heritage, especially in the form of museums, has been used to create an unrepresentative image of the past for particular purposes in the context of heritageisation in the post-modern world. His close study of the representation of France in the Second World War in various museums indicates that the media, education systems, museums, and popular memory have a profound and lasting effect on what societies choose to remember, and choose to forget. He made particular reference to state museums that selectively display objects and stories relating to collaboration with the Nazi occupiers in the Second World War (Walsh 2001:97).

3. Heritage as performance

'Heritage as performance' not only involves the concept of theatrical events, but also socially communicative actions that occur at any heritage site. All societies use performances as a means to cultural ends (West and Bowman, 2010: 277). Heritage as performance includes various aspects of heritage management such as interpretation, tourism and social action (West 2010: 5). Performances that occur at heritage sites may be seen in different forms: actual performances (intangible heritage), interaction between visitors and selected messages at heritage sites, and unofficial performances such as processions or re-enactments. There is a relationship between visitors and site interpretation and management, which is referred to as 'cultural performance' (Smith 2006: 68). Heritage can create visitors' emotional engagement with the site and the interpretive material existing there (Bagnall 2003). Visitors' emotions are triggered by various forms of interpretation, such as costume interpretation or re-enactment.

Cultural heritage is given different meanings and values by different groups of people and at different times, and it is this diversity in the way heritage is perceived that constructs the roots of the problems in heritage management that are discussed in this research. As the definitions of cultural heritage are

broadened, heritage management becomes more complex, since stakeholders in conservation or management plans are not only limited to heritage professionals, historians, art historians or archaeologists. The range of those who may be involved in the management of heritage has been extended to different social groups who may attach different sets of value to cultural heritage.

History of cultural heritage management in Western society

The history of cultural heritage management in Western society is particularly important as the intellectual currents in the Western world often generate a dominant discourse that influences heritage practices at the international level, through the ideology transfer that occurred during colonialism, and through the work of international heritage agencies (Byrne 1991, 1993; Cleere 2001; Smith 2006). Early uses of heritage in Europe and America predominantly involved the material aspect of heritage. The earliest history of Western heritage-related activities were collections of valuable artefacts among kings, princes, popes, landowners and people of wealth and high status, as an expression of power in terms of the symbolic power to classify and manage their own possessions (Hall 2000:88). The earliest modern archaeological practice, antiquarianism, was a result of the re-discovery and appreciation of the previously neglected archaeological remains of the pre-medieval period (Byrne 1993: 21; West and Ansell 2010: 9). After that, the focus on art objects, architecture and ancient ruins became an area of interest among people at the top of the social hierarchy, aristocrats and middle-class gentlemen (Byrne 1993: 21). Collections of cultural artefacts and works of art became part of 'governmentality' (the organised practices, mentalities, rationalities, and techniques through which subjects are governed) and played an active role in informal education, directly and indirectly exercised by the state (Hall 2006: 88).

Heritage management strategies and conservation practice were developed in response to Western industrialisation, which began to affect the integrity of existing archaeological sites and the cultural landscape (Byrne 1993). New attitudes towards heritage and the valorisation of the past arose around the eighteenth century, as can be seen from the development of museums, the inclusion of conservation for ancient objects and sites in government

development plans, and other activities that signify two major changes in the attitude towards heritage: the development of a distinct public sphere and the development of positive values associated with the remains of the past (Carman and Sørensen 2010: 14). Conservation ethics were developed to minimise the likely impact on archaeological resources. This practice is described by Byrne (1991, 1993) as being unique to Europe and the United States, where the idea of cultural continuity is well embedded in society, and it was this belief that resulted in an appreciation of material culture, and led to the widespread conservation and protection of objects and places.

There are different sets of disciplines and philosophies focusing on the conservation of monuments. Viollet-le-Duc was an influential French architect from the mid-nineteenth century, whose architectural principles on conservation and the restoration of monuments in Europe marked the beginning of the modern movement in conservation (Musigakama 1989: 88). Viollet-le-Duc's preference was stylistic restoration, by which the heritage fabric was restored to the dominant architectural styles of the time. His principles were reflected in the conservation work at Notre Dame and other ecclesiastical buildings in France (Musigakama 1989: 88). His principles suggest that restoration or reconstruction of buildings should be done to prolong the life of such buildings, thus better methods and materials than were originally used should be used if available (Hassard 2009: 282). However, John Ruskin, a contemporary British art critic and social thinker, held the opposite viewpoint. His idea was later widely adopted as a conservation discipline in Europe and Western countries (Musigakama 1989: 88). Ruskin's work 'The Lamp of Memory' clearly expresses his position against the Victorian restoration of medieval churches. He believed that the building's glory was in its age, not in the beauty of its decorations, and he asserted strongly that:

We have no right whatever to touch them. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all generations of mankind who are to follow us...

Ruskin (1849: 109)

In the United Kingdom, William Morris established the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877 to counteract the highly

destructive 'restoration' of medieval buildings being practised by many Victorian architects (SPAB n.d.). The manifesto prepared by Morris and other founders was clearly against the restoration of buildings, but repair, where necessary, was seen as central to the conservation practice in order to preserve the original forms and styles, in other words, to preserve the authenticity and integrity of the heritage fabric (SPAB n.d.). The founding of the SPAB led to pressure for the development and implementation of legislation, which finally took place in 1882 in the form of the Ancient Monument Protection Act, but it was not until the 1930s that other societies for conservation were established (Deckha 2006: 213). Ruskin's and Morris's conservation philosophies are currently pursued by archaeological and conservational authorities, and taught in various archaeological and architectural institutions in the Western world. The principles of authenticity and integrity are also well established in the heritage management policies introduced by heritage bodies such as ICOMOS, UNESCO, ICOM and ICCROM.

Heritage management in Australia and the United States is largely influenced by the European and British ideology of the materiality of heritage (Smith 2006; Akagawa and Smith 2009). Early American attempts at conservation in the early Twentieth Century also chiefly concerned the preservation of material objects or sites, particularly the places of 'great people' or 'great events' (Whitehill 2006: 146). Many significant buildings were preserved in order to be reused as museums, including Jamestown Island, Washington's headquarters at Morristown and the house where Abraham Lincoln died. The preservation of buildings in relation to their surroundings was started at Williamsburg, a colonial town. Many houses were bought and restored to their original designs of the eighteenth century, but the aim of this large-scale conservation work was mainly for exhibition purposes (Whitehill 2006: 159). In Australia, the conservation movement developed later than in Europe and the United States. The Ruskinian philosophy was adopted, and the reliance on the material cult of monuments and material objects was still reflected in the first Australian ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Place of Cultural Significance (the Burra Charter) in 1972 (Smith 2006: 23).

Early studies of heritage and policies with regard to cultural heritage management in the Western world focused on the 'tangible remains' of the past,

which generally included tangible cultural heritage, such as artefacts, buildings and landscapes, and the emphasis on the idea that heritage should not belong to a single group but should belong to ‘mankind’ (Carman and Sørensen 2010). Early international policy documents and legislation, such as the Athens and Venice Charters, also laid the main emphasis on the conservation of tangible elements, such as archaeological monuments and sites. These ethics have also influenced heritage policies in other countries, as heritage legislation and practices based on the European and American models have been adopted in different regions of the world (Byrne 1991, 1993; Smith 2006; Carman and Sørensen 2010).

Globalisation and internationalisation of heritage

The terms internationalisation, universalism and globalisation have been frequently used in publications on cultural heritage, showing a growing concern with regard to the consequences of the globalising process on cultural heritage. Globalisation generally refers to the development of increasingly integrated systems and relationships beyond the nation state, and it may sometimes be used interchangeably with internationalisation (Lee 2004). The consequences of globalisation on the care of cultural heritage have been key issues in the heritage field and amongst the international heritage agencies (Long and Labadi 2010: 2; UNESCO 2004: 17). This is because it has enormous effects on cultural heritage, providing opportunities to access knowledge and information about a broad range of cultural heritage on a global scale, and posing threats in the wake of a strong emphasis on economic values (UNESCO 2004: 35).

In order to minimise negative impacts, manage the consequences and enhance the positive outcomes of globalisation, international heritage agencies play a major role in developing policies and facilitating practices across national borders. A range of organisations, including UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICOM and ICCROM, facilitate knowledge and expertise in cultural heritage management and conservation to member countries. These organisations were believed by some heritage scholars (Byrne 1993; Cleere 2001; Taylor 2004; Smith 2006; Aikawa-Faure 2009) to be influential agencies that stimulate the process of ideology transfer among member countries through the circulation of knowledge and expertise. Charters and guidance on heritage practice are also facilitators of

Western notions of heritage passing on from international heritage agencies to the countries that have adopted such disciplines. The following examples are international documents, which are underpinned by the Western AHD, and have been adopted by various countries across the globe.

The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments is one of the first legislative measures for the protection of historic buildings. It was a result of the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, held in Athens in 1931 (Athens Charter 1931). The conference was based on the idea that the conservation of the artistic and archaeological property of mankind is one that interests the community of States, which are wardens of civilisation. The Charter sets out the general principles for conservationists concerning the use of materials and techniques, and the degree of intervention in building conservation.

A later document that also became influential as a foundation for cultural policies in various countries is the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, also known as the Venice Charter. This was developed from the Athens Charter and was officially announced in 1964 (Pimolsathien 2005: 40). It has been used internationally as the basis for the major principles for historic monument conservation and restoration. The Venice Charter clearly outlines the differences between conservation and restoration (Venice Charter 1964; Pimolsathien 2005:40; Musigakama 1989:220).

The Athens and Venice charters were criticised for failing to address the issues of values and significance in heritage management. Thus, the Burra Charter was adopted in 1979 (rewritten in 1999) in order to adjust to the growing recognition of the intangible aspects of cultural significance, including those embodied in the use of heritage places, associations with a place and the meanings that places have for people (Burra Charter 1999). The Charter sets a standard of practice for those who provide advice, make decisions about, or undertake works on, places of cultural significance. These include owners, managers and custodians, and also elements of community participation in heritage management strategies. However, Waterton, Smith and Campbell (2006) have suggested that the Charter still focuses on the innate value of heritage and the conservation of material objects, as was the case with the previous charters.

The year 1972 marked the important point at which one of the most powerful treaties came into force. The Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, or the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (WHC), is an international treaty that prioritises the need for the appreciation and protection of cultural and natural heritage with regard to 'universal values'. World Heritage is a well-established international concept, administered by a group of well-trained experts (Donnachie 2010: 149). Inclusion on the World Heritage list means that the site is managed, protected and conserved according to the criteria as stated in the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972). Cultural and natural heritage facing political and natural threats can also be saved by being included on the 'List of World Heritage in Danger', which ensures that such a site will be given the necessary financial and intellectual assistance from UNESCO (UNESCO 2011a).

The WHC was initiated in 1972. The aims of the convention are to identify, protect, manage and represent cultural and natural heritage and to transmit them to future generations (UNESCO 2011b). The idea of heritage preservation was catalysed when the decision about the construction of the Aswan High Dam was made in Egypt. The valley contained the Abu Simbel temples, a legacy from the early civilisation in ancient Egypt, which were at risk of being submerged underneath the dam reservoir (UNESCO 2011a). The concerns over the protection of heritage, and heritage at risk, became the priority at the time. The convention was finally ratified by 187 State Parties, and it promotes a common concern with regard to heritage conservation and protection, and stresses the universal value of heritage. In the last few decades, the Convention has successfully added 936 cultural and natural properties, from 187 State Parties, to the World Heritage list (UNESCO 2011a). The inscription of properties into the World Heritage list requires that they have some sort of management framework, satisfactory levels of authenticity and integrity, and meet the following criteria:

- (i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- (ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

(iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared;

(iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;

(v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;

(vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);

(vii) contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;

(viii) be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;

(ix) be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;

(x) contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

(UNESCO 2011b: 29-30)

Although the WHC has continuously inscribed a number of cultural and natural properties on the List, the concepts of the universal heritage of mankind underpinning the criteria for the inscription have repeatedly been criticised (Cleere 1996, 2006; Skeates 2004; Cooney 2006; Smith 2007). There have also been debates concerning the usefulness of being declared a World Heritage site,

and the application of the concepts of 'outstanding universal value' and 'authenticity', which may not be relevant to some non-Western countries whose cultural heritage does not conform to the criteria. The World Heritage list, thus, has become unbalanced as it contains a large number of Christian and monumental types of heritage typical of the West, as will now be discussed in more detail.

The usefulness of being declared a World Heritage site has been discussed by heritage scholars (Cleere 1996, 2001, 2006; Skeates 2004). Being on the World Heritage list does not ensure legal protection, as there are limitations to the convention since national laws conform to UNESCO's principles to different degrees (Skeates 2004: 50). If the main purpose of inscription is to raise awareness with regard to the preservation of cultural heritage, many current World Heritage Sites are still facing the danger of modern intervention and, at times, suffering the consequences of political conflict and warfare. For example, the elaborate artefacts at the temple of Angkor in Cambodia were sometimes looted at night due to a lack of security, in spite of being granted World Heritage Status in 1992 (Clement 2002: 139). The World Heritage Zone in Iraq, which is listed with UNESCO, and also other acknowledged archaeological sites, were plundered as a result of military action (Emberling 2008; Smith 2011). One of the recent debates concerning the usefulness of the UNESCO World Heritage List is that UNESCO's member states use the nomination process and promotion of World Heritage Sites for domestic agendas, which are often associated with cultural hegemony and nationalism (Askew 2010:23). This tendency encourages competition rather than cooperation between countries. For instance, the land disputes between Thailand and Cambodia also impeded the drafting of a conservation plan for the Preah Vihear temple by UNESCO officers and delegates from the two countries, and even led to the withdrawal of Thailand from the WHC (Askew 2010; Bangkok Post: 26th June 2011).

World Heritage inscription can also lead to tensions in heritage management in various ways. Firstly, the World Heritage inscription is sometimes seen by local people as something that may lead to a loss of autonomy over their heritage site, such as was the case with the Wadden Sea, a transnational site nominated for World Heritage listing by Denmark, the

Netherlands and Germany. Local stakeholders did not support the nomination, due to a perceived loss of autonomy and lack of clarity about the possible impacts of the nomination (Van der Aa *et al.* 2005: 291). Another possible issue is managing tourists and maintaining the value of the sites. One of the consequences attached to World Heritage status, although not the main purpose of the Convention, is a change in tourism activities. The generalised perception is that World Heritage Sites definitely attract international visitors and stimulate the local economy. In fact, some scholars still doubt the actual consequences. Do visitors really pay attention to World Heritage status? Beck (2006: 521) suggests that even in Europe the status of 'World Heritage' is still not widely used as a selling point for visitors. Surprisingly, a study of the narratives of World Heritage in travel guidebooks shows that only a limited number of travel guidebooks refer to the World Heritage status of the tourist attractions they recommend. The results could be a lack of awareness, but the arguments might go deeper to complexities in portraying such places as global or national or local heritage (Beck 2006: 522).

Apart from the usefulness of the status, the concepts of 'universal value' and 'authenticity' used in the criteria for assessment are often criticised for their lack of clarity and explanation (Nara Document on Authenticity 1994; Cleere 1996). Such concepts have often been challenged by non-Western countries, which may have different notions of 'authenticity and integrity' (UNESCO 1994). Although the term 'outstanding universal value' is key to the assessment of the World Heritage nomination, Cleere (1996: 227) and Titchen (1996: 235) suggest that the lack of definition and explanation, even in the text of the Convention and in the Operational Guidelines, has generated notable imbalances: the number of cultural compared to natural properties nominated and included on the World Heritage List caused by the different evaluation processes and procedures used by the two separate advisory bodies, IUCN (for natural properties) and ICOMOS (for cultural properties), and the high proportion of monumental and religious architecture nominated by Western European states and inscribed on the list compared to other forms of heritage from other parts of the world (Titchen 1996: 235; Cleere 1996: 228-229).

The response to such an imbalance was the introduction of the Global Strategy in 1994, in order to create a more balanced list, by encouraging

countries to become State Parties and prepare Tentative Lists for the nomination of properties from categories and regions currently not well-represented on the World Heritage List. Ongoing efforts also involve limiting the number of nominations that can be presented by each State Party, and the number of nominations to be reviewed during its session (UNESCO 2011a). Apart from the process of limiting and encouraging the submission of nominations by different State Parties, the Global Strategy also encourages a broader interpretation of cultural heritage, including heritage sites that are outstanding demonstrations of human coexistence with the land, as well as human interactions, cultural coexistence, spirituality and creative expression, as a way of attracting greater participation on the part of non-Western State Parties (Cleere 2001: 27; UNESCO 2011a).

The meaning of the term ‘authenticity’ and its application has also been repeatedly discussed by heritage experts, especially those who are from State Parties where the local concept of authenticity is different from the Western one. In 1994, 45 leading experts in the field of the preservation of cultural properties from 26 countries met in Nara, Japan, to clarify the application of ‘the test of authenticity’ to World Heritage Nominations (Larsen 1995: xi). The Nara Document addresses the importance of cultural and heritage diversity by admitting that judgments about the values attributed to heritage may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture; thus cultural heritage must be considered and judged in terms of the cultural context to which it belongs (UNESCO 1994: 2). The document is believed to reflect the fact that conservation principles have shifted from a Eurocentric approach to one more applicable to other countries, and that the search for authenticity of cultural heritage is universal. It also reflects the fact that the ways and means of preserving the authenticity of cultural heritage is culturally dependent (Larsen 1995: xiii). The Nara Document on Authenticity has broadened the understanding of authenticity, and triggered regional concerns with regard to the application of such concepts in the protection and conservation of cultural heritage.

In 2001, at Hoi An in Vietnam, protocols for best conservation practice in Asia were developed in order for experts to share experiences, define current threats and suggest appropriate conservation practice with an emphasis on the

use of the concept of authenticity. Such regionally-specific protocols were required to give practical operational guidelines for conservation practitioners working in Asia, with specific regard to the safeguarding of the cultural authenticity of heritage sites (UNESCO 2001: 9). In the meeting, the concept of community participation was brought into the discussion to highlight the idea that heritage can be understood and interpreted in different ways by different communities (UNESCO 2001). The Hoi An protocols are a good illustration of how the idea behind the Nara Document has developed on a regional scale. It consists of contextual information, regional issues on heritage preservation, and guidelines for practice in maintaining the authenticity of archaeological fabric in a regional context.

However, Byrne (2004) suggests that in practice the Nara Document on Authenticity is rarely cited in this field of work, because it is seen as concerned chiefly with the issue of authenticity. My experience in Thailand also suggests the same. According to my own experience of attending the ICOMOS Thailand international conferences and annual meetings from 2009 to 2011, together with a study of previous conference proceedings from 2005-2009, although the conferences were attended by a wide range of academics and practitioners from various countries across the world, there was no single paper or presentation that directly referred to the significance or the use of the Nara Document on Authenticity or the Hoi An Protocols in the work. In response to a question about its relevance to actual conservation practice in the 2011 conference in Phuket, no one could actually explain or provide answers. The two documents were a significant breakthrough that triggered debate and discussion among experts from different nations, but unfortunately application of the Nara Document on Authenticity and the Hoi An Protocols may be limited to a small group of professionals. Some experts whose work is related to cultural heritage that I met at the beginning of the fieldwork in 2009 were even unaware of the existence of these documents. The 'Thailand Charter' now being developed by the committee appointed by ICOMOS Thailand may recognise the diverse ways heritage may be perceived, but the charter has not been launched and still needs to be redrafted and discussed among heritage professionals or members of ICOMOS Thailand.

International cooperation and international charters and guidance indicate that there have been attempts to create a universal standard for heritage conservation. However, there are also challenges to the globalisation of heritage practices, especially among non-Western countries. Consequently, some international heritage agencies have attempted to allow alternative interpretations of heritage. One of the issues debated in recent approaches to cultural heritage is the concept of 'intangible heritage', which is expected to encourage worldwide 'local' traditions to flourish and to protect them from disappearance. The next section of this chapter will offer an overview of how and why the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage has come into practice, and discuss current issues around intangible cultural heritage.

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC)

'When an old man dies, a whole library disappears with him'

This is the famous quotation from Amadou Hampâté Bâ, a member of UNESCO's Executive Board between 1962 and 1970, which is frequently used in work concerning intangible cultural heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Condominas 2004). The quote best illustrates how oral traditions, local knowledge, arts, performances and other intangible cultural expressions are practised and transmitted from one generation to another in regions where written documents and other forms of recording are relatively unimportant. Even in some societies where written records exist, documentary evidence cannot fully demonstrate the whole meaning and spirit of the intangible values that exercise their influence through the material culture.

Different countries had different reactions to this new category of cultural heritage. The drafting of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC) seems to have been a lengthy process involving negotiations, renegotiations and tensions between state parties (Aikawa-Faure 2009). It has also been seen as a counterpoint to the WHC, or an attempt to acknowledge non-Western manifestations and heritage practices, as it challenges

the Western AHD's focus on monumental and aesthetically pleasing objects or sites (Smith and Akagawa 2009: 1).

History of the drafting of the ICHC

After repeated requests from some Member States for measures for the protection of their oral traditions, folklife, ways of life, performances and similar forms of cultural expression, UNESCO finally launched a document to meet the demands of these State Parties. The action was partly due to the growing criticism of the inappropriateness of the selection criteria for the World Heritage List expressed by non-Western Member States (Aikawa-Faure 2009). Many States Parties, mostly developing countries, proposed that what is perceived as 'heritage' in their countries does not fit the categories provided, as their heritage is expressed more in living form than in the form of monuments and sites (Aikawa-Faure 2009: 14).

The ICHC was adopted in 2003, and entered into force in 2006, after a long period of attempts by the committee to establish purposes and principles, and to define and re-define the specific terms used in the document (Aikawa-Faure 2009). According to the Convention, intangible cultural heritage is defined as the practices, representations, expressions, as well as the knowledge and skills that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, recognise as part of their cultural heritage (UNESCO 2003b). Intangible cultural heritage falls into five main categories:

- Oral traditions and expressions including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- Performing arts (such as traditional music, dance and theatre);
- Social practices, rituals and festive events;
- Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- Traditional craftsmanship.

(UNESCO 2003b)

The ICHC established the 'Representative List' of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of humanity. The term 'representative', in this context, can be representative of human creativity, states, or communities who bear such an

intangible cultural heritage. There is also the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding for cases of intangible heritage that are vulnerable to destruction and disappearance (UNESCO 2003b). Intangible cultural heritage is principally living traditions, which are prone to evolution and cultural change. Accordingly, they need to be safeguarded (UNESCO 2011c). Safeguarding in this context aims to ensure the viability of intangible cultural heritage. The process of 'safeguarding' involves identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalisation of the various aspects of such heritage (UNESCO 2011c).

Throughout the development of the ICHC, the Committee members, such as Bolivia, Peru, Mexico, Brazil and India, debated over the use of technical terms in the text, such as 'folklore' and 'masterpieces', the selection methods and the advisory NGOs (Aikawa-Faure 2009: 37). Aikawa-Faure (2009) argues that one of the reasons why some developed countries were so strongly opposed to the Proclamation of the Masterpieces project, might have been that they realised that this new initiative would lead to a new Convention for the Protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, and concepts that they are not familiar with, and see as premature. The first Proclamation of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity was launched on 18th May, 2001. It also received a mixed response from State Parties.

Reactions to the launch of the ICHC

Some Western countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia, have questioned the relevance of the convention to their domestic heritage practices (Kurin 2004; Smith 2006: 109; Smith and Waterton 2009: 289). These Western countries have still not become signatories of the Convention (UNESCO 2011). However, some Western countries, such as Belgium, Italy and France, have become signatories to the ICHC, and have had a number of examples of their intangible heritage inscribed on the list (seven from Belgium and eight from France) (UNESCO 2011c). Reactions to the ICHC may be affected by the countries' national, political or socio-cultural background, as some Western European countries are more open to the new concepts of

intangible heritage than others. In 2008, 94 countries became signatories to the Convention. By 2011, the number had increased to 134.

Smith (2006: 109) explains that the concept of intangible heritage does not fit well with the Western AHD, which places particular importance on materiality, monumentality and the universality of heritage practice. There have been attempts to explain the nature of materiality in the Western world. Tomaszewski (2003: 1) explains that some parts of the Christian tradition, specifically Catholicism and Orthodoxy, lays emphasis on the importance of materiality and authenticity, and a good illustration of this ideology is the cult of relics and icons, which has influenced the appreciation of built heritage and monumentality. Western heritage management strategies have inherited these ideas, as can be seen by the fact that conservation works carried out in the Western world are generally based on the authenticity of material and designs. However, Tomaszewski makes an observation that, in fact, the Western perceptions of heritage embrace the concept of intangible heritage at some point in the past. He states that the representation of this tradition may be seen from the conservation work of 'memorial value'. What may also be seen as 'intangible heritage' in early Western society were the beliefs in the divine and related traditions (veneration of the cross, beliefs in the Holy Land) in Christianity (Byrne 1993: 15). However, such values have been unnoticed or forgotten by modern conservationists (Tomaszewski 2003: 2). Byrne (2004) sees the origin of Western notions of heritage as originating in the Enlightenment. As a consequence of these events, science and rationality displaced belief in the supernatural aspect of heritage. Modern secular ideologies have dismissed the presence of the divine in objects and places, which had been accepted in medieval Christianity.

The ICHC is seen as a counterpoint to the emphasis on monumentality and universalism in Western cultural heritage management (Aikawa-Faure 2009). One of the attempts to make the ICHC distinguishable from the 'universality of heritage' ethos that underpins the WHC is the emphasis on local communities and indigenous peoples as culture bearers (Blake 2001, 2009). The Convention is expected to enable communities to continue to create, maintain and transmit their culture in traditional contexts, instead of having full state-controlling measures (Aikawa-Faure 2009; Blake 2009). However, the process of

listing may be seen as a potential device to create another exclusive and excluding list (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 57). Another concern from the committee over the application of the ICHC is whether it will freeze examples of intangible cultural heritage and stop them from changing and evolving. The concept of 'authenticity' is central to this argument. The notion of 'authenticity' does not appear in the text of the ICHC (Kasfir and Joseph Yai 2004), indicating that intangible cultural heritage is not a static entity. Munjeri (2004: 16) observes that the WHC focuses on authenticity of material, thus tangible heritage is associated with inherent values and the concept of monumentality. In contrast, it is generally accepted by State Parties to the ICHC that intangible heritage is distinguishable from tangible heritage in the sense that it involves skill, knowledge and experience, and such factors are dynamic. Freezing intangible heritage thus becomes similar to falsifying heritage. Skounti (2009) notes that the process of listing intangible heritage might see the creation of an 'authentic illusion', which may work to limit the organic development of cultural practices. The ICHC, however, acknowledges this issue and attempts to safeguard intangible heritage without the need to stop its evolution. Specifically the transmission process should only involve the transferring of knowledge, skills and meaning (UNESCO 2011c).

The ICHC was designed to extend the WHC and developed out of an acknowledgement that the World Heritage List tended to emphasise Western understandings of heritage, and indeed most state parties to the convention are from the non-Western world, or hold a different view from the prevailing Western heritage discourse. Among the leading supporting countries are Japan and Korea, which introduced measures for the protection of intangible cultural heritage in the mid-twentieth century, long before the time that UNESCO launched the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural heritage (Jongsung 2004: 180). The future of the ICHC, the recognition of intangible heritage at the international level, the reactions of those who demanded the ICHC, and those who see this convention as unnecessary, are topics of interest to heritage scholars (Logan 2007; Smith and Akagawa 2009; Ruggles and Silverman 2009). The process of change that occurs to intangible heritage is a long process as it takes time to modify, disappear or to be lost. The implications of the convention may not be apparent in the short term. The consequences of the

ICHC and the viability of intangible heritage may be more evident in the future. Although some Asian countries, such as Japan and Korea, are the main supporters of the ICHC, Thailand has not become a signatory of the Convention at the time of writing. The Ministry of Culture of Thailand has developed a national list of intangible heritage as well as a legal framework that protects the viability of intangible heritage (Ministry of Culture 2011). However, in 2010, Thai scholars in the National Culture Commission, including Srisakara Wallipodom, showed their objection to the ICHC and expressed their concerns for the future of Thai intangible heritage should Thailand become a signatory. They believed that intangible heritage cannot be listed since culture has no boundary and is hard to define.

Thailand: a brief history

This section moves from general, global heritage issues to more specific ones with reference to a case study of Thailand. Cultural heritage in modern day Thailand has been largely constructed and perceived from the spiritual or religious viewpoint. The study of artefacts, such as the distribution of beads, coins, lamps and statuary (Wyatt 1982: 22; Sujit 2007: 67), suggests that local residents have communicated with the Indian States through trade and religious missionaries since around 2000 BP, and they absorbed many of the Indian ideologies such as Brahmanism and Buddhism. These ideologies have been amalgamated with the local traditional Animism and developed into a unique worldview (Kanjanusthiti 1996: 21).

Thailand's early history does not tend to follow a linear progression model. Previously, the region that makes up modern Thailand was a cradle of different polities, which belonged to different cultures and languages, although with some shared values (Wyatt 1982: 1). Before the nineteenth century, when tributary states were incorporated into a single nation, under King Rama V of Rattanakosin's (Bangkok) reign, the nation-state of 'Thailand' did not exist (Wallipodom 2003).

The belief in supernatural power and life after death has existed since pre-historic times. The prehistory of Thailand dates back to as long as forty thousand years ago. A series of large scale excavations in Thailand has revealed

inhumation burials and a range of artefacts including stone tools, pottery, bronze ornaments and other goods in graves, which were obtained from different pre-historic sites in the Northern uplands, Central and the North Eastern part of the country (Higham 2002; Wyatt 1982:4). Archaeological evidence divides the prehistory of modern day Thailand into various phases of occupation: these are Hoabinian (a term used to describe groups of hunter-gatherer traditions), Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Age (Higham 2002: 28). As seen from the layouts of cemeteries and the presences of grave goods, evidence suggests that early settlers had their own belief system, possibly related to supernatural power and life after death. Glass and carnelian beads, found at archaeological sites across central Thailand, are also evidence of trade networks and contacts with other settlements (Higham 2002). One of the most famous pre-historic sites in Thailand is Ban Chiang, which was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1992 (TAT 2007, ONEP 2009). The site consists of a vast number of skeletons and unique red-painted pottery and other grave goods. The site proved to archaeologists, whose interest was in the Bronze Age community of Southeast Asia, that the region was more complicated than previously believed, as seen from the sophisticated technology of pottery production and Bronze casting (TAT 2007, Higham 2002).

There is no certain evidence of continuity between the prehistoric era and the rise of early historic kingdoms (Peleggi 2007: 38). The area of present day Thailand was known as 'Siampradesh' or 'Siam' (Wallipodom 2003). Dvaravati, Srivijaya and Haripunchai were early cultures, which flourished from the seventh century onwards. From the seventh to the eleventh century, the Dvaravati culture was the most dominant and influential in this region (Ditsakul 2003: 4). The earliest evidence of the establishment of reliquaries, which represent the influence of Theravada Buddhism, dates back to this Dvaravati period. This relic cult continued and was inherited by later kingdoms in these areas (Wallipodom 2003). Haripunchai was a northern kingdom that was influenced by the Dvaravati culture, but also developed its own local traditions (Wyatt 1982). Significant artefacts include Mon inscriptions dating from 1213, 1217 and 1219 AD, which account for the role of the Kings as patrons of Buddhist monasteries (Tambiah 1976: 80), and ancient Buddhist *stupas* of Dvaravati-Haripunchai architectural style located in the city of Lamphun.

From the thirteenth century onwards later kingdoms which came to power in Siampradesh include the Kingdoms of Lanna, Sukhothai and Ayutthaya. These polities also inherited Buddhist doctrines, which were a significant and integral part of society (Tambiah 1970; Wyatt 1982; Wallipodom 2003). Gradually, Ayutthaya gained dominance over other polities and, finally, it collapsed due to a Burmese invasion in 1767 (Wyatt 1982: 239). Another Central Thai polity, Rattanakosin, also known as Bangkok, emerged fifteen years later on the banks of the Chaophraya River. The former Ayutthayan population moved to this new city, and Ayutthaya's cultural legacy in art, culture and architecture, and even the layout of the city, was transmitted to Bangkok (Wyatt 1982).

Often, the Thai government and government heritage agencies have presented Sukhothai and Ayuthaya as 'ancient capitals of Thailand' (Peleggi 2007: 181). In the World Heritage Committee's Statement of Significance, Sukhothai has been called 'the capital of the first kingdom of Siam', and Ayuthaya is known as 'the Siamese second capital after Sukhothai' (UNESCO 2011a). Wallipodom (1998) argued against the interpretation of these two polities as the first and second capitals of Siam or Thailand, and suggested that, in fact, different polities in Siampradesh or modern-day Thailand had been politically independent from each other before the fifteenth century. Ayuthaya might have emerged as the social, cultural, and political centre dominant over other polities in central Thailand, but there were also other powerful kingdoms, such as Haripunchai in the North and Lavo or Lopburi, located in the central plain and the Northeastern region respectively, and other smaller kingdoms (Wallipodom 1998). There were no rigid divisions or alliances between these early kingdoms and, therefore, Thailand's early history cannot be described by means of the linear model. The reason for this reliance on the grand history of the nation is the need to strengthen a nation-state through the use of heritage, as will be discussed in the next section.

Modernisation, Nationalism and Cultural Heritage

When the national narrative is constructed, much of local tradition may be suppressed or interfered with. Although Thailand, which was then known as 'Siam', escaped from Western colonisation (unlike other neighbouring Southeast Asian countries), Thailand's heritage experienced drastic social, cultural and

political changes. However, it is thought that the changes were driven from internal forces as well as external ones (Winichakul 1994; Peleggi 2007). The influential factors that caused social-cultural changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and left remarkable effects up to the present were the need for national unification and to escape European colonisation. The two significant processes as driving force for change were the construction of Thai identity and modernisation of the country.

Anderson (2006: 6) argues that a nation is an 'imagined' political community, imagined as inherently limited (a nation is thought to have a boundary to separate 'us' from 'others') and sovereign (nationalism came to maturity at a stage of human history when freedom was a rare and precious ideal). Nationalism arose at a time when three other cultural conceptions were decreasing in importance: the religious community, the dynastic realm and a conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable (Anderson 2006:12). Such changes were thought to bring about the new 'cultural consciousness', which was nationalism, and the significant factor that encouraged such changes was interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity (Anderson 2006). However, in the case of Thailand, the monastic and dynastic orders were reaffirmed as an integral part of Thai identity as a consequence of the nation-building campaigns and modern secularist ideologies and technology adopted by the Thai nation were reworked to strengthen the constructed 'Thai identity' (Winichakul 2000).

From the middle of the nineteenth century nationalism in Europe can be firmly identified (Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996). The model of official nationalism was also followed by states whose ruling classes felt threatened by the world-wide spread of nationally imagined communities (Anderson 2006: 99). Thailand, which was then known as Siam, also adopted this model. Siam, as a nation-state, emerged around the beginning of the twentieth century when tributary states were incorporated into one whole nation. The process involved the reconstruction of 'identity' that connected members of a nation together. Like European countries, one important factor that supported nationalism was the use of print language (Anderson 2006). Anderson (2006) stresses that print languages

created unified fields of exchange and communication. They gave a new fixity to language and created languages-of-power of a kind different from the older administrative vernaculars. The use of an official or print language in Thailand has left psychological effects on marginalised groups in Thailand and this issue will be investigated with reference to Lamphun in later chapters. In addition, census agencies, cartographic agencies and museums were the three institutions that have profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its authority. Census taking categorised identities, whilst mapping also led to the classification of populations. Such strategies allowed the state to act as the guardian of traditions and reproduce, and thus control, symbols of traditions (Anderson 2006: 163).

Official nationalism commenced in the reign of King Rama VI, who reigned from 1910-1925 (Wyatt 1982; Anderson 2006; Peleggi 2007). Anderson (2006:11) asserts that official nationalism is a strategy devised by dominant groups of a society that feel threatened with marginalisation or exclusion from the imagined national community. In the Thai context, official nationalism involved compulsory state-controlled primary education, state-organised propaganda, official rewriting of history, militarism and endless affirmations of the identity of the dynasty and the nation (Anderson 2006:101). The complex political and cultural circumstances in former tributary states incorporated into Siam led to social and cultural conflicts between identity groups on both local and national scales. The peoples of Thailand perceive both tangible and intangible cultural heritage as interrelated to all walks of life, thus it has been utilised by different interest groups to serve their political demands. Although the messages of nationalism imbued in current cultural policies are less strong and less explicit than they once were, the consequences of nationalist policies can still be seen nowadays, especially in peripheral provinces like Lamphun, the case study of this research. A more detailed discussion on the relationship between cultural heritage and modernisation and nationalism will be introduced in chapter five, which identifies influential discourses that shape cultural policies in Thailand.

Western influence on heritage management in Southeast Asia

The adoption of Western ideologies was among various ‘civilising’ processes implemented by the Siamese government. These Western ideologies and practices, such as the establishment of museums, modern mapping, print language and also the discourse of heritage, have been used to construct, carve, and fabricate ‘nationhood’ (Winichakul 1994; 2000). During colonial times, European or Western schools of archaeology were established and worked in partnership with local Western-educated scholars. Various examples of this have been illustrated by Ian Glover in *‘Archaeology of Asia’* (2005). One example is the case of the influence of French learned societies in Vietnam. The Société des Etudes Indochinoises and École Française d’Extrême Orient contributed significantly to the investigation of pre- and proto-history in Vietnam (Glover 2005: 25), and paid particular attention to the monuments of ‘advanced civilisations’, such as the Cham, which was heavily influenced by Indian cultures. The case of Indonesia is even more obvious. Western archaeologists dominated archaeological research, both at the time of Dutch hegemony, and more recently. Archaeological heritage and discovery are appreciated, and are a source of satisfaction on the part of European archaeologists working in the region, but are not necessarily of significance to many Indonesians (Glover 2005: 30). Such Western activities directly and indirectly spread Western ideologies and concepts across the region and inevitably into Thailand.

Western notions of heritage establish the domestication and monumentalisation of the material past, while the state exploits such heritage in terms of nation-building or legitimising present political arrangements, thereby alienating culture bearers at the local and non- elite levels from their own practices and beliefs (Byrne 1993). Thus, there are tensions in terms of heritage management in Thailand due to different perceptions of heritage by different groups of stakeholders. Problems and disjunctures in heritage management in non-Western countries are generally caused by a lack of fit between heritage management strategies and local belief systems. The Western models of heritage management may contradict the perceptions of local residents, and may not function efficiently in local or sub-national contexts (Musigakama 1989; Pimolsathien 2009). The reason for the mismatch is that the ideologies that constitute cultural heritage in Thailand are mainly spiritual and religious ones.

Value is placed on the supernatural, whilst modern heritage management strategies are unable, or unwilling, to incorporate such elements into management frameworks.

Thailand as a Buddhist state

Buddhism has been one of the most significant ideologies in Thailand as it has been used as the central ideology and foundation of cultures at both central administrative and local level. Pre-modern kingdoms in the Southeast Asian region were greatly influenced by Buddhist worldviews.

Buddhism spread into Thailand through contacts with India (Tambiah 1976; Kanjanusthiti 1996). Mahayana Buddhism diffused through the island of Java, and Theravada Buddhism spread out from India in the reign of King Asoka, who ruled the Indian subcontinent from 269-232 B.C. In the second half of the first millennium AD, the Singhalese sect from Ceylon (currently known as Sri Lanka) was widely adopted, and became the dominant religious doctrine in the pre-modern polities of modern day Thailand, Burma and Cambodia (Peleggi 2007; Swearer 2010). Theravada Buddhism developed into several main doctrines, which were central to the exercise of power in these Mon, Burmese and other Southeast Asian states. They shared cultural beliefs in Buddhist icons, relic cults and the patronage of the monastic order (*Sangha*) (Peleggi 2007:12; Swearer 2010). Buddhism closely relates to Thai ways of life. It is fundamental to people's beliefs and ritual practices, it constructs the way in which physical heritage is perceived and valued, and it is directly involved in the characterisation of both tangible and intangible heritage. Thai society can be divided roughly into urban and rural inhabitants, but the majority of the Thai population relies on agricultural activities. From around the thirteenth century, Buddhism has been the official state religion among the polities in the area of present day Thailand (Thokan 2002: 19)

Tambiah (1976) believes that the association between Buddhism and kingship was influenced by the Asokan tradition originating in India. King Asoka was the devoted Indian King who reigned over Indian states from 274-232 B.E (Tambiah 1976; Kanjanusthiti 1996). He was known as the great patron of Buddhism, the builder of great Buddhist architectural monuments, which became the legacy for later generations. He was the provider of a prosperous and

virtuous society that encouraged Buddhism and the *Sangha* to flourish, and this ideology was spread to Asia through trade and his *dhamma* missions to other states (Tambiah 1970, Kanjanusthiti 1996). Early polities, like Haripunchai, Lanna, Suhothai and Ayuthaya, inherited the use of Buddhist concepts of kingship and governance, such as the role of ‘Dhammaraja’ or ‘the benevolent King’, which determines the principles that the kings should advocate. These are as follows:

1. The Dhamma is the absolute ruler
2. The king must ensure lawful government
3. It is the duty of the king to provide necessary needs to diminish suffering.
4. It is also necessary to distribute wealth to the needy
5. The king must listen and consult the ordained or those of virtuous conduct

(Sivaraksa 2009:46)

Buddhism gained supremacy over traditional spirit cults. This is evidenced by the tendency for some sacred spaces associated with spirit cults to have been replaced by Buddha images, and the increasing role of Buddhist *wat* (Buddhist temples/monasteries) in communities (Panichpan 2005: 30). However, other religions have not disappeared from Thai society. Some aspects of spirit cults have survived and been integrated into the mainstream Theravada Buddhist ideology (Tambiah 1970; Byrne 1993; Sethakul 2009). In addition, Brahman rituals were incorporated into Buddhist ceremonies at both administrative and local levels (Kanjanusthiti 1996: 22).

As Buddhism is a significant counterpart of the Thai culture at both local and administrative levels, it is an area that has been intervened in by the state or other power groups in order to achieve their agendas throughout history. Before the emergence of Siam as a modern nation-state, the *Sangha* and Buddhist teaching comprised a religious institute that empowered and legitimised ancient rulers. After the rise of Siam as a modern nation-state, religion was made part of the triad of ‘nation-religion-monarchy’, which has been made central to Thai cultural policies as part of the nationalist movement. It is inescapable that

Buddhist heritage has been greatly affected by social, cultural and political changes over time.

An interesting point that Jackson (1997) and Mackenzie (2007) highlight is that there is evidence of changes in practice. The Thai state is currently less in need of gaining control over the *Sangha* as the legitimacy of the government currently depends on the ability to control social-economic issues and the *Sangha* has been at times criticised by the press. The respect for state Buddhist institutions may be undermined, whilst the relationship between monks and the secular at the local level is also less strong. Different power groups may now be in need of finding a new balance where traditional customs and modern rationales can sit together comfortably within Thai society. The connection between Buddhism and the state and how tensions between factions in the monk and lay communities developed in the past will be discussed in detail in chapter five.

Conservation of Buddhist heritage

Buddhist heritage tends to dominate the country's past and overshadows the archaeology of other periods, including prehistory (Byrne 1993). The most tangible physical remnants of the past in Thailand are associated with Buddhism in one way or another, such as in the case of ancient *stupas*, statues of the Buddha and relics of ancient *wats* (Buddhist temples). These features have absorbed and integrated the remnants of pre-existing religions (Byrne 1993: 32). These artefacts and places are empowered, and are dynamic and reflexive with regard to ongoing traditions as part of living heritage.

The Thais maintain and manage Buddhist archaeology under the Buddhist concept of 'merit-making' and how this influences cultural landscape over time. Byrne (1993: 46) explains in his research that the tropical climate is an influential agent for decay, encouraging local communities to counter decay by the provision of elaborate and multiple temple structures, as such actions are perceived as prestigious practices. As a result, a *wat* tends to be restored to its former beauty and prestige, regardless of the original materials and art forms. Abandoned temples, with or without sufficient documentation of their original forms, may also be restored to function. These actions may violate Western guidelines, namely the recommendations of the Venice Charter and related

conventions, and many Thai heritage managers educated within Western disciplines may find local actions devalue the archaeological meaning of heritage sites. However, this practice is part of a living tradition of merit-making, which has continued and flourished in the region since the arrival of Buddhism.

In addition, the conservation of Buddhist heritage involves the management of living traditions as well as tangible elements. Besides the physical heritage, attached cultural practices that are vital to day-to-day contemporary living are also an integral part of cultural heritage in Asia (Taylor 2004: 422). Taylor further explains the importance of living intangible cultures by quoting the Indonesian Deputy Chair for Infrastructure at the World Bank 'Culture Counts' conference in Florence in 1999, when he said that:

For us, the most important expressions of culture at this time are not the monuments, relics and art from the past, nor the more refined expressions of cultural activity that have become popularised beyond Indonesia's borders in recent years, but the grassroots and very locally specific village based culture that is at the heart of the sense of community...

(Taylor 2004: 422)

Accordingly, intangible or living heritage is expected to receive sufficient space in terms of heritage management in non-Western societies. Richard A. Engelhardt, UNESCO regional advisor for culture for Asia, states that what is special about Buddhist art is the way it captures knowledge in a much more complicated way than writing, as it is produced by a group of people, creating a network of experience transmitted from the past to the present and through to the future. Keeping the tradition alive is crucial to Buddhist heritage management. This has led to the rethinking of the possibility of having regional or national documents on heritage management, in order to encourage the viability of cultural heritage, which does not cut across local practices and values (Engelhardt n.d).

To conclude, the application of Western conservation techniques through the work of the Thai state agencies has often been challenged by local practices. The significant issue is how to balance the maintenance of the authenticity and integrity of heritage sites and spiritual continuity at such places.

World Heritage listing in Thailand: global-local heritage issues

World Heritage listing has been an area of interest for the Thai government, organisations and officials. The concepts of ‘universal significance’ and ‘heritage of humankind’ adopted by the World Heritage Convention are now generally embraced by Thai heritage agencies and by heritage academics, as discussed at the ICOMOS annual meeting in 2009. Thailand became a signatory of the World Heritage Convention in 1987 (UNESCO 2011a), like many other countries that have shared concerns with regard to the conservation and management of their cultural heritage. Later, in 1991, the two ancient polities of Thailand, Sukhothai and Ayutthaya, were nominated and added to the list. The inscription created some management issues; the expectation of more income from tourism, and resistance and criticisms from NGOs and local academics (Peleggi 2002: 433).

Since opening, the two historical parks have become popular among international tourists, and this has had a positive effect on the region. Many other sites in Thailand are being considered as potential ‘World Heritage’ sites. An article in the *Matichon* on 24th March 2008 announced that there were six archaeological sites in Thailand awaiting nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage list. Some of them are ready for nomination, but others need to be researched in more detail, including Chiang Mai, Nan, Lamphun and Chiang Sean, the four important cities of the Lanna kingdom. The FAD, the main heritage organisation of Thailand, is gathering information on their history and seeking archaeological evidence. It may be possible to represent them as the Polity of Lanna and associated cities, similar to the existing World Heritage Site of Sukhothai (Matichon 2008). However, the master plans for the nomination process in some places have not yet been completed, and both support and resistance can be detected from the media. The recognition of local and national/global values needs to be balanced, in order to minimise conflict caused by the globalisation of heritage in terms of conflicting values, and in terms of negotiation between tourism and conservation.

Conclusion

This chapter has established that perceptions of heritage and heritage practices may be influenced by different discourses. Some discourses may dominate others, and become an authorised discourse of heritage in a particular context. The dominant discourse in Europe is termed by Smith (2006) the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD). This discourse claims that heritage appreciation and conservation is universally true, and it favours Western notions of heritage in the form of monumentality, tangibility, age value and aesthetics. This Western/Romanticist philosophy has influenced heritage management and conservation in the Western World. In addition, Western colonial powers have spread this ideology to non-Western countries in their sphere of influence. The Western discourses of heritage management have been imposed on local practices in many non-Western societies over the past few decades.

Nonetheless, another hegemonic discourse, which is equally, and in some cases even more, powerful is the hegemonic nationalist discourse constructed by the nation-states. In the case of Thailand, the construction of 'Thai identity' and the modernisation of the country were the focus of this nationalist discourse. The dominant groups in the country selectively import Western ideologies they see appropriate for the modernisation of the country and can support the establishment of the new 'imagined' national community. Western AHD was also employed as part of the process of nation-building and modernisation of the country. The nationalist discourse has also generated tensions in the area of heritage management at psychological or ideological levels.

These two discourses influence the work of the government and authorities, whilst local practices are still largely under the influence of traditional worldviews. However, the shift to the era of postmodernism has encouraged scholars to adopt a more holistic approach to cultural heritage, and the dominant discourses of heritage are now challenged and criticised by a wide range of academics. The national narratives have also been challenged by the growing concerns for local traditions or contested narratives. A series of regional charters and additional documents have been proposed in order to make room for the non-materialistic and non-monumental heritage, including the discourse of intangible cultural heritage. The materialistic definitions of heritage have also

been challenged by more abstract ones. The national re-invented collective memories have been counterbalanced by a growing amount of research and literature on localism. What people perceive as 'heritage' may not have been finalised, and we may need to accept that there may be many alternative definitions.

At the national level, the Western AHD and the hegemonic nationalist discourses in heritage management may have shaped the views of government officials and the authorities in charge, but what are the implications at the local level? What are the responses of local communities to hegemonic heritage discourses? This research aims to answer these questions by looking at the small city of Lamphun, which is one of the most culturally significant cities in Thailand with the presence of national-scale religious heritage, the oldest Buddha relic shrine of the North.

Chapter 3: Methodology: qualitative inquiry for understanding values and judgement in heritage studies

Although the study of heritage was formalised academically a few decades ago as a distinct set of academic practices in art and humanities, cultural heritage has been studied over the centuries by different approaches, such as veneration of the past, typology of antiquities, and using heritage for leisure pursuits (Carman and Sørensen 2010: 12). Recent heritage studies emerged after the Second World War and, in the 1980's, a distinct set of disciplines became recognisable in academia and government policies as being interested in heritage studies (Carman and Sorensen 2010). Now, depending on the researcher's interests, cultural heritage can be investigated in different ways, such as studying texts, cultures and people's attitudes (Carman and Sørensen 2010). This research mainly examines people's attitudes towards heritage, with reference to different sectors of society in Thailand. The concern is to understand the perceptions of the term 'cultural heritage' and 'cultural heritage management', and the underlying factors for the development and implementation of heritage practices. This chapter discusses the research methodology and techniques used in investigating the factors that influence the management of cultural heritage in Thailand, and uses Lamphun as a detailed case study. Firstly, the chapter outlines the nature of heritage, and justifies the fieldwork approaches selected for this research. Secondly, it outlines the detailed case study, and discusses the research questions, the research methodology, analytical framework, and the limitations of the 2009-2010 fieldwork. Finally it shows how the data obtained from the fieldwork is used in the subsequent chapters.

The nature of heritage and heritage studies

As discussed in the literature review chapter, heritage has different meanings for different interest groups. On the one hand, the term 'heritage' can be physical entities, such as monuments, sites or artefacts, but on the other hand, it can be described as an expression of the meanings, values and claims attached to materials (Skeates 2004). UNESCO's and other international heritage agencies' definition of heritage emphasises the material aspects and the highly important

values associated with cultural heritage, which are passed from generation to generation (UNESCO 2011a). Other interpretations of cultural heritage may involve an understanding of the 'meaning', 'values' and 'experience' attributed to physical objects or sites, since recent public discussions of the definitions of heritage have tended to shift towards the more intangible or conceptual aspects, such as memory, discourse or performance (Skeates 2004; Smith 2006). Inevitably, the study of heritage and heritage management involves the investigation of human values and judgment. For example, recent heritage debates have centred on communication and interpretation of the struggles between different groups on identifying aspects of, for example, Indigenous claims for past remains, Western hegemonic discourse and alternative challenges, community participation, making memories and so on (Skeates 2004; Smith 2007; Harrison *et al.* 2008).

This research focuses on the latter interpretation of heritage, particularly the proposal that heritage can be understood as a discourse (Smith 2006). As a detailed case study, it focuses on heritage practices in one particular city, and explores and illustrates heritage scholars' current arguments that, in the non-Western world, there is a Western hegemony in heritage practices, which are causing local values to be neglected (Byrne 1991, 1993, 1995; Taylor 2004; Glover 2005; Smith 2006). Lamphun, the chosen case study, is the smallest province in Northern Thailand, with an area of about 4500 square kilometres and a population of about 400,000 (as estimated in 2008 by the Department of Provincial Administration).

The first reason why Lamphun makes an interesting case study is its cultural significance, which resulted in its local authority and local residents demanding some form of management plan to preserve and maintain its uniqueness and cultural heritage. Lamphun is the most ancient kingdom in Northern Thailand. The city, formerly known as Haripunchai, dates back to around 1,343 BP, which marked the beginning of the historic period in Thailand (Wyatt 1982; Freeman 2001). The Buddha relic shrine, Phrathat Haripunchai, which is located at the heart of the Old Town, also emphasises Lamphun's importance as the religious centre of the region.

Another significant reason which makes Lamphun an interesting case study is the conflicts that are occurring in both the environmental and socio-

cultural dimensions of heritage management within the city. Despite a high degree of cultural significance, modern intervention and other activities which have affected the cultural significance and integrity of the fabric of heritage can be seen within the old town (ONEP 2009: 21). Lamphun contains both traditional and modern elements in one city, which makes heritage management strategies rather complicated. Lamphun is still largely an agricultural province (Freeman 2001: 109; Synchron 2009), which is an essential feature in helping to maintain a traditional, community-based way of life. However, in 1983, the establishment of the Northern Region Industrial Estate brought about physical and social changes to Lamphun, and notably affected its cultural heritage (Synchron 2009b). It is important to investigate local residents' use of their cultural heritage in the light of modernisation and social change.

The final reason for the case study is that local government, and local state heritage officials, proposed the campaign be called the 'Lamphun to World Heritage' project to encourage World Heritage Listing. An exhibition, which presented Lamphun's potential to become listed as a World Heritage site to the wider public, was held in 2004. The detailed study of Lamphun's potential for World Heritage Listing started in June 2004 and continued for three years (Haripunchai National Museum 2005). Other heritage management frameworks, such as the *Master Plan for the Preparation of Lamphun for World Heritage Listing* and the *Master Plan for the Old Town Conservation*, were designed to meet the World Heritage nomination criteria. Therefore, at local, national and international levels, Lamphun is providing some good examples of a city with conflicting characteristics, due to the existence of competing discourses of heritage valued by different sectors of society. The study of Lamphun helps to answer the research questions that explore the meaning of cultural heritage and value given to it by different sectors of society, the current management strategies performed by different communities, tensions in heritage management and the consequences of the proposal for World Heritage listing (see chapter one).

Understanding people's perception of heritage in Lamphun: qualitative inquiry and empirical verification

The main research question which this heritage study aims to answer is: to what extent and in what manner has the Western heritage discourse affected cultural heritage management in Lamphun, and how has the local community responded to these dominant principles? Accordingly, this research is based on the assumption that there are competing values underpinning heritage management and the manner in which heritage is perceived: Western hegemonic discourse of heritage management and conservation ethics are facilitated by international agencies and central government and local/traditional values associated with cultural heritage are facilitated by local communities. This research required the documenting of personal opinions and value judgements of different groups of stakeholders in Lamphun's heritage. Therefore, the most useful research methodology to answer these questions was the use of qualitative methods. These methods had the following advantages over quantitative methods in investigating people's perceptions of heritage:

1. Qualitative research emphasises the importance of context, as human experience is shaped by people's environment.
2. Qualitative research views experience holistically as the research process develops.
3. Qualitative research is concerned with phenomenology, human experience as it is felt, lived or undergone.
4. Qualitative research involves the idea of making judgments, which is looking at events, interpreting meanings and assessing their significance in the wider context. (Kincheloe 2003: 190)

However, quantitative data has a relevant use in investigating people's attitudes towards heritage and heritage management. Triangulation, the use of combined methods to compare against one another, is an efficient way of verifying the accuracy of the data (Brannen 2004: 288). A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods gives a fuller picture of the site, and explores different aspects of heritage and the manner in which heritage is

managed and valued (Silverman 2006: 51). The data collection methods in this research are based on qualitative inquiries, along with the use of some quantitative techniques and data processing to illustrate the arguments.

Data Collection and Methodology

In social and historical sciences, including heritage studies, using appropriate and adequate participants and documentary evidence is more important than the richness of the information (Crabtree and Miller 1999: 34). The research methodology was designed to extract qualitative information from targeted sources, with a quantitative summary used to verify and illustrate the trends and themes in fieldwork data. Data collection techniques in the 2009-2010 fieldwork were divided into four main parts: the Meaning of Heritage Survey, data from participant observation, research using documents and semi-structured interviews.

There are also some significant sources of information where various forms of data (interviews, literature and some other forms of useful information, such as photographs, brochure and booklets) were obtained. These sources were sources from different types of organisations, such as heritage agencies, local government offices and other community centres that organise activities for Lamphun's residents.

a. Haripunchai National Museum

Haripunchai National Museum was the organisation that initiated the idea of World Heritage listing in 2004. It also holds general information on the progress and future directions of the 'Lamphun to World Heritage' project. The data obtained from this source are in different forms, such as observation, interviews, discussions, archived photos and records and documents.

b. Regional Office of the Fine Arts, Ministry of Culture

The Fine Arts Department regional office is directly responsible for site excavations and conservation. The Director gave an interview and allowed access to excavation and conservation reports on heritage sites in Lamphun.

c. Lamphun Municipal Office

The Lamphun Municipal Office is responsible for the general maintenance of the Old Town area and surroundings. In 2010, it became responsible for the running

of the guided tram tour of the city as well as significant religious structures of Lamphun.

d. Lamphun Provincial Office

The Lamphun Provincial Office looks after the general affairs in the province. The director is also part of the Lamphun World Heritage Committee. He gave an overview on how the project had progressed so far, and what constraints and opportunities it faced.

e. Town Planning Office

The Town Planning Office is under the Department of Public Works and Town and Country Planning. Its work involves developing plans for managing the physical heritage of specific areas, including the Old Town and surrounding areas. The Office hired a consultant to research and develop an Action Plan for improving Lamphun's physical landscape in 2008.

f. Nan Cultural Office and Nan Provincial Coordinating Organisms (PCMs)

Nan is another small Town in Northern Thailand, where heritage experts in the area also proposed a campaign for World Heritage listing. Nan already has a Master Plan for conservation and protection of cultural heritage, and is used as a model example by a consulting company for designing a Master Plan for Lamphun.

g. Heritage experts, academics, the monks, community leaders

Apart from government and private heritage agencies, individuals, such as local academics, experts in traditional knowledge, the monks and community leaders were useful sources of information on traditional practices or traditional knowledge from the grassroots level, in addition to showing how official information from government organisations and officials is understood and used.

1. Meaning of Heritage Survey

The Meaning of Heritage Survey was one of the major research instruments used to explore people's experiences and opinions on cultural heritage and related issues. It generated both qualitative and quantitative outcomes. The survey includes sixteen open-ended questions, which explored Lamphun residents' and visitors' opinions and attitudes to the city's heritage sites. The survey aimed to build an overall picture of what heritage meant to people who lived in or were

born and brought up in Lamphun; to explore what different sectors of Lamphun society perceived as heritage; to identify factors that affected their perception; to examine what types of values they attributed to the city; and whether or not people from different sectors of society were included in heritage activities (visiting, taking part in activities, community consultation). This survey consisted of a series of open-ended questions on the perceived 'meaning of heritage', as well as on people's perception of the heritage authorities' current heritage management. This survey involved 131 participants from a cross-section of Lamphun society. The reason for using open-ended questions was to enable participants to answer freely as the investigation of participants' perceptions of heritage really involved value judgment. Using open-ended questions better extracted what participants really thought and they were allowed to give more than one answer to each question, whereas using multiple-choice tends to produce a confirmation of the themes that a researcher has already established. Participants were informed before answering questions that their answers would not be judged in terms of whether they were right or wrong as the questions were only aimed at exploring their opinions.

Sixteen questions were designed to acquire the following information (Please see full questionnaire in Appendix 1):

1. Personal details (Question 1)

Personal details were asked in order to ensure that participants were drawn from different sectors of Lamphun's society.

2. Meaning and values which survey participants attributed to cultural heritage (Question 2-7)

The questions include participants' perception of heritage in terms of meanings and values, participants' involvement with cultural heritage. The questions not only explored 'facts', but also explored participants' value judgment (feelings and attitude) in order to explore how particular heritage discourses left psychological effects on local residents. The qualitative answers were used to create themes that were used in the analysis chapters.

3. What constituted cultural heritage in Lamphun (Question 4,5,8)

These questions were asked in order to define what locals see as Lamphun's 'key' cultural heritage for future analysis of the influential 'discourses' of heritage in Lamphun.

4. Participants' opinion on Lamphun's heritage management (Question 9-11)

These questions aim to explore local residents' opinion on current management strategies and government agencies in charge, their attitude towards the current system and their expectations from government heritage agencies.

5. Participants' opinion on World Heritage and Lamphun's proposed World Heritage Listing (Question 12-15)

These questions explored local residents' opinions and attitude towards the Lamphun to World Heritage project, including their expectations.

6. Additional comments on heritage issues

Participants' opinions on heritage issues that did not fit in with the first fifteen questions were elicited.

The questionnaires were distributed by different means. With a view to covering as a wide a range of targets as possible, some of the questionnaires were distributed at the heritage sites listed as 'significant' in Lamphun's heritage organisations' official documents and publications (Haripunchai National Museum, Cultural Office, Regional Office of Fine Arts) where participant observation took place. The survey was conducted at Wat Phrathat Haripunchai and surrounding areas, Wat Jama Thewi, Queen Jama Thewi monument and the market nearby, and at Wat Phra Yuen (See figure 3.1 for where these sites are located). Some questionnaires were distributed to people whose jobs were involved with heritage activities, and some were distributed to local residents of various backgrounds including students, who are the main target of museum and heritage activities in Thailand. The survey was distributed, also, through the internet in order to access heritage-related web forum users and general users of the internet.

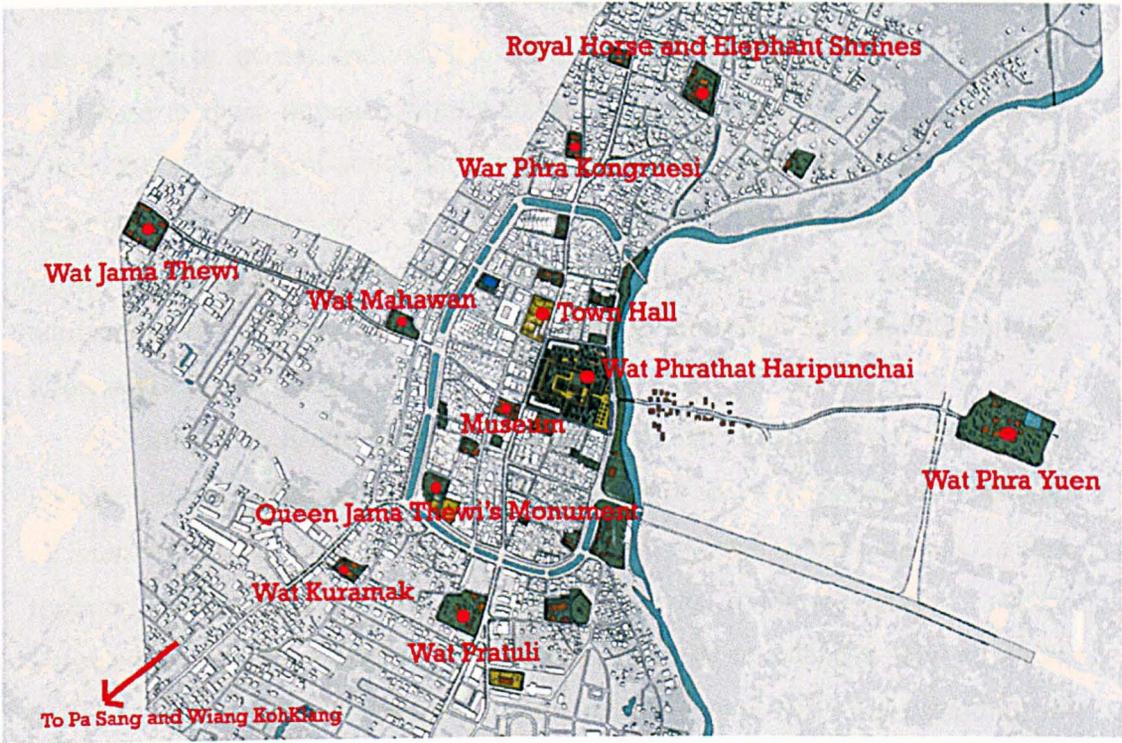


Figure 3. 1: Key heritage sites in the proposed conservation zone of Lamphun

The Meaning of Heritage Survey provided more explicit responses than other forms of data collection. For example, criticisms of current management strategies or heritage agencies were found more frequently than in qualitative interviews undertaken with state officials. The reason could be that survey participants were not expected to reveal their identities. Participants expressed their opinions without fear that their answers would affect their workplace status, unlike other means of data collection. The data acquired from the survey has been used in different parts of this thesis. The quantitative summary in the form of graphs, diagrams and tables is used to illustrate the arguments set out in chapters five and six. Qualitative aspects of participants' answers, together with the interview data, have been used to explain the arguments in chapters five, six and seven.

2. Qualitative interviews

Qualitative interviews were another main data collection method used to explore both the ethnographers' and experts' viewpoints. The opinions, perceptions and

expectations of various heritage interest groups in Lamphun society were obtained by using a 'semi-structured interview' schedule, which enabled researchers to access individuals' attitudes and values at a deeper level compared to those obtained from a formal questionnaire (Silverman 2006:114; Flick 2002:74). Semi-structured interviews are a method widely used in qualitative research. A set of questions are prepared before the interview, but the order of such questions can be changed during the interview, as necessary, and adjustment of language or additional probing questions for clarification are allowed (Berg 2007: 93).

Rubin and Rubin (1995: 69) suggested that obtaining one side of an argument was insufficient, since it was important to strike a balance in the choice of interviewees in order to represent all possible aspects of the research. In this research, interviewees were divided into two main categories, expert interviewees and ethnographic interviewees, in order to establish how conflicts occurred within a society and set values which shaped their understanding of heritage. Snowball sampling is another method, which allowed access to further information on particular topics when actually working in the research context. Snowball sampling or chain sampling is an approach which involves asking people who have already been interviewed to identify other people they know who fit the selection criteria (Ritchie *et al.* 2003: 94). This technique helps to identify other sources of data from people's recommendation of others who may have a rich source of information (Crabtree and Miller 1999: 39).

1. The expert interview

Expert interviews are a form of interview in which the interviewee is of less interest as a person than his/her capacity or expertise in a particular field (Flick 2002: 89). In the context of this research, 'expert' means 'persons whose professions are directly relevant to both tangible and intangible cultural heritage or have been trained and educated in the field of cultural heritage or related areas'. This research targeted state heritage officials, researchers and local academics for qualitative interviews. One significant challenge in doing an expert interview was to maintain the conversation along the path intended by the interviewer. Meuser and Nagel (1991: 449 quoted in Flick 2002) suggested that the interviewer should try to master the conversation and ensure that all research

questions were answered since, sometimes, experts could provide irrelevant information and lead the conversation onto an irrelevant topic (Meuser and Nagel 1991 quoted in Flick 2002: 90).

No	Organisation
1	UNESCO-Bangkok
2.	Expert in Lamphun's ethnicity (in 2009 and 2010)
3	Lecturer at Chiang Mai University, Head of open-museum project in Chiang Mai
4	Lecturer at the Faculty of Fine Arts, Chiang Mai University
5	Retired official of Office of Natural Resources and environmental Policy and Planning
6	Official at Nan Cultural Office
7	Official at Nan Cultural Office
8	Retired doctor, now President of Provincial Coordinating Mechanisms and leader of Nan's heritage movement
9	Adviser of the Project of Administration and Habilitation of Old Town environment
10	Director of Lamphun's Buddhism Office
11.	Head of Haripunchai National Museum
12	State Agencies, Lamphun Cultural Office
13	Director of the regional office of Fine Arts Department, Chiang Mai
14	Town Planning Department
15	Expert in Lanna Art and Cultures

Table 3. 1: List of expert interviewees

2. The ethnographic interview

Flick (2002: 90) suggested that the ethnographic interview was conducted generally during participant observation but, unlike expert interviews, ethnographic interviews usually occurred spontaneously. In the ethnographic

interviews conducted in this research, it was possible to have a predetermined set of questions, and the interviews were conducted as friendly conversations with stakeholders. Such interviews were held with members of different community groups such as members of local communities, representatives from non-heritage related organisations, the Head Monks, and so on.

No.	Organisation
1	Mayor of Lamphun
2	Mayor of Banruen Tambon Administratove Office
3	Head of Lamphun's Administrative Office
4	Nan local journalist President of Nan Cultural Council
5	The Head Monk of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai
6	The Head Monk of Wat Phra Yuen
7	Expert in local folk music, ancient Northern Thai script and adviser to the Lamphun to World Heritage programme
8	Lamphun's major High School representative on Lamphun's World Heritage Board
9	Retired school teacher, now owner of a heritage and history-related consulting company
10	Writer of literature on heritage, community member of Chaimongkol Community
11	Librarian of Lamphun National Library
12	Member of The Association of Northern Tourism Federation
13	The Head Monk of Wat Nong Nam
14	The owner of a printing company
15	An educational supervisor and host of a local radio programme "Chatting in Tai Yong"
16	British Artist and Sculptor who had lived in Lamphun for more than 30 years

Table 3. 2: List of ethnographic interviewees

The main categories of questions were designed for cultural and topical interviews. Cultural interviews focused on the norms, values and understanding of a cultural group or individual, and topical interviews focused on a particular event or process (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 28). In this research, interview questions focused on the principles and the set of values to which different interest groups adhered, and, at the same time, focused on specific topics around heritage issues, such as the proposal for World Heritage listing and defining a conservation zone within the walled city. This research used different sets of interview questions for different sets of interviewees. The full interview questions can be seen in Appendix 1.

Questions for local administrative state officials

The main aim of the questions for local state officials was to investigate these local agencies' policies on cultural heritage, heritage management, and community-based heritage, and establish whether and how they incorporated community concerns into their practices. The interviews with local state officials explored, also, the tensions which might have existed at the local and national level and local/national and international levels, specifically on the issue of the proposal for World Heritage listing.

Questions for heritage officials in the Fine Arts Department of Thailand and other heritage agencies

The questions for heritage state officials aimed to examine the nature and structure of the organisation, and their perception of heritage and related issues, including their perspectives as authorities on heritage and conservation. They were also concerned to determine how they incorporated international guidelines into practice, and whether or not there were any problems in current management strategies due to conflicting values associated with archaeological remains, such as the issue of authenticity and access to religious remains.

Questions for local academics and experts

These interviews with local academics were aimed at exploring their and experts' viewpoints on cultural heritage management, their position on the tensions or

conflicts in heritage management; and their attitudes towards proposal for World Heritage listing and community participation.

Questions for local communities

Questions for local communities attempted to explore their understandings of the term cultural heritage, and how the knowledge of heritage was constructed. The interviews aimed, also, to explore the tensions and conflicts between local communities and other interest groups.

The interview data, and transcription of formal and informal discussions, have been used in subsequent chapters to illustrate and elaborate arguments on major heritage discourses in Thailand's cultural heritage management, the consequences of these for cultural heritage and how different parties in conflict react to each other.

3. Observational data

Participant observation was another method of data collection conducted in the 2009-2010 fieldwork. This was undertaken in order to gain the actual on-site experiences of heritage practices. Participant observation was seen as 'fundamental' to much of the qualitative research. However, this approach is often challenged and criticised as being less essential and reliable (Silverman 2006: 19). Silverman (2006: 20) argued that observation could help in gathering firsthand information about particular processes in a 'naturally occurring' context. Observation was a reasonable choice if the research questions were interested in finding out about what people believed or how they behaved and interacted with their settings (Crabtree and Miller 1999: 48). Therefore, through this unobtrusive method, researchers could observe behaviours which might answer the research questions rather than solely relying on their perceptions and assumptions.

An essential point to note in conducting an observational survey was how an observer should behave or reveal herself inside that cultural context, and whether or not she should participate and become an active part of the observed field. Covert observation is a form of observation whereby observed persons are not informed about being observed. Covert observation has often been used in

open spaces (Flick 2002:136). Therefore, participants' behaviours tended not to change due to awkwardness resulting from the fact that there were outsiders in the field. In the actual fieldwork, covert observation was impossible, especially in the case of attending formal meetings, since it was necessary for me to obtain permission from session organisers to attend such events, but the presence of an outsider on such occasions did not seem to cause any change in behaviour to those observed.

An observer has to keep in mind the important point of what was recorded. Participant observation was divided into three phases by Spadley (1980). The first period was 'descriptive observation', which provided the researchers with an orientation. The next step was 'focused observation', in which the observed objects tended to be narrowed down in accordance with the research questions. Towards the end of data collection, selective observation focused on identifying further evidence found in the second step (Spradley 1980:34 cited in Flick 2002:140). Spradley (1980:78 cited in Flick 2002) proposed, also, the following nine observations essential for field record purposes:

1. Space: the physical place or places
2. Actor: the people involved
3. Activity: a set of related acts people do
4. Object: the physical things that are present
5. Act: single actions that people do
6. Event: a set of activities that people carry out
7. Time: the sequencing that takes place over time
8. Goal: the things people are trying to accomplish
9. Feeling: the emotions felt and expressed

(Spradley 1980 cited in Crabtree and Miller 1999: 59; Flick 2002: 141)

Participant observation in the context of this research consisted of various forms of activities ranging from mere observations of what was going on at each heritage site or event and survey of physical environments of each site of interest (covert observation) to actively participating in both formal and informal discussions and meetings (overt observation) and heritage activities. The data

obtained from participant observations were recorded in the form of audio records, photographs, on-site leaflets or disseminated documents and field notes. Such material is used as appropriate in later chapters.

Participant observation was conducted in different settings to answer the question of how the local and the government officials reacted to heritage issues. Observations were undertaken at different events and at various heritage sites inside the Old Town Area, the *wats* at four city gates, Amphoe Pa Sang and at various conferences, seminars and discussions concerning Lamphun's management of its heritage.

1. Participant observation occurred at events organised by heritage agencies or other state agencies, seminars, meetings, consultation sessions, formal and informal meetings and presentations. Participant observation in such events was aimed at observing reactions, and how heritage knowledge had been constructed by the 'authorising' heritage agencies, which included state officials, heritage experts and heritage authorities. Participant observation, which took place in 2009 and 2010, included:
 - a. ICOMOS charter regional consultation session;
 - b. ICOMOS conferences on 'Management of sacred sites';
 - c. ICOMOS 2008 annual meeting (postponed to February 2009);
 - d. Presentation of preliminary report concerning Lamphun Old Town Master Plan by Synchron Co Ltd;
 - e. Presentation of preliminary and progress reports on Wiang Koh Klang management plan by Synchron Co Ltd; and
 - f. Expert meeting in Bangkok to conclude the boundaries of Lamphun's protected areas and protective measures.

(In a.-c., I was attending the sessions as a participant. In d.-e., I was running a Power Point slideshow for a consultancy team. In f., I actively participated in the discussion and exchanged knowledge and experience about Lamphun.)

2. Heritage sites listed as 'significant' by the Haripunchai National Museum, Lamphun cultural office and TAT as authorised agencies, including heritage sites inside the Old Town area and significant *wats*.

Observations made at heritage sites include both surveys of physical environments and observation of visitors' activities. Surveys were conducted at different times as follows:

- a. Detailed land use survey of Lamphun's Old Town area (in order to see the condition of Old Town heritage sites and how they were managed). I took a walk in every street within the walled area to explore the physical environment with the consultancy team. The data was recorded as field notes and photos.
 - b. Survey of important temples in the Old Town area (The Buddha relic shrine and the four temples at the city gates) and Amphoe Pa Sang (This is extended from the previous land use survey. The Survey was aimed at exploring the management of temples). I visited *wats* and groups of ruins recommended as significant by Haripunhai National Museum.
 - c. Survey of historic buildings in different *wats* in other districts. I also extended my visit to other *wats* in other Amphoe, including Wat Ban Pang (hometown of Kruba Sriwichai, the famous monk in the late twentieth century).
3. Festivals, events, exhibitions held by local communities. I attended a diverse range of activities, such as the relic shrine bathing ceremony, traditional New Year in April, annual local product fairs, exhibitions of Haripunchai National Museum, museum training sessions. I participated in such events and did activities like other local participants.

Data obtained from participant observation have been used to assist with the interpretation of interview and survey data, which have been used to illustrate arguments and support the presentation of quantitative data in the later chapters of the thesis.

4. Document research

Another crucial source of data was existing textual materials, including governmental policy documents, archives, records of events, papers of

conference proceedings, local newspaper articles etc. Sometimes in qualitative research texts are used as background material for the core analysis, which means researchers often compare and contrast social phenomena of interest to them with what is written in the texts (Silverman 2006: 154). The advantages of textual data are richness, relevance and effect and availability (Silverman 2006: 157).

Sources of textual documents used in this research are:

1. Policy documents on management of cultural properties including the current legislation on Cultural Heritage Management in Thailand, the draft of Thai ICOMOS Charter, policy documents or records of events provided by Governmental organisations (The regional office of Fine Arts Department, Haripunchai National Museum), NGOs which are relevant to Cultural Heritage Management (UNESCO, UNESCO Bangkok, SEAMEO - SPAFA)
2. Local newspaper articles and journals on the issues of Cultural heritage management, conflicts between the local and the state World Heritage campaign, letters to the editor, etc.
3. Literature on Cultural Heritage and people's views on related issues written by local scholars.
4. Handouts and proceedings of academic conferences, seminars and training sessions.

Analytical Framework

Data obtained from the fieldwork were in the form of interview transcriptions, survey results, field notes and photographs taken on-site, literature and related government documents. Qualitative data analysis was based on three procedures: data reduction, data display and conclusion. However, these steps were not separate from the research's other dimensions (Marvasti 2004: 88). Together with field notes from the observation phase, textual materials and interview and conversation transcriptions were read carefully, and then reread. Important notes

or research memos were made in the margins and important passages and themes were highlighted.

There were no standard methods for interview transcription or textual analysis since it was the researcher's task to construct meanings from such texts (Kvale 2007: 103). However, Kvale (2007:104) divided the modes of analysis into the following four main categories:

1. Analyses focusing on meaning (meaning coding, meaning condensation and meaning interpretation);
2. Analyses focusing on language (linguistic analysis, conversation analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, deconstruction);
3. Bricolage (mixed techniques and approaches); and
4. Theoretical reading.

This research adopted the bricolage approach, which meant that there was no single specific analytical method, although the main approach was to focus on meaning. These materials were critically researched and assessed in order to answer the research questions. The main aim of using textual documents was to look for differences between heritage management and heritage value at local, national and international levels, and examine how people were using the concept of heritage and to map the arguments and tensions between the local, national organisations and the international heritage organisations which might exist.

Difficulties and issues to consider in Fieldwork 2009 and 2010

When various methods for data collection were conducted, there were issues and problems which might have affected the integrity of the data and data interpretation. These issues need to be addressed and taken into consideration in the process of data analysis, in order to identify this research's limitations and to suggest possible improvements in any related future work.

The most evident difficulty in conducting the Meaning of Heritage Survey was finding participants to answer the questions. An open-ended questionnaire was the selected technique, since it produced both qualitative and quantitative data, and new themes might be discovered from the survey results

that developed out of the respondents' open ended responses. However, the open-ended questionnaire seemed to intimidate potential participants. When the survey was distributed through the snowball technique, a number of participants returned blank questionnaires. After survey and feedback evaluation, the following reasons might explain the situation. Survey participants in Thailand tended to favour or be familiar with multiple-choice or check-list questionnaires. In addition, some participants had difficulties throughout the questionnaire expressing themselves in writing. Another significant reason was that 'cultural heritage' has been professionalised, and was seen as a field of special knowledge and sets of practice. Consequently, many participants considered that they did not have sufficient knowledge to answer, although most of the questions asked for their opinions and their understanding. I tried to solve the problems by working with the participants, and asking all the questions using simplified language and writing down the answers by myself to reduce time and effort. The expected number of between 150-200 participants could not be reached and, ultimately, there were 131 participants.

Another difficulty in data collection was bureaucratic problems. The nature of general procedures in most state agencies is top-down, including giving permission to a research student to access information on specific topics. An appointment for an interview or a brief meeting could be made, but the first step was being able to show these state agencies a confirmation letter from my institution or organisation. I had to leave a letter from my supervisor and university with the general secretary and wait for a response from persons whose work was relevant to my inquiry. In some cases, I received no response from the relevant organisations. Therefore, my pre-planned sources of information were altered periodically, depending on my access to information and contact with persons in such state agencies.

An unexpected difficulty that arose during the fieldwork was the political instability. This started in late 2008 and early 2009, when two political groups caused the national airport to be closed. Protestors also occupied the central area of Bangkok, where many of the central heritage agencies are located, such as the central office of the Fine Arts Department, SEAMEO-SPAFA and ICOMOS. Many of the proposed interviewees were altered due to the difficulties in gaining access. Also, the tension between the Thai and the Cambodian Governments,

over the issue of the listing of the Preah Vihear Temple on the World Heritage List, affected the work on heritage by the governmental heritage agencies or regional offices of international heritage NGOs. From 2008 to the time of writing, heritage agencies in Thailand have given priority to the Thai-Cambodian border conflicts. According to the authorised persons in those heritage agencies, many other projects, including the drafting of the Thailand Charter, have been delayed.

Apart from difficulties in the fieldwork, there were also issues to be considered when processing the data. The first issue concerned different understandings of heritage between the interviewer and interviewees/survey participants. Sometimes, ethnographic interviewees understood the terminology in the interview questions differently, which led the conversation in an unexpected direction. It was rather hard to determine whether their conversation reflected their understandings of heritage, or whether they misunderstood the questions. Variation in understandings of heritage was not a constraint in data interpretation, since the different values and meanings which people assigned to cultural heritage was fundamental to this research. Their understandings of the term heritage should be taken into consideration throughout the process of data collection and analysis. This will be discussed further in chapter five.

Another point to consider was that the 2009 data collection period was close to one of the most significant 'Intangible Heritage' events, the Stupa Bathing ceremony, which was held on 8th May 2009. What happened in Lamphun a few months before this big event might not have reflected Lamphun residents' normal activities. Visitors' spheres of influence might be broader than other periods of the year, and many participants in the 'Meaning of Heritage' survey were, in fact, visitors, who travelled to Lamphun for worship at the relic shrines. Heritage activities, particularly religious ones, are active from March to April every year. The ethnographic data might be different if the survey was conducted at other times of the year. Finally, the most significant point to consider is that people's understandings of cultural heritage are very subjective. People's experience, perception and worldview, which shape the way cultural heritage is managed, can be influenced, also, by other social or cultural processes. Hence, the knowledge and information obtained from this fieldwork is

only an illustration of how different discourses react at one time, not a solid conclusion or explanation of Lamphun's heritage management.

Conclusion

The study of heritage is concerned with understanding human values, judgment and experience. Therefore, the research methodologies used should enable a researcher to think holistically, and 'feel' and 'understand' events or phenomena rather than counting and generalising them (Carman and Sørensen 2010). The fieldwork in Lamphun was conducted in 2009 and 2010. Several methods, including a questionnaire survey, interviews, document research and participant observation, were used in order to obtain data from different angles. Each method has its strengths and weaknesses. The reason for the use of triangulation was to cover all aspects of possible data related to the issue of cultural heritage management by local and national organisations. The Meaning of Heritage Survey provided quantitative as well as qualitative results, and obtained information on people's personal connections to heritage, its use and management. Semi-structured interviews were used to gain information on procedures and the history of the World Heritage listing project, and to obtain the views and ideas about heritage held by interviewees. Interviewing is an interactive type of data collection, where interviewers and interviewees can react to each other. Participant observation and textual analysis were used to acquire background information on the site. Moreover, these observational methods were unobtrusive, and provided a picture of 'what is happening' that augmented the data collected on people's idea and beliefs. Although there were constraints and issues to be considered, the data obtained from the fieldwork in 2009-2010 is sufficient to expand on Byrne's (1993) thesis on how cultural heritage in Thailand has been influenced by dominant discourses, how local levels respond to the coexistence of different heritage discourses, and how Western hegemony affects heritage management by local communities in Lamphun and across Thailand.

Chapter 4: Lamphun, its cultural significance, history and heritage management

This chapter aims to provide background information on the cultural significance of Lamphun, at both local and national levels, and to identify the influence of social, cultural and political history on local residents' perception of heritage and heritage management. Lamphun, previously known as Haripunchai, is a city of both local and national cultural significance, in terms of its historical and spiritual aspects. Lamphun has been seen as the centre of Upper Northern Thai polities, and also the centre of Buddhism in the area, due to the presence of the most ancient 'Buddha relic shrine' of the Northern region of Thailand, which was established at the heart of the city around the twelfth century (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). The Buddha relic shrine, known as 'Phrathat Haripunchai', has attracted many pilgrims, and influenced the construction of other religious structures around the city and across the ancient kingdom of Haripunchai (Freeman 2001; Chergreen 2005; Synchron 2009b). Lamphun is a city where spirituality and religious significance dominate other aspects of cultural significance. The spiritual significance of several religious structures in Lamphun has constructed the way both tangible and intangible cultural heritage are understood and managed by local residents. This is because the main purpose of cultural heritage management by local residents in this region, unlike the aim of the state heritage agencies that are influenced by Western ethics of conservation, are chiefly to maintain the 'spirit of the place' - rather than maintaining material authenticity - and to achieve merit according to the Buddhist belief in *Bun* (merit) and *Baap* (wrong doing) (Tambiah 1970, 1976; Byrne 1993; Kanjanusthiti 1996). Lamphun's cultural significance has led to attempts from all sections of society to maintain and preserve it and its heritage in their own way. Its social and political history is also another factor that affects the way heritage is perceived and used by both local communities and state agencies in Thailand.

The first section of this chapter introduces the geographical and physical characteristics of Lamphun. It then proceeds to discuss the social-cultural factors, such as the social and political history and ethnic composition of the region, which influence the way the knowledge of heritage is constructed. The next

section introduces some of the significant, tangible and intangible cultural heritage that is involved in the traditional worldview, and in Lamphun's traditional ways of life; these views will be referred to frequently throughout the thesis.

Lamphun's geographical characteristics

Lamphun, originally known as Haripunchai, is the smallest province in Upper Northern Thailand, with an area of approximately 4,500 km² (Lamphun Province 2011). It is located south of Chiang Mai, the capital of Northern Thailand, in the Ping River Valley, which is the broadest fertile flood-plain in Lanna (Freeman 2001: 62). The Ping is not the longest river in the north, but the Ping River flood-plain has always been the centre of human activity. It is surrounded by many significant mountains and highlands, such as Mount Inthanon, the highest peak in modern Thailand, which is 2,565 metres high (Sethakul 2009:1).

Lamphun is located south of Chiang Mai, and 689 kilometres away from Bangkok (Fine Arts Department 2001: 2). The province largely consists of mountain ranges, which account for 64% of the whole province. In the northern part lies the fertile flat land, which is part of the Chiang Mai-Lamphun basin (Fine Arts Department 2001: 3). Lamphun consists of a number of important river flood-plains as follows:

1. The Ping flood-plain: Here, the flat land continues southwards from Chiang Mai, covering the Western part of Lamphun. It is the largest flat land in the province (Fine Arts Department 2001:4).
2. The Khuang flood-plain: The River Khuang is a tributary of the River Ping. It flows through the Old Town and joins the River Ping in Amphoe Pa Sang. The north city gate is just next to the river bank. The river has been frequently referred to in local folklore, myths and chronicles as the transportation route used by Queen Jama Thewi, the first ruler of Haripunchai, when travelling from Lopburi to Haripunchai (Fine Arts Department 2001: 4, Sethakul 2009: 4).
3. The Tha flood-plain: The River Tha defines the border between *Amphoe Muang* and *Amphoe Pa Sang*. The Tha flood plain is rather

narrow, and people living along the river always experience floods in the monsoon season.

Lamphun's geographical factors have greatly affected local ways of life and beliefs since early times, as physical boundaries prevent the intrusion of outsiders, and contribute to local beliefs about supernatural beings that reside in nature, spirits, hermits, and other stories of local folklore and myth (Sethakul 2009: 15). The middle part of the Ping River valley is also known as the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin. This has always been a population centre, as well as politically and culturally significant (Freeman 2001: 63); this can be seen from the concentration of art and architecture that is found there. Most of the land in the northern region is either mountainous or rugged, but significant cities were situated on the flood-plain (Sethakul 2009: 2). Therefore, the two most significant cities, Lamphun (capital of Haripunchai) and Chiang Mai (capital of Lanna), are situated in the basin.

Despite its small size, Lamphun is the oldest political entity of the region (Freeman 2001:109; Chergreen 2005; Synchron 2009b). Its past glories are illustrated by its archaeological remnants, living cultural heritage that can be found scattered throughout the town, and by the living intangible traditions that local residents have inherited from their ancestors. The centre of administration and economic activities of the province is the town of Lamphun, which is located in the central district of the province. Lamphun is well-known as a centre of Buddhism (both in the past and continuing into the present) with the presence of Phrathat Haripunchai, the *stupa* that enshrines Buddhist relics. It is the centre for faith and belief held by both local residents and many Buddhist believers across the region (Freeman 2001:109; Chergreen 2005; Synchron 2009b).

Lamphun is divided into seven *Amphoe* (districts) and one *King-Amphoe* (minor-district)

1. Amphoe Muang
2. Amphoe Pa Sang
3. Amphoe Mae Tha
4. Amphoe Li
5. Amphoe Tung Hua Chang
6. Amphoe Ban Thi
7. Amphoe Ban Hong
8. King Amphoe Wiang Nong Long

(Synchron 2009b: 3.1)

Among these seven districts, *Amphoe Muang* and *Amphoe Pa Sang* are most frequently referred to and discussed throughout the thesis. This is because the two districts consist of important heritage sites and are sources of intangible traditions as well as local arts and crafts (see figure 4.1).

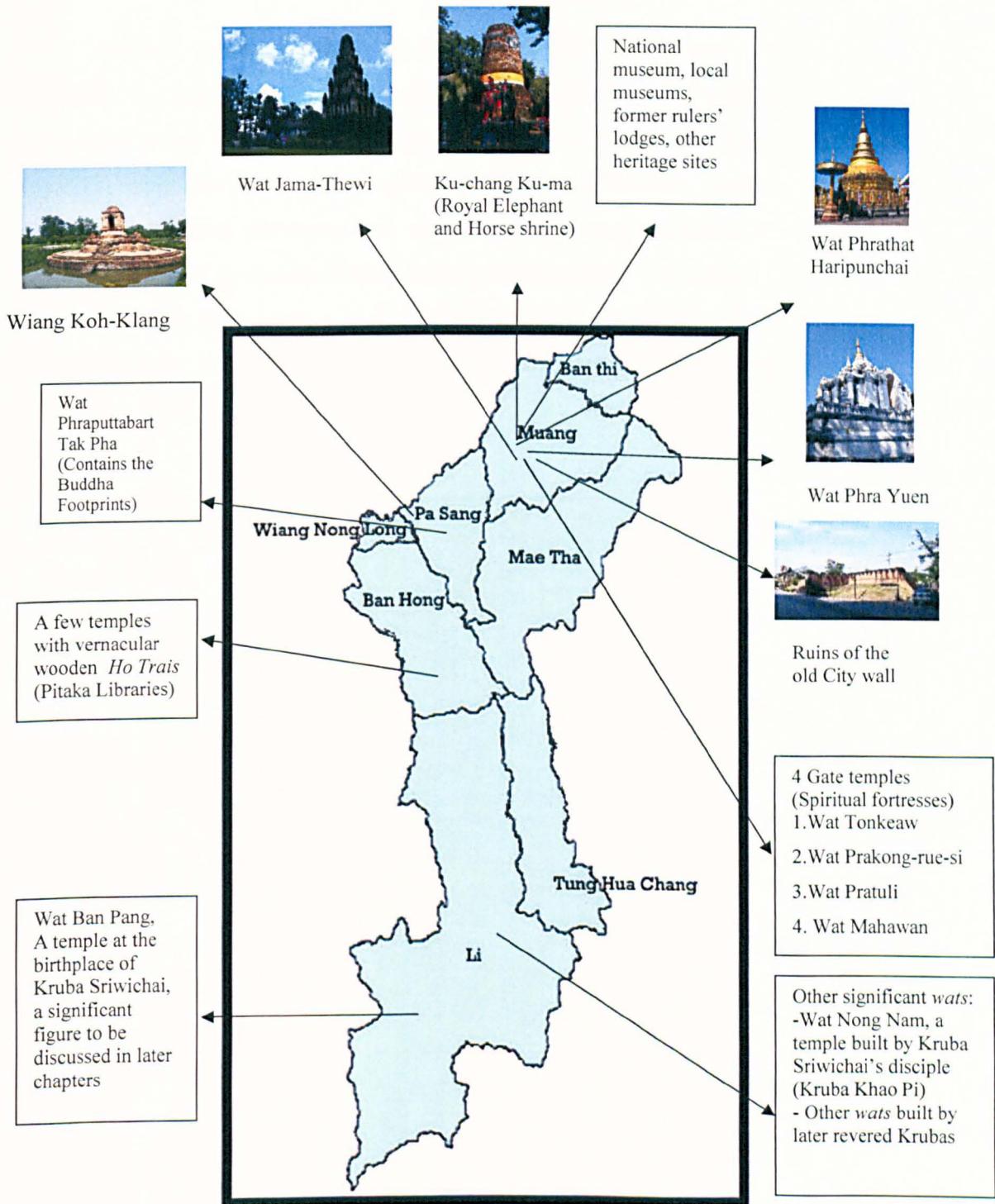


Figure 4. 1: Lamphun and key heritage sites

Amphoe Muang is host to the walled Old Town and many other significant heritage sites, such as the Buddha relic shrine, sacred temples situated at the town's four cardinal points, the shrines of the first queen of Lamphun, the Royal Elephant and Horse shrine and many other religious sites. Amphoe Muang is the centre of most activities, such as trade and exchange, and it is where most regional offices of governmental organisations are located. The walled Old Town area, which was designated a core conservation zone in 2010, and some other ancient temples and archaeological remains, are also situated in this district (Chergreen 2005; Synchron 2009b).

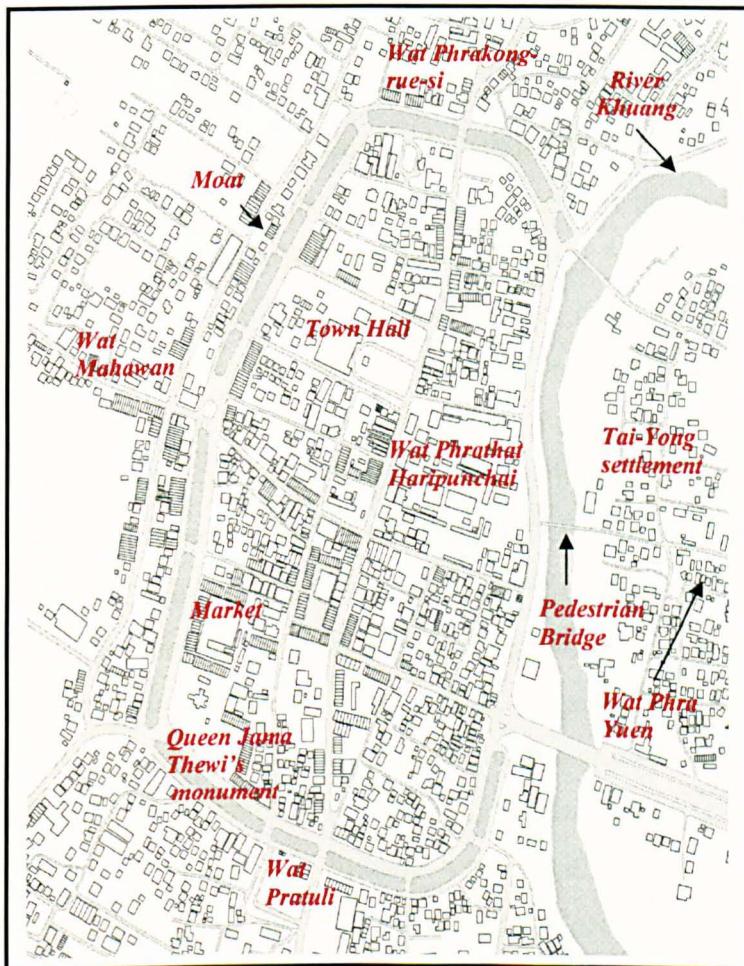


Figure 4. 2: Heritage sites in the walled Old Town zone

Amphoe Pa Sang is located southwest of *Amphoe Muang*. It is well known for cotton weaving and the Tai Yong settlement (Freeman 2001: 120). Wiang Koh Klang, a group of archaeological remnants that shows the transition from Dvaravati-Haripunchai cultures to early Lanna cultures, is situated in this district. There are also other sites that contain archaeological remains of historic settlement in this district, such as Wiang² Toh, Wiang Rattana, Wiang Pam (Synchron 2009b).

Background and history of Lamphun

Haripunchai (or Haripunjaya in Pali) is the original name of the town of Lamphun, and also the name of the influential political entity located in the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin from the ninth century (Freeman 2001: 109). It is the first historic city-state in Northern Thailand according to the current archaeological and documentary evidence (Sethakul 2009: 29).

This section argues that Lamphun's history reflects the fact that the most influential discourse that has affected the way heritage has been managed and understood here is the traditional discourse that emphasises the spiritual significance of religious values, places, persons or objects. Such traditional discourse is based on two ideologies: Theravada Buddhism and animism. As discussed in chapter two, Buddhism in Thailand may be divided into orthodox or state Buddhism and popular Buddhism (Swearer 2010). Although orthodox Buddhism is the 'authorised' ideology that influences the practice and organisation of the *Sangha*, the ideology that dominates Lamphun residents' ways of life is popular Buddhism, which reflects its significance through ideal action, festivals, rites of passage, and popular cults such as the sacralisation of objects (Tambiah 1970; Swearer 2010). Animism or the spirit cult is the belief in supernatural power or beings. *Phi* literally means spirit or supernatural agents and can be divided into the higher categories of spirits associated with the divine or heaven (*thewada*) and malevolent spirits (*phi*) (Tambiah 1970: 59). However, in the context of Lamphun or other Lanna provinces, *Phi* may also signify free-

² *Wiang* is a Thai word used to describe a fortified settlement. Generally, each *wiang* consists of *Wat* (Monasteries), higher-class residential areas and residential areas. Some *Wat* can be fortified as *Wiang*, such as Wat Suan Dok in Chiang Mai or Wat Phra That Lampang Luang in Lampang.

floating or localised spirits, such as ancestor spirits, which may also protect and grant wishes to those who believe in them. (See chapter five for a detailed discussion of Buddhism and animism and influential discourse on heritage practices in Lamphun).

Lamphun's early history is mostly illustrated through oral history, myths and legends rather than documented records. If not in the form of oral histories, most documentary evidence on the establishment of Haripunchai is in the form of chronicles, myth, and Buddhist texts, such as the Tamnan Muang Lamphun (Lamphun Chronicle), Cāmadevīwamsa (Queen Jama Thewi Chronicle), and Jinakālamāīpakaranam (Theravada Chronicle). These chronicles not only incorporate historical elements, they also have religious, mythic and legendary aspects. Thus, the reliability of such sources has been doubted by many academics (Swearer and Premchit 1998: xxi). Indeed, a few western academics have translated and interpreted these transcripts and dismissed some supernatural or metaphoric aspects of the texts. For instance, George Coedès (1925) spent time translating the Theravada Chronicle and part of the Queen Jama Thewi Chronicle. The former was thought to be a more reliable source, so he omitted the mythological and Buddhological aspects of this. In 1930, Camille Norton translated the entire Lamphun chronicle, paying particular attention to the present locations of the archaic place names in the text (Swearer and Premchit 1998). Although there is no clear written history of Lamphun, the public tends to believe the legendary accounts, and Queen Jama Thewi has become a respected icon in modern day Lamphun and other provinces nearby. Much of Lamphun's cultural heritage extensively illustrates the connection between people, places and the significance of Queen Jama Thewi folklore to local residents has continued up to the present.

Pre-historic settlements

Lamphun's prehistory is still an area that needs detailed investigation. There is insufficient archaeological evidence to systematically identify the ethnic groups who inhabited Lamphun in pre-history and explain the social and cultural conditions of the area. Most of the available evidence is in the form of local folklore, Buddhist texts and oral history. Nevertheless, it can be deduced from

both archaeological and historical evidence that the pre-historic inhabitants of Lamphun were influenced by spiritual cults, and believed in supernatural powers.

Archaeological evidence of pre-historic settlements in the Ping and Khuang Valley was retrieved from an excavation undertaken by the Fine Arts Department under the Ministry of Culture of Thailand, in 1987 (Synchron 2009b: 2-1). Many settlements were found on the Khuang River flood Plain. The most famous ancient settlement in Lamphun is called Ban Wang Hai, where grave goods, which show a belief in life after death, were found. Other artefacts include stone tools, stone flakes, stone axes, spindle whorls, glass bangles, bronze bangles, marble bangles, glass beads and Dvaravati beads (Haripunchai National Museum 1999: 21). The presence of many imported objects from other regions, such as carnelian beads, shows that these pre-historic settlements did communicate with the outside world (Chergreen 2005; Sukhata Jai-in 2008).

There have been attempts by academics to specify what ethnic groups inhabited the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin before the advent of the Mon Dvaravati rulers. According to archaeological evidence, there seems to be some cultural transmission in burial practices, and glass beads and bangles seems to suggest that there was a connection with other societies in central Thailand and possibly with Indo-Roman traders (Sukhata Jai-in n.d.; Haripunchai National Museum 1999: 21). Historical texts also refer to ethnic groups who influenced the area politically and socially before the advent of the Haripunchai culture. It was stated in both the Queen Jama Thewi Chronicle and the Journeys of the Buddha Chronicle that there were both hunter-gatherer groups, and other more sedentary groups of people, living in the Chiang Mai– Lamphun basin (Sethakul 2009: 10). However, these ancient texts refer to these ethnic groups metaphorically and the texts seem to contain many supernatural and mythical elements. For example, these chronicles suggest that these ethnic groups were deemed to have originated from the footprints of wild animals, such as elephants and boars, thus they were perceived to be lower born compared to the new settlers, who were related to the venerable hermits (Malasam 2006; Sethakul 2009). The actual meaning could be that they were egalitarian totemic groups that believed in a spirit cult. The types of animals referred to in the texts were possibly symbols that represented their tribes or clans. The new settlers, illustrated in the chronicles as the hermits and their descendants, were those who

adhered to Indianised religious beliefs, which began to gain supremacy over egalitarian societies at the same time as the arrival of the Dvaravati culture. The culture and social life of these ethnic groups, as suggested in the chronicles, resemble the contemporary Lawa way of life. Many academics now believe that the Lawa and the Meng (Mon ethnic group living along the Ping River) were those who lived in the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin prior to the ninth century (Sethakul 2009; Sukhata Jai-in n.d.). These historical texts, although full of mythic elements, imply that native beliefs were gradually replaced by outside beliefs, either Brahmanism or Buddhism.

Haripunchai

The first historic Kingdom that emerged in the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin is called Haripunchai. Its capital was situated in the area where modern day Lamphun sits. It is the first documented city-state in Northern Thailand that had its own complex social and political system, and its own developed culture (Sethakul 2009). The Haripunchai period marked the advent of Theravada Buddhism, which has become the most dominant ideology that shapes the way cultural heritage has been perceived and managed by local communities. There are at least five historical texts in the form of chronicles and Buddhist texts, as referred to earlier, that provide a detailed account of Queen Jama Thewi and her journey from the Dvaravati Kingdom to Haripunchai to be crowned as the first ruler. These texts include the Journeys of the Buddha Chronicle, the Tamnan MulaSassana, the Queen Jama Thewi Chronicle, the Theravada Chronicle and the Yonok Chronicle (Sethakul 2009: 29).

According to these historical documents, Vasudeva Hermit founded the town in 1200 B.E. (657 A.D.) and requested the Dvaravati Princess of Lavo (or Lopburi) to rule (Freeman 2001: 109; Fine Arts Department 2001: 33). Ten Mon inscriptions found in Lamphun are tangible evidence supporting the idea that the Mon ethnic group dominated the native Lawa at the turn of the ninth century, around the advent of Queen Jama Thewi and her people. The chronicles show Queen Jama Thewi's origin to be contradictory. The most widely accepted version is that Queen Jama Thewi was the Princess of Lavo, a Dvaravati state in Central Thailand (Queen Jama Thewi Chronicle, Theravada Chronicle). The second most popular account describes Queen Jama Thewi as the daughter of

Vasudeva Hermit, and she was sent away to Lavo to receive a proper education before becoming a ruler (Sethakul 2009). There is also a local folk story saying that Queen Jama Thewi was actually the daughter of a better-off local leader in Wiang Koh Klang in Amphoe Pa Sang, which is located centrally in Mon village (Sethakul 2009; Sukhata Jai-in 2008).

No matter what the truth is, the founding of Haripunchai indicates that outside knowledge and cultures were brought into the area and dominated the native beliefs. There is also some connection between Haripunchai and the Dvaravati states in central Thailand, as the artefacts found in Lamphun, such as votive tablets and man-and-monkey figurines, are very similar to those found in Dvaravati states (Fine Arts Department 2001: 31). The Dvaravati culture blended with the native ones, and Haripunchai art and culture thus gradually developed. Haripunchai art also represents the influence of other contemporary cultures, such as pagan and northeastern Thai cultures (Leksukhum 2006: 19). One of the new cultures brought to the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin with Queen Jama Thewi was Theravada Buddhism. Most artefacts that are a good illustration of Haripunchai art are related to Buddhism, and include *stupas*, Buddha images and votive tablets (Leksukhum 2006; Fine Arts Department 2001). The Kingdom gradually stabilised and extended its power through political affairs and trade (Sethakul 2009: 37).

The golden age of Haripunchai started in the late twelfth century, and extended into the thirteenth, under the reign of King Athittayaraj and King Sappasith (Sukhata Jai-in 2008). It was King Athittayaraj who ordered the establishment of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai, to enshrine Buddha relics and to serve as the centre of the city. The temple became one of the most significant and sacred places of cultural heritage in Haripunchai (Sethakul 2009; Freeman 2001; Fine Arts Department 2001). During this time, the Khmer King, Suryavarman I, extended his power to other states in the region, which is now modern day central Thailand, including the Dvaravati states. However, Haripunchai managed to survive the war and remained independent (Sethakul 2001: 41; Freeman 2001: 110; Fine Arts Department 2001). Theravada Buddhism and Haripunchai cultures flourished in the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin until around the fifteenth century. Another powerful chief in the Mekong and Kok Basin started to extend

his power southwards, and determined to find a new location for the capital of his new Kingdom (Leksukhum 2006; Sethakul 2009).

Haripunchai under Lanna rule

Haripunchai laid a foundation for later social, economic, political and cultural development in the Northern region of modern day Thailand. Although Haripunchai lost its independence to King Mangrai, the Tai King³ who extended his power from the Northlands (the area around the Thai-Burmese and Thai-Lao borders) in the fourteenth century, it still played an important role in religious matters due to the presence of significant religious sites. Many of the Buddhist disciplines and traditions formerly established by Haripunchai monarchs were adopted by the new Lanna rulers, and used as a tool to strengthen the position of the dynasty and maintain order in the Kingdom (Sukhata Jai-in 2008).

King Mangrai was the first Tai ruler of the Kingdom of Lanna, a powerful political entity that emerged around the fourteenth century. He was a powerful king, who conquered many smaller city-states in the Mekong and Kok Basin, and extended his power to the south. King Mangrai successfully seized Haripunchai in 1312 (Wannasai 2003: 24). However, Haripunchai was a religious town, full of sacred sites and temples, which made it difficult to expand and develop economically (Fine Arts Department 2001: 46; Sethakul 2009). Therefore, he established a new capital city for his Kingdom, north of Haripunchai in the same river basin, which he called 'Chiang Mai' (literally 'A new city'). Although the political centre of the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin shifted to Chiang Mai, Haripunchai was still a significant religious centre in the region, with Wat Phrathat Haripunchai as the largest *wat* and one of the most important Buddha relic shrines in the Kingdom of Lanna (Freeman 2001: 110). Lanna rulers were also the major patrons of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai and other significant temples in the city, and Phrathat Haripunchai was repeatedly enlarged and embellished by Lanna craftsmen under Lanna royal patronage (Wichienkeaw 2006).

³ Tai is a term used to describe an ethnicity or a family of languages. The term is different from 'Thai', which means the citizens or the language of Thailand.

Haripunchai's dominance in religious affairs was overturned by a later Lanna ruler. The sixth king of Chiang Mai, Phya Guna, who reigned from 1355 to 1385, decided to replace the existing Buddhist disciplines with a new sect, Langawong (also known as Singhalese, the school of Buddhism that spread out from Ceylon). He invited a revered monk from Sukhothai, another influential political entity in lower-northern Thailand, to help him establish this new religious order (Fine Arts Department 2001:47). The Langawong or Singhalese sect was well established in Sukhothai after King Lo Thai sent two Thai monks on a mission to study with the monk who ordained in the Singhalese sect in Ramanadesa (near Martaban, Southern Burma) (Tambiah 1976: 85). This marked the turning point in the Buddhist history of the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin, as Singhalese Buddhism started to dominate the traditional Mon-Dvaravati Theravada Buddhism brought to the region by Queen Jama Thewi (Fine Arts Department 2001:47).

Haripunchai and Lanna culture, particularly their attachment to the Buddhist Worldview that is reflected in both tangible and intangible parts of that culture, greatly influenced the social and cultural life of the inhabitants in the Chiang Mai-Lamphun basin. When incorporated into Lanna, Haripunchai art first influenced the development of early Lanna culture, but as time passed, Lanna art became the dominant style until the Kingdom of Lanna was suppressed by the Burmese King, Bayinnaung (Leksukhum 2006: 35).

Lamphun as part of Siam (later renamed and known as Thailand)

The connection between Lanna and Siam started around the end of the eighteenth century (Wannasai 2003:28). After a long period of Burmese rule, Phaya Kawila, a royal figure from Lampang, managed to reinstate Lanna with the help of the Thai King, Taksin (Chergreen 2005: 14; Synchron 2009b: 2-12). Wiang Pa Sang, which was located in modern day Amphoe Pa Sang, was used as an army base from which to fight the Burmese, and the moats and mounds of the temporary town still remain today. Phaya Kawila was appointed ruler of Chiangmai and Lanna, with the title 'Chao Kawila'. Due to the assistance from the Thai King Taksin, the whole Lanna Kingdom became a tributary state of Siam (Freeman 2001; Fine Arts Department 2001). However, a vast area of Lanna towns had been left deserted and devastated for more than two centuries, so the first task of

Chao Kawila was to gather the people who fled to the towns' periphery and citizens of other states to populate Chiang Mai and Lamphun (Chergreen 2005: 14, Synchron 2009b: 2-12, Sethakul 2009: 75).

Until the end of the nineteenth century, although having been a vassal of Siam, Lanna had little direct influence from the Siamese court of Bangkok (Keyes 1971: 552). As discussed in chapter two, Siam needed to take action in order to strengthen the national community, not only to escape the threat from nationalism, but also to keep up with the world and remain a superior nation (Winichakul 1994, 2000). Around the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the old sources of power and worldview were disintegrating and other countries started to adapt to the new ethos of civilisation. Winichakul (2000) argues that the geographical discourse, as part of identity construction and adopting a new worldview, placed Siam in relation to 'the Others'. Before the border demarcation, premodern Southeast Asian kingdoms based their understanding of space on the Buddhist cosmology, with the king as the centre of the kingdom and the borders between kingdoms were obscure (Winichakul 1994:20). Significant places, such as *wats* and relic shrines, were linked together by Buddhist pilgrimage routes as enshrined in ancient chronicles, creating a cosmic topography (Winichakul 1994: 23). The modern geographical discourse made the traditional system of bondage ineffective and led to the need for a new system of identification to make people 'Siamese' (Winichakul 1994: 165).

Lamphun, as part of a vassal state, underwent administrative reforms so that local rulers gradually lost their authority and commissioners from Bangkok gradually increased their influence on local administrative affairs (Sethakul 2009: 228). In order to unify all tributary states, it was necessary for Siam to gain control over these subjects and 'civilise' them. Apart from the administrative reform imposed upon tributary states, Lamphun also had to adapt to the new world order that Siam was adopting. Lamphun was definitely a peripheral town with traditions unfamiliar to the Siamese. Siamese elites considered that many of the local Lamphun traditions needed to be thoroughly 'civilised' by the state in order to strengthen the newly constructed nation state, since tributary states were then perceived by the central polity as backward and uncivilised (Winichakul 2000; Anderson 2006).

As a consequence of the unification, Lamphun experienced drastic social and cultural changes. Wannasai (2003), Lamphun's local historian, observes that the strategies that the Siamese government used were sending missionaries to introduce the new worldview to locals, gaining control of the education system and sending commissioners from Bangkok to govern the city instead of granting full authority to local rulers. Siam and western countries, especially Britain, became more influential in 'modern' knowledge transmission. Local governors became westernised in order to communicate with foreign guests without feeling 'different' or inferior (Chergreen 2005; Sethakul 2009). The role of local governors was limited, and Lanna languages and its educational system, were replaced by those of Siam. The reformation of the national Buddhist Church in 1902 was also a change that affected local heritage practices as much of the intangible traditions and tangible heritage was based on the religious worldview, which was to be controlled and modified by the Siamese central government (Keyes 1971). Before the religious reformation, religious affairs in Lanna differed from Siamese orthodox Buddhism in various aspects of practice: the script used in the sacred texts, structure and content of rituals and the organisation of the *Sangha* (Keyes 1971: 552). The reform essentially delegitimised local religious traditions, which represent Lamphun's autonomy as well as identity.

The 1899 regional political reforms were carried out in all parts of the Siamese Kingdom, with Lamphun finally being fully incorporated into Siam (Fine Arts Department 2001; Sethakul 2009). A more detailed discussion of how the work of the central Thai government left great impacts on Lamphun's heritage and Lamphun's local residents will be reintroduced in chapter five, where discourses on heritage are discussed, and chapter six, where conflicts over the management of heritage are deconstructed into their component parts.

Ethnic Composition

Lamphun's citizens are from various ethnic backgrounds. The Lawa and Meng are thought to be the original residents of Lamphun prior to the establishment of the Lanna Kingdom. Nonetheless, the majority of Lamphun's population at

present is the Tai Yongs (Chergreen 2005: 46; Synchron 2009b: 3-21). An expert in the Tai Yong ethnic group asserted in an interview in 2009 that it is rather difficult to find a percentage of the Tai Yongs in relation to the whole population of Lamphun as many of the Tai Yong traditions have evolved and blended with the Tai Yuan traditions and many of the Tai Yongs now see themselves as 'Tai Yuan', the most dominant ethnic group in Northern Thailand. Besides, different ethnic groups in Lamphun have experienced a shared cultural process, values and cultural identity, and out of this have developed a common identity and culture (Chergreen 2005: 46).

Tai Yong is the ethnic group that played a major role in the reinstatement of Lanna and Lamphun in the late eighteenth century. Malasam's work (2006) accounts for how the Tai Yongs migrated into Lamphun, developed their own communities, adopted and adapted to Tai Yuan traditions. Several ethnic groups living in modern day Southern Burma and Southern China, including Tai Yong, Tai Lua and Tai Yuan, migrated to Lamphun and settled there around the time of the reinstatement of the Lanna Kingdom at the end of eighteenth century. Initially, Tai Yong leaders agreed to assist Phaya Kawila in the fight for independence, thus a significant number of Tai Yong communities migrated to the army base in Pa Sang in preparation for the 1782-1796 war (Malasam 2006: 4). The forced migration of Tai Yong and Tai Lua communities took place later in 1805 (Malasam 2006). Chao Kawila demanded that Tai Yong leaders and communities migrate to the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin to populate the almost empty Lanna towns (Fine Arts Department 2001; Malasam 2006). However, the Tai Yong people were quite privileged, as they made up the majority of the Lamphun citizenship. The Tai Yong community was established on the eastern side of the River Khuang, opposite to the city of Lamphun, and imitated the conch-shaped city plan of Lamphun, which may signify that the Tai Yongs were then given equal recognition and respect to the Tai Yuan, who made up the majority population of the whole Lanna Kingdom. The Tai Yongs later spread out and settled down in different fertile flood plains, such as the Kuang and the Tha river basin (Synchron 2009b: 2-14). The Tai Yong ethnic group has maintained their own dialect, culture and belief system, although tensions between the Tai Yongs and other ethnic groups in Northern Thailand can be observed (see chapter six) (Malasam 2006: 12). The Tai Yongs, together with

other ethnic groups in the Lanna polity, were generally forced to enter into the Siamese system of education as part of the unification of the nation-state of Siam. After the Siamese regional political reformation in 1899, the central Thai educational system became compulsory for all members of the Siamese nation (Sethakul 2009). The Tai Yongs were thus assimilated into central Thai culture, just like other ethnic groups in vassal states.

Currently Lamphun's identity is a product of the deposition of diverse values and traditions over time. The old values were not completely overthrown or discarded by the more recent ones, but rather were marginalised and finally managed to survive. Lamphun's cultural heritage is essentially composed of Haripunchai, Lanna and modern Thai cultures (Fine Arts Department 2001) and living cultural traditions are still actively evolving. Tai Yong and Tai Yuan traditions are now experiencing changes. In addition to struggles between cultural identities, tensions that emerge in heritage management today also involve struggles between interest groups, such as locals, whose heritage practices largely depend on their economic conditions, and heritage professionals, whose interests are based on the need for conservation and management (see chapter seven) (Sethakul 2009: 228).

Lamphun's cultural heritage

This section aims to illustrate some examples of Lamphun's heritage, so as to demonstrate the underlying factors that affect the way heritage has been maintained and managed. It argues that most of the perceived heritage is related to religious or spiritual beliefs and the narrative of Queen Jama Thewi, and that Lamphun's cultural heritage includes a wide range of elements, such as archaeological remains, religious monuments and sites and vernacular buildings. The examples of Lamphun's cultural heritage introduced in this chapter are elements that have a close association with the majority of the local residents' ways of life, their spiritual beliefs and their identities.

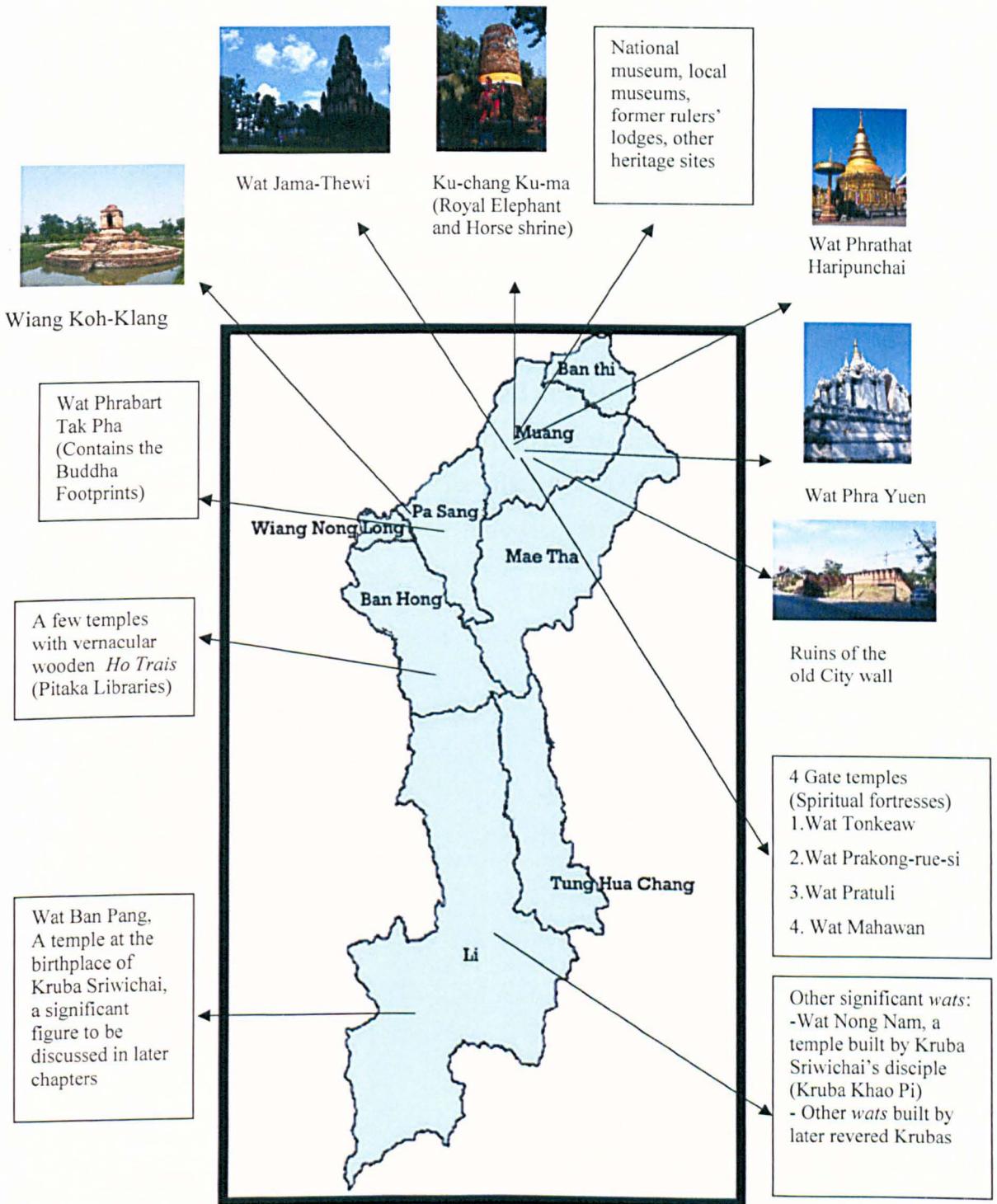
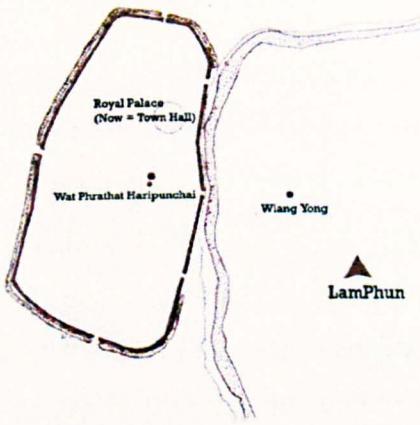


Figure 4. 3: Lamphun's key tangible heritage

Lamphun Old Town: The conch-shaped city

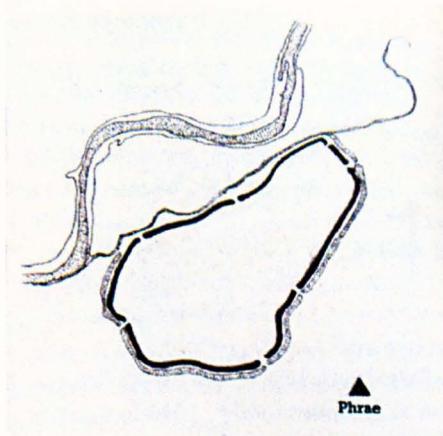
Lamphun's early town layout represents the religious or spiritual discourse that influenced the way tangible and intangible cultural heritage was constructed. The layout of the Old Town zone, and later the construction and modification of religious structures within the city wall, including the construction of the Buddha relic shrine, reflect local residents' dedication to Hindu and Buddhist beliefs in cosmology. The layout also shows how these ideologies have affected the way tangible and intangible heritage in Lamphun has been maintained and managed.

The Old Town of Lamphun is located in the central district of Amphoe Muang. It is enclosed by the city wall and moat. The city was originally built in a conch shape (oval-like) with six city gates, and this unique city layout still exists. Other ancient towns in northern Thailand that have the same city layout include Nan and Khelang (Old Lampang) (see figure 4.4). Both are peripheral or tributary towns, which were built later following the spread of political power from Haripunchai (Leawrungruang 2001:7).



← Haripunchai: A conch-shaped city layout, located next to a river

→ Phrae: vassal town of Haripunchai. The city layout also resembles the shape of a conch, indicating Haripunchai influence





← There are three ancient cities in present day Lampang. The far right was Wiang Khelang, vassal town of Haripunchai. The city morphology also resembles that of Haripunchai.

→ Chiang Mai, established over 600 years later than Haripunchai. Square-shaped, similar to other contemporary cities, such as Chiang Rai

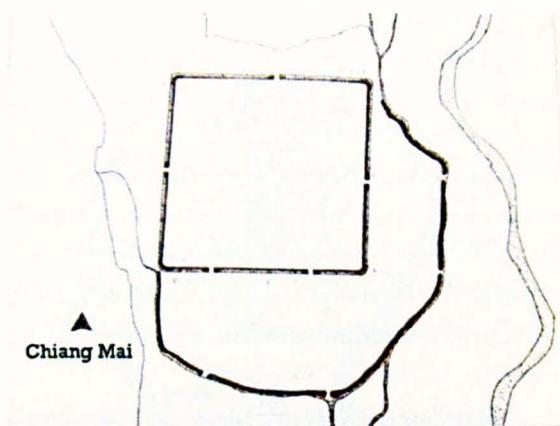


Figure 4. 4: The morphology of different cities in Northern Thailand

Source: Damrikul 2011

The significance of the conch shape is its age value, as the use of conch-shaped town layouts belongs to the Mon tradition, which preceded the square town plan of the Lanna tradition (Freeman 2001: 110). Haripunchai is the oldest city among those that have the same layout, which may signify that other cities were influenced by Haripunchai culture. A conch is a tropical marine mollusc, which is thought to represent some forms of supernatural power and has a connection to water or oceans, according to the Hindu belief system (Swearer and Premchit 1998, Leawrungruang 2001). A conch also represents prosperity, victory and virtue in the early cultures of early Northern Thai states (Leawrungruang 2001: 6), thus the shape of Lamphun's walled town has some meaning attached to it.

The anatomy of a conch also influenced land use and space management in the city. For example:

1. The North Gate (Chang Si Gate) is the main entrance gate for the Royal family and the Royal guests. It is equivalent to the head of a conch.
2. The South Gate (Pra Tu Li Gate) is equivalent to a conch anus. An escape tunnel is situated at the south end of the city.
3. The East Gate is located next to the Khuang River. It is equivalent to the mouth of a mollusc, and it is used by local residents to enter the city.
4. The West side of the city is equivalent to a mollusc shell. Fortified towers, moats and mounds were located here for protection of the city.

(Leawrunruang 2001: 8)

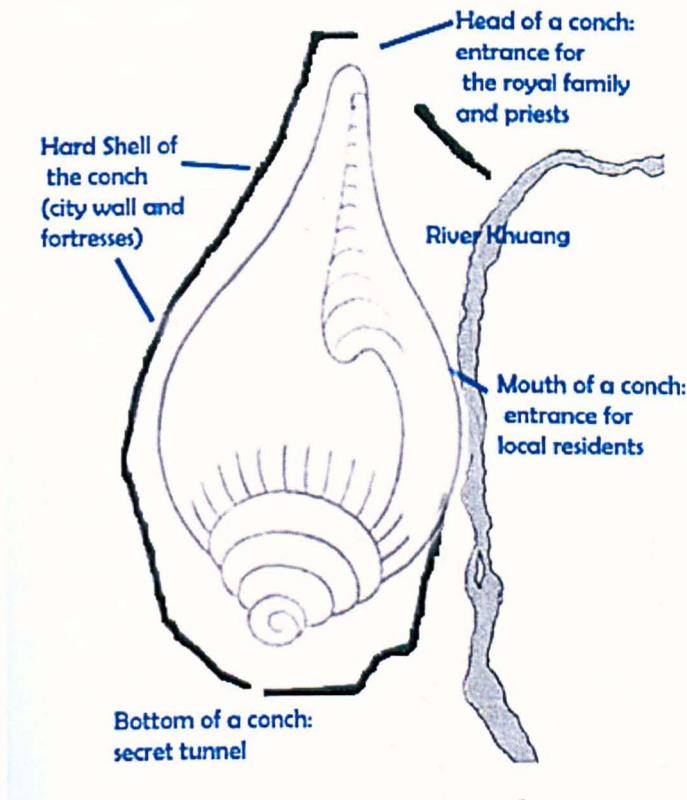


Figure 4. 5: The conch-shaped city plan and the idea behind it

Source: adapted from Leawrunruang 2001

The morphology of the city was explained in the ancient ‘Queen Jama Thewi’s Chronicle’ (Cāmadevīwamsa) and ‘Theravada Chronicle’ (Jinakālamālipakaranam). Early polities understood and managed their spaces through the religious worldview (Winichakul 2000). It is not surprising that the accounts on the city layout were in the form of legends filled with metaphoric and supernatural elements. Both chronicles established that the Vasudeva hermit who founded the city of Haripunchai placed a conch shell on the area where he wished to build a city and drew a line around the conch (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). The line thus grew larger and became a moat, whilst the enclosed area became a mound (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). Modern historians interpret ‘the hermit’ as perhaps signifying the outside influence from other polities, which might be the Brahman or the Mon from the central plain of Siampradesh. However, other explanations for the city layout, which modern or western historians and archaeologists may find more plausible and reasonable, could be that the Mon construction technology 1,400 years ago might not have allowed local residents to build such a complex layout as a square one.

The city’s gates, walls and moats are significant parts of any city. Lamphun’s moat and gates still survive, but many parts of the city wall were threatened by the economic development of the late twentieth century. Originally, the city was surrounded by moats and mounds, with the wall constructed in the reign of King Muang Keaw of Lanna in the sixteenth century (Pisut Technology 2008: 2-3). However, at different points, the city wall has been pulled down and the materials of the walls reused for the construction of a ring road (Pisut Technology 2008; Khantipong n.d.). The previous governors ordered the demolition of the city wall in 1939, 1943 and 1948, and the total length of the wall destroyed because of the city’s expansion in the early twentieth century was 436 metres (Khantipong n.d.). The government officials’ perception of the city wall then was that it obstructed the city’s expansion and wasted time and money in maintenance (Khantipong n.d.). Thus, most of the city wall was demolished apart from a small part at the city gates. The only registered part of the city wall in the Fine arts department is a small portion of the city wall from the Mahawan Gate (Fine Arts Department 1982). The other parts of the city wall were not registered, as they were disturbed by modern intervention. Some parts,

such as the Tha-Nang Gate, are a modern reconstruction of a city wall that has already disappeared (see figure 4.6).

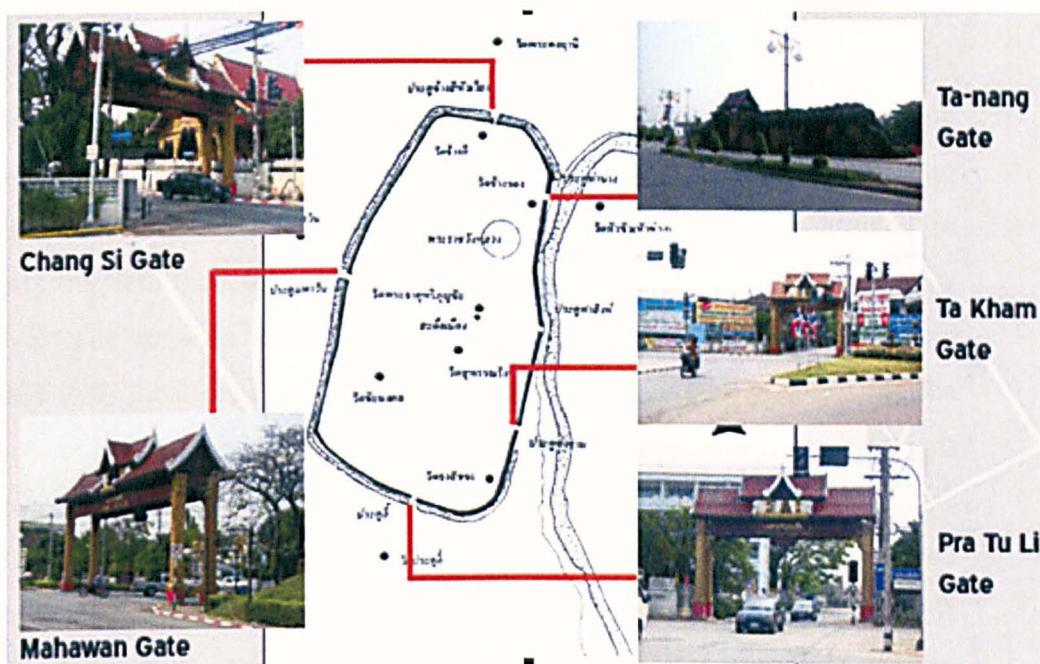


Figure 4. 6: The current conditions of the six city gates

The original gates have been destroyed. The Lamphun Municipal Office has ordered the construction of new city gates, and this was a topic of public debate for some time. The brick-made Ta-nang Gate was criticised by local experts and residents as offering ‘fake’ archaeological remains (see chapter six and seven for further discussion). The design of the other gates was criticised as ‘alien’ to the environment and local architecture.

Source: Synchron Group Company Limited’s preliminary report presentation

Significant components of a Lanna wat: common features of religious heritage sites in Lamphun

Before discussing other types of cultural heritage, this section will introduce some significant components that generally exist in a Lanna *wat*, since the terminology will reappear in later chapters. Many of Lamphun's significant heritage sites are temples or monasteries (*wat*) since Buddhism was brought into the region in the Haripunchai period (the eighth century), and continued to flourish throughout the Lanna period and up until the present day (Wichienkeaw 2006: 3-5). The tangible and intangible culture of Buddhism of a *wat* is closely associated with local communities. The physical heritage of a *wat* reflects the continuity and prosperity of traditional artisanship, and the tangible components are also associated with spiritual or intangible cultural heritage (Wichienkeaw 2006: 8). *Wats* may be classified into those supported by local congregations and those supported by royalty and the nobility. The latter group often contains significant features like the Buddha relic (Keyes 1971: 553). Seven out of eight registered archaeological sites in Lamphun are *wats* or religious structures (Fine Arts Department 1982: 251; Synchron 2010: 3-34). Most *wats* in Lamphun and other upper northern Thailand areas are in the Lanna style (Freeman 2001), with some containing traces of Haripunchai art. Some important *wat* components, which make Lanna architecture distinct from other types, are:

1. Chedi (Stupa)

Stupa and *Chedi* are the terms used to describe a pointed structure built as a memorial for the Buddha or the *Dhamma* (Wichienkeaw 2006: 99). *Stupas* may contain Buddha relics, the relics of saints or venerable monks, the sacred text, or simply venerated objects (Kanjanusthiti 1996; Netaraniyom 2009). The forms and architectural styles of *stupas* in Lamphun vary. There are five *stupas* that still maintain the Haripunchai design and are listed by the Haripunchai National Museum. Other significant *chedi* are Lanna or Burmese *stupas* (Haripunchai National Museum 1999; Freeman 2001).

2. Ubosot and viharn (Hall)

An *ubosot* (*ubosata* in Pali) and *viharn* (*vihara* in Pali) are places for conducting religious ceremonies. An *ubosot* is a congregation Hall for monks, whilst a *viharn* is a gabled hall for lay people (Freeman 2001: 39). *Viharns* are

the most important component in a *wat*, since they are the structure where Buddha images are enshrined and where activities and traditions are performed (Wichienkeaw 2006: 22). Most *viharn* in Lamphun are in the Lanna style. The floor plan is rectangular, dented to follow the roof tiers and portico. The roof is gabled with a single ridge (Haripunchai National Museum 1999: 32; Freeman 2001: 39). It is stated in the *Tripitaka*, the Buddhist scripture, that donating resources for the construction or renovation of a place for monks to live in, including *viharn*, is a highly meritorious act. An act of this kind may allow donors to achieve the state of *Nirvana* in the near future (that is, the ineffable ultimate dimension where one has finally attained disinterested wisdom and compassion) (Wichienkeaw 2006: 21). Buddhist believers therefore attempt to fund or donate money to assist the construction or renovation of a *viharn* or similar *wat* structures in order for them to obtain a high level of merit according to their belief system.

3. *Pra tu Kong* (Gate)

The main gate is called '*Pra Tu Kong*', which is normally built on the same alignment as the *viharn* and *stupa* (Wichienkeaw 2006: 9). Architectural styles of the main gates depend on their age. Traditional Lanna gates have pointed roofs with elaborate stucco. More recent ones are either a more simplified version of ancient Lanna gates or a simple gate with a pair of lion statues.

4. *Ho Trai* (Buddha's teaching library)

The *Ho Trai* is a library in which to keep the Buddha's teachings. *Ho Trais* found in Lamphun are made of wood, masonry and half-masonry or are half-wooden. In general, a wooden *Ho Trai* represents a local/vernacular craftsman, whilst a *Ho Trai* constructed under royal patronage was built in a more uniform style. According to a temple survey made in April 2009, Lamphun has quite a number of *Ho Trais* that are still intact and represent the beauty of Lanna Art (Wichienkeaw 2006).

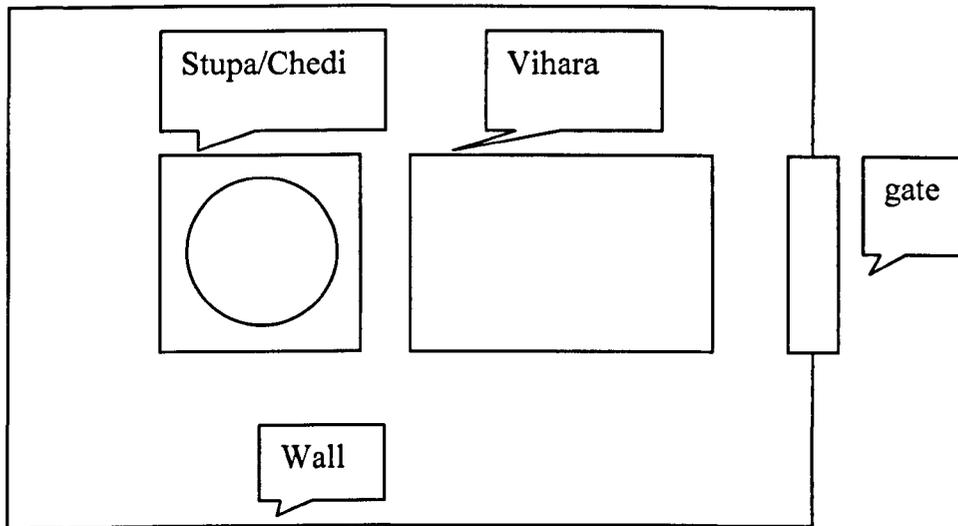


Figure 4. 7: The main components of a Lanna wat

Stupa, vihar and the main gate are all located on the same axis. Other components are built around the main axis in order to represent the cosmos.

Source: Wichienkeaw 2006: 2

The sacred temples at the town's four cardinal points: a unique town layout

The establishment of four temples or *wats* at the four major city gates is another unique characteristic of Haripunchai's town layout. There is written evidence that these temples were built in the reign of Queen Jama Thewi, with some sacred objects placed at each temple (Synchron 2009b). The purpose of the establishment of these *wats* was to provide spiritual or holy powers that would protect the city (Swearer and Premchit 1998, Synchron 2009b). They are often called 'the spiritual fortresses' by Lamphun's heritage academics. These four temples are still in use and play an active role within the lay community. However, many of the temple constructions have been altered or modified from the original fabric, since the locals want to maintain spiritual continuity rather than let the original fabric degenerate. These four temples are:

1. Wat Tonkeaw
2. Wat Prakong-rue-si
3. Wat Pratuli
4. Wat Mahawan (See figure 4.8)



Figure 4. 8: The four temples situated at four cardinal points of the city
Source: author

These four temples are believed to be among the most significant and integral parts of the conch-like city, according to the city's *Thaksa*.⁴ Their history will be presented in more detail in the later section of this chapter, while their locations can be seen in figure 4.2.

Famous amulets at Wat Mahawan and Wat Phra Kong-Rue-si: Phra Rod and Phra Kong

Wat Mahawan and Wat Phrakong-rue-si are famous for Buddha amulets, Phra Rod and Phra Kong, among antique-lovers and amulet collectors (Fine Arts Department 2001). An amulet is an object that has sacred or supernatural power (Tambiah 1984). Amulets distributed nowadays are thought to hold sacred power ‘sacralised’ by saintly monks (Tambiah 1984: 5). The first hoards of Phra Kong and Phra Rod amulets were venerated at the same time as the city was established and placed within the *stupa* in each *wat* (Wannasai 2003). Buddhists believe that the power that resides within amulets is activated through sacralisation (Tambiah 1984) (see more detail in chapter five). Phra Rod and Phra Kong amulets are thought to have carried supernatural power that can protect carriers from accidents or from evil spirits (Fine Arts Department 2001; Wannasai 2003).

⁴ *Thaksa* is the concept of angles referred to in Thai astrology. This concept determined the locations of many temples, city gates and other important constructions in early city-states, including Lamphun and Chiang Mai.



Phra Rod, found at Wat Mahawan, the most famous amulets of Lamphun



Phra Kong, found at Wat Phra Kong Rue



Phra Lue, found at Wat Pra-Tu-Li

Figure 4.9: Famous amulets of Lamphun found at the four 'spiritual fortresses'

Source: Haripunchai National Museum

Wat Phrathat Haripunchai: the heart of the city

Wat Phrathat Haripunchai is located at the centre of the town. It was built at the centre of the town in the twelfth century, and according to Buddhist cosmology represents the centre of the universe (Synchron 2009b: 2-32). Nowadays, it is the most important *wat* at the local level, and its cultural significance has also been recognised at the national level due to its being the first Buddha relic shrine from the Northern Kingdoms, and an early centre of Buddhist practices. The architecture of the *stupa* has influenced the construction of other religious structures in Northern Thailand, such as Phrathat Doi Suthep in Chiang Mai, Phrathat Lampang Luang in Lam Pang and has influenced various cultural traditions (Chergreen 2005: 5-2).

There are several important structures in Wat Phrathat Haripunchai. The central *stupa* (*Phrathat*) located in this temple enshrines the Buddha relics, and was built in the reign of King Athittayaraj in the twelfth century. The original design was an open *stupa*, built with laterite, and this had a square floor plan (Freeman 2001). When King Mangrai seized Haripunchai in the fourteenth century, Phrathat Haripunchai was rebuilt in Langa style (with a round floor plan). In 1447, King Tilokkaraj of Lanna rebuilt *Phrathat* and modified it to the current design. In 1512, Phrathat Haripunchai was wrapped in a gold sheet under Lanna royal patronage. The *stupa* was repaired, refurbished and embellished many times after that, but the major design has not been changed from that of the

fifteenth century (Fine Arts Department 2001: 100). See figure 4.10 for images of monuments from Wat Phrathat Haripunchai.

Suwanna Chedi is located north of the relic shrine, and was built around the same time as Phrathat Haripunchai. It is a square-pyramidal *stupa* resembling the Suwan Chang Kote *stupa* in Wat Jama Thewi, which was thought to have been built earlier (Chergreen 2005:12). A square-based, pyramidal feature is the most prominent Haripunchai architectural style, and influenced later religious structures in the Lanna and Sukhothai Kingdoms (Haripunchai National Museum 1999: 24).

Chiang Yan *Chedi* is another significant monument in Wat Phrathat Haripunchai. The structure reflects Haripunchai's architectural style and includes Lanna-style decoration that uses the plaster stucco technique (Haripunchai National Museum 1999: 26.)

Other significant structures include the main entrance gate with the lion statues, the bell tower, the model of Mount Meru, and the Vihara. These structures have different functions and significance to the *wat* itself and to local residents (Chergreen 2005; Synchron 2009b).

Apart from tangible heritage, many festivals in Lamphun are associated with Phrathat Haripunchai, such as the *stupa* bathing ceremony and the dance for *Phrathat*, which take place annually according to the lunar Buddhist Calendar. These will be discussed in detail in later sections.



Phrathat Haripunchai:
The Buddha Relic Shrine.
Built in the twelfth century, but it
has been renovated several times in
the past.

Source: author



Chiang Yan Chedi: One of five *stupas* in Lamphun that represent Haripunchai-Dvaravati's architectural style.

Source: author



Temple entrance and the East Gate of the city (Tha Sing Gate).

Source: Haripunchai National Museum

Figure 4. 10: Monuments in Wat Phrathat Haripunchai

Other significant temples

Apart from Wat Phrathat Haripunchai, which is located in the heart of the city, and the sacred temples sited in the four cardinal points of the city, there are other significant *wats* in the vicinity of the walled Old Town. These are associated with either the Jama Thewi narrative or Theravadan Buddhist traditions: Wat Phra Yeun, Wat Jama Thewi and Wat Ku Lamak.

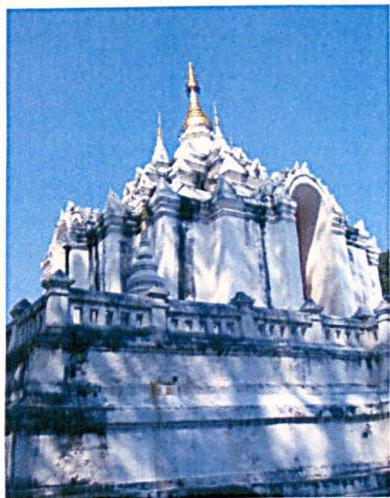
1. Wat Phra Yeun

Wat Phra Yeun is a temple of the forest Buddhist tradition.⁵ Its significance to Lamphun is as the first place in the Lanna Kingdom that adopted the new sect of Langawong, which spread from the lower part of modern-day Thailand (Synchrn 2009: 3-36). The temple was built to accommodate the revered monk Sumana, who came from Sukhothai, a lower northern Thai state, in order to establish a new Buddhist sect, 'Langawong', in Lanna in order to replace the old Haripunchai cult (Freeman 2001: 116).

The meaning of the term 'Wat Phra Yeun' is 'the temple of the standing Buddha', as the *stupa* contains four standing Buddha images. King Kuna of Lanna added three standing Buddha images on a site that already had an 8.5-

⁵ Monasteries that have to maintain tranquility and simplicity.

metre standing Buddha, and he also built a *stupa* to house them (Freeman 2001: 116). The original *stupa* was replaced by the pagan style one in 1900. An inscription in adapted Thai script was found here (Freeman 2001).



Central Stupa,
Wat Phra Yuen
Source: Author



Viharn (Congregation
Hall)
Source: Author



Before conservation work, the *stupa* was covered in vegetation and the surface was darkened. The standing Buddha image can be seen inside the niche.

Source: Haripunchai National



The inside standing Buddha image.

Source: Haripunchai National
Museum Museum

Figure 4. 6: Religious structures in Wat Phra Yeun

2. Wat Jama Thewi

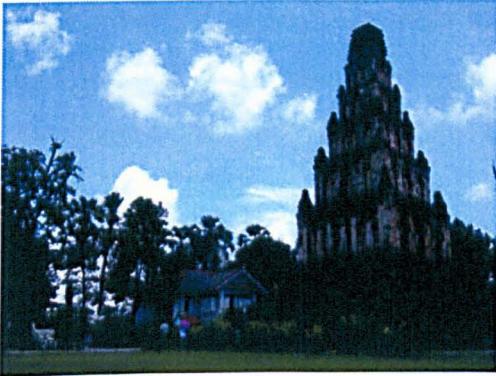
There is no evidence for when this temple was established. According to the chronicles and secondary resources, it was used for Queen Jama Thewi's funeral in 715 A.D., and her cremated remains were kept in the square-based *stupa* (Fine Arts Department 2001: 105). Some academics believe that the square-based *stupa* was actually built in 1150 A.D. by Lavo's prisoners of war, men who invaded Haripunchai in the reign of King Athittayaraj, but failed to suppress the city (Freeman 2001: 118; Leawrungeuang 2001: 134).

Wat Jama Thewi contains two *stupas*, which are surviving examples of Dvaravati-Haripunchai art. They were reconstructed by Kruba Sriwichai (a well-known and revered Lanna monk) after being deserted for a long time (Synchron 2009b: 3-35). The temple is now in use and a new *viharn* was built right up against one of the *stupas*.

The first *stupa* is called Suwan Chang Kot Chedi. It is a 21 m² pyramidal *stupa*, and is said to be the place where the cremated remains of Queen Jama Thewi was enshrined (Freeman 2001: 118). The *stupa* has five tiers. At each side, each tier contains three niches, with a Haripunchai Buddha image inside (see illustrations below). There is no exact record of when the *stupa* was built, but according to the inscription found adjacent to the *chedi*, it was rebuilt by King Sappasith around the twelfth or thirteenth century. This could be a reason why the design and decoration contain the elements of Dvaravati and late

Haripunchai art (Haripunchai National Museum 2008: 62-63). Another *stupa* is the 11.5 metres tall, octagonal, Rattana Chedi. Each side of the *stupa* contains a terracotta standing Buddha image. This is also another example of Dvaravati-Haripunchai art that has survived to the present day.

These two *stupas* were found standing alone in a field without other temple components. After the reinstatement of this temple, a *viharn* was built against the Rattana Chedi.



Suwan Chang Kot (Golden) Stupa
Source: Author



Rattana (Chrystal) Chedi
Source: Author



Haripunchai Buddha images
in the niches on Rattana
Chedi

Source: Haripunchai
National Museum



Haripunchai Buddha
image in the niche of
Suwanna Chang Kot
Chedi

Figure 4. 12: Wat Jama Thewi and the two Haripunchai *stupas*

3. Wat Ku La Mak

Wat Ku La Mak is further away from the Old Town, and consists of a significant religious structure related to the narrative of Queen Jama Thewi. According to the Queen Jama Thewi Chronicle, the Queen once took a journey to the Ping and Khuang Rivers. She first boarded and camped at the site, which is now Wat Ku La Mak, and ordered the construction of a *stupa* to enshrine the Buddha relics that she had brought with her (Haripunchai National Museum 2008).

The central *stupa* as seen today was reconstructed by Kruba Sriwichai, the venerable monk born in Lamphun who had such a great influence on Buddhist affairs. There is no detailed record of what the early *stupa* looked like. However, interviews undertaken by the Haripunchai National Museum (Date unknown) with locals more than 80 years old reveal that the previous design of this *stupa* was square based with four niches, similar to the Chiang Yan Chedi in Wat Phrathat Haripunchai (Haripunchai National Museum 2008).



Central stupa and viharn
Source: Author

Figure 4. 13: Wat Ku La Mak

Other heritage sites

Apart from significant temples inside or in the vicinity of the Old Town, there are other forms of heritage sites related to the narrative of Queen Jama Thewi or the Buddhist traditions, such as the animal shrines and a cluster of ancient monuments (*Wiang*).

1. Ku Chang – Ku Ma (The Royal Elephant and Horse shrines)

Ku Chang and Ku Ma are significant heritage sites related to the legend and myth of Queen Jama Thewi and the establishment of Haripunchai, located to the north of the Old Town. The two *stupas* here are believed to have been built in memory of the royal elephant and horse of Queen Jama Thewi, which served the Queen and her children in the war against the Lawa King (Freeman 2001: 117).



Figure 4. 14: The Royal Elephant and Horse shrines

The sacred thread connected to the *stupa* is perceived by locals as an object that can transfer sacred power imbued in the *stupa* to the other end of the thread. This was part of the ceremony held at the site, possibly to empower local psychics, who gather annually at the site as a tradition.

Source: author

The origin of these *stupas* was not clearly recorded, as is the case with other heritage sites in Lamphun, although the design of Ku Chang is identical to Bawbawqyi Chedi in Burma, which can be traced back to the sixth or seventh century (Hariunchai National Museum 2008: 67). However, most of the evidence found in the Fine Arts Department's excavation of 1979 belonged to the Lanna period, thus many archaeologists and heritage experts believe that Ku Chang was built in the mid Lanna period (the late fifteenth century) (Fine Arts Department

1980). However, the excavation report also suggests that three Haripunchai Buddha images were also found in the excavation trench (Fine Arts Department 1980). The possibility could be that Ku Chang was originally built in the Haripunchai Period and restored in the Mid Lanna period.

2. Wiang Koh Klang

Wiang Koh Klang comprises another group of monuments and sites that contain both religious and possibly non-religious structures. It is located further away from the city of Lamphun, in Amphoe Pa Sang, another important district in Lamphun's history. Wat Koh Klang and related archaeological features are located in the heart of the Mon community (Fine Arts Department 2001: 111).

Originally, there were only three *stupas* within the walled area of Wat Koh Klang, but when the excavation took place in 2005, many other features of Haripunchai and Dvaravati culture appeared, such as the round base and a great deal of stucco that may be related to the decoration of the round-based *stupa* (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). The reason why it is called a *Wiang* instead of a *Wat* is that the territory of groups of buildings was massive and it has some form of enclosure, which in this case is a moat (Sukhata Jai-in 2009: 69).

The name 'Koh Klang' (literally 'middle island') indicates that these groups of buildings were surrounded by water, which could be a moat or the tributary of a river. According to an interview in the preliminary survey of 2008 that was carried out with locals more than 60 years old, one participant reported that when she was twelve or thirteen she then deserted groups of archaeological remains were still surrounded by a water lily pond. According to local folklore, Wat Koh Klang, might be the centre of a *Wiang* which came under the patronage of a rich man called 'Inta', father of Queen Jama Thewi, before she was adopted by the hermit and the King of a Dvaravati state (Haripunchai National Museum 2008).

There are three main clusters of ancient ruins (see figure 4.15). The first is located near the entrance of the Mon village. The second includes groups of *stupas* inside and in front of the new *Viharn*. The last cluster of monuments is part of the Inta's mound, which is thought to have been a residential area for wealthy residents (or Queen Jama Thewi's Birthplace according to the local oral history) (Synchron Group 2009). The round-based *stupa* located in the pond in

front of the temple is representative of Dvaravati culture, while the central *stupa* inside the temple has some Dvaravati features as well; however, the stucco on the four niches resembles the early Lanna style (Sukhata Jai-in 2008).

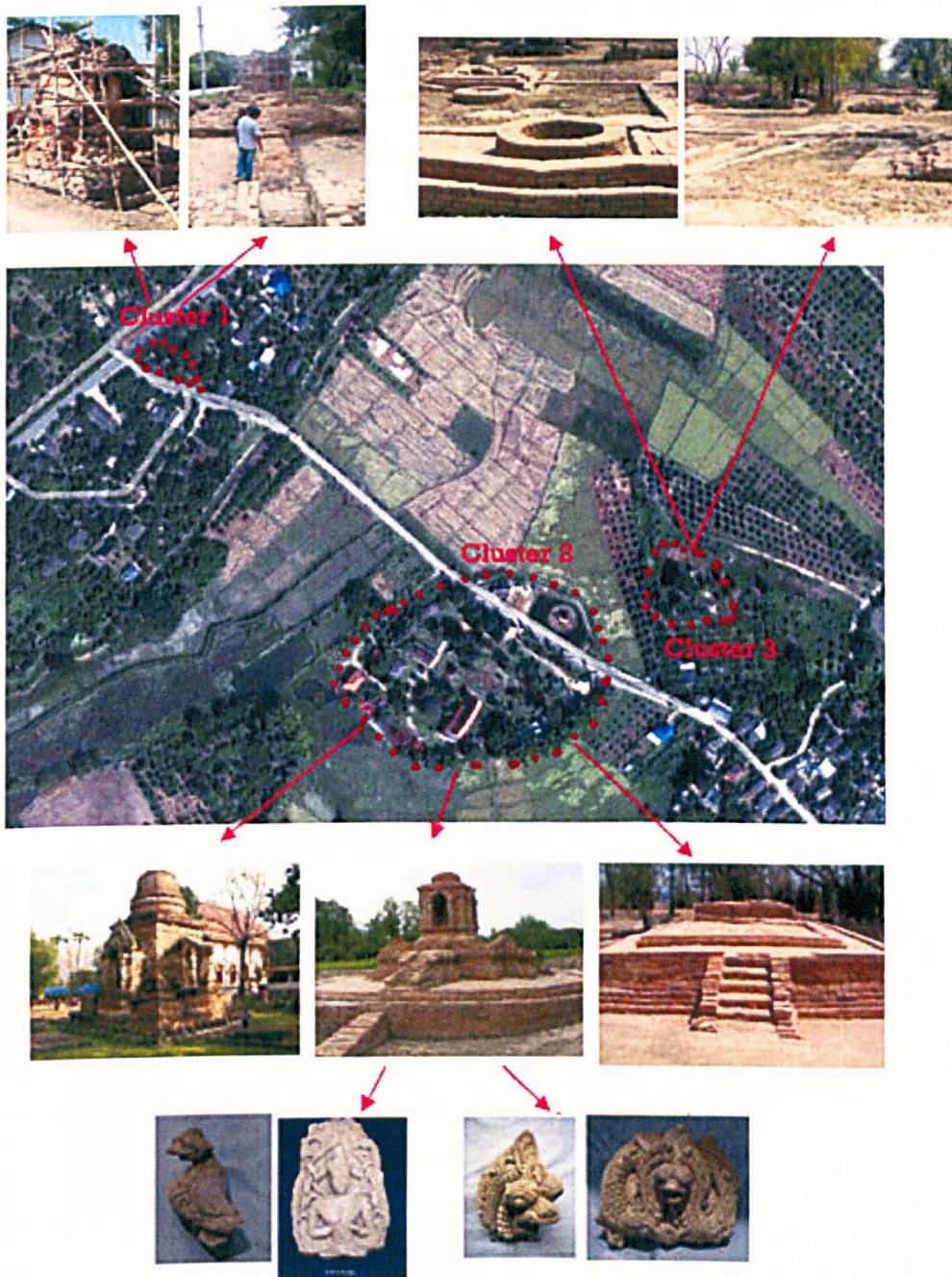


Figure 4. 15: Three clusters of ancient monuments at Wiang Koh Klang
Source: Haripunchai National Museum

Despite the potential to be a larger archaeological site, with a considerable amount of uncovered evidence, the temple was reinstated in 1974, and some modern constructions were built on top of and adjacent to the archaeological remains (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). A new museum building was also built in the temple to house more than two thousand stucco and plaster figures that were found in the pond surrounding the round-based *stupa*.



The Central *stupa*,
Dvaravati structure and
Lanna decoration.



Rounded-base *stupa*
in the pond.



Old and new structures
in the same area. The
new *viharn* and central
stupa.

Figure 4. 16: Wiang Koh Klang

Source: author



Plaster stucco on the niches of the central *stupa* in Wat Koh Klang.



Plaster stucco found in the pond surrounding the round-base *stupa*.



A statue of Queen Jama Thewi was built on Inta's Mound by the landowner.

Figure 4.17: Artefacts found at the excavation of Wiang Koh Klang

Source: Haripunchai National Museum

The heritage sites or monuments that have been outlined in this section are structures that have been recognised as ‘significant’ by local communities, academics and local government. They are part of the tram route for the Lamphun guided tour project that started in 2009. The twelve stops include Wat Phrathat Haripunchai, Haripunchai National Museum, Lamphun’s community Museum, the Queen Jama Thewi Statue, Wat Jama Thewi, Wat Mahawan, Wat Pra kong-rue-si, Lamphun Police Museum, Wat San Pa Yang Luang (Queen Jama Thewi’s funeral site), the Royal Elephant and Horse Shrine, Wat Phra Yuen, and Wat Ton Keaw.

Intangible cultural heritage

Apart from the tangible cultural heritage outlined above, Lamphun's intangible cultural heritage is also unique, and has been actively practised by local residents, although with some adaptations to the modern context. Most of the intangible cultural heritage is associated with religious or spiritual beliefs, agriculture, local identity and tangible heritage in Lamphun (Synchron 2009b: 3-50), and can be divided into traditions, performances, local literature, arts and crafts and local knowledge. Many of the renowned traditions took place at Wat Phrathat Haripunchai. Others were practised throughout the province. The following examples of intangible culture include some of the most renowned traditions in Lamphun (see figure 4.18 and 4.19 for the connections between places and intangible heritage⁶).

⁶ However, some forms of intangible heritage, such as performing art, dance, music, traditional know-hows, are commonly practised and it is difficult to determine their connection to specific places.

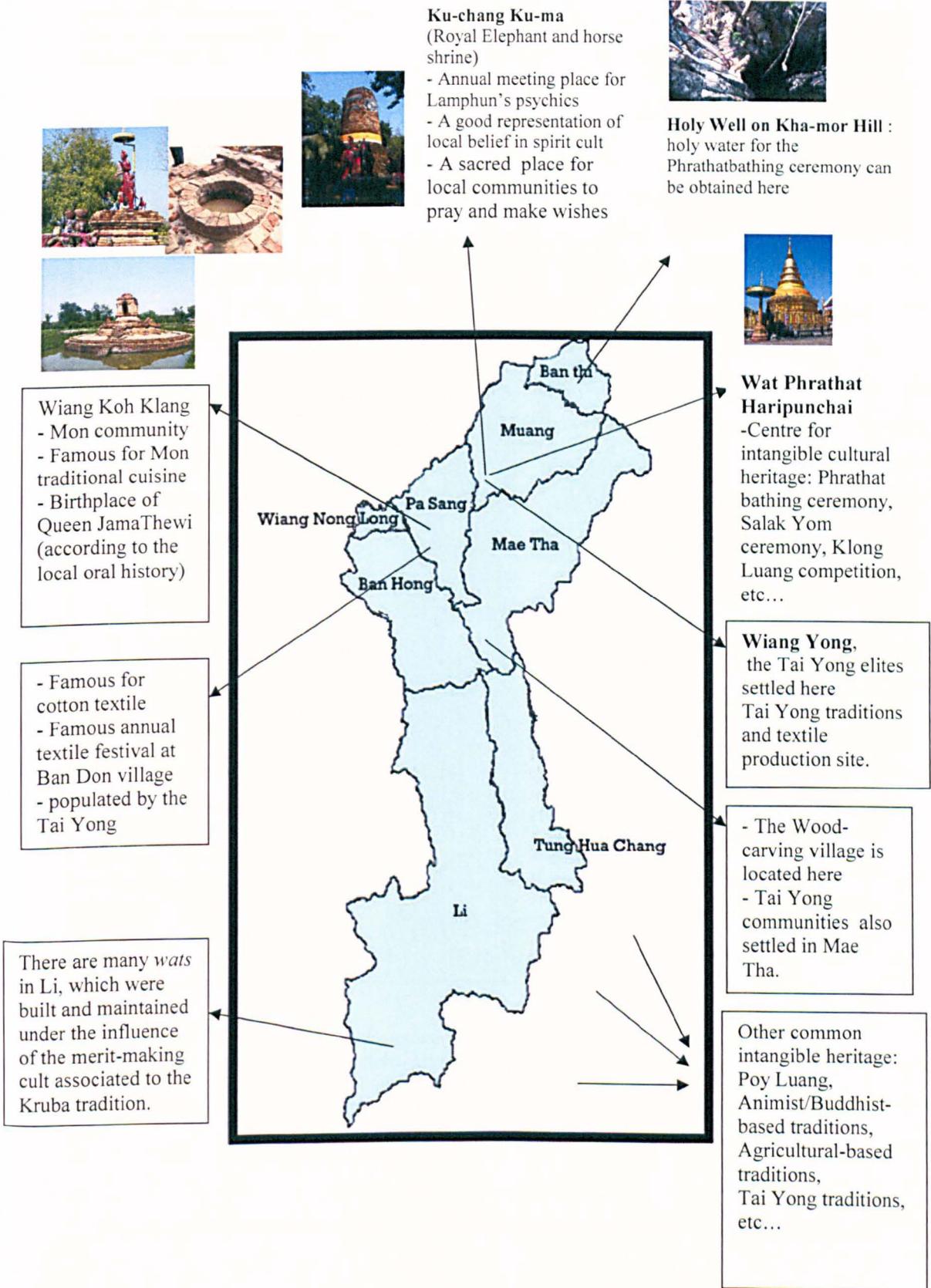


Figure 4. 18: A map showing connections between places and intangible heritage

Phra-Kong, Buddha amulets ritually animated at Wat Phra Kong Rue si. The oldest hoards of amulets date back to around the same time as Phra-Rod.



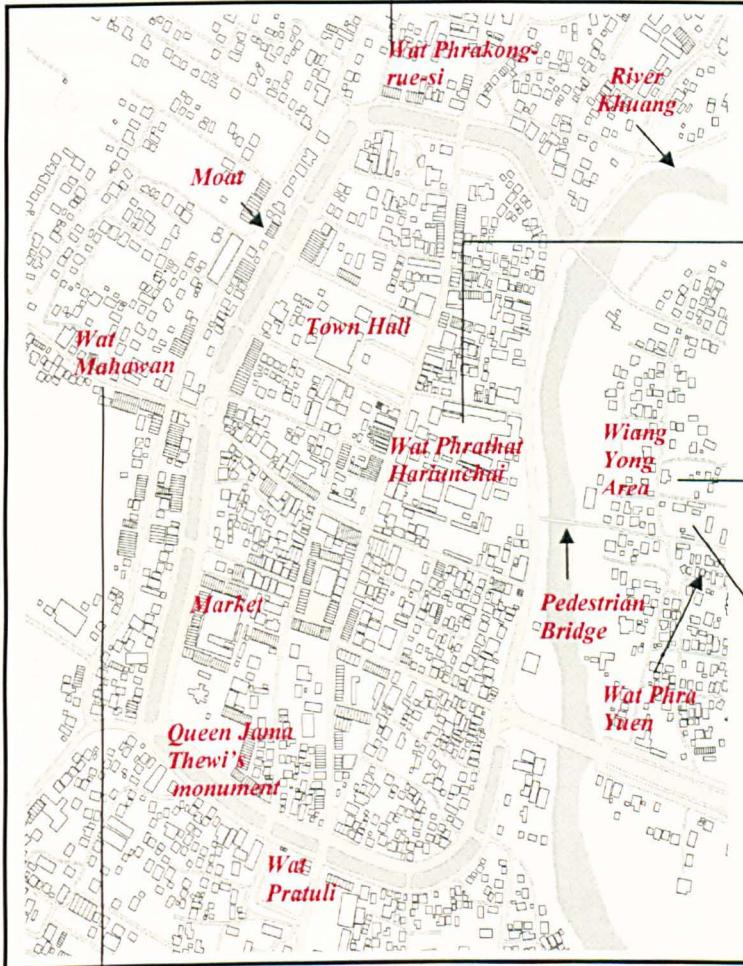
Wat Phrathat Haripunchai:
Centre for intangible cultural heritage: Phrathat bathing ceremony, Salak Yom ceremony, Klong Luang competition, etc...



Tai Yong Tradition:
dances, tribute to the Great Gods



Textile production site:
Wat Ton Keaw, located in Wiang Yong



Phra-Rod, Buddha amulets ritually animated at Wat Mahawan, Haripunchai-Dvaravati art. Phra-Rods are the most famous amulets of Lamphun. The oldest hoard found at Wat Mahawan dates back to over 1,300 years ago. The more recent amulets are also animated at Wat Mahawan as a tradition.

Figure 4. 19: Relationship between intangible heritage and places in the Old Town zone

1. The Phrathat bathing ceremony and associated festive events

The Phrathat Haripunchai bathing ceremony takes place annually on Visaka Puja day (the day that the Buddha was born, enlightened and passed away), which corresponds to the full moon of the eighth Northern Thai lunar month (Synchron 2009b). The purpose of this ceremony is to show respect and pay tribute to the *stupa*, to the Buddha relics and to the centre of the city (Fine Arts Department 2001; Synchron 2009b:50). The Phrathat bathing ceremony is a large-scale festive event that attracts local residents and residents of neighbouring provinces. There are a series of ceremonies and events associated with it.



Figure 4. 20: The Phrathat Bathing Ceremony
Source: Lamphun Cultural Office

According to my observations as a participant in 2009, the celebration lasts for seven days. A large number of people participated in it, especially on the last day. There are traditional games, performances, competitions and exhibitions in and around the temple. The examples of associated traditions or events are outlined as follows:

Obtaining holy water

Some of Lamphun's residents believe that the holy water obtained from the Holy Well on the top of 'Kha-more' hill, located near to the city of Lamphun, can be used to heal diseases and grant good luck (Synchron 2009b: 3-51). Kha-more Hill is 750 metres high, and geologists once thought it was an inactive volcano (Lamphun Provincial Administrative Office n.d.). The holy water is also used in the Phrathat bathing ceremony. Three days before the bathing begins,

Lamphun residents congregate on the hill and bring the holy water down for the ceremony (Chergreen 2005: 20). Together with holy water from other sacred places⁷ the holy water from Kha-More hill was used for the coronation ceremonies of the Kings of Siam, including King Rama VI, VII and the current King, Rama IX (Chergreen 2005: 20). The holy water and holy hill thus have national cultural significance, and the spiritual impact they make on local residents and people of different regions is considerable.

Sacred wells are recognised around the world, in nearly every culture and in every age. They are often associated with divine power; they are also seen as places of healing, magic, wisdom and sources to the Other World (Varner 2009: 1). They are sites where water springs or wells out of the ground and they originate in subterranean water sources. The source of healing is unknown and cannot yet be explained scientifically. Generally there are often associated rituals to the wells, often folk traditions (Varner 2009: 125). The use of water may represent a connection between users and the source of sacred power dwelling in nature with holy water as the medium. The sacred well at Kha-more Hill is also associated with divine power. Although the tradition of using water for healing is common throughout the world, the use of this holy water to bathe the relic shrine might be a strategy initiated to connect spirit cult believers in Lamphun to the Buddhist cosmology. The first interpretation may be that once the holy water is obtained and used to bathe the relic shrine, the power that resides in nature is transferred and connected to the power and sacredness of the Buddha. It is also possible that the *stupa* bathing ceremony signifies the triumph of the Buddhist cosmology over spirit cults, as even the water from the holy well (associated with deities, the divine, supernatural power) is used in the ceremony, which celebrates and emphasises the sacredness of the Buddha relic shrine.

⁷ The holy water used in the coronation ceremonies and other royal ceremonies was obtained from sources of water in seven sacred ancient cities: Sri Thep, Pitsanulok, Sawankalok, Nakornchaisri, Nakorn Sri Thammarat, Nakornphanom and Lamphun.

Traditional dance at Phrathat Haripunchai

One of the most outstanding events is the traditional dances carried out by female representatives of villages from all over Lamphun, in dedication to Phrathat Haripunchai. The history of traditional dance dedicated to the Buddha relic shrine is uncertain, but there is a written record that the tradition already existed in the sixteenth century (Synchron 2009b: 3-51). According to my observations in May 2009, when I attended the event, it attracts a large number of Lamphun's residents as well as people from neighbouring provinces. Villages' female representatives spend several days preparing for their routine. On the day of the event, these women dress in traditional costume and dance along to traditional songs sung by a local artist. The ages of the dancers, their costumes and the dance routines chosen seemed to vary, but all the dancers and visitors were bound together by their faith in the relic shrine.



Traditional Dance for Phra-that Haripunchai

The Buddha relic shrine was under renovation in May 2009.

Source: author



Dancers in traditional costume.

Source: author

Figure 4.21: Traditional dance in dedication to Phrathat Haripunchai
Source: Author

Klong Luang competition



Figure 4.22: Klong Luang, a percussive musical instrument

Source: Haripunchai National Museum

A klong luang is a large percussive musical instrument that looks like a big drum. In the past, a monk from each village would lead a group of villagers and take the klong luang to the competitions, which would be held at different places; the winner being the one that could produce the loudest sound (Chergreen 2005: 22). The most important Klong Luang competition takes place at Wat Phra-that Haripunchai. The Klong Luang is also played at the Phra-that Haripunchai dancing (Fine Arts Department 2001: 162; Chergreen 2005:24)

2. The Sa Lak Yom ceremony

The Sa Lak Yom ceremony is a ceremony in which each family prepares offerings for a monk. The ceremony may take place at any *wat*, but the biggest ceremony is held at Wat Phra-that Haripunchai (Chergreen 2005: 26). Sa Lak Yom generally takes place from September to October. Unmarried daughters of a family take responsibility for preparing offerings, such as dried food, fruits, household furniture, necklaces, belts and so on. These offerings are hung up on a Sa Lak Yom tree, which is made of bunches of straw. One of the most important steps is to write the owners' biography on a piece of paper and stick it to the tree. These biographies will be read out during the offering ceremony, while the Sa Lak Yom tree is then decorated and made ready for the offering ceremony (Chergreen 2006: 26).

3. Poy Luang

Poy Luang is a tradition local to Upper Northern Thailand, generally occurring from January to March after the harvesting season, and lasting for a few days (Somjai 2003: 56). The main events are held at a village's *wat* just after the completion of a new religious structure. All households in the village also hold a celebration for a number of days in order to honour the completion of the new structures, ranging from the *viharn*, *stupa*, congregation hall or even the wall (Panichpan 2005: 151). *Poy Luang* is generally seen as a good opportunity for villagers to celebrate, and show their hospitality by looking after guests and relatives from other villages. Visitors may contribute money for this meritorious celebration, whilst the *wat* also has an opportunity to prepare ceremonial events and traditional performances for villagers and visitors. Each family will prepare their offerings in the form of money and small goods, and attach these items to the wooden structure that looks like a 'tree' (Somjai 2003; Panichpan 2005).

I had a chance to participate in Poy Luang in Lamphun more than three times, as the host (at my grandmother's house) and as a visitor. The series of events that occur during the festival were the joy of villagers. They spent time and dedication preparing their homes and their offering trees as they believed that everything they did contributes to merits. Through these events, tangible and intangible heritage is produced and transmitted. A new construction is built. Knowledge in art and architecture is transmitted from the 'master' builders to 'students'. Villagers also have opportunities to present their artistic skills in decorating the offering trees and their houses. Female adolescents can also learn traditional performance and skills in many other local traditions, such as textile weaving and cooking.

Famous arts and crafts

Apart from traditional performances, ceremonies and festive events, Lamphun is also renowned for traditional arts and crafts. These examples of traditional knowledge are closely associated with other intangible cultures and tangible heritage, because of the way local producers are used in the heritage process. For example, carved wood pieces are among the most frequently used decorations for buildings or structures and handmade textiles may be used in intangible cultural traditions.

1. Textiles

Cotton and silk weaving are two of the most well-known products of Lamphun. Textile weaving has, historically, been part of women's lives in Lamphun, but formerly the main purpose of production was for household use (Synchron 2009b: 3-51). The motifs of the textiles are influenced by outside cultures, such as India, Persia and central Thailand, while some motifs are inherited from Tai Yong ancestors (Openbase 2008; Lamphun Provincial Administrative Office n.d.). Famous production sites are in Amphoe Muang and Amphoe Pa Sang. Lamphun textiles have been well known and used in other regions. Brocade silk woven in Lamphun was used at the Siamese Court in the Reign of King Rama VI, and has also been used in the annual national beauty contests⁸ (Lamphun Provincial Administrative Office n.d). Famous cotton weaving sites are at Ban Nong Nguag and Ban Don Luang in Amphoe Pa Sang. Female villagers have inherited knowledge about weaving from their ancestors, and so weaving techniques and skills, and the traditions associated with cotton weaving, have been transmitted woman to woman, with adaptation to new techniques, popular motifs and styles and market demand, until the present day (Lamphun Municipal Office n.d.).

2. Wood carving

Lamphun is one of the biggest sources of wood carving in Thailand. Wood carving is a skill inherited from the Tai Yong ancestors who migrated from Southern China, and the most famous production sites are in Amphoe Mae Tha, a district where the majority of the population is Tai Yong (Lamphun Provincial Administrative Office n.d). The scale of production has been enlarged over the last few decades, and the purposes of production have shifted from household use to furniture and souvenir production (Synchron 2009b: 3-51).

⁸ The national beauty or pageant contest is held annually to find a representative of Thailand to participate in the Miss Universe beauty contest.

Conclusion

Lamphun has a long history and a significant amount of cultural heritage, either in the form of tangible or intangible elements. Lamphun's cultural significance has been recognised nationally; therefore, the city has been included in various development and conservation plans in order to maintain and conserve its heritage while at the same time allowing the town to develop economically. Lamphun has, for instance, been classified as an 'Old Town' according to the Regulations of the Prime Minister's Office, and is part of the Slow City campaign (Synchron 2009b: 3-63).

Two main points can be concluded from this chapter. Firstly, Lamphun's heritage is mostly associated with Buddhist traditions, spirit cults or the narrative of Queen Jama Thewi, the first ruler of Haripunchai. Therefore, it could be expected that local residents' perceptions of heritage in Lamphun will be heavily influenced by a Buddhist worldview, mythical aspects of oral history, religious texts or supernatural beliefs that result in an alternative interpretation and management of cultural heritage. The discourses that influence the way knowledge about heritage is constructed in Lamphun and Thailand will be discussed in chapter five.

Secondly, Lamphun's history and ethnic composition significantly affects the beliefs and ideology held by locals. Lamphun's heritage is composed of Haripunchai, Lanna and Tai Yong traditions. These cultural traditions also evolve and adapt to social and cultural changes. The advent of the discourse of modernity has also loosened social bonds and relationships between communities, whilst technological changes also affect the integrity of heritage sites and heritage practices. However, Lamphun's ways of life are still largely seen as traditional and agriculturally based, as assessed by both locals and outsiders. Lanna architecture and traditions may be the most dominant features, but Haripunchai art can still be seen from some monuments and artefacts. The Tai Yong dialect and some traditions are still active, although tensions between the Tai Yongs and other identities may be observed. It is these beliefs and ideologies that may shape the way people perceive heritage and the issues in heritage management and conservation. They may also highlight a mismatch

between local beliefs and the authorised heritage discourse. This will be discussed further in chapter six.

Chapter 5: What constitutes cultural heritage in Thailand

The main research question asks whether there is a Western hegemonic discourse in cultural heritage management in Thailand and, if so, how it is employed at a local level. However, as the previous chapters have illustrated, it appears that more than one hegemonic discourse has influenced the way in which different communities understand and manage cultural heritage in Thailand. By discourse I refer to the inter-relation between language and practice, and the ways in which institutionalised ideas of heritage influence the ways that people talk or think about heritage and the heritage practices that they engage in (Smith 2006: 14). This chapter argues that there are at least three dominant discourses which have shaped the way in which Thailand's cultural heritage is managed. This is not only in terms of heritage conservation, but also the way in which different sections of society interpret and adhere to different discourses in using heritage. The existence of competing discourses has led to conflicts of interest and practices among different interest groups in Thai society.

The discourses identified in this chapter are factors that validate heritage practices, and construct the knowledge of heritage at different levels in Thailand. The previous works of Tambiah (1970, 1976), Byrne (1991, 1993, 1995) and Peleggi (1995, 2002, 2007, 2012) have suggested that the dominant discourses of heritage include: firstly, the traditional religious discourse, which is mainly based on Buddhist ideologies with some influence of spiritual cults; secondly, the royalist-nationalist discourse underlying national cultural policies implemented by the central government; and, finally, the conservation ethics of the Western AHD. The latter has been adopted by the Thai elites, heritage professionals, academic circles and central government as influenced by the state hegemonic discourse to facilitate the idea of 'modernity' in Thai society. The Western AHD has also been reworked and adapted by the state to enhance the construction of 'Thai identity'. These three discourses are the major discourses that affect the way in which cultural heritage is interpreted and managed at a local level in Lamphun. The research findings suggest that, although the traditional Buddhist worldview has influenced the way in which cultural heritage

is perceived and interpreted by the general public, the city has undergone a series of adaptations emanating from the Western world's scientific and rational disciplines. At the same time, domestic political factors have led to the formation of a 'royalist-nationalist' discourse, which, since the late nineteenth century, has encouraged the 'nation building' process and has left significant psychological traces on the local residents of Lamphun. The coexistence of these discourses has led, at times, to tensions between different parties: local communities, heritage experts, government officials and the community of monks in the management of cultural heritage.

This chapter discusses how each identified discourse has developed its influence on Thailand's and Lamphun's cultural heritage, starting from how the traditional Theravada Buddhist ideologies and animistic beliefs in the past created values and norms in the use of heritage, and how the royalist-nationalist discourse, underpinning national cultural policies, was developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and how this discourse has influenced Lamphun's cultural heritage. Finally, it discusses how the Western/international discourse of heritage was established in Thailand. Throughout this chapter, the results of the 'Meaning of Heritage' Survey; which was conducted from March to May 2009, generating data from expert and ethnographic interviews, informal interviews, conferences, seminars and meetings related to the research topic, will be used to illustrate the arguments.

Discourse I: The religious worldview

The reason for introducing this discourse before the others is not that it is the most powerful one, but because the traditional religious worldview has the greatest impact on the Thai way of life. For centuries, traditional beliefs in Buddhism, animism and Brahmanism have been established in Thai society, and Buddhist principles are the foundation of the country's social and cultural structures (Argasruek 1985: 3). For over a millennium the religious worldview has affected the general public's perception of both tangible and intangible heritage. The religious ideologies, particularly Buddhist ones, have become too deeply entrenched in Thai society to be replaced by other discourses.

Thailand is located between the two powerful empires of India and China. Consequently, it has inherited some significant cultural traits from these great civilisations (Kanjasthaniti 1996: 21). Brahmanism and Buddhism were the influential Indian ideologies transmitted to Southeast Asian states through commercial contacts and religious missions (Wyatt 1982; Kanjasthaniti 1996; Peleggi 2006). The imported ideologies became intertwined with local beliefs in animism and developed into a unique belief system, which still plays a significant role in Thai society today. The dominant ideologies in Thai society are outlined below.

Animism or spirit cults

Animism is the belief in supernatural beings or spirits, which are believed to dwell in the environment. As suggested by archaeological evidence of cemetery and ritualistic grave goods, which indicate belief in life after death, the act of worshipping spirits or supernatural beings is thought to have been established in the region prehistorically (Kanjasthaniti 1996: 20). Belief in spirits (*Phi*) had been deeply entrenched in the early society of modern day Thailand even before the advent of Brahmanism and Buddhism. The core idea of *Phi* was developed from a close relationship with nature, and is based on the belief that some humans, animals, plants and landscapes encompass sacred powers (Tambiah 1970 59; Argasruek 1985:2). Animism remained at the heart of society in the northern and northeastern regions of Thailand, even after the adoption of the new 'Indian' ideologies (Netaraniyom 2009: 61). *Phi* is the concept which, for over a millennium, has been embedded in Northern Thai cultures. *Phi* in Lanna traditions can be divided into good spirits and evil spirits. Good spirits include god-like spirits, ancestor spirits, household guardian spirits, community and guardian spirits. Evil spirits include those who are killed in accidents and by unnatural causes, and ancestor spirits who are neglected by their descendants (Panichpan 2005:17). It is still not uncommon to see traditions or ceremonies associated with spirit cults practised by Buddhist monks in Thailand. It is also not uncommon to see local residents turn to psychics for spiritual assistance when they cannot cure their illness by scientific medication, or talk about supernatural power as if it is part of their lives. Throughout the data collection period, a number of interviewees, even government officials, expressed their

beliefs in spirit cults. One of the interviewees talked about his illnesses, which occurred following his intrusion into a sacred space. Another interviewee referred to the Head Monk of one *wat* in Amphoe Pa Sang who passed away after he ordered the old lime Lanna Buddha image to be removed and installed a new metal-cast one that belongs to Sukhothai art. Instead of criticising the monk's conservation ethics, the interviewee criticised the incident from a different angle and considered the incident punishment from supernatural beings that looked after the *wat*. Not only did spirit cults influence the belief systems and ideology, they also enabled early societies to maintain social order, shaped their norms and values and became the foundation of Northern Thai cultures (Sethakul 2009: 154). Different clans or communities may worship different spirits and, within each clan or community, there are different sets of practices, values and norms. Consequently, early settlements are divided and grouped according to their spirit cults inherited through the matrilineal lineage (Netaraniyom 2009: 58; Sethakul 2009: 172).

Brahmanism and Hinduism

Brahmanism and Hinduism are another set of Indian ideologies which were brought into the region through trade, religious missions and the spread of Indian cultures (Kanjanausthiti 1996: 21). Brahman doctrines included the belief in Brahman gods and sacrificial rituals, performed by the Brahman priests (Kanjanausthiti 1996). Brahman rituals, Hindu myths and other Indic cultures, including Sanskrit vocabulary and the use of religious and symbolic icons and architecture, were adopted and adapted by Southeast Asian states, especially by the royal courts (Peleggi 2007: 12). One of the most dominant inputs of Brahman/Hindu cultures, which penetrated into modern day Thailand through Cambodia, is the *Devaraja* cult. This emphasises the reciprocal relationship between the Brahman priests and the divine kingship (Tambiah 1976: 90, 98). The most eminent adoption of the model of the semi-divine kings as avatars of Hindu gods, who have absolute power on their subjects as 'Lords of Life' in Thai history, was when Ayutthaya was established in 1350 (Tambiah 1976: 92). This ideology is the main actor in the formation of royalist-nationalist discourse, which is discussed later in this chapter.

Buddhism

Chapter two briefly discussed the history of Buddhism in Thailand and how the state exercised power through religious affairs. This section will further discuss the tensions that emerge between factions within the monk community as part of the policies influenced by the discourses of modernity and nationalism. Schools of Buddhism in Thailand may be roughly divided into orthodox Buddhism, sets of practices that have been formalised and officialised by the state, and popular Buddhism, Buddhist practices that are believed in and valued by the general population (Swearer 2010). The two sets of disciplines are not fully distinguishable from each other as both also belong to Theravada Buddhism, the oldest sect of Buddhism, literally meaning ‘the Teaching of the Elders’ (Bunnag 1973; Tambiah 1976). Nonetheless, the focus and some details of the two sets of principles and practices may be different. Different identity groups may be devoted to different schools of Buddhism. Thus, the main components of religion such as sacred texts, myths, symbols, rituals, festivals and sacred sites, which comprise a significant proportion of ‘cultural heritage’ in Thailand, have often been manipulated by various parties in order to struggle for the survival of their own identity or to gain control over others.

Popular Buddhism in this context refers to Buddhist disciplines that are adopted commonly and traditionally in Thailand. Buddhism in Southeast Asia has not only been integrated into seasonal or agricultural traditions, but is also used to mark and celebrate important moments in the life cycle of individuals in the community (Swearer 2010: 50). This means the Buddhists of Thailand live their lives and solve problems according to the Buddhist worldview. The influence of Theravada Buddhist teachings on the majority of Thais is represented through: ideal actions (reaching *Nirvana* through meritorious acts and purifying one’s mind); ritual occasions and appropriation of power (reciprocal and appropriation of merit and power through committing meritorious actions and obtaining sacred materials, such as the cults of Buddha images, sacred texts, relics and amulets); festivals (there are both seasonal/agricultural festivals and festivals according to the Buddhist calendar); and rites of passage (birth rites, joining the *Sangha* at the time of puberty, funeral rites) (Swearer 2010: 4). When talking about popular Buddhism in Thailand, it is not possible to neglect the importance of animism or spirit cults. Although the two sets of

ideologies are distinctive, in many places, including Lamphun, they have been amalgamated and have become a traditional discourse that determines the goals and rationales of individuals' management of their day-to-day affairs. Thus, some popular Buddhist practices have included ritual practices that belong to spirit cults

Orthodox Buddhism in this context is a set of principles that becomes officialised by the state. Swearer (2010: 72) observes that the ritual and religious institutions in Southeast Asia are mutually in support of each other. The monarch is head of the Kingdom particularly in worldly affairs, but the *Sangha* or the monk community is responsible for giving advice to the state on how to use power justly and righteously (Sivaraksa 2009: 173). In particular, Buddhist monarchs built Buddhist edifices, especially *stupas*, and purified the *dhamma* and the *Sangha* in self-conscious imitation of King Asoka (Tambiah 1976: 73; Swearer 2010: 82). The state or dominant groups of power in Thai society have several times interfered with religious affairs. The *Sangha* has been utilised to strengthen the nation's security. For example, the *Phra Thammacharik* order, established in 1965 with their headquarters situated in the capital city, worked among the tribes of North Thailand trying to convert them from the practice of animism to Buddhism (Mackenzie 2007: 100). The tensions between orthodox Buddhism, popular Buddhism and animism that occurred at a local level as a consequence of the reform of the *Sangha* will be discussed later in this chapter. Apart from the Buddhist mission, the objectives of the order include establishing the concept of nationalism and assimilating rural hill tribes into Thailand (Dhammajarik Order n.d.).

Religious traditions often evolve and adapt to social, cultural and political changes (Swearer 2010). Buddhist tangible and intangible heritage in modern-day Thailand has experienced several waves of ideological changes in the past and the changes are still on-going. Modernisation, which occurred in the late nineteenth century and has continued at a slower pace up to the present, nonetheless is a crucial factor that determines the nature of Buddhist cultural traditions. One of the observable changes might be the changing roles of the monk and the laity. Swearer (2010) observes that the Thai monks increasingly take an active role in politics. Rapid economic, political and social changes have also eroded the centrality of the monks' position. On the laity side,

modernisation, rationalism and materialism also threaten the teachings of the Theravada Buddhist worldview. A good illustration is the extent to which younger generations now pay less attention to the tradition of going to the temple on Buddhist Sabbath days than they once did (Mackenzie 2007: 24).

Traditional heritage discourse in Lamphun

The general public's understanding of heritage in Thailand may vary from place to place, but the interpretation of heritage at local levels in Thai society tends to depend on the Theravada Buddhist worldview, with some inheritance from spirit cults and Brahmanism. Based on the findings of the Meaning of Heritage Survey and the ethnographic interviews in 2009 and 2010, the dominant discourse which affects Lamphun residents' interpretation of heritage is the religious worldview. In addition to the most dominant Theravada Buddhist ideologies, the spirit cults and the narrative of Queen Jama Thewi, the first queen of Haripunchai (Lamphun), are significantly influential in the way in which local residents understand, communicate and manage cultural heritage. During the conversation with the interviewees and the Meaning of Heritage Survey participants many used the term that literally means 'Descendants of Queen Jama Thewi' to refer to themselves and other Lamphun residents regardless of their actual ethnic origins. A number of interviewees gave me a sacralised replica of Phra-Rod amulets for protection from evil spirits.

Lamphun's cultural heritage includes both tangible and intangible elements. These elements are interrelated as a system. For example, there are festive events and traditions associated to Phrathat Haripunchai, including the Phrathat bathing ceremony, the holy water ceremony, the Klong Luang competition, and traditional dance in dedication to Phrathat. These festive events and traditions also involve traditional knowledge and skills, such as traditional performance, production of art and crafts, and so forth. The results and findings from the fieldwork are illustrated in the following section.

The Meaning of Heritage Survey was conducted in Lamphun from January to April 2009. It contained sixteen open-ended questions. The questions, which helped to establish an understanding of how Lamphun's residents perceived cultural heritage and which are discussed in this chapter, are question 1 to 8:

1. Participant's personal details (Age, Occupation, Hometown, Gender)
2. What does 'cultural heritage' mean to you?
3. What do you feel are the key characteristics of cultural heritage?
4. How often do you visit heritage sites and what sort of sites do you visit?
5. How often do you participate in heritage-related activities? What activities are these?
6. What are the reasons for visiting heritage sites or engaging in heritage activities?
7. How do you feel when visiting heritage sites or engaging in heritage-related activities?
8. Please name three (or more) elements that you think are Lamphun's key 'cultural heritage'

(See Appendix 2 summary of participants' answers to all questions)

The answers to these questions often generate connections between questions and there were usually major and minor themes running within the questionnaire and across questionnaires. For example, feelings and reasons for being involved with heritage in questions 6 and 7 (reasons for their visit) provided explanations for the key cultural heritage identified in questions 3 and 8. Frequency of involvement in questions 4 and 5 also provides explanations for the pattern of their involvement in heritage sites or heritage practice.

The answers to question 2 and 3 indicated that, firstly, local understandings of the term 'cultural heritage' were not too different from Western notions (see figure 5.1). The participants of the Meaning of Heritage Survey associated cultural heritage with the idea of continuity from the past and its perceived positive characteristics. The most frequent response (37.4%) to the question 'What does 'cultural heritage' mean to you?' was 'inheritance from the past' or 'transmission between generations'. Lamphun's local residents also paid a great deal of attention to intangible heritage, such as way of life, cultural expression, traditions, beliefs or local know-how, which international agencies and early international documents about heritage management might not have addressed. The concept of 'inheritance', 'legacy from the past', and 'cultural/spiritual continuity from generation to generation' might not only

signify tangible remnants from the past, or emphasise the significance of age value; these terms might also be used to describe intangible elements which could be transmitted from generation to generation in the form of traditional knowledge.

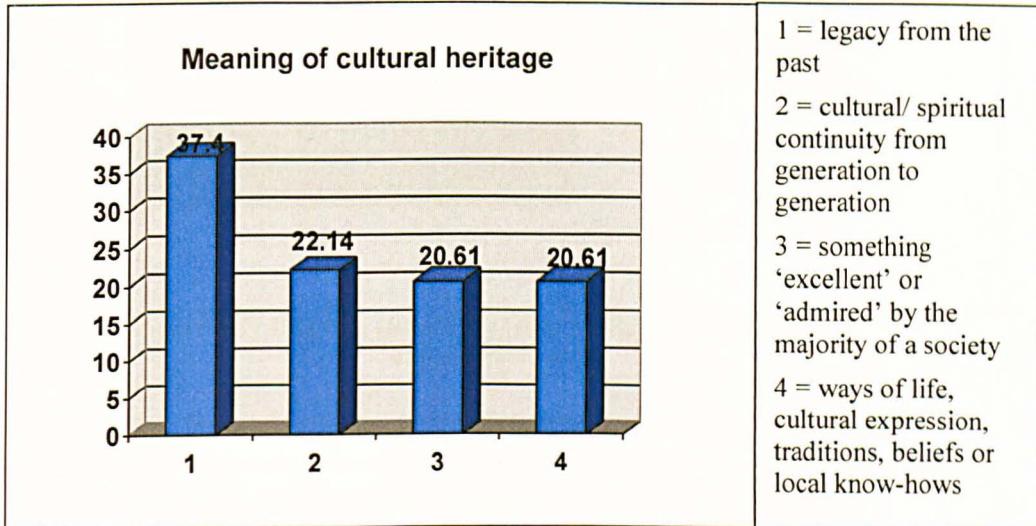
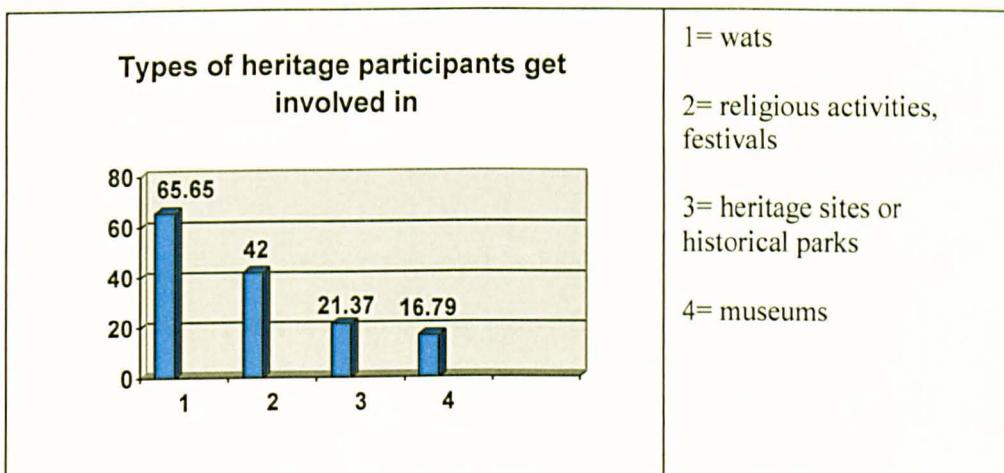


Figure 5. 1: Diagram comparing what participants think is the meaning of the term 'cultural heritage'

Data from the Meaning of Heritage Survey, conducted in Lamphun, 2009

The statistics, textual data, and interview data suggested that Buddhism was the most influential factor in shaping the way people thought or talked about heritage. The concepts associated with Buddhism, such as merit making, religious practice, the presence of religious structures in Lamphun and religious traditions and festive events, were referred to most frequently in the Meaning of Heritage Survey and the interviews. In addition, a significant number of responses indicated the significance of the spirit cults, which were the traditional beliefs which flourished in Lamphun before the advent of Buddhism, and the narrative of Queen Jama Thewi, which represented Lamphun's glorious past and civilisation. The results of the survey and interviews illustrated these points.

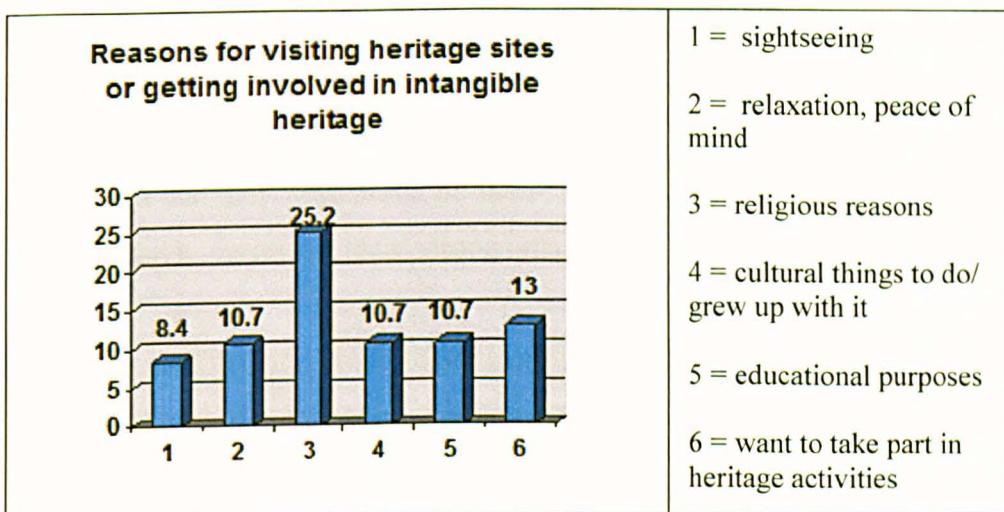
According to the answers to questions 4, 5 and 6, tangible and intangible heritage in which participants had been involved, were, generally, 'religious' rather than 'secular'. The most frequent response to their reasons for visiting heritage sites or participating in events was for 'religious' purposes (please see figure 5.2 and 5.3).



- 1= wats
- 2= religious activities, festivals
- 3= heritage sites or historical parks
- 4= museums

Figure 5. 2: Diagram showing types of heritage that participants are associated with

Data from the Meaning of Heritage Survey, conducted in Lamphun, 2009



- 1 = sightseeing
- 2 = relaxation, peace of mind
- 3 = religious reasons
- 4 = cultural things to do/ grew up with it
- 5 = educational purposes
- 6 = want to take part in heritage activities

Figure 5. 3: Diagram showing reasons for visiting heritage sites or getting involved in intangible heritage

Data from the Meaning of Heritage Survey, conducted in Lamphun, 2009.

With regards to question 7, participants were asked to explain their feelings when they were involved in heritage practices or visiting heritage sites. The majority of participants' answers indicated positive feelings. A few participants had negative feelings or did not feel anything. A significant number of the participants of the Meaning of Heritage Survey are attached to Buddhist ideologies and local traditions. The most frequent responses indicated that the feelings they experienced were associated with recreational activities such as being 'relaxed', 'peaceful' and 'focused' (45.8%). A significant number of

responses in this category explained further that these feelings were associated with religious activities, particularly the Buddhist concept of merit-making. Examples of these types of responses are as follows:

‘Feel contented, as I have wanted to donate to the *wat*’ (Participant 025).

‘Feel pleased because I had a chance to pay respect to the sacred place’ (Participant 58).

‘Feel contented, relaxed, peaceful and concentrated’ (Participant 066).

‘Feel happy that I did something I have faith in’ (Participant 092).

‘Feel happy that I got a chance to make merit’ (Participant 110).

The second most frequent response was feeling ‘proud’ of their heritage (29.77%). Among the participants whose responses were in this category, most participants expressed their appreciation of local traditions, languages, tangible and intangible heritage with frequent reference to the terms ‘ancestors’, ‘Lamphun’ or ‘Lanna’ heritage. A limited number of participants (4 participants out of the total number of 131) referred to ‘Thailand’ or ‘national heritage’ when they suggested that they were proud of ‘their’ heritage. Examples of participants’ responses, which represent their strong attachment to local heritage, are as follows:

‘Feel contented and proud of our local traditions’ (Participant 013)

‘I feel that I love Lamphun, our homeland and I’m proud of our traditions and languages’ (Participant 017)

‘Feel warm, like everyone here is all my relatives and feeling proud of our traditions. Don’t want this to disappear’ (Participant 031)

Other responses included positive feelings, such as feeling ‘joyous, excited, and motivated’ (12.21%), feeling ‘curious and interested’ (11.79%), feeling that they wanted to take part in conservation or transmission of heritage (11.7%).

What can be observed from the responses to question 8, which asked respondents to name three (or more) elements that they thought are key aspects of Lamphun’s ‘cultural heritage’, is that the most frequent responses were related to Buddhist ideologies or Buddhist heritage sites, such as living

temples/monasteries (a total of 158). Other answers included historic monuments/sites, such as museums, statues, vernacular buildings, etc. (a total of 61), festive events and local traditions (a total of 49), artefacts and ethnographic objects (a total of 23), intangible elements, such as languages (a total of 8), people (a total of 7) and other cultural expressions (a total of 11).

Answer	Frequency
Wat (Temples) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wat Phrathat Haripunchai - Wat Jama thewi - Wat Phra Yuen - Wat Pra Buddhabarttakpha - Wat Koh Klang - Other temples (e.g. Wat Mahawan, Wat Kuramak) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 65 36 14 19 1 23
Sites/monuments/groups of buildings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Royal Elephant and Horse shrines - Museums - Queen Jama Thewi's statue (The first queen of Haripunchai) - Moats and the City Wall - The sacred well - Other sites (e.g the Town Hall, River Guang) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 21 9 15 8 2 6
Languages <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tai Yong 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8
Festivals and local traditions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Stupa bathing ceremony at Wat Phrathat Haripunchai - New Year Festival (in April) - Tan Kuay Salak (Offering ceremony for ancestors) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10 6 13

- Loy Kra Tong (Lantern Floating Ceremony)	5
- Poy Luang (Communal offering. All villagers gather offerings either in the forms of objects or money for donations to the communal temple)	7
- Others festivals and traditions	8
Art and Craft	
- Textile	13
- Wooden Craft, engraved wood	1
People	
- Queen Jama Thewi	6
- Kruba Sriwichai (Leader of the Monks that resisted the incorporation of Lanna into the Central Thai government)	1
Artefacts	
- Votive tablets	9
Other Intangible Heritage	
- Folk music	2
- Queen Jama Thewi's folklore	3
- Traditional clothes and dance	6

**Table 5. 1: Table of participants' responses to the question 'Please name three (or more) items that you think are Lamphun's key cultural heritage'.
Meaning of Heritage Survey, 2009**

In summary, the most frequent responses as seen in table 5.1 included:

- *Wats*:

Wat Phrathat Haripunchai, Wat Jamathewi, Wat Pra Buddhabarttakpha (A *wat* that contains the Buddha's footprints, located in Amphoe Pa. Sang)

- Monuments and sites:

Royal Elephant and Horse shrines and Queen Jamathewi's statue.

- Festivals and local traditions:

Tan Kuay Salak (offering to the ancestors), Stupa bathing ceremony at Wat Phrathat Haripunchai.

- Ethnographic objects:

Woven cotton textiles.

The participants of the survey highly valued Buddhist *wats*. The number of *wats*, as answers to question 8, significantly outnumbered other types of monuments and sites and, even, intangible heritage. Responses to the Meaning of Heritage Survey and interviews with local residents also suggested that spirit cults played an important part in Lamphun residents' way of life, and Queen Jama Thewi's narrative represented the significance of Lamphun identity. Examples of local beliefs in supernatural spirits included the Royal Elephant and Horse shrines (the royal elephant and horse were thought to be owned by Queen Jama Thewi), and the Tan Kuay Salak ceremony (a ritual where offerings are made for ancestors' spirits). Other traditions such as Songkran (Northern Thai New Year) and Loy Kratong (Lantern floating in the river) represented a combination of Buddhist and Brahman ideologies. In addition, some of the ethnographic interviewees referred to the beliefs in animism. Some referred to the significance of the spirit cult in shaping traditional practices, such as:

Lamphun residents are in fact devoted to traditional beliefs that are an amalgamation of Buddhism and animism. There are many traditions that represent their close association to such tradition, such as *Phi Mod Phi Meng* [worship of ancestors' spirits]. Lamphun is a religious town. People still have a strong sense of community, strong sense of place...

(Ethnographic Interview 5, Head Monk of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai)

Some interviewees expressed also their beliefs in animism, as follows:

...Lamphun is a holy town. We have a sacred well on the top of Kha-mor Hill. Even Siamese rulers need to get the water from this well to use in the accession ceremony...

...The Jama Thewi pond next to my house is also a holy place. When the pond was dug and cleaned by Lamphun Municipality, the bulldozer went frozen four times. The driver also dreamt about a man in ancient costume, chasing him away.

They later realised they did not ask for permission before digging...

(Ethnographic Interview 10 (2 persons), local residents inside the walled zone and experts in local history and folklore)

Participant observation also suggests that Buddhist activities in Lamphun are highly active. A dense amount of commercial advertisements placed along the highway or near the intersections in Lamphun were largely announcements of merit-making events at different *wats* across Lamphun. Different advertisements for such events were displayed all year round. Charity boxes raising money for the construction or refurbishment of religious structures were seen at *wats*, department stores and many other public places. At different times, I encountered parades of monks and laity promoting their charity campaigns for the construction of new religious structures or other meritorious occasions at local markets. Processions for the ordination ceremonies were also frequently spotted on the road. Spirit cults were also on Lamphun residents' breath. Expression of beliefs in *phi* emerged in the interviews and in the questionnaires from time to time no matter what class they were from; monks, government officials, teachers or labourers. There were always supernatural stories attached to heritage sites across Lamphun.

Key concepts in Buddhism that influence cultural heritage management and the conservation of heritage fabric in Lamphun

Wats and the role of the monks and laymen

Intangible cultural heritage and traditional knowledge among Thailand's local communities have been associated with Buddhist and animistic influences and the agrarian way of life. Communal activities or interactions between households seem to be associated with *Wats* (monasteries), the *Sangha* (the monk community) and associated practices which occur at a *wat* (Thokan 2002). *Wats* are centres of faith, traditional knowledge and wisdom, which enable both the learned and the novice to transmit cultural heritage in tangible and intangible forms. The role of a *wat*, as the heart of a community, is the same in both rural and urban society. In the past, the *wat* played a major role as the centre of

worldly education. The *wat* offered courses in lay knowledge such as medicine, music, art and architecture (Kanjanusthiti 1996; Sivaraksa 2009:42). Even a royal or a noble person had to be ordained as novices or monks, and educated at temples, in order to become accustomed to the development of the mind and to obtain virtue and wisdom through the study of scriptures and Buddhist practices (Sivaraksa 2009: 42). The Head Monk is traditionally a social leader, both spiritually and in the aspect of worldly knowledge, and is responsible for the care of all elements in his own *wat*. His duties also include transmitting intangible heritage to the next generation (Somjai 2003: 42).

Bun and Baap

Bun and *Baap*, or the ideology of merit, are basic concepts in Buddhism which relate to charitable or meritorious acts. *Tam Bun* (merit-making) is a Buddhist layperson's traditional obligation to materially support the monks, who may not participate in secular activities. On the Buddhist Sabbath or on special occasions, merit-making can be made to wandering monks, (Tambiah 1970: 141; Bunnag 1973: 20; Byrne 1993:32). Tambiah (1970) requested seventy nine family heads rank religious acts from the most to the least 'meritorious' act. The majority of respondents agreed on the hierarchical position as follows:

1. Completely financing the building of a *wat*.
2. Becoming a monk, or having a son who becomes a monk.
3. Contributing money to the repair of a *wat* or making a *khatin-* (post-lent ceremonies) offering.
4. Giving food daily to the monks.
5. Observing every Buddhist Sabbath.
6. Strictly observing the five precepts.

(Tambiah 1970: 147)

Highly ranked (first and third) are meritorious acts which may affect the physical fabric of *wats*, building a *wat* or financing its repair. These extremely 'meritorious' acts lead to the construction of new *wats* and, over time, the adding of new material or constructions to an existing *wat*. As Byrne (1993: 41) observed, 'Thai temples are not finished, they can be embellished and new structures can always be added as a result of the ideology of merit'.

Relic Cult

What came with Buddhist ideology was the construction of reliquaries in the form of *stupas* (also known as *chedi*, pagoda), which comprise the majority of Northern Thailand's recorded physical heritage (Wallipodom 2003; Netaraniyom 2009). Among different kinds of reliquaries, the ones that contain Buddha relics are most respected by Buddhists as it is generally believed that the relics yield the sacred power of the Buddha (Netaraniyom 2009). Many *stupas* did not contain relics, but were built in memorial to other significant relics (Netaraniyom 2009). Many *stupas* across modern day Thailand were built to enshrine Buddha relics, which were brought to the region by Buddhist missionaries sent by King Asoka around 300 B.C., and spread throughout the Southeast Asian region (Tambiah 1976; Kanjanusthiti 1996). It was generally believed by Buddhists that Buddha relics retained the life potency of the Buddha, thus there are often miraculous phenomena attached to such relics (Kanjanusthiti 1996). Supernatural incidents were reported and documented in many ancient Buddhist chronicles, including the ones related to the history of Haripunchai and Queen Jama Thewi as referred to in chapter four. Netaraniyom (2009: 26) researched some ancient Buddhist texts and found an extract where the author claimed that the Buddha had given a prophecy that after his death, his relics (the size of small vegetable seeds) would travel to specific sites and his relic shrines would be established there. This is also in accordance with the popular Thai belief passed on from generation to generation orally that the relics may present themselves to the chosen bearers, and if the bearer is righteous and dedicated to good virtues, the relics may reproduce, or rather the relics may attract other relics to come to this bearer and the number of the relics at this bearer will multiply accordingly. There is also a popular belief in other parts of Asia suggesting that Buddha relics can multiply and thus there are a large number of *stupas* across Asia to enshrine these holy objects (Cuevas and Stone 2007; Carr 2011).

Each community in the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin tends to have communal merit making traditions with reliquaries at the centre of both tangible and intangible heritage. *Stupas* may play the following roles in Northern Thai society:

- As landmarks of where the Buddha relics are kept, creating communal sacred space.
- Tangible representations of the Buddha's biography, chronicles and Buddhist doctrines.
- Centres of religious activities, origins of intangible heritage, and representations of merit-making cults.

(Netaraniyom 2009:16)

Stupas have a deep socio-cultural meaning. They represent spiritual continuity and each region's cultural identity. In addition, the construction of relic shrines can make a host community 'recognised' culturally by neighbouring and distant communities. Relic shrines in the Kingdom of Lanna have cultural meaning as pilgrimage destinations and, therefore, cultural exchange occurs through these movements. Some important relic shrines in Northern Thailand have been linked with a year of the twelve-year animal cycle⁹, and Lanna Buddhists feel obliged to make a pilgrimage to a particular shrine, depending on one's zodiac sign (Keyes 1975: 73). Through this belief, a linkage is formed between individuals and sacred monuments, which may be recognised by others in wider social or religious contexts.

Lamphun's *stupas* are among the earliest religious structures in Northern Thailand (Sukhata Jai-in 2008). From the eleventh and twelfth century onwards, the construction of reliquaries was influenced by the Hindu concept of *Mandala* (cosmology). Therefore, the Buddha relic shrines, built in these periods, were often located at the centre of the city (Wallipodom 2003: 58). Phrathat Haripunchai in Lamphun also inherited the Hindu/Mahayana ideology of *Mandala*. *The stupa* is located at the centre of the cosmos (the city). Other *stupas* were built on the outer rings to represent the cosmos metaphorically and symbolically (Leawrungruang 2001).

Phrathat Haripunchai has been one of the most respected religious constructions. It was recognised by later rulers, even when Haripunchai fell under Lanna and Siamese rule (Synchron 2009b). Other relic shrines in the

⁹ This astrological cycle of the twelve zodiac animal signs is associated to the year of birth. They are in order as follows: rat, ox, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, ram, monkey, cock, dog, and pig. Wat Phrathat Hariunchai is representative of the cock zodiac sign.

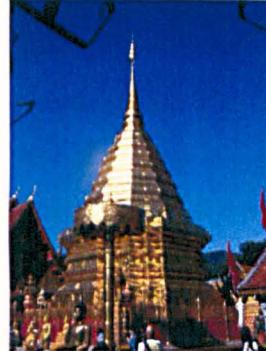
Kingdom of Lanna were influenced by Phrathat Haripunchai's architectural style (Sukhata Jai-in 2008: 59) (See figure 5.4).



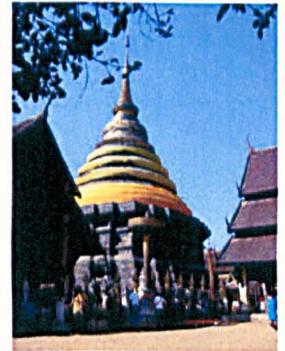
Phrathat Haripunchai ,
Lamphun (11th century)



Phrathat Shor-hae,
Nan (1336 AD)



Phrathat Doi Suthep,
Chiang Mai (1383 AD)



Phrathat Lampangluang
Lampang (1788 AD)

Figure 5. 4: Relic shrines in Northern Thailand

Source: Author

Kruba Cult

Kruba means a Buddhist monk, who is believed to be a *ton bun*, or meritorious, sacred person (Buadang 2002:1; Cohen 2001:227). The *Kruba* cult emerged around or after the beginning of the Lanna Kingdom in 1296 (Santayos 2010:82). The belief in *Kruba* is common to other Tai-speaking people of northern Laos, Sipsongpanna (southern China) and North Eastern Burma, who share the Theravada Buddhist faith (Cohen 2001: 2). The *Kruba* movement extensively characterises Buddhist cultural heritage in the Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin, since *krubas* are key persons in the construction of monasteries and other related infrastructure throughout northern Thailand. *Krubas* were the most respected persons in Lanna society and, as a community's spiritual leaders; they maintained social norms and values (Buadaeng n.d; Santayos 2010: 82). One of *Kruba's* tasks was to renovate the ruins of stupas and monasteries, which, according to the chronicles, were visited by the Buddha when he was alive, or under the patronage of local rulers.

The places that were claimed to be visited by the Buddha were generally referred to in the chronicle 'The Buddha's journey around the world' (Tamnan Phra Jao Liab Lok). Many sites in the Chiang Mai-Lamphun basin were

mentioned in the first chapter of the chronicle, such as Phrathat Haripunchai, the provinces of Lamphun and Chiang Mai, Amphoe Li of Lamphun, and other sites along the Ping River (Tamnan Phra Jao Liab Lok 21st century). The chronicle not only refers to the locations of different religious sites visited by the Buddha, it also contains the Buddha's prophecy of how such places would develop in the future. Although there is no archaeological evidence of the Buddha's actual visit to such places, the modern scholars think that the chronicle is a kind of a 'map' that locates different localities in the Buddhist cosmos and the chronicle also connects such places together through the pilgrimage movement (Netaraniyom 2009). Lamphun contains a number of sites that appeared in the chronicle, thus this may be another confirmation of Lamphun's religious significance to the early Buddhist states (including the area of modern day Northern Thailand, Lao, Shan [a Burmese province], Sip Song Punna [a province in Southern China]) (Tamnan Phra Jao Liab Lok 21st century).

Religious or sacred elements associated to this tradition are Buddha footprints, which are also desired destinations of Buddhist pilgrims. According to the chronicle, the Buddha left his footprints as the symbol representing his sacred power and in memorial of his teachings. The footprints in different *wats* across the country are by no means actual footprints of the Buddha as the size of the footprints in most of the temples referred to in the chronicle are actually larger than the size of human beings. These footprints, like other relic shrines, are a symbol of sacred power and representation of connections between localities in the constructed Buddhist cosmos or the Buddhist realm. The Buddha footprint is another feature that almost equally attracts Buddhist pilgrims compared to the relic shrines. There is a famous *wat* that contains the Buddha footprint in Amphoe Pasang, Lamphun.

To conclude, the *Kruba* movement has a great significance in the way in which the ideology's intangible values of merit are associated with people who are social leaders. Northerners mostly respect and often follow a *kruba*, who has devoted his life to Buddhist practice. Offerings made to a *kruba* are thought to be very 'meritorious'. In northern Thai history, the *kruba* movement resulted in many social and cultural implications for both tangible and intangible heritage.

Sacralisation of objects: Buddha images, amulets, sacred thread, and sacred water

One of the most widespread popular Buddhist traditions was the sacralisation of objects. Swearer (2010: 17) suggests that the Buddhist symbols operative in various ritual contexts are most often associated with the Buddha himself, images of the Buddha, his relics enshrined in *stupas*, and Buddha amulets. On the level of popular cults, the values and ideals represented by the Buddha, his teachings, and the Buddhist *Sangha* assume specific physical or material characteristics. These objects are sacralised by the monks, who are perceived as receiving power from the Buddha following his *dharma* and such power is transferred to objects through the ceremony. Tambiah (1984: 202) explains that amulets, as one of the most popular sacralised objects, are believed to hold power that can protect carriers and the amulets themselves can also be a reminder of the Buddha and his teachings to keep the carrier devoted to *dharma* and avoid wrong-doing. Therefore sacralised objects are repositories of power: power of the Buddha, power of the sacraliser, power from the rituals, and the power that resides within the material used, the gem stones, wood, terra cotta, etc (Tambiah 1984).

Sacred thread (*sai sin*) and sacred water also work as media of power in the shorter term. Water and thread are used on various occasions. The sacred threads are used in both auspicious (New Year merit-making, Birthday merit-making, Wedding, New House ceremonies) and inauspicious (funeral) rituals, whilst the alms-bowl of sacred water is only used in auspicious ones (Banjomyuth n.d.). In auspicious rituals, the threads were generally used to circle around the house or the ritual venue to ward off evil and bad luck, secondly around the alms-bowl that holds sacred water to bless attendees at the end of the ceremony by the monk(s) who lead the ceremony, and lastly around the Buddha image, which is the source of sacred power. In inauspicious rituals or funerals, the threads were used to connect the deceased to the seats of the monks invited to the rituals (Banjomyuth n.d.). The idea behind the use of such materials is the appropriation and flow of sacred/supernatural power, which occurred at different levels, as Tambiah has suggested. The power is believed to be retrieved from the Buddha image, the prayers in the ritual, and the monk as representative of the Buddha and is transferred through the thread passing to the alms-bowl of water and across the ritual venue.

In summary, the literature research and results of the Meaning of Heritage Survey suggest that Theravada Buddhism was the major factor which shaped the way in which Lamphun's residents understand cultural heritage. Different elements, which participants outlined in Question 8 of the Meaning of Heritage Survey, indicated that the traditional discourse which emphasises the importance of Theravada Buddhism still exists in Lamphun society, and continues to affect the way people think, discuss or talk about cultural heritage.

Lamphun's traditional heritage discourse is an amalgamation of ideologies, with Theravada Buddhism as the most dominant one. The Buddhist ideologies and animistic beliefs were reflected in the local folklore and traditions and have developed into a unique worldview, which influences the way in which Lamphun's residents understand their identity and cultural heritage. Lamphun's tangible and intangible heritage is all interrelated, like a network, and each element may be viewed as an integral part of a larger system, the system of Buddhist cosmology. For example, much of the physical and intangible heritage, such as the four *wats* at the city gate, the shape of the city and the votive tablets, are all associated with the Queen Jama Thewi narratives, animism and Theravada Buddhism. The local narrative and the religious ideologies create the connections between places, communities and a sense of identity. The presence of Phrathat Haripunchai as the symbolic centre of the city is one of the most significant factors in the way in which Lamphun's tangible and intangible heritage is managed and communicated. Other intangible heritage such as the *stupa* bathing ceremony, Tan Kuay Salak, traditional dances for Phrathat Haripunchai, and other cultural expressions are linked to Phrathat Haripunchai. It is also the centre of faith that connects the peoples of Lamphun and other regions through its religious value and associated traditions.

If a specific component is lost, what will happen to the rest of the system? The answer depends on what component is threatened, lost or destroyed. If it were a key element in the tangible and intangible heritage of Lamphun that represents local identity, such as Phrathat Haripunchai, heritage sites related to Queen Jama Thewi's folklore, Tai Yong language and traditions, the consequence would be significant and cause deep psychological trauma. However, the reaction and demands from local communities to protect, retrieve

or find measures to control and conserve such heritage would be prominent as such heritage is integral to the city's community. If the threatened components are less recognisable, the effects on other components may cause a chain reaction of effects onto other components. One degrading component will likely lead to the degradation of another, as the heritage in Lamphun is interlinked. A good illustration is the shrinking number of local weavers. Although there are some active weaving production sites, they are run by local business owners. In the past, most women could weave as they had to produce textiles for household use. When they reached the age of majority, they would dedicate all their skills to weaving the first and best robe of their life as their offering to the monk or for making a Buddhist scripture holder (Lanna scriptures were written on palm leaves). When the popularity of weaving declined, this tradition was gradually lost.

This coincided with the dwindling number of *Pitaka* libraries (Buddhist scripture libraries), and the increasing use of digital or print archives. According to the temple survey, which was part of participant observation in April 2009, many *Pitaka* libraries no longer serve their original function and many are used for storage. Another case is the changing nature of Buddhist traditions, such as going to mass on Buddhist Sabbath days, which now tends to be only undertaken by older generations. Informal discussions among local communities also suggested that younger generations are less active in Buddhist traditions and see them as irrelevant to their lives. Thus, the centrality of *wats* has started to diminish for many among the younger generation. Should a specific heritage component be lost or altered, the integrity of other components within the cultural system of Lumphun will be affected sooner or later. The bonds between local communities, the monk community, intangible heritage and tangible heritage are being loosened.

Discourse II: Nationalism and the Triad of Nation-Religion-Monarchy

As chapter two discussed, the Thai, or the then Siamese, government, elites and scholars attempted to create a unitary nation-state in order to address colonial threats, and to modernise and maintain authority over vassal states (Winichakul 1994, 2000; Anderson 2006). The royalist-nationalist discourse was constructed as part of the state's attempt to create nationhood, while keeping the old order in place. The concepts of nationalism and Thai identity were described and introduced to the public as 'The triad of nation-religion-monarchy' (Wyatt 1982; Byrne 1993; Van Esterik 2000; Peleggi 1995, 2007). Unlike nationalist ideologies in the West, the religious and royal institutions were not degraded; Buddhism as the state religion and the monarchy are still seen as the key concepts which make Thai culture distinct from others, and make the Thai nation 'civilised' (Sattayanurak 2007).

The term 'civilised' is transliterated into Thai as '*Siwilai*'. Winichakul (2000: 529) suggests that although it has been widely used in public the meaning is rather slippery and it has been used for political purposes by different political factions in Thailand. The Siamese elite in the late nineteenth century sought to obtain new sources of 'superiority' to avoid being seen as inferior to other countries. In order to be '*Siwilai*', Siam needed to move away from the 'old world order', religious systems and the tribute system, which represented the status of giver and recipient, and find its place in the 'new world order'. Western ideologies that favour secular knowledge and science were adopted (Winichakul 2000: 546). The civilising process in Siam was never simply an imposition or imitation. The Siamese intellectuals and elites played active roles in the appropriation and localisation of the ideas necessary for the modernising process (Winichakul 2000). The modernisation or civilisation was indeed a selective process as it is based on Thainess and the reaffirmation of Buddhism as the state religion (Winichakul 1994: 3). However, the definition of 'Thainess' is in fact discursive, like the meanings of the term 'heritage'. The definitions of Thainess, or Thai identity, have been reworked by different Thai rulers and governments over several decades.

Similar to the Western AHD, the nationalist discourse tends to favour the positive characteristics of heritage, although the focus is not specific to tangible and monumental heritage. This nationalist discourse emphasises the greatness of the Thai nation, Thai ancestors, the beauty of Thai cultures (both tangible and intangible) and the Thai social system (Sattayanurak 2007). The state-created collective memory emphasises the ideas of 'Thainess' and the great history of Thailand. Local histories and local folklores were reinvented to support the national narrative (Sattayanurak 2005: 9).

Anderson (2006) argues that censuses, maps and museums are powerful tools for the state to gain dominion over the nation as these institutions create a sense of identity. The Siamese state also used such apparatus to recreate the sense of nationhood. Winichakul (1994) points out that the mapping of Siam and the discourse of the 'geo-body' (territory and related values and practices) contributed much to the emergence of Siam as a modern nation-state. It also arbitrarily created nationhood and Thai identity through the creation of 'We-self' and 'Others'. According to Anderson (2006: 178), museums and museumisation are greatly political and authorise the dominant group in a society to be the 'guardian of the tradition'. In Thailand, the founding of museums was also part of the construction of the national narrative. In 1896, the proposed plan for the construction of the National Museum was much influenced by the concept of the Imperial Institute Museum in the United Kingdom, which displayed colonial objects. According to the plan, the National Museum of Siam was expected to display ethnographic objects obtained from other peripheral provinces. However, when the plan came into practice almost three decades later, the focus of the National Museum shifted to the representation of the recreated national narrative and national history (Winichakul 2000: 543).

The administrative reformation that occurred under the influence of the nationalist movement resulted in the centralised structure of Thailand's heritage agencies. Cultural heritage management and the study of heritage, archaeology and history in Thailand had been limited to the elites, professional workers in the heritage sector, academics, and, most importantly, the state (Byrne 1993; Peleggi 2007; Praicharnjit 2003). The FAD and the Ministry of Culture were authorities involved in heritage management. Early management policies were top-down, centralised and allowed limited opportunities for local communities to participate

in or express their opinions and concerns over their heritage and heritage management plans were also designed to serve the national narratives (Praicharnjit 2003:3).

However, from the late 1970's, the official historical narrative began to be challenged. Two most significant figures were Nidhi Iosriwong and Srisak Wallipodom. They challenged the idea of linear history, and questioned the racialised definition of 'Thailand', including Western colonialism, and arbitrary, ethnic and territorial boundaries of the countries in the Indochinese Peninsula (Peleggi 2007:162). From the 1990's, community involvement in any development plans or cultural policies has started to be of public interest. This culminated in the social and value reforms in the 1997 'People's constitution'. Changes of direction took place a little later than the rise of the preference for 'community participation' in the Western world, which started around the 1980s (Smith and Waterton 2009).

The driving force for change of practices in Thailand might have come from both internal and external circumstances. One reason is to keep up with the global trend as encouraged by international heritage NGOs like UNESCO and ICOMOS (Conners 2005); another reason might be the internal politics of Thailand. Even though Thailand is a constitutional monarchy, the country had mostly been governed by military governments or very strong central institutions and there were several potential uprisings of different political factions after the reformation in 1932 (Wyatt 1982: 277). A long period of strong centralised administration, unstable politics, and promotion of nationalist policies might have created tensions between the central offices and peripheral provinces and most importantly, local administration seemed to be weakened (Praicharnjit 2003: 37). Therefore, there have been efforts on the part of Northern Thai scholars and artists to encourage the community to respect their local identity and small administrative units were encouraged to manage their own resources (Praicharnjit 2003; Buasai 2005). The localist movement, together with demands for decentralised administration, may have contributed to the growing interest in local heritage.

The following section discusses how and in what ways the nationalist discourse emerged as an influential and authorised discourse in Thailand's cultural heritage management. In addition, it discusses how Lamphun has been

affected by this discourse by considering the relevant literature and archives and drawing on some examples from the expert and ethnographic interviews. The results from the Meaning of Heritage Survey and interviews are discussed to illustrate and further explain the consequences of this discourse on cultural heritage management and the local reaction of Lamphun's residents.

Nation building under the reign of King Rama IV and King Rama V (1851 – 1910) of Siam

The nation building process started with the incorporation of tributary states into a single nation called 'Siam' (Wyatt 1982; Peleggi 2007). During the reigns of Kings Rama IV and V, from 1851-1910, Siam faced the imminent threat of losing its independence to Western colonial powers (Wyatt 1982). King Rama IV, having been an ordained Buddhist monk for twenty-seven years, and exposed to Western knowledge since his elementary education, believed that Siam needed to be reformed (Wyatt 1982: 187). The King established large scale social reforms such as allowing the laws of the kingdom to be printed, experimenting with the election of judges, reducing the strict adherence of court traditions and employing foreign advisors to lay the foundation of reforms and modernisation (Wyatt 1982: 188; Peleggi 2007: 153). The actual reform took place in 1893 during the reign of King Rama V. Tributary states were incorporated into Siam, and their former semi-independent statuses were reduced to provincial status of the nation of Siam. This change led to the tributary states' rulers losing their power of government (Wyatt 1982: 201). The administration of all parts of the kingdom was under the direct jurisdiction of the Thai government (Keyes 1971: 554). Former rulers were incorporated into the new system, and descendants of former rulers were encouraged to become educated in Bangkok. The main purpose might have been to take control of local revenues and strengthen the position of Siam, but the implication of this action on local cultural heritage was immense since, as part of unification, local traditions were replaced by Siamese traditions.

As suggested by Expert interviewee 2.2, the new form of regional administration limited the power and authority of Lanna rulers. He stated that:

The traditional worldview is disappearing. We have also lost our traditional collective memories. Instead, they have been replaced with the 'Siamese' collective memories. The administrative reform took place in the reign of King Rama V around 1898-1899. Lamphun was the first city where local rulers were replaced with central government officials since Lamphun's ruler passed away at that time. Major transmission of Central Thai and Western cultures happened after this change

(Expert Interview 2.2, local expert in Tai Yong ethnicity)

This administrative reform resulted directly in political and economic changes since, thereafter, central government in Bangkok had direct control over taxation and administration. However, it is undeniable that, in addition, this reform had social and cultural implications. The social and cultural changes, which occurred previously in Bangkok, were also introduced in the former tributary states, which, by 1910, had become regional provinces of Thailand (Sethakul 2009). A series of cultural wars broke out in different places. Whilst central Thailand's state officials attempted to introduce the new systems to Lanna society, local rulers used local traditions, norms, values, and physical heritage to express their power and positions (Sattayanurak 2005: 12). For example, in 1885, in the northern province of Chiang Mai, the central government's governor prevented local residents from conducting their 'Song Chao' ritual (the act of inviting the Holy Spirit to reside in the psychic's body and the payment of tribute in the form of sacrificial goods, food, and animals). Subsequently, the rulers appealed to the commissioners that the rituals had been performed annually to the *Phi*, who governed the city and the religion. Since neglecting such ceremonies could lead to misfortune, it was necessary, therefore, that the governor be withdrawn (Sethakul 2009: 228)

Official Nationalism: 'Thainess' in cultural policies (from 1910 onwards)

The promotion of 'Thainess' and 'nationalism' reduced cultural diversity within the country as the state interfered with and altered communities' local collective memories to serve the national narrative (Sattayanurak 2005). King Vajurvudh, or King Rama VI, who governed the country from 1910, inherited from his father the idea of nation-building and modernisation of the country (Wyatt 1982: 223). Having been educated at Oxford University, he was familiar with, and became

attracted to, the European concept of 'nationalism', which resulted in the attempt to promote the idea of the 'Thai nation', which became the single theme that ran throughout his reign (Wyatt 1982: 229; Klinkhajorn 2005: 103; Peleggi 2002; Connors 2005). The symbols of 'Thai' identity were emphasised, and some were even invented. For example, Pad Thai, a perceived 'Thai' noodle dish, was invented to distinguish the 'Thai' dish from other noodle dishes, which were often associated with Chinese traditions (Sukwiboon 2003). The national heroes and heroines from across the country were included in the national narratives to enhance the country's glory as a long-established kingdom (Askew 1996: 189). The triad of nation-religion-monarchy was introduced as the foundation of cultural policies (Wyatt 1982; Peleggi 1995, 2007; Van Esterik 2002). Influential nationalist figures who played a major role in establishing the idea of 'Thainess' included Prince Damrong, the son of King Rama V, and General Luang Wichit Watakarn (Sattayanurak 2007). Prince Damrong was a significant figure, who used heritage widely as a discourse to promote 'Thainess', 'Nationalism' and 'Monarchism'. Nationalist policies were aimed at fitting local narratives into the Grand National narratives. For example, Dvaravati, Srivijaya and Lanna cultures were taught to students as 'Early Thai civilisations' despite the fact that they are different political entities. The Thai identity was reproduced and the role of the Thai monarchy, as patrons to Buddhism, was emphasised in his written work (Peleggi 2007). In the 1930's, General Luang Wichit Watakarn, an influential nationalist intellectual, heavily emphasised in his written work the idea of nationalism and the monarchy's greatness. He was also a composer of a few well-known marching songs whose lyrics focused on the greatness of the nation and Thailand's history. Inevitably, the concept of nationalism led to the alienation of ethnic groups who lived in Thailand, particularly the Chinese (Winichakul 1994). Throughout the process, many cultural inventions were introduced to serve the nationalist discourse. At the time, King Rama VI was a famous and capable writer, who composed many pieces of work that stimulated the sense of 'Thainess' (Wyatt 1982; Byrne 1993; Peleggi 2002, 2007; Wallipodom 2003).

The central government's articulation of nationalism continued even although Thailand's absolute monarchism was abolished in 1932 (Wyatt 1982). Thailand's heritage under Field Marshal Phibun Songkhram, the Prime Minister

from 1938-1944 and 1948-1957, still largely relied on arts and culture. However, the importance of the 'monarch', which was a constituent part of the triad, diminished. Field Marshall Phibun even attempted to take the role of patron of Buddhism, which traditionally belonged to the King, by launching a massive programme for the restoration of religious monuments (Conner 2003: 527; Peleggi 2002: 19; Wyatt 1982: 252). The name Siam was changed to Thailand in order to raise the status of 'Thai' ethnicity and suppress ethnic minorities. The Ministry of Culture was established in 1952 to devise nationalist campaigns to promote 'art and culture', and make the country 'civilised' in a Western sense since the elites, who were educated through the Western education system, often associated 'civilisation' with modernity and westernisation (Peleggi 2002: 18). The 1942 Culture Act (Conners 2005: 528) controlled the way in which people dressed and their manners in public places.

In 1958, Phibun was overthrown by Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat. He abolished the Ministry of Culture and the National Culture Council, established by Phibun, and replaced them with the Ministry of Development. However, the use of cultural policy continued. He attempted to reinstate the significance of the monarchy, Buddhism and Kingship in Thai identity (Peleggi 2002: 20; Conners 2005: 529; Klinkhajorn 2005: 105). During the late 1970's, at a time of recession and the Communist Party's popularity, the four main projects of 'historical parks' at Sukhothai, Ayuthaya and the Khmer monumental shrines at Muang Singh and Panom Rung were launched (Peleggi 2002: 23).

Local administration has been much influenced by nationalist ideologies. However, the influence of the nationalist discourse had also been challenged. Conners (2005) suggested that the emphasis on royalism and nationalism in national cultural policies diminished around the 1980's, when international heritage agencies started to pay attention to localist movements that focused on local communities in various affairs, including encouragement of local heritage practices and the revival of local histories and traditions (Conners 2005; Sattayanurak 2007). The royalist-nationalist discourse still underpinned state agencies' policies throughout the country. However, its influence on local heritage practices has been counterbalanced by local traditions and values, which survived the imposition of the changes during the time of nationalism from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century.

Impacts of the nationalist discourse on Lamphun's cultural heritage

Changes in the political structures in the 1930's, which decreased the role of former rulers and empowered representatives from central Thailand, facilitated the uptake of outside ideologies into Lanna, and the development of new sets of ideologies. These ideologies included the discourse which supported the nation-building process and became the authorised discourse, which affected the way heritage was understood during the time of social and political changes. The central Thai ideologies and cultural policies also caused social-cultural changes in Lanna society (Panichpan 2005; Sethakul 2009). The advent of new ideologies from outside Northern Thailand affected languages, educational systems and traditional belief systems.

It was also the case that the use of the central Thai language as the official language, instead of local dialects, created great concern about local identity being lost by local people, as demonstrated by participant observation and the interviews during 2009-2010. This was the topic that was raised most often at public discussions and meetings related to Lamphun's cultural heritage. The new generation of Lamphun's residents, entering into formal education, are familiar with the Thai dialect and Thai script as the official means of communication. The study of Lanna script is seen as 'optional' or 'extra-curricular', and a number of the younger generation do not speak local dialects in their daily lives. Those that still speak local dialects tend to be influenced by the central Thai language in terms of the vocabulary used.

The Tai Yong ethnic group in Lamphun had been accustomed to the Lanna (Tai Yuan or Kam Muang) dialect and social systems. At another level, the Central Thai cultures suppressed Lanna culture. Local identity, dialects, written languages and cultural expressions are thought by local residents to be gradually disappearing and being replaced by outside cultures. Not only spoken languages, but also Lanna written script, which had been used in the transmission of knowledge, were replaced with central Thai script. For nation building, the state cultural policies had changed local social memories. Many of the interviewees expressed their concerns about the local language and their fear of losing identity as follows:

We can see a hierarchy of political power through the use of languages here. I am speaking Yong, when I talk to people from Chiang Mai, I have to speak Kam Muang [the Tai Yuan dialect] with them. And when they or I talk to you, of course we have to speak central Thai. It happens like this automatically.

(Expert Interview 2.2, expert in Lamphun's ethnicity)

A lot of Lanna scripts were destroyed during the process of Siamification. We could have learned more about our own heritage.

(Expert interview 12, Provincial Cultural Office)

Our languages are disappearing. Our children speak central Thai and I feel that is rather worrying.

(Ethnographic interview 7, local expert in traditional music and literature)

We must protect our languages and knowledge against other outside cultures. I think local know-hows should be embedded in the educational curricula

(Ethnographic interview 15, educational supervisor)

Spoken and written language is the most sensitive topic in the views of locals in northern Thailand. The issue has been raised in most interviews and public discussions. Interviewees 7 and 15, whose quotes were illustrated above, were interviewed at the same time. There were also two Lamphun school teachers present in the interview. Both interviewees initially gave their interviews in the Tai Yuan dialect. When the conversation reached the topic of languages, both interviewees finally revealed that they are Tai Yong, and so did the two school teachers. They felt that they needed to speak Tai Yuan since it is the most spoken dialect in Northern Thai provinces. They would even feel obliged to speak central Thai, if I did not understand the Tai Yuan dialect. The conversation and interview were then given in Tai Yong and interviewees as well as observers expressed their strong sense of identity and their pride in Tai Yong traditions. It is rather difficult to distinguish the Tai Yongs from other ethnic groups in Northern Thai since nowadays everyone has been made accustomed to central Thai traditions as influenced by the nationalist discourse. However, there are two main reactions that could be observed in Lamphun. One was to ignore their Tai Yong origin and choose to speak other dialects. The other was to have a

strong sense of identity. The most popular topic among the Tai Yongs was the discussion of their people's successes and achievements to emphasise that the Tai Yongs are hard-working, smart and intellectual.

Apart from languages, central Thai traditions were also imposed upon traditional beliefs as suggested by expert interviewee 10 as follows:

It is a complicated issue. Our social system has changed massively due to the incorporation of Lanna into Siam. The construction of the railway system allowed easier access to the region. The advent of Central Thais brought about the new worldviews and they changed the way we understand our cultures. Now no one would understand the '*Phi*' system, even locals, they have been in the central education system all their life. Phi is not only belief in supernatural beings, but the *Phi* system is equal to law. '*Pid Phi*' means they violate the laws, our traditional laws.

(Expert Interview 10, Provincial Buddhist Office)

Interviewee 10 suggests that the state controlled the traditional spirit cults, which comprised a significant number of local traditions and traditional Buddhist affairs (Chanamool 2010: 1). As discussed in the previous section, there were tensions between orthodox Buddhism and popular beliefs. The Reform of the *Sangha* (the community of monks) was an action that allowed the state to gain control over local communities' main institutions. As Buddhism was the foundation of Thai social systems, socio-cultural changes for the country's modernisation cannot be made only in the secular sphere. The first sign of reforms which affected the Northern *Sangha* took place in the reign of King Rama IV and had profound effects on the *Sangha* throughout the country. King Rama IV had been ordained in Buddhism for 27 years before ascending the throne, and had established the principles to make Buddhism the national religion (Keyes 1975: 554). He established Thammayutika, a new sect of Buddhism, for the purposes of this reform (Wyatt 1982: 216). The new order was a strict form of doctrinal Buddhism, which rejected much of the magical practice or supernatural elements. Jackson (1989: 58) also suggests that Prince Mongkut also rejected the use of material objects such as amulets and cloths with magical formulae written on them because it was based on local practice and did not contribute to support for the monarchy (Mackenzie 2007; Sivaraksa 2009).

Religious practices which were considered ‘unorthodox’ were prohibited in response to the King’s need to make Buddhism ‘scientific’ or, at least, ‘rational’ in the Western sense (Wyatt 1982: 216).

Prince Damrong, the son of King Rama V, also proposed the idea that local traditions were intertwined with spirit cults, and that belief in spirits represented ‘backwardness’ and ‘superstition’ (Sattayanurak 2007). Consequently, Buddhism needed to be reformed, while the regional provinces were encouraged to follow the new order. The Thammayutika sect was introduced to peripheral villages, and became the central government’s first tool to standardise religious practices across the nation-state. Sivaraksa (2009: 53) argued that this action brought the outer provinces under the King’s central control. The most respected monasteries, and the highest ranked monks in the provinces, were made Thammayutika. Local practices were suppressed, and replaced by new ones that were believed to be more logical, and could be equated to Western science. Consequently, the imposition of the Thammayutika sect on local traditions led to local discontent and generated resistance (Sethakul 2009).

The actual legal incorporation of the other Buddhist sects into the Thai church took place in the reign of King Rama V (Keyes 1975: 554). The Sangha Act B.E. 2446 (1903 AD) was launched, and the Northern *Sangha*, known as the Tai Yuan Sect, was incorporated into a national, hierarchical *Sangha* (Keyes 1975:555; Cohen 2001:229). At that time, there were three major groups of Buddhist monks in Lamphun and other provinces in Lanna. These were:

1. Those who were willing to accept the new *Sangha* order, implemented by the central Thai government. Generally, these monks were sent from Bangkok, and assumed the title of Head of the regional *Sangha*.
2. The largest group of monks was those who agreed to compromise. They did not resist the central government. However, they were still performing local traditions attached to traditional values. These monks were those who became supporters of Kruba Sriwichai.

3. A *Sangha* group resisted the new order. There were a few figures who were against the rules of the national *Sangha* and were forced to leave the monkhood.

(Chanamool 2010: 30)

The local Theravada Buddhist Tradition is called the Yuan Cult by Western scholars (Keyes 1971: 572). It differs from the Central Thai tradition in the script used for the sacred literature, the structures and content of rituals and the organisation of the clergy (Keyes 1971). Traditional ways of life and education systems taught at the *wat*, which focused on kinship and Buddhist disciplines, were also disappearing. Some *wats* were transformed into centres for education that facilitated the dissemination of central Thai language, knowledge and attitudes (Sethakul 2009: 260). The predominant Animistic-Theravada Buddhist beliefs emphasised two aspects of Buddhist monks: the role as mediator, who performed religious traditions to get rid of bad luck and obtain merit, and the role of some dedicated monks as ‘Ton Bun’ or meritorious/sacred persons. These roles were controlled and monitored by the high-ranked monks, whom the central government sent to Lamphun (Buadaeng 2002: 1; Chanamool 2010: 1)

The most well known reaction to the state’s attempt to control *Sangha* affairs in Lamphun and neighbouring provinces was the case of Kruba Sriwichai’s movement. The movement resulted in the construction and restoration of regional religious monuments, and the re-introduction of many other local Buddhist traditions on a massive scale. The phenomena might reflect an attempt to make the central authority recognise local cultures, and greatly affected the way people perceive Buddhist cultural heritage (Srisuwan 1997:32). Chapter six further discusses the movement of Kruba Sriwichai and his disciples in the wider context.

The implementation of nationalist policies, devised by the central Thai government, has affected the viability of local traditions. However, the traditional discourse in cultural heritage management is too deeply entrenched in Lamphun’s society to be totally replaced by outside influences. The responses to question 7, 8 and 16 in the Meaning of Heritage Survey can explain the impact of

the royalist-nationalist discourse (see figures 5.3 and 5.4). Survey participants were asked to outline their feelings when they were involved in heritage practices or visiting heritage sites, asked to name three key elements of Lamphun's heritage and add additional comments on issues relating to cultural heritage. As outlined in the previous section, the results of question 7 of the Meaning of Heritage Survey suggested that participants were more attached to 'local' or 'Lanna' than 'national narratives'. The responses to this survey may be divided between local residents' strong feelings and concerns for their 'local identity' (language, intangible knowledge, traditional skills) and nostalgic memories of Lamphun's past.

The royalist-nationalist discourse has underpinned national cultural policies. The state agencies, Lamphun's governor, and government officials appointed by the state, are often seen as facilitators of 'national cultural policies'. Chapter six further discusses the tensions between different parties who adhered to the traditional and nationalist discourses respectively.

Discourse III: The international or Western understanding of heritage

Another influential discourse in the management of Thailand's cultural heritage is the Western AHD, which has been used to enhance the nationalist policies. The two discourses have come to influence the Thai state's cultural policy through the work of the Thai elites and government. The Western notions of heritage including conservation ethics were imported into Thailand since these ideologies were seen by the state and the Thai elites at that time as 'necessary' for the modernisation or civilisation of the country, which were believed to be the ways to escape Western colonisation and to strengthen nationhood (Wyatt 1984; Winichakul 1994; Anderson 2006). However, the Thai state has not passively imported the Western heritage discourse. The ideologies that fit in with the AHD were much reworked by the Thai state in order to serve the political demands and serve the nationalist ideologies. Selective ideologies were imported in order to strengthen the creation of the Thai identity through the promotion of the triad of nation-religion-monarchy. Peleggi (1995, 2007) observes that the

Western ideologies, such as the concepts of geography and modern history and the discourse of heritage, have been utilised by the Thai state to control the way a nation's biography is collectively memorialised. The concepts of monumentality and aesthetics, as underpinned by Western AHD, were adopted by the Thai state. For example, Sukhothai and Ayuthaya were nominated as World Heritage Sites and given much attention compared to other historic sites in Thailand. Large scale conservation projects were implemented at both sites as well as in Bangkok and some other monumental ancient ruins across the country to emphasise the nation's greatness (Peleggi 2007: 172). However, the question of authenticity has been raised by heritage academics as the FAD has compromised much of the conservation ethic in order to create pleasant looking historical parks. This was done through the introduction of the 'Bangkok Charter', or the 2528 B.E. Regulation, which allows the FAD to restore ancient remains with less reliance on the notion of material authenticity (Byrne 2004; Jiajanpong 2005; Peleggi 2007). Winichakul (2000) also argues that Western notions of heritage were used to create an 'image' of Siam as a civilised nation. The early plan for the establishment of the National Museum, which was inspired by the Imperial Institute in Britain, was also initiated to enhance the position of Siam as suggested by the following extract:

...The Siamese elite were quick to catch up with the latest global vogue. They believed that their participation in those major fairs would increase their recognition and elevate their status in the eyes of the world...

...Did Srisorarak [The Director of the Museum Department] realise that it [the Imperial Institute] was a museum of imperialism? Apparently he did. As a matter of fact, exactly because of the imperial character of the museum, he thought it was the best model for the national museum of Siam. The national museum, he suggested, should be the place for exhibits of natural products, agricultural products, and manufactured commodities from the provinces (monthon) in Siam, just as the Imperial Institute was for British colonies...

(Winichakul 2000: 540, 543)

Winichakul (2000) also supports his point by giving another example of Siam's participation in several World's fairs. Although Siam decided to keep up with the global trend, it also paid much attention to the local traditions in order to present itself as a civilised country. He points out: 'It seems that they had to strike a

balance as to how to display Siam as a *siwilai* country, between a modern, technologically developing nation, and the ancient kingdom with archaic and exotic culture' (Winichakul 2000: 541).

Unlike the nationalist discourse, which predominantly put pressure at the socio-cultural level, the Western conservation ethic tends to produce conflicts that involve the practical aspect of heritage conservation. The reason for the conflicts is the Western conservation discourse is contradictory to the traditional Thai worldview, which has shaped the way in which heritage knowledge has been constructed in Thailand. Like other nationalist policies, Western conservation ethics were disseminated by government agencies to local or community groups through the work of government officials, academics or heritage experts who were trained in formal educational systems. Western notions of heritage and conservation have been embedded in Thai national policies and legislation, and have become another set of ideologies that affect the way heritage is managed, especially in terms of conservation techniques and ethics. Firstly, this section documents how Western ideologies were brought into Thai society and discusses how, and to what extent, this discourse has shaped Thailand's cultural heritage management policies at different levels.

In a Western sense, the earliest development in the fields of 'cultural heritage' which occurred in Thailand might be the royal interest in antiquities or ancient remains, which were similar to Western antiquarianism. However, there were no signs of anything similar to Western conservation until the time of modernisation around the late nineteenth century (Byrne 1993: 96). In contrast to the Western conservation ethic, the concepts of conservation and preservation of ancient ruins were not recognised in early Thai society, since the ethics concerning the maintenance of significant structures were influenced by the concept of 'impermanence',¹⁰ in Buddhism. Most of the sites of cultural significance were perceived as religious elements (Kanjanusthiti 1996). The Western influence on heritage management in Thailand emerged around the time that the country was struggling with three issues: internal integration, external

¹⁰ Impermanence (Anijang in Bali) is the Buddhist concept that suggests that all elements need to experience change and nothing can remain the same.

territory loss and the survival of Thailand as an independent state (Wyatt 1982: 181). Many academics and heritage experts (Byrne 1993; Peleggi 1995, 2007; Logan 2002) agreed that the ideological changes in the way in which heritage was understood and managed in Thailand resulted from exposure to Western cultures during the time of Western colonisation around the late nineteenth century. Logan (2002) suggested that 'the care of heritage' was related, generally, to the discourse of 'modernity', and Southeast Asian countries had thought themselves obliged to adapt to these new philosophies. As a result, tangible and intangible heritage has been used to represent the country's civilisation and glory. There were significant changes in the way that the ideologies underlying cultural heritage were perceived and managed.

The early Thai kingdoms had been in contact with Western countries, such as Portugal, Holland, Denmark and France. However, the most significant introduction of Western values and ideologies to Thai society was in the reigns of King Rama IV (King Mongkut) and King Rama V (King Chulalongkorn). The Thai Kings, and a significant number of the Thai elites, received Western education from foreign advisors and from the leading universities in Western countries. Consequently, they were influenced by Western ideologies (Wyatt 1982; Peleggi 2007). Western intellectual, scientific and cultural values entered Thailand in the 1830's, when Western missionaries brought print and photographic technologies into the country (Peleggi 2007: 144). The King, as Head of state at that time, not only adopted Western styles of living and the construction of significant buildings, roads and infrastructure, but he also introduced Western science and technology, education, history, philosophy and a Western worldview to Thai society. This was done through the assistance of Western educated Thai elites or Westerners who lived in Thailand (Wyatt 1982; Byrne 1993; Peleggi 1995, 2007; Sivaraksa 2009).

The advent of Westerners and Western ideologies had implications in the way in which cultural heritage was used and managed. By 1910, exclusive Western societies involved in the study of oriental knowledge had been established. In the Western sense, the antiquarian interest started in the reign of King Rama IV. The discovery of King Ramkhamhaeng's stone inscription and stone throne marked the emergence of interest in the study of ancient ruins and documents (Peleggi 2002: 14). During King Rama V's reign, initiatives for the

study of heritage increased considerably. In 1901, the *École Française d'Extrême Orient* (EFEO) was established in Hanoi and became involved in the study of Siam (Byrne 1993: 111; Musigakama 1989: 96). In 1904, Western 'gentleman-scholars' established the Siam Society to provide a space for discussion on arts, sciences and literature (Peleggi 2007: 157). Following the establishment of this learned society, which provided space for Western concepts, the Thai authority initiated two institutions, the Royal City Library and the Archaeological Society, which became significant agents in the development of the discourse on Thai heritage (Vatcharangkul 1995; Peleggi 2007).

Current Structure of Heritage organisations, legislation and international notions of heritage

The Thai Fine Arts Department (FAD), established in 1912, is the major state organisation responsible for the care of cultural heritage. At present, the FAD is divided into various Offices in order to safeguard the 'national heritage' (Kanjanusthiti 1996: 183). These Offices include the Office of Secretary, the Office of Performing Arts, the Offices of National Museums, the Office of Archaeology, the Office of Architecture, the Office of Literature and History, the National Archives, the National Libraries of Thailand, and the Institute of Fine Arts Development (FAD 2010).

The Office of Archaeology and the Office of Architecture are the two divisions that are directly responsible for the management of historic monuments and sites. Their main concerns are the recovery, conservation and interpretation of historic monuments and sites. The concepts and principles of Cambodia's French Institute of Conservation heavily influenced the FAD's early work (Musigakama 1989: 97). The concept central to heritage practices before the 1962 restructuring of the organisation was minimal intervention in monuments and the preservation of authenticity and integrity of the fabric (Vatcharangkul 1995: 19; Musigakama 1989: 94). Monuments and sites were not to be restored or reconstructed, a philosophy that was reminiscent of the 'conserve as found' ethic central to the nineteenth century European conservation guidelines (Emerick 2003). Preservation and stabilisation were acceptable, but the newly added materials had to be distinguishable, reflecting twentieth century European conservation ethics (Musigakama 1989:28, 96).

There are government documents, legislation and policies that relate to the management of cultural heritage management. These include:

1. The Office of the Prime Minister Regulation on Conservation and Development of the Old Town B.E. 2546 (2003 AD)
2. The Town Planning Act B.E. 2518 (1975 AD) as amended - volumes B.E.2525 and 2535
3. The Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums B.E. 2504 (1961 AD) as amended - volume B.E. 2535 (See translated documents in Appendix 3)
4. Building Control Act B.E. 2522 (1979 AD) as amended – volume B.E. 2535
5. National Environmental Quality Act - volume B.E. 2535
6. Local legislation: municipal law, provincial announcements, etc. These may vary from place to place.

Government documents and legislation which refer directly to the care of cultural heritage are the Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums B.E. 2504 (1961 AD) as amended - volume B.E. 2535, the Fine Arts Department Regulations on conservation – volume B.E, 2528 (1985) and The Office of the Prime Minister Regulation on Conservation and Development of the Old Town – volume B.E. 2546 (2003 AD). Each piece of legislation was devised to respond to different heritage issues at different times in the past. However, the technical aspects of heritage management mostly reflect Western ethics of conservation, as suggested by these experts and heritage professionals as follows:

the European Conservation movement has increasingly influenced the work of the FAD...From 1963 to 1977, FAD officials were supported by ICCROM to receive training at ICCROM office. When they came back, they brought with them techniques and approaches in Conservation to improve practices in Thailand. The work on mural painting conservation was set as special programmes. Principles for conservation of masonry buildings were specially set out...the scope of work was embedded in the National Development Plan vol 4 and 5 (1977-1986).

(Musigakama 1989: 98, Director of Archaeology Department in 1989)

In the past, we have been using International Charter in CHM. We have followed Western guidelines in the management of Asian Heritage, despite the fact that these charters focus on monuments and tangible heritage...

(Shinawatra 2004, expert in heritage conservation)

The Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums came into force in 1961 to provide protection to cultural heritage from illicit excavations, transportation and human deterioration of tangible heritage, which were major problems during this time (Musigakama 1989). The Fine Arts Department Regulations on conservation – volume B.E. 2528 (1985), also known as the Bangkok Charter, was influenced by international guidelines, specifically the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 2009), as can be seen from examples of some articles from the document. For instance, Article 7 states that monuments of great significance should only be stabilised/reinforced or preserved as found. This is contradictory to the Buddhist concept of merit-making. Generally, a monument of great significance is always restored or reconstructed to its original beauty.

In addition, Article 10 states that, if modern materials are to be added to a monument in order to maintain its architectural values and function, newly added material should be distinguishable. However, this addition must not be alien to the original fabric. This contradicts traditional methods of maintenance that favour aesthetic value as opposed to an educational or age value. Article 14 states that sacred monuments with historical and archaeological values must be preserved as found with no moderation, alteration of colours and forms that may destroy their value. This also contradicts the Buddhist concept of merit-making. Generally, a monument of great significance is always restored or reconstructed to its original beauty. According to the traditional forms of maintenance, mural paintings in Thailand were repainted periodically to transmit spiritual values. In addition, by such means, painters' artistic skills could be transmitted to future generations.

However, there are some articles that reflect how an AHD underpinning conservation ethics was reworked by the Thai government. Many of the traditional values were included in the text. For instance, Article 11 states that, with the exception of living sacred monuments agreed by the committee, monuments, objects of artistic, architectural and archaeological values must only

be preserved as found or stabilised in order to maintain authenticity. Article 16 states that living monuments can be renovated or refurbished, but alterations must not destroy their sacredness and intangible values.

International Charters have influenced the FAD's work from 1962, despite the fact that the Thai perceptions of cultural heritage at local levels were different from Western perceptions in terms of associated values and the emphasis on materiality. The terms 'archaeology' and 'monuments and sites' were used in formal documents related to cultural heritage before the 1990's, and the FAD was seen as the 'only' state authority responsible for the care of archaeological sites and artefacts. Most of its management measures focused on physical heritage (Vatcharangkul 1995:30). However, as international heritage agencies started to recognise wider categories and definitions of cultural heritage following lobbying from non-Western countries, the Thai organisations gradually included other categories of heritage in their policies and development plans. The heritage academics and heritage professionals observed a widening in the scope of what constituted Thailand's heritage, the amount of work, the number of stakeholders, relevant responsible organisations, and strategies for heritage management. The Western conservation ethics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are not seen as the only appropriate measures for the management of the Thai heritage as suggested by the following persons:

There are changes in the formal terms used in Thailand's document. Archaeological sites or monuments are now replaced with cultural heritage, not only in Thailand, but also on the World stage, such as in UNESCO's documents, as well...formerly the terms monument and sites were used. Now, the term 'Heritage' has been widely used in formal documents. The changes increase the scope of what constitutes heritage, relevant organisations and also strategies...now we have to think about what issues might be coming up. Who will facilitate the plan? who will do the conservation work? Who will support it financially?...

(Pimolsathien 2009, ICOMOS Consultation Session for the drafting of Thailand Carter in the Northern region).

The use of the term 'cultural heritage' instead of monuments and sites increases FAD's responsibility. Now, we have to look after monuments, sites, objects, archives and inscriptions. Archaeological sites do not mean they are more than 100 or 50

years old anymore. We consider the 'values' attached to them. We also have to work on artisanship as well, but cultural expressions, performances and traditions formally belong to different organisations in the same ministry
(Expert Interview 13, Regional office of FAD).

The FAD's roles are now more diverse and include a wider range of what can be considered 'cultural heritage'. As before, the tasks are not concentrated on archaeological research and conservation work on monuments and sites. Its roles, which also include the care of intangible expressions, can be outlined, currently, as follows:

1. To protect, conserve and reinstate arts and culture: traditions, royal ceremonies and state ceremonies;
2. To transmit and create art and cultural expressions;
3. To devise mechanisms for cultural heritage management;
4. To develop local intellectual and cultural heritage into educational and tourism resources; and
5. To provide special training in the fields of art and cultures for better conservation and sustainable development.

(FAD 2009)

Due to the nature and characteristics of what constitutes Thailand's heritage, and the widening of the scope and meaning of cultural heritage, both inside and outside Thailand, other state agencies are also involved in the care of physical and intangible heritage, either directly or indirectly. These agencies include the:

1. Office of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy and Planning;
2. Department of Public Works and Town and Country Planning, under the Ministry of the Interior;
3. Office of the National Culture commission, under the Ministry of Culture/ Provincial Cultural Office;
4. Local authority (Provincial Administrative Office, Tambon Administrative Office); and
5. Office of National/provincial Buddhism

Conversely, the FAD is still the main institution that is responsible for the safeguarding of Thailand's cultural heritage. Originally and in theory, the FAD is the facilitator of Western/International ethics underpinning management philosophies. Western conservation ethics have significantly influenced legislation and government documents regarding the care of cultural heritage. It also assumes the role of 'guardian of cultural heritage' and values the universality of heritage. In practice, however, the FAD, at times, has to compromise with the demands of local residents, who adhere to the traditional religious worldview and value their local traditions in the conservation of sacred or religious structures. The work undertaken by the FAD is much influenced by nationalist policies, such as the preference for cultural heritage that fits the national narratives and the 'triad' of nation-religion-monarchy. Conflicts of values in the care of cultural heritage are further discussed in chapter six.

In addition to local demands, another factor that affects the performance of the regional branches of FAD is lack of human resources and expertise. The Office of Archaeology, under the Fine Arts Department, is further divided into fifteen regional branch offices (Regional Office of Fine Arts 1-15) throughout the country (Office of Archaeology 2011). Vatcharangkul (1995) and Kanjanusthiti (1996) observed that there are only archaeologists and a few technicians at these regional branches. The dominance of archaeologists in the office and lack of technicians in other related fields, such as architects, engineers and art historians, often limit the tasks that the regional branches can perform, and may also lead to reliance on the physical aspect of heritage conservation with less concern over other associated values.

Apart from state agencies, there are also heritage related NGOs, which work towards cultural heritage management. These include the Asian Academy for Heritage Management (AAHM) under UNESCO's regional office UNESCO in Bangkok, Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation – Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts (SEAMEO-SPAFA) and ICOMOS Thailand. These organisations have advisory roles in the management of Thailand's cultural heritage. Their tasks include providing necessary expertise and training, being a forum for knowledge exchange and discussion, and providing incentives (awards, funds, special titles) to local communities in order to encourage them to use 'proper' (i.e. internationalised) conservation

techniques. The founding in 1985 of ICOMOS' regional office in Thailand was interesting, as most of the committee at the time were either FAD or other state agencies' government officials (Sanghitkul 2004:26). Unlike the ICOMOS' main office, unavoidably, the early work of ICOMOS Thailand relied on the direction of the government to some extent. However, one of the objectives was to include people from various professions and allow participation from those outside the heritage circle (Sanghitkul 2004: 26).

The impacts of the Western AHD on Lamphun's heritage

Western conservation ethics have underpinned the policies implemented by the regional Office of Fine Arts located in Chiang Mai. All conservation work on registered monuments in Lamphun is monitored by regional FAD officers, and a number of listed monuments awaiting registration receive careful attention by the Regional Office of Fine Arts. The local state agency, under the FAD's supervision, is Haripunchai National Museum, which has facilitated many of the values underpinned by the Western AHD in the conservation and management of Lamphun's cultural heritage. Although recent government cultural policies have attempted to recognise local traditions, Western conservation ethics remain embedded in the formal codes of practice implemented by state heritage agencies and Lamphun's local government. The two significant movements which introduced Western values in conservation, especially in the conservation of physical heritage, were the proposal for World Heritage listing and the inclusion of Lamphun on the national list of Historic Towns according to the Regulation on Conservation and Development of Rattanakosin and Old Towns – volume B.E. 2546 (2003 AD).

The proposal for World Heritage Listing was one of the most significant events that facilitated the imposition of the Western AHD on heritage management at a local level. From 2004, Lamphun's local authority and government heritage agencies proposed the idea of World Heritage listing, and policy work and plans for massive physical changes were designed as preparation for the listing. Since then, Lamphun's cultural heritage has become a topic of interest among Thailand's residents and heritage scholars. Lamphun, despite its significance, needs a vast scale of physical improvement in order to comply with international standards for conservation. Current management

strategies have been criticised and reconsidered in order to find the most plausible solutions for such conflicts, and thus enable Lamphun to be listed on the World Heritage List. It has become evident that there are conflicting interests on heritage matters, and their resolution is an urgent task to be achieved by both heritage agencies and local residents.

Another significant movement is the inclusion of Lamphun on the national list of Historic Towns. Lamphun has been designated as a Group I Historic Town (a first priority town containing significant heritage fabric), according to the Prime Minister's Regulation on Conservation and Development of Rattanakosin and Old Towns - volume B.E. 2546 (2003 AD). Officials from ONEP (Office of Natural Resources and Environmental policy and Planning) started to provide advice and expertise where necessary in order to develop a conservation plan, which includes the aspect of dynamic political instruments rather than sole static or technical measures. Outside parties have become involved in Lamphun's cultural management as they attempt to resolve the issues. Practices and Measures for Conservation, Development and Rehabilitation of the Old Town and its surrounding area developed by ONEP are also influenced by Western or international notions of heritage conservation and urban conservation. The conservation zone is separated distinctively from the business district (Eam-anant 2007) and the concept of authenticity and integrity is one of the key factors in a city's conservation plan (Synchron 2010: 26). Historic towns are also required to have integrated conservation, control of change and administrative actions that value the concepts of buildings' innate values. Other requirements are conservation of different elements: concepts, styles, craftsmanship and building materials, especially in the areas of vernacular buildings (Eam-anant 1997).

Lamphun, the coexistence of competing discourses and impacts on cultural heritage

Although the traditional discourse on Buddhism and animism is the foundation of heritage practices at the local or community level, Western ethics in conservation and heritage management and the royalist-nationalist discourse

have also become influential discourses. These latter two have underpinned government agencies' cultural policies through the government's official use and management of cultural heritage, both in the past and the present, to achieve social or political aims. The existence of competing discourses has caused tensions between communities at a local level in Thailand.

Conservation of tangible heritage is the area where the conflicting values between different parties are best illustrated, because the international charters and guidance focus on the conservation and management of tangible heritage, such as historic monuments and sites, cultural landscape, urban heritage, underwater heritage and many others. One of the most widely discussed heritage issues to have emerged in non-Western societies is the debate concerning the 'authenticity' and 'integrity' of historic monuments and sites. Authenticity and integrity are associated with various forms of conservation work: restoration, repair, reconstruction, uses of and access to heritage and, in the specific case of Buddhist countries, reactivation of deserted structures. In the Western sense, authenticity means 'original state' of 'design', 'material', 'artisanship' and 'setting' as stated in the Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention from 1977 - 1994. Traditional Thai heritage practices are more related to the original state of 'spirit and feeling', as demonstrated in the work by Byrne (1993) and Kanjanusthiti (1996).

Conclusion

Thailand's cultural heritage has been influenced by at least three major discourses. Before the advent of the Western AHD and the rise of nationalist cultural policies, Thailand's heritage practices had been based on Buddhist ideology and doctrines. Even today, Thais still perceive the majority of cultural heritage as religious elements rather than objects of aesthetic or educational values. The traditional discourse was disrupted by the process of nation-building at the beginning of the twentieth century. Through such processes, traditional practices were suppressed and replaced by the central Thai ideology. This process was a response to the prevalent threat of Western imperialism faced by Southeast Asian countries and to remain a 'superior' nation in the new world

order. Rattanakosin (Bangkok) took action, as a central polity, and incorporated others into a unitary nation. The Western scientific worldview was adopted in order to make the country 'civilised' in the eyes of Western colonial powers and the rest of the world. This ideological shift significantly affected expressions of traditional tangible and intangible heritage.

The coexistence of these discourses has caused tensions in the management of cultural heritage. Conflicts between state agencies, the communities of monks and local communities on the value of heritage and its uses are common in Thai society. The heritage practice carried out by government agencies and international heritage NGOs has been much influenced by the Western AHD and the nationalist policies. However, local communities adhere to the traditional discourse of the religious worldview. Different parties have different access to power and resources, and the presence of one discourse may decrease the influence of the others. The next chapter investigates further how these three discourses interact and work on Lamphun's heritage by discussing the role of local communities, the tensions between the conflicting parties and which discourse they adhere to.

Chapter 6: Communities and tensions between parties involved in cultural heritage management in Lamphun

The previous chapter has outlined the dominant discourses that influence people's understanding of heritage in Thailand, and particularly in Lamphun. These discourses include the traditional religious worldview, the royalist-nationalist discourse and Western conservation ethics. The coexistence of competing heritage discourses has created tensions in cultural heritage management at different levels. The chapter argues that both tangible and intangible heritage is often part of politics and power struggles between interest groups at different levels (local, national and international), and that negotiation, compromise and conflict resolution may not always be achieved, especially when conflicts involve social values or ideologies.

This chapter maps the conflicts arising from the existence of competing discourses, with reference to the case study of Lamphun, to illustrate how different parties react to particular heritage issues, and to each other, and how these parties are influenced by the existence of heritage discourses discussed in previous chapters. Shay Bright's Conflict Chart, the framework that helps identify the causes of conflicts, is used to break down conflicts into their component parts: conflict parties, conflict history, conflict context, party orientation, conflict dynamic and conflict intervention (Shay Bright n.d.). This chapter follows Shay Bright's framework by first identifying the parties involved. Conflict history is illustrated by examining which discourse each party adheres to. Conflict context is discussed through the assessment of relationships and reactions between parties. Lastly, party orientation and conflict dynamics is investigated by dividing past conflicts into conflict styles (value conflict, structure conflict, interest conflicts, data conflict and relationship conflict). Data acquired from the Meaning of Heritage Survey, the study of government documents and qualitative interviews will be discussed where relevant throughout the chapter.

Identifying conflict parties, history and context in Lamphun

The Thai perception of heritage, as discussed in chapter five, includes a wide spectrum of entities ranging from tangible to intangible elements, and from religious to secular entities. Thus, stakeholders of heritage management projects include a cross-section of society, not just professionals in the fields of history, archaeology and conservation. Their understanding of heritage is, therefore, at times contradictory to each other. Concerns about conflicts in heritage management strategies have been frequently expressed by both local residents and government agencies through public hearing sessions held by local state agencies, web forums, the press and many other possible means of communication. Discontent about other parties' uses of heritage and heritage management strategies indicates that there are tensions in cultural heritage management. Conflicts and tensions may occur in two broad domains. Firstly, there are tensions relating to the practical aspect of heritage management, such as the conservation and management of monuments and sites. Secondly, conflicts over cultural heritage issues may also occur in the social-cultural dimension. Psychological tensions between parties often hinder cooperation in heritage activities or limit participation from certain parties.

Heritage interest groups in Lamphun can be roughly identified as parties according to their social roles and ideologies. Conflict parties are categorised into primary parties, secondary parties and other interested parties, according to their level of involvement in the conflicts or tensions in heritage management. However, it should be noted that the distinction between parties is quite blurred. One person may assume more than one role and might be influenced by more than one set of ideologies. The distinction is a rough guide as to how conflicts can be deconstructed and understood.

Primary parties

These are those individuals or groups with direct interactions in the tension/conflict and whose goals or ideologies are incompatible (Shay Bright n.d.). Primary parties in conflicts over Lamphun's heritage include government heritage agencies, provincial and local administrative agencies, local monks, local communities and local experts in traditional knowledge.

Government heritage agencies

Government heritage agencies are the authorised caretaker of heritage in Lamphun. The main heritage agencies include the Regional Office of Fine Arts, Haripunchai National Museum, Lamphun Provincial Cultural Office and Lamphun Buddhism Office. These agencies are responsible for different tasks.

The Regional Office of Fine Arts is responsible for the conservation of historic monuments, archaeological excavation and research on cultural heritage in Lamphun and three other provinces: Chiang Mai, Lampang and Mae Hong Sorn. Haripunchai National Museum is another key heritage organisation in Lamphun under FAD, the centre for heritage activities in Lamphun. Haripunchai National Museum is particularly involved in heritage interpretation activities, including occasional exhibitions, seminars, talks and training sessions, the supervision of historic monument conservation, the investigation of archaeological evidence in Lamphun, city guided tours and work with other state agencies in culture-related activities. The Provincial Cultural Office is responsible for safeguarding ‘living culture’, the transmission of traditional knowledge, and enhancing the use of cultural heritage to empower local communities (Lamphun Province 2011). The Provincial Buddhism Office monitors *Sangha* affairs and supervises both living and deserted Buddhist temples in Lamphun. The duties of this office are to establish and distribute Buddhist knowledge and Dharma to the wider public, develop existing religious sites and manage their environment, and encourage cultural tourism at significant religious sites (ONAB n.d.).

Heritage agencies adhere to different discourses of heritage management, according to the heritage categories under their supervision. The disciplines adopted by the Haripunchai National Museum and the Regional Office of Fine Arts reflect the influence of the Western AHD, since these agencies are under the supervision of the FAD, which has been influenced by Western conservation ideologies (as discussed in chapter five). However, the focus and priorities of the Provincial Cultural Office and Provincial Buddhism Office may be different, as their duties are more clearly related to living cultures that are still active and prone to adapting to social change, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

In practice, the scope of work of these agencies may overlap; for example, the branch office of the Provincial Cultural Office may also take an

advisory role in tangible heritage conservation, and the Provincial Buddhism Office and the Regional Office of Fine Arts may take equal responsibility for the conservation of ancient and religious structures. Conflicting values and interests among heritage agencies can be seen in some cases where sites or monuments come under the responsibility of more than one agency, for example, the case of access to deserted *wats* and the conservation of religious structures in Thailand. The conservation of ancient religious monuments is generally the responsibility of the Buddhism Office but, if the structures are registered as ancient monuments, the FAD has direct responsibility for maintaining the sites. The role of the Office of Buddhism in temple reactivation has always been criticised by FAD officials or heritage professionals. For example:

...Management of deserted *wats* is associated with two disciplines. Conservation of historic monuments is under the care of FAD, but the land ownership and future land use is under the judgement of the Office of Buddhism. The role of the Office of Buddhism is to make use of the land economically and our disciplines are often in opposite directions. The Buddhism Office can let out the land and the compound of deserted *wats* and allow the monks to reinstate them back to life...

(Expert Interview 13, Fine Arts Department)

...Reactivation of deserted *wats* by the monks is an alarming issue in CHM. The FAD has rarely heard of what the monks have done to the monuments, and they often claim that the Buddhist Office have granted them permission to bring the temple back to life. Thailand Charter should include a section that clarifies the roles of religious institutions and the monks...

(Comment from Thailand Charter consultation session, 18 March 2009, Chiang Mai)

The second quote exemplifies the conflicts between the concept of 'Dead Monument' and actual conservation practice. According to the Fine Arts Regulation on Conservation – volume B.E. 2528, registered monuments can be divided further into 'Dead monuments' (monuments that have been abandoned), and 'Living monuments' (monuments that are still in use). The upper limit of fabric intervention at 25% of the whole structure for Living Monuments is a compromise for owners of registered living heritage. However, the concept of Dead Monument is not really plausible in practice. Ruins of temples can be

reactivated, if host communities or any interest group feel that the site is spiritually significant enough to be reanimated. Cases where ruins have been repaired or even restored to become a new *wat* can be seen throughout the country and there is even a code of practice written by the Office of Buddhism that allows a deserted temple to be reactivated, according to the interview with the director of Lamphun's Office of Buddhism. In addition, the ruins are also perceived by ordinary people to contain supernatural power. Local residents often place flowers, incense, and other offerings at the site to worship the spirits or the supernatural power that they believe still dwells in the monuments.

Ownership of Thailand's living monuments, especially religious sites like *wats*, is registered in the name of a 'juristic person'. Hence, the head monk has full authority and responsibility to look after his territory. Limited human resources prevent the FAD from inspecting every single heritage site. National heritage may be conserved according to international standards for conservation by government agencies, but the care of smaller ones is an absolute decision for the community of monks or local communities, who are sponsors of conservation and maintenance work at religious heritage sites. Conflicting values over authenticity have long been an issue in the management of religious structures, especially living *wats* where the merit cult is still active. Since the main purpose of renovation is to extend the 'spiritual life' of the structure, authenticity of the materiality of heritage is less important than the function and spirit of the place. Original techniques, artisanship and material may be too costly compared to using contemporary materials and design. Moreover, religious structures are often restored or renovated in the most dominant school of art at the time. All these reasons often lead to clashes between heritage professionals, monks and local communities.

This situation illustrates a clash between two discourses: Western conservation ethics and the religious worldview. However, some other parties and heritage agencies consider dead monuments, such as deserted *wats*, to be still active in a religious or spiritual sense. The sacred power is still there and can be reanimated when the sites are restored back to their function. Buddhists also see restoring *wats*, if not building a new one, as a very meritorious act (Tambiah 1970). In addition, the Buddhist Office has tended to take the interests of Buddhists and monks as a priority rather than see such historic remains as objects

of educational value. Such confrontation and complaints from government heritage agencies will never stop as long as the majority of Thai citizens still adhere to the Buddhist worldview.

Therefore, there are two major problems associated with the conservation of deserted *wats*. Firstly, if the religious structures in such *wats* have not been registered on the national list of monuments and sites, local residents may be allowed to rent and make use of the land or the *wat* compound. Letting out the deserted *wat* may lead to the problem of uncontrolled land use, which affects the integrity of the historic structures. Secondly, deserted *wats* may be reinstated back to life by the monks. Historic structures may be intruded on by modern interventions that are necessary for the maintenance of religious or spiritual functions in *wats*. Both issues affect the integrity of historic sites and monuments. The two major conflicting ideologies here are Western conservation ethics and traditional beliefs in a cult of merit. However, regarding deserted *wats* and *wat* compounds, which are normally seen as the Buddhism Office's source of income, an official from the Buddhism Office suggests that the disciplines and values underpinning its actions could be subject to change and negotiation, should there be sufficient support from other organisations, as seen in the following extract.

It is not that Lamphun's Buddhism Office is unwilling to pass the ownership of religious historic monuments back to heritage organisations or keep them with us just to exploit the resources. We are more than welcome to cooperate, but there should be a solid plan outlining which agency or organisation is going to be the host that looks after these historic remains. We don't want those temples to be neglected soon after we give them back to the public....

(Expert Interview 10, Lamphun Buddhism Office)

The Western AHD influences conservation work performed by heritage agencies under the FAD. However, the Provincial Cultural Office and the Buddhism Office may have difficulties conforming to Western conservation ethics. These agencies are associated with 'living traditions and practices', whereby the significance of spiritual continuity and the impermanence of elements outweigh the significance of maintaining of material authenticity. The

following interview with a member of the Provincial Cultural Office illustrates many contradictions in his practices:

...Local communities do not always manage their resources in the right way. I have to give them necessary advice. My duties are to make sure that cultures are transmitted properly and prevent 'newly invented intangible cultural heritage' and unnecessary changes to tangible heritage, which are new traditions that are alien to our traditions.... A new *stupa* is being built in the *wat* next to my office [Wat Pa Sang Inthakil]. The one which has been encased really violated Lanna tradition. The base of the old *stupa* only had two instead of three layers. The Head Monk wants the new one to reflect Lamphun's identity, thus I told them to encase the old one with a new one that resembles Queen Jama Thewi's shrine in Wat Jama Thewi...

(Expert Interview 12, Lamphun Cultural Office)

This interviewee is an official from the Cultural Office, which in theory has to follow international conservation ethics when dealing with tangible heritage. However, the interviewee's view of cultural heritage is very much associated with the traditional Buddhist worldview, which allows religious structures to be encased without any regard for original design. The original round-based *stupa*, which has almost 200 years of history, now looks like a square-pyramidal *stupa* located in central Lamphun, about 20 km away from this *wat*. The Western AHD obviously does not work at this level. His viewpoint also reflects the idea that government officials are 'guardians of the tradition'. This might be a legacy of nationalist policies, which have resulted in the centralised structure and bureaucracy in government heritage agencies. The quote clearly illustrates how he perceived local residents as less able and less informed about cultural traditions and his perception of culture is rather static. He also saw changes in heritage practice, particularly intangible heritage, as unacceptable. His ideal actions are rarely possible among local residents. Both tangible and intangible heritage is changing along with the surrounding contexts or environments. As long as such heritage is still 'alive', and has some meaning to local residents, nothing can preserve it as it is, especially in the case of Buddhist heritage, as stakeholders are predominantly believers in the merit cults.

To sum up, government heritage agencies adhere to different discourses according to their responsibilities. The agencies whose tasks are related to tangible remains are influenced by the Western AHD, which is embedded in international and national standardised practices, while other agencies involved in intangible heritage are more likely to be attached to traditional values and practices, especially in the case of the conservation of religious structures.

Provincial and local administrative agencies

Provincial and local administrative agencies are often seen as the representatives of central government. Thailand is divided administratively into provinces, districts (Amphoe) and sub-districts (Tambon). The provincial governors and district officers are the major authorities in provincial administration and act as representatives of central government in the provinces (UNESCAP n.d.). The provincial and local administrative agencies involved in the drafting of heritage conservation plans in 2009 and 2010 included Lamphun City Council, Provincial Administrative Office (PAO), Tambon Ban Ruen Administrative Office (TAO), Lamphun Municipal Office and Lamphun Town Planning Office.

In general, these agencies work to foster regional parity by executing all legislative implementation, steering and supervision functions in the regions according to the National Economic and Social Development Plans (UNESCAP n.d.). Management of cultural heritage is part of these agencies' broader duties in terms of the maintenance of public recreational space and facilities, provision of education, and the development of local tourist attractions for the promotion of cultural tourism. Their heritage management obligations include resource and responsibility allocation, and ensuring that the conservation and development plans of tangible cultural heritage or the safeguarding of intangible heritage is carried out as suggested in the Lamphun Central District Development Plan 2009.

Administrative power is centralised at a central administrative level. The provincial administration shadows the authority and functions of local governments, and is essentially an appointed agent of central government. Because of this centralised structure, the perception of heritage among state agencies is, in principle, influenced by the authorised discourse of heritage: the

nationalist discourse and Western conservation ethics. However, in practice, Lamphun's cultural heritage management by provincial and local administrative agencies does not often reflect the influence of the heritage discourses identified in chapter five. The national policies are also heavily influenced by competing interests in modernity and the country's need for development. Concerns about cultural heritage and conservation ethics shaped by the Western AHD, or the continuity of local traditions, may not be the first priority, as the main tasks of provincial and local administrative agencies are related to law and order, welfare, education, the development of physical environments and maximising income from available resources (UNESCAP n.d.).

The first – and most widely criticised – example of how local administrative agencies are more likely to be influenced by their own development interests rather than Western conservation ethics or traditional values in heritage management is the conservation and reconstruction work on physical heritage, such as city walls, city gates and moats. Maintenance and conservation work on tangible heritage which is not registered on the National List of Heritage and the cultural landscape of Lamphun is under the supervision of provincial and local administrative agencies. Despite their good intentions, their work has frequently been criticised by heritage agencies, local experts and local residents for being foreign to Lamphun's environment. The most recent alteration of the city walls was the restoration and reconstruction of Tha-Nang Gate in 2004. The gate is located north-east of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai on the bank of the River Khuang. A former director of Sukhothai National Park and a member of Synchron Group's consultancy team, expressed his disappointment regarding a field-walking survey in February 2009:

The roof doesn't belong to either Lanna or Haripunchai art.
And nor does the embellishment. The work is also very crude
and that orange colour reminds me of a traffic cone...

(A comment from the 2009 consultancy team, February survey
2009)



The newly reconstructed East Gate of the city of Lamphun
Source: Author



A member of the 2009 consultancy team checked the reconstructed city gate and commented that the reconstructed gate did not belong to Lanna or any other artform.
Source: Author



Old picture of the West Gate, unknown date. Tha-Nang Gate should look similar to this one. There is no documented evidence of what the East Gate looked like.
Source: Narentara Panyapu

Figure 6. 1: City wall at Tha-nang Gate

Another example that reflects the priority of local administrative agencies is their launching of faith tourism programmes to attract visitors or pilgrims from other regions of Thailand in 2009-2010. These projects highlight Lamphun’s religious significance at a national level, and aim to attract pilgrims from across the country. The term ‘Muang Bun Luang’ (The City of Great Merits) was coined by the local authority, and has been frequently used in recent news articles and local government advertisements to promote events related to cultural heritage organised by the city of Lamphun, as reported by the governor of Lamphun:

Lamphun’s strength is its age value as an ancient city. We [The City of Lamphun] announced that Lamphun is the ‘City of Great Merit’ of Lanna, home of a considerable number of historic monuments, artefacts, and honourable *krubas*. We have recreated a religious route in the city in order for visitors to obtain merit and visit significant religious sites in Lamphun...

(Dirakekoj Ponkornkleep, Governor of Lamphun, <http://www.bangkokbiznews.com/>, translated by author)

The religious route was set up by the provincial administrative agencies in response to the promotion of the term '*Muang Bun Luang*' in public articles. The route includes five *wats* in the walled old town zone (Wat Phrathat Haripunchai, Wat Phra Yuen, Wat Jama Thewi, Wat Phra Kong Rue Si and Wat Mahawan) and four other *wats* in Amphoe Pa Sang and Amphoe Li, the hometown of Kruba Sriwichai, an honourable monk significant in Lamphun history. All religious sites along this route are associated with Buddha relics, famous honourable monks or well-known places of Buddha amulet production. The main purpose or the selling point of this campaign is to encourage visitors from outside the region to pay respect to and perform meritorious acts at these significant heritage sites, which are related to the relic cult, the *kruba* cult and the narrative of Queen Jama Thewi. However, the project has been criticised by local experts and local residents for its exploitation of Lamphun's reputation, and for destroying the authenticity of both tangible and intangible heritage. These projects could encourage visitors to perform meritorious acts according to Buddhist beliefs, such as donating to new constructions or fundraising for the renewal of existing monuments, and an increased number of visitors would mean more facilities and amenities are required to meet the demands of tourists, As this news article warns:

...The '*Muang Bun Luang* [the City of Great Merits]' and the 'Pilgrimage for uplifting your life' projects exploited Lamphun's religious significance for tourism purposes. They are not different from the 'Lamphun to World Heritage' project, the ambitious project that proceeds despite the fact that Lamphun residents do not understand the term 'World Heritage' that much... The use of Buddhism as the selling point indeed destroys the value of every single piece of bricks and *stupa* that comprise our beloved cultural heritage. These [projects] do not reflect the true cultural traditions. Using significant *wats* and *krubas* to attract pilgrims and visitors is not worth it. A large number of tourists mean trouble, management, refuse pollution, toilet facilities, car parks, etc. *Wats* are the centre of faith. We need peace and a minimal number of tourists...

(Jakrabhong Khambunruang;
Chiang Mai News: 22/01/2008, translated by author)

Provincial and local administrative agencies and other regional branches of state agencies are generally seen by locals as representative of the state, and there are often conflicts between their cultural policies and other parties' understanding of cultural heritage, especially local communities. In principle, these agencies are direct facilitators of the authorised discourses of heritage that have been enshrined in the law and in state and provincial policies. In practice, conservation work performed on tangible and intangible heritage in Lamphun reflects conflicting values and interests.

The monk community

The community of monks is another significant primary party in Lamphun, since monks are key figures in the transmission of Buddhist traditions to Lamphun's residents and assume the role of social leaders. The community of monks in Thailand is administered by an ecclesiastic council called 'Mahathera Samagom', which means the Council of the Elders (Kanjanausthiti 1996: 189). Local affairs in land use and the management of *wats* come under the care of both the Council and the department of Religious Affairs, under the Ministry of Culture. According to fieldwork data, the monks' perception of tangible and intangible cultural heritage is mainly influenced by the Buddhist worldview. Traditionally, monks assumed the role of community leaders in both spiritual and worldly respects, and were also teachers who passed on traditional knowledge and skills to new generations. The roles of monks as teachers and leaders of worldly affairs changed considerably when the formal education system was established around the late nineteenth century (Sethakul 2009). However, the role of monks as spiritual leaders of local communities remains almost the same.

Lamphun hosts a large number of *wats* (Synchron 2009b). A *wat* or monastery is the major institution in Northern Thai society, and is a centre of faith and cultural continuity, and a *wat* provides a public space for communities (Somchai 2003:41). Lamphun has 460 living *wats* and 334 deserted *wats*. Byrne (1993: 43) suggests that the reason why there are so many ruins of deserted *wats* may be due to the belief in the merit cult, which facilitates the building of new *wats*. The desire to build a new *wat* to obtain a high degree of merit is unlimited, whilst the ability of communities to maintain and support an older *wat* is limited. A number of old *wats* might be abandoned in order to accommodate the new

ones. The case of Lamphun might be more extreme as the city was already well-known for its religious significance and host to the Buddha relic shrines, Buddha footprint and of several famous *krubas*. Lamphun hosts a large number of *wats* built by local, royal, and other believers who have their faith rooted in the city. The city, nonetheless, was almost deserted under Burmese rule before the reinstatement of the Lanna Kingdom in 1782. A number of *wats* might also have been abandoned during the time of Lanna's downfall. The continuity of tradition was interrupted by political changes. Also, Lamphun might not be ready to accommodate a large number of *wats* that had previously been abandoned. By the time Lanna and Lamphun were stabilised again, the Western conservation ethics together with other Western ideologies had arrived by the introduction of the Siamese elite.

The conservation of registered religious archaeological remains or religious structures may be funded or supported by the FAD or local government, although generally the financial and human resources required for the maintenance of each *wat* come from donations (Kanjanusthiti 1996). The Head Monk of each living *wat* has full authority, and is responsible for the care of heritage in his own territory. This often leads to debates and criticism of how the monks understand and perform conservation work on religious structures.

Regarding the maintenance and conservation of religious heritage sites, the monks are often reported by other parties in public discussions as destroyers of the 'heritage fabric', since they are dedicated to beliefs in meritorious acts which would bring merit to people who fund the restoration or reconstruction of significant religious structures. The Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT 1994: 14) has identified several common problems in the conservation and reconstruction of ancient or religious structures in *wats* by monks. Issues regarding the management of Buddhist heritage include: the demolition of historic monuments, and the construction of new ones, with no regard to previous forms and designs; the lack of records of alterations and modifications made to structures; the exclusion of the FAD and other heritage agencies from the planning permission process; the fact that monks often favour larger and more modern structures that can better support *Sangha* affairs; and the idea that Head Monks view national legislation on heritage conservation as having no relevance to *Sangha* affairs.

The main reason for these differences relating to heritage practice is that monks' perceptions of cultural heritage are influenced by the traditional religious worldview, which values the spiritual continuity of a monument or a place over cultural continuity, which favours material authenticity and continuation of artisanship, designs and functions as discussed in chapter five. The maintenance of religious structures, which are also perceived as cultural heritage by local residents and state agencies, is thus based on the attempt to extend their use as sacred places of worship, and to allow Buddhists to have a chance to gain merit from acts of restoration, reconstruction and the renovation of religious structures. Extracts from interviews with monks, and which reflect monks' community values, are as follows:

...When I was a young monk I resided at Wat Ban Luk. There were a few brilliant pieces of art like the congregation hall and the *Pitaka* library, nice artwork on the roof. The Head Monk wanted to build a bell tower, so he transformed the *Pitaka* library, removing the roof, and added other structures to build a bell tower...

...The Head Monk of Wat Pratuli even dug up the buried votive tablets himself so that he could put them in the glass case or sell them and gain income for further development of his *wat*...

(Ethnographic Interview 5, Head Monk of Wat Phrathat Haripunchhai)

I attended a seminar on conservation and the process of World Heritage Listing. I understand the situation, but if it is the will of worshippers to renovate, refurbish or reconstruct the structures in order for them to gain merits, as spiritual leaders, some Head Monks cannot prevent them from such meritorious acts. It really depends on how much the Head Monks know about conservation. Look at the finial of the *chedi* over there, the original golden one was said to be very fine. It was replaced with this one some time in the past. The original *chedi* was also encased. Being inscribed on the World Heritage List may be difficult. Lamphun indeed has social-cultural significance, but the original structure has been altered

(Ethnographic Interview 13, Head Monk of Wat Nong Nam)

Apart from the perception of 'heritage management', which differs from Western and international conservation ethics, the traditional discourse of

heritage also emphasises the role of monks as social leaders in both spiritual and worldly affairs. Although the social structure has changed, the informal role of monks as community leaders continues to some extent. Apart from managing cultural heritage within a *wat*, the monks' teachings continue to have some impact on the local community. If the role of the monk in heritage management is neglected, tension between authorised caretakers and the monks is likely to occur as suggested by some interviewees:

...The community of monks should be informed about the heritage projects. Northern people still respect the monks, especially the Head Monks...

(Ethnographic Interview 5, Head Monk of Wat Phrathat Haripunchhai)

...As a tradition, the Head Monks are leaders of faith of a community, but the monks have not really been included in heritage management processes. There should be a specific meeting between state agencies and the monks... Changing the nature of the monks is difficult. If they [responsible heritage agencies] attempt to include the community of monks in the management process, the monks will at least not obstruct their work...The manner of their communication with the monk should be humble and respectful too.

(Ethnographic Interview 6, Head Monk of Wat Phra Yuen)

The monks do not totally adhere to traditional ideologies in the conservation of religious structures without some awareness of alternative ideologies. Their views on the authenticity and integrity of physical fabric vary according to their level of exposure to secular knowledge. Some monks are open to other worldviews and are willing to establish a better understanding between heritage agencies and the *Sangha*. The Head Monk of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai is the Vice-rector (an honorific title) of Lamphun *Sangha*. He realised that there were conflicting values and interests between the monks and other parties:

It's not that the community of monks does not want to cooperate. The monks are not good at history. Like I said, the Head Monk of Wat Pratuli even dug up ancient remains to find ancient votive tablets himself. I think an MoU [memorandum of understanding] is needed here. There should be dialogue

between the experts and the Sangha. Nowadays, experts only say what they want to do, but they do not tell us how to do. We [Wat Phrathat Haripunchai] are more than willing to arrange a session for the two sectors...but please do not forget that Lamphun residents do not want to change their peaceful way of life. Lamphun is a religious town. Buddhist traditions should continue to flourish here.

(Ethnographic Interview 5, Head Monk of Wat Phrathat Haripunchhai)

In summary, the role of the monks is to maintain and transmit Buddhist teachings to future generations, and it is therefore their duty to allow believers to achieve their will by encouraging the restoration and reconstruction of Buddhist structures. The fundamental cause of all tensions is the conflict between heritage professionals, who hold secular viewpoints on the universal appreciation of heritage and the need for conservation, and the monks and local communities, who believe in the spiritual continuity of religious materials. Despite the division of registered monuments into living monuments (monuments that are still in use) and dead monuments (ancient remains) in the Fine Arts Regulation on Conservation B.E. 2528, much of the maintenance and conservation work performed by the Head Monks of temples containing ancient remains is viewed by FAD officials as the 'destruction' of heritage. In terms of dead monuments, it is quite clear that all conservation work done to these structures must respond to the standards stated in the Venice Charter. However, the owners of the living heritage, or in this case the Head Monk, have the right to maintain or modify the fabric. Many significant religious structures are still functioning as centres of faith, and have associated or religious values attributed to them by their host communities. This poses problems in heritage management, since the monks have the full authority to perform any changes that they consider appropriate, and their preferences may not comply with Western standards of conservation.

Local communities

The term 'community' has various meanings. A community literally means 'a group of people living together and practising common ownership'; 'a particular area or place considered together with its inhabitants'; or 'the condition of sharing or having certain attitudes and interests in common:' (Oxford Dictionary

2010). The meaning of local communities in this context focuses on places rather than interests, since the term used to describe ‘communities of interest’ in this chapter is ‘conflict parties’ to avoid confusion. Therefore, the local community is generally the local residents of Lamphun. Members of this party come from various professions and backgrounds, and may experience heritage in diverse ways. Lamphun’s residents living within the walled area or the old town plan are divided into small communities, while those living in outskirt districts are divided into villages. The discourse that informs knowledge about heritage among local communities is the traditional discourse on Buddhism and animism. Each community or village tends to have at least one *wat* as a centre of faith and activities according to Lanna traditions (Somjai 2003:4). As discussed in chapter five, local residents generally perceive heritage as ‘religious’ or ‘spiritual’ elements, according to the responses to question 2-8 of the Meaning of Heritage Survey (see figure 5.2 and 5.3 and the table shown in figure 5.4). Ancient remains, which are associated with religious practices, are treated as sacred places where the attached spiritual values need to be prolonged through the renewal of the physical fabric and the practice of rituals. In addition to religious ideologies, the Queen Jama Thewi chronicle is also central to local residents’ belief systems, and informs their understanding and perception of heritage. Although the association of mnemonic sites in the chronicle with actual heritage sites at present comes mainly from the deduction of historians and archaeologists, many heritage sites in Lamphun have been related to the Queen Jama Thewi narrative.

In addition to the survey results, some ethnographic interviewees also suggest that Lamphun residents continue to maintain traditional ways of life, and are devoted to ideologies influenced by Buddhism and animism. Extracts from interviews that summarise and illustrate Lamphun local residents’ perceptions of cultural heritage include:

Lamphun residents are in fact devoted to a set of traditional beliefs based on both Buddhism and animism. There are many traditions that represent their close association to such traditions, such as *Phi Mod Phi Meng* [worship of ancestors' spirits]. Lamphun is a religious town. People still have a strong sense of community, a strong sense of place...

(Ethnographic Interview 5, Head Monk of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai)

...Lamphun is a holy town. We have a sacred well on the top of Kha-mor Hill. Even Siamese rulers need to get the water from this well to use in the accession ceremony...

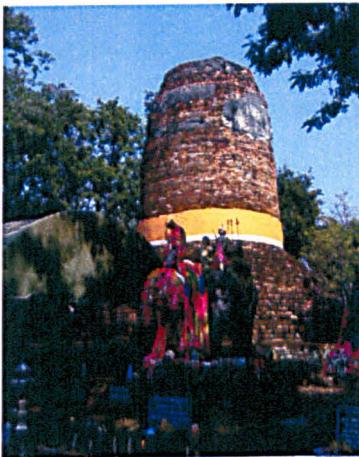
...The Jama Thewi pond next to my house is also a holy place. When the pond was dug and cleaned by Lamphun Municipality, the bulldozer froze four times. The driver also dreamt about a man in ancient costume chasing him away. They later realised they had not asked for permission before digging...

(Ethnographic Interview 10, local residents inside the walled zone and experts in local history and folklore)

These extracts suggest that traditional discourse is still central to local communities' belief systems in relation to heritage, and the values they attach to such heritage sites and heritage practices determine their heritage management strategies. The *Phi Mod Phi Meng* tradition, mentioned by interviewee 5, depicts the significance of supernatural beings as represented by ancestor spirits. Lanna society was a matrilineal society in which the concept of *Phi* was used to maintain order, but when Buddhism started to gain control over spirit cults, the role of men as leaders of the family and as 'learned and experienced' people became more significant (Panichpan 2005: 30).

Another example of how local communities are predominantly influenced by traditional discourse in the management of heritage sites is the case of Ku-Chang Ku-Ma (the royal elephant and horse shrines). These *stupas* are thought to be the shrines of Queen Jama Thewi's elephant and horse. The shrines are significant to surrounding communities as places of faith. Local residents established a club for believers of the Holy Elephant Spirit in 2007, and raised money for both site maintenance and for the performance of cultural traditions associated with the shrines and holy spirits. Lamphun Municipal Office, as a

local government agency, recognised the significance of this and addressed their demands by appointing a club committee consisting of representatives from the Municipal Office and local communities (Lamphun Municipal Office 2007). One of the aims and objectives of the club is to preserve and transmit cultural traditions associated with the shrines and the Holy Elephant Spirit to future generations, including annual worship ceremonies and psychic gathering ceremonies (Lamphun Municipal Office 2007) (please see figure 6.2 for the physical appearance and management of Ku-Chang Ku-Ma).



The Elephant shrine, Elephant figurines and offerings to the holy spirit.



A centre for the Ku-Chang Ku-Ma club.



The shrines and a tent for worshippers to light incense sticks and place their offerings.

Figure 6. 2: The Royal Elephant and Horse shrines

Source: Author

The case of Ku-Chang Ku-Ma suggests that the grassroots perception of heritage is essentially influenced by traditional discourse, and the perception of it is in fact addressed by the local authority. In addition, the management of these sites by local communities is more associated with maintaining the ‘spirit of the place’ and transmitting associated traditions than preserving the ‘authenticity’ and ‘integrity’ of the sites, which they often see as the responsibility of heritage agencies.

According to responses to question 8 of the Meaning of Heritage Survey, local residents are more attached to the discourse of localism than they are opposed to nationalism. When asked to name three items that they considered ‘Lamphun’s most significant heritage’, the most frequent answers were heritage sites or cultural traditions that represented Haripunchai or Lanna identity. These were cited despite the presence of many monumental heritage sites built to serve the nationalist discourse that favours nation, religion and monarchism. These include: traditional Thai buildings that cost over 30 million baht and the park built in honour to King Bhumipol; the longest and oldest railway tunnel in Thailand; traditional buildings that have become part of the registered national heritage, such as the City Hall, which were once the villas of Lamphun rulers, and the colonial style mansion of Chao Jakkham, the former rulers of Lamphun.

Local experts in traditional knowledge

Local experts in traditional knowledge are people, such as artists and performers, who enter traditional education at *wats* (ordination), or have access to traditional knowledge and skills, either through the transmission of knowledge from their ancestors or from professional training. An experienced person with specialist knowledge and skills is generally called ‘*Kru*’, which means ‘Master’ or ‘Teacher’. Traditionally, they are facilitators of local knowledge and ideologies to new generations. Traditional knowledge may include musical skills, the Lanna language and poetry, cotton weaving, artisanship etc.

Experts in traditional knowledge generally adhere to the traditional heritage discourse. Their perceptions of cultural heritage are dominated by a set of values that represent Lamphun’s identity and way of life, the traditional discourse of Buddhism and animism, and local history. Extracts from

ethnographic interviews that illustrate how experts in traditional knowledge are influenced by traditional ideologies in heritage practice include:

...I have been ordained into monkhood and I learned necessary traditional knowledge then. I'm so afraid that the knowledge I gained will be lost when I die...

...What I see as cultural heritage includes five categories of art: painting; sculpture; architecture, such as *ubosata*, *vihara*, *stupa* and houses; literature, such as Lanna dialects, Lanna scripts; and finally traditional music and performing art... '

(Ethnographic interview 7, expert in traditional knowledge)

Interviewee 7 is an expert in several fields of traditional knowledge, such as traditional music, languages and literature. He entered the traditional system of education through ordination and is thus extremely influenced by the Buddhist worldview. Extracts from interview 10 also expressed local experts' belief in the spirit cult as follows:

...Another significant cultural heritage of Lamphun which is placed in the spirit and soul of local residents is traditional belief in *Phi* [holy spirit], which can be seen through traditions. It is a shared belief between local residents, the Tais and the Mons...

(Ethnographic Interview 10, experts in local history and folklore)

Experts in traditional knowledge are categorised as primary parties in heritage management, since they are often associated with heritage practices in Lamphun. Their role in the transmission of traditional heritage to later generations is essential. These experts are normally invited to heritage events held by local government or local heritage agencies, and they generally have an advisory role in events associated with traditional knowledge. For instance, experts in traditional knowledge in Lamphun have been included in the committee of the Lamphun to World Heritage Project (Haripunchai National Museum 2006). Their reactions to the conflicts of values and interests over heritage management may be less strong than members of local communities,

since they have been engaged in the management processes and may have opportunities to express their opinions in public discussions.

Secondary Parties

These parties are less involved in the conflicts, but may be involved later in the conflict continuum. Those identified as secondary parties are local heritage academics and outside heritage experts.

Local heritage academics

Local heritage academics in this research context include local professionals who work in heritage or educational circles. Although local academics are generally educated through the formal education system, which is often influenced by Western science and philosophies, they also experience traditional knowledge and local history like local residents. Local heritage academics are classified as secondary parties, since they are not directly involved in ideological conflicts, nor do they have goals incompatible with heritage issues. Due to their exposure to various schools of thought, their responses to conflicts are less strong than those of primary parties. They seem to realise that Western values have influenced cultural heritage management at an international level through government agencies and heritage NGOs, but they are aware that local residents strongly adhere to Buddhist and animistic world views. Using the Western management framework may change Lamphun's identity, or neglect some aspects of its cultural significance, as expert interviewee 2 suggests:

Managing Lamphun's heritage is quite tricky. Lamphun is definitely a significant city that has been an integral part of several cultural networks, but its significance cannot be judged from the Western point of view. They [outsiders] do not have sufficient understanding of local heritage...For instance, a Western scholar, Embree [see Embree 1950] suggests from his own experience that Thai society has a loosely woven social structure, but other scholars and I argue that Thai society, particularly Lanna communities, are managed and kept in order by 'belief systems'. *Phi* and Buddhism are controlling mechanisms in Lanna provinces...

(Expert Interview 2, expert in Lamphun ethnicity)

Although local heritage academics are influenced by both Western/international heritage discourse and traditional discourse, they tend to have strong attachment to their local identity, and strong opinions on issues of ‘Siamification’, i.e. central government’s control of heritage. To put it more simply, local heritage scholars seem to be actively against the ideas of nationalism and state control of cultural traditions in both tangible and intangible aspects, as these excerpts reveal:

...We can see a hierarchy of power through the use of languages. I’m speaking Tai Yong. I have to switch to Tai Yuan dialect when I’m in Chiang Mai. But when I meet you and other people who speak Central Thai, I have to speak Central Thai with them. It happens automatically...

(Expert Interview 2, expert in Lamphun ethnicity)

The former system of cultural continuation is through the system of *wat* and village. The system has changed, and at the same time our identity was interfered with through the construction of the railway to Chiang Mai and the introduction of a new education system based on the state’s cultural policies.

(Expert Interview 10, Lamphun Buddhism Office)

I don’t want to think this way, but I am certain that the existence of conflicting ideologies within our society is a result of former ‘identity destruction’ by the state...

The communities in Northern Thailand and in Lamphun are weakened. It is a result of identity loss. Some of our cultural heritage survives, yes, but the purpose of its presence is not for spiritual continuity any more. Heritage sites are like living museums, pleasant to look at, but not in use any more...

(Expert Interview 15, Lecturer in Lanna Art)

Local heritage scholars are categorised as a secondary party since they are not directly involved in the ideology clashes and have a more flexible viewpoint on cultural heritage and heritage management. Local heritage scholars also mostly work in research or educational areas. They tend to have an advisory role in local heritage management rather than an active role as a primary party in heritage conflict.

Outside heritage experts

Another secondary party is outside heritage experts. Outside heritage experts, in this context, mean experts or academics trained in heritage-related fields that work in heritage circles, but are not local to Lamphun. As Lamphun's significance has attracted national attention, heritage experts from other regions have become more interested and involved in the city in a variety of ways, such as assistance through national agencies. Although this party generally has an advisory role in Lamphun's heritage matters, decision-making and the implementation of the conservation plan still largely depend on the local authority and Lamphun's local residents. Outside heritage experts who have recently become influential in Lamphun CHM include:

1. Consultancy teams that conducted surveys and produced various reports in Lamphun from 2004-2010.

There have been attempts to conduct relevant studies to design an appropriate conservation framework for Lamphun. Different consultancy firms have been hired by local government to research relevant information. The most recent consultancy teams include one that conducted research for Lamphun's potential for the World Heritage inscription (hired by the Regional Office of Fine Arts), a team that designed a proposed action plan for the conservation of the walled area (hired by the Office of Town Planning) and a team that developed *the Master Plan for the preparation for World Heritage listing* (hired by Lamphun's Provincial Administrative Agency) and *the Master Plan for the conservation and development of Lamphun's Old Town* (hired by ONEP).

2. The Committee for the Administration of Old Towns from ONEP.

This group of experts has become involved in heritage management as Lamphun has been declared a first class priority Old Town, together with Lampang and Nan, according to the Prime Minister's Regulation on Conservation and Development of Rattanakosin and Old Towns B.E. 2546 (2003). The experts and committee from ONEP had an advisory role in Lamphun from 2009-2010 during the time of conservation plan drafting.

3. University lecturers in heritage, archaeology and history from various universities across the country. Academics who are specialised in heritage studies, archaeology, history and related fields are at times invited to public

forums, public consultation sessions and other events held by local heritage or administrative agencies.

4. Other NGOs and voluntary agencies.

There are often groups of experts from central authorities, such as the Ministry of Culture and the Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, which conducts research and organises events in Lamphun.

Different groups of experts follow different disciplines, but in general they are oriented by Western/international notions of heritage. Many of the past studies and proposed conservation plans for Lamphun have focused on tangible or physical heritage and its innate value. For instance, the 2005 report conducted by Chergreen, a local consultancy firm, researched Lamphun's cultural significance, existing tangible heritage, and proposed methods for the physical improvement of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai. The 2008 Action Plan for the conservation of Lamphun and Nan, undertaken by Pisut Technology Ltd, also focused on the improvement of the physical environment of heritage sites and main roads within a conservation zone. Other heritage academics also take an academic viewpoint, which reflects the influence of the Western conservation ethics on their actions and the understanding of heritage and heritage management, such as the case of the Wat Koh Klang visit in 2009. The following comments were made by a member of the consultancy team:

...The new Viharn sitting on top of the ancient structure at Wat Koh Klang will have to be relocated, if this place is to be developed into one of the tourist attractions linking to the main groups of monuments in the Old Town zone. There is no other way. Authenticity and integrity is really important...

(A member of the 2009 consultancy team, former FAD official Town Survey at Lamphun: 22/03/2009)

...The road that runs past Wat Koh Klang has to be closed or made pedestrian to limit the effects on monuments. The main entrance to the village should be changed. A new road should be constructed away from this group of monuments...

(A member of the 2009 consultancy team, former ONEP official Presentation of proposed conservation plan for Koh Klang heritage site: 7/04/2009)

The conservation plan was proposed to the mayor of the local authority. The road proposed to be closed and pedestrianised is currently the major entrance to the village and the only access for villagers to Wat Koh Klang. Closing down the road may affect villagers' way of life, though it will reduce the threat to significant historic monuments. The mayor did not instantly agree with the proposal and he revealed in the interview later that the conservation plan raised some issues that needed to be brought up in a community meeting session. He commented that the plan was rather extreme and villagers who had less interest in the conservation of ancient ruins than their convenience might not agree with such dramatic changes recommended by outside experts.

Measures for the conservation, development and rehabilitation of the Old Town and its surrounding area developed by ONEP are also influenced by Western or international notions of heritage conservation and urban conservation. In these the conservation zone is distinctively separated from the business district (Eam-anant 2007) and the concept of authenticity and integrity is one of the key concepts enshrined in the guidelines (Synchron 2010:26). Historic towns are also required to have integrated conservation, control of change and administrative actions (ONEP 2007: 14), which include the concept of the innate value of buildings and the conservation of different elements: concepts, styles, artisanship and building materials, especially in the areas of vernacular buildings (Eam-anant 1997).

However, as the significance of intangible cultural heritage and community heritage is increasingly recognised, the significance of surrounding communities, local cultures and traditions has also been taken into consideration. There is growing concern about the living traditions of surrounding communities among experts in heritage-related fields. An example of this change of focus is as follows:

...I think we have other options to Wat Koh Klang's conservation work. The new structure is also a product of the faith of contemporary communities. Why don't we want to save it? It's also part of the record of use. I think we can possibly open a trench in the *viharn*, showing the base of ancient structures, and close the trench with a transparent object to allow visitors to see in. Then we can put up an interpretation board telling people what the ancient *viharn*

looked like in the old time. By that method we can save both structures...

(A member of the 2009 consultancy team, architect;
Meeting for desk research discussion in Bangkok:
17/04/2009)

The above suggestion came from an experienced architect working for a 2009 consultancy team. Many other experts in the team agreed with the proposal to preserve the contemporary fabric that represents ongoing Buddhist traditions as well as revealing the past history of the former structures. There are various suggestions regarding the preservation of urban heritage in which modern communities sit above archaeological evidence. Generally, from an academic point of view, modern structures that intrude on ancient remains should be removed from the site, and the integrity of ancient structures and cultural landscapes should be central to the management of ancient towns.

Other interested parties

This includes those who have a strong interest in heritage issues or opinions on how heritage conflicts can be resolved.

The press and media

The media is another interested party, which facilitates the transmission of information and opinions to the wider public. Some local newspapers or radio stations may be involved in local heritage projects. In Northern Thai provinces, local press and media play a leading role in maintaining communication between local government and local residents, as suggested by one of the expert interviewees:

Having support from the press and local media is one of the most significant factors in CHM in the Northern Thai region. My cultural bike route project in Chiang Mai is successful because I was supported by the press: the Sua Muang Nua journal, local radio station and the Nation channel on television. When the wider public heard of the project, more support came...

(Expert Interview 4, Lecturer at Chiang Mai University)

The press has power to promote campaigns on cultural heritage and to make them known to the wider public, and it can act as a facilitator of

community concerns and opinions to the wider public. The press and media in Lamphun include local newspapers, local radio, web forums and local television. This research has not included a methodology that directly explores the influence of local or national media on people's perception of heritage through the use of qualitative inquiries, such as interviews and surveys. This issue may be expanded in further research related to Lamphun or Northern Thailand. However, according to the archive research of available news articles in the last few years in local newspapers, online newspaper and journals, types of messages can be categorised into:

a) Progress reports

Progress reports are generally articles that report what is going on in the field of cultural heritage. The articles generally provide a brief summary of events and provide a concluding remark. Progress reports in the past few years have included reports on significant events held by authorised heritage agencies, such as seminars, exhibitions and the visit of significant figures in the heritage sphere.

b) Informative articles

Informative articles generally tell stories about Lamphun, for example Lamphun's history, its cultural significance, the detailed history of significant *wats* (Wat Phrathat Haripunchai and others) and historic monuments (city walls and shrines). Most of the information may be obtained from authorised heritage agencies, since the information as seen on the news articles is the same as the documents provided by Haripunchai National Museum. Local newspapers may be used by government heritage agencies to disseminate ideas they want to communicate to the public. Many articles from 2004 to 2005 stressed the ideas of World Heritage Listing and Lamphun's cultural significance.

c) Critiques of current CHM by local government

Critiques or critical viewpoints from local residents or local heritage experts are rarely seen in hardcopy newspapers, but can be found in online newspapers and public web-forums. Most of the critiques are about World Heritage Listing and current cultural projects by Lamphun City Council, or fear of disintegration of cultural heritage as a result of modernisation.

There is no clear indication of what discourse or ideologies have influenced the actions and responses to heritage issue from the press and media. The first two types of article are narrative, and only provide facts and information that appear to be obtained from heritage agencies. Many local newspapers publish articles about the positive aspects of CHM and heritage projects, since authorised agencies have better communication and access to the press compared to other parties. Articles that are rather critical of current projects reflect traditional viewpoints on cultural heritage. Writers, who are often local journalists or local experts, are likely to be influenced by localism and the local discourse of heritage.

Assessment of relationships between parties and their responses to heritage conflicts

Relationships between parties may move along a continuum of cooperation-competition-tension-conflict-crisis (Shay Bright n.d: 3). Past history and significant events often contribute to their relationships. The relationships between parties in Lamphun have been influenced by both internal and external social-cultural factors. The relationships between parties are not always at stages of tension, conflict or crisis. There are several occasions on which different parties cooperate; for instance, during the Phrathat Haripunchai bathing ceremony, which lasts for a week, all Lamphun residents are willing to perform their duties to make the events spiritual and impressive, as the ceremony is a highly valued practice associated with the religious structure and practices that they see as cultural heritage.

Observation of relationships between parties suggests that there are psychological barriers between parties in both ideological and social-structural terms, and there is also relatively unequal access to power and resources between parties. Barriers to cooperation may occur between state agencies (local government and heritage agencies) and the private sector (local communities, the community of monks etc.), which often has a rather formal relationship, or between the non-government parties, whose relationship is informal but more closely-knit. Regarding the ideological split between parties, the fundamental

difference between the traditional way of understanding heritage and the meaning of heritage assigned by international organisations is about attitudes towards cultural heritage. Two major issues that arose in interviews with heritage experts, state agencies and local residents during my fieldwork in 2009-2010 were firstly the perception of heritage as largely 'religious' by local residents, and a 'secular' viewpoint by heritage professional and state agencies. Thus, tangible cultural heritage is perceived as objects and places of worship by local and monk communities and as objects of educational, historical, and scientific value by a community of experts. Secondly, issues in cultural heritage management include the local authority's preference for development and modernity, rather than preserving tangible heritage in its original forms. Ideological differences can lead to tension and conflict among stakeholders in heritage management.

With regard to the social-structural barrier, the state and private sectors seem to have a rather formal and distant relationship. As discussed in the previous section, local administration in Thailand is centralised, and much of the work on heritage conservation and management is in the hands of state agencies. Local communities and the private sector have limited opportunities to participate in the decision-making stage of cultural heritage management. The distant relationship between parties often leads to avoidance behaviour as the private sector seems to have less access to resources and power compared to heritage or provincial authorities. Another essential point that may cause psychological barriers between state agencies and the private sector, especially local communities, is that state officials are at times appointed by central government and a number of officials come from other regions – especially the governor, the head of provincial administration, who plays a vital role in the implementation of heritage and cultural policies. At the time that the fieldwork and data collection was performed in 2009 and 2010, many key figures in CHM, such as Lamphun governors, the head of the town planning office and many state officials whose work was related to the management of heritage, were not originally from Lamphun.

A crucial issue is the divide between the community of monks and other parties, especially heritage agencies, since these two take opposite viewpoints in heritage management. This relationship reflects the cultural transformation

within Thai and Lamphun society. Formerly and traditionally, the monks assumed the roles of social leaders in both worldly and spiritual affairs. Tension between heritage agencies and the community of monks came from the differing ideologies in tangible heritage management that each party believed in. Heritage agencies and academics in heritage-related fields often see the monks' strategies in heritage management as destructive to the heritage fabric.

The existence of competing discourses is not the only factor that determines the relationships between parties involved in conflicts about heritage management. Social and cultural changes also affect each party's perception and their reactions to the conflict and to each other. The ongoing process of social changes has also loosened the bonds between parties that used to have informal, but closely-knit relationships. Although Lamphun is perceived at both local and national levels as a province that maintains much of the traditional way of life, the lay community's perception of the role of monks has changed considerably over time since the reformation of social structures imposed upon local religious order during the time of unification. Traditionally, the relationship between the community of monks and local communities was closely-knit. Recently the lay communities have started to question the role of new Buddhist monks, and the role of monks as community leaders and teachers in worldly knowledge has changed (Mackenzie 2007; Santayos 2010). Many of the expert and ethnographic interviewees expressed their concerns that many northern Thai males who are ordained into monkhood now are 'less capable' than monks in previous times. They observed that in the past, ordination came from their desire to receive training and education and often they became capable monks who played a central role in a community. However, at present, a number of northern Thai males enter the monkhood only to fulfill the 'cultural mission'. The intention to study Dharma or worldly knowledge at *wats* has significantly decreased. Santayos (2010: 92) also expresses his concerns about the religious practice conducted by the new '*krubas*' that he observed from 1987-2007. Their practices seem to over-emphasise their miraculous power and thus lean towards 'commercial Buddhism'. That is, the reputation and practices of older *krubas*, such as *kruba Sriwichai*, are exploited to raise financial support for the construction of new religious sites and inventing new religious events. Intangible heritage related to Buddhist practices, art, architecture and local

cultures that were transmitted through *wats* is also gradually being modified as major actors in the heritage system have changed. This issue is still a topic of discussion among heritage scholars in northern Thailand which needs to be monitored as it is hard to determine whether this phenomenon is an issue of ‘change’ or ‘degradation’ of cultural heritage (Santayos 2010: 93).

Party orientation and conflict dynamics: tensions between different sectors of Lamphun’s society and causative factors

Wilmot and Hocker (1998: 178) and Moore (1996: 60) suggest that conflicts can be understood by considering causative factors. By identifying conflict types, conflicts can be assessed as to whether they are retrievable or need intervention. Shay Bright (n.d.) suggests that value and structure conflicts are hard to resolve, as people are less likely to compromise their beliefs and ideologies, while data conflict and relationship conflict may be easier to resolve. Current conflicts over heritage management in Lamphun can be broadly divided into value conflict, structure conflict, relationship conflict, data conflict and interest conflict.

1. Value conflict:

Value conflicts often arise when there are different criteria for evaluating ideas or behaviour, intrinsically exclusive valuable goals, different ways of life, ideology or religion (Shay Bright n.d.: 5). Value conflicts in Lamphun occur as there are competing ideologies behind heritage practices. There are three broad types of value underpinning heritage management in Lamphun society. Firstly, the formalised processes of heritage management are performed by government agencies that are facilitators of the Western AHD and national cultural policies. These agencies are heritage inspectors that report and prevent ‘unorthodox’ changes to cultural heritage. Secondly, general maintenance of physical heritage is under the supervision of local government. Lastly, the informal processes of heritage management include a wide range of practices and these may or may not comply with the AHD. Informal heritage management involves shared values

between local residents, such as local communities, local experts in traditional knowledge, and the communities of monks.

According to comments from the consultation sessions, public discussions and interviews with monks and other parties, heritage practices by a large number of monks are contradictory to concepts of ‘authenticity and integrity’ influenced by the Western AHD. Religious monuments that Westerners would consider ‘ruins’ or ‘objects of archaeological and historical value’ are generally seen as religious or spiritual elements by the Thai people. The act of building, repairing, elaborating and even restoring these ‘sacred’ places are honourable practices that should be performed by Buddhists (Byrne 1993: 43). Examples of such comments include:

...The Head Monks of some significant *wats* are the major hindrance to the project. The FAD is trying to communicate with them and include them in the process for better understanding of the ‘international’ standards for heritage conservation...

(Comment from FAD officials, Thailand Charter consultation session, 18 March 2009, Chiang Mai)

...Regarding conservation and protection of religious structures, religious institutions and the Office of Buddhism follow different disciplines. The Head Monks would receive the honorific titles if they were seen as great developers and by the term ‘development’ they mean building new structures or renewing existing ones...

(Comment from a participant of the Thailand Charter consultation session, 18 March 2009, Chiang Mai)

The Office of Buddhism often let the Sangha reinstate deserted *wats* without consulting the FAD. I have frequently been asked to visit and inspect the ancient monuments in newly reinstated *wats*. A new building was built on top of the old *stupa*. The director of the Provincial Office of Buddhism did not even ask us . . . The new charter should outline the roles of the Buddhist office and the monks [so] that every time they want to reactivate old *wats* they have to come to us. That will reduce the fights between us and the head monks. They will not then be able to claim that they have full authority over any affairs in their *wats*...

(Comment from local government officials of FAD, Thailand Charter consultation session, 18 March 2009, Chiang Mai)

...The constructions of new *wats* or new Buddhist structures these days are in the hands of the monks and the spirit of the place is disappearing. Ancient trees are being cut down, sand courts are being replaced by a cemented floor, ancient wells are filled up and the principal Buddha images are being replaced by newly cast ones. I have to keep monitoring the newly constructed structures...

(Expert Interview 12, Lamphun Cultural Office)

These examples reflect devotion to different values in the care of cultural heritage, particularly in terms of the conservation and management of Buddhist heritage. The acts of 'traditional preservation' of heritage sites or monuments, which are often seen as a violation of the authenticity and integrity of cultural heritage as emphasised by the Western AHD, can be categorised as follows:

- a) Restoration/repair/reconstruction of living tangible heritage;
- b) Uses and reactivation of deserted Buddhist structures.

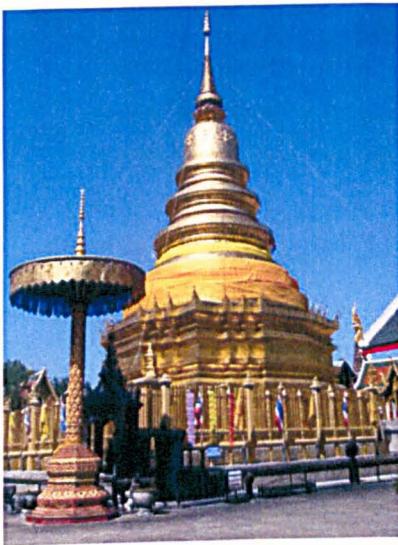
a) Restoration/repair/reconstruction of tangible heritage.

There is no such thing as a complete temple.

(Byrne 1993: 47)

As illustrated by this quote, temples and religious structures in Thailand are always renovated and elaborated over time and new structures seem to be demanded by local believers and pilgrims. The most problematic case may be the maintenance of Buddhist heritage that is still in use. Before the advent of Western conservation, restoration of physical heritage was performed with the 'will' to reactivate or to maintain the place's *genius loci* (spirit of place) and people who performed such conservation practices were patrons of these religious monuments and sites. Religious monuments were symbols of the power, authority and identity of early society, and they were often elaborated or refurbished according to the most dominant art form at the time of restoration or repair (Sukhata Jai-in 2008). A *stupa* is a symbol of enlightenment and is one of the most ancient icons of Buddhist art. It is the most sacred monument found in all of the ancient Buddhist countries (Netaraniyom 2009), which is why local people often want to maintain, repair or restore these monuments as an act of merit. Encasement is the act of enclosing the old *stupa* in an outer re-constructed

layer. Byrne (1993, 1995) argues in his research that although it is one of the most obvious violations of the Western concept of authenticity, encasement of the *stupa* allows believers to preserve the spiritual continuity of a place. A well-known example is Phrathat Hariphunchai, the most significant religious monument in Lamphun. It was first built under the order of King Athittayaraj in Haripunchai style in the eleventh century. It was originally only 14 *soks* (seven metres) in height and built in the Haripunchai style, but was later repaired and enlarged by King Sappasith in 1220 AD. The *stupa* was then repaired and reconstructed in the Lanna style when the city fell under Lanna's rule, and over time underwent several modifications. In 2009, Phrathat Haripunchai's outer gold sheets were repaired. The gold finial of the *stupa*, which was still in good condition, was replaced, sponsored by local and distant patrons of Buddhism. The old finial was melted down and recast as small Buddha amulets, which some pilgrims of the *stupa* are willing to buy and keep as charms or sacred objects (See figure 6.3).



The old finial was still in good condition in 2008.



A new finial ready to be placed on top of *Phrathat*, with a local resident donating her money to sponsor the replacement of the old *stupa* finial.

Figure 6. 3: A new finial that will replace the old, but still usable, one and a donation box
Source: Author

Another example is the square *stupa* in the Haripunchai architectural style located at Wat Chedi-Liam in Chiang Mai, which was built under the order of King Mangrai as a replica of Suwannajangot Chedi located at Wat Jama Thewi in Lamphun (Sukhata Jai-in 2008). Later renovation and modification of the structure was conducted according to the patron's wish, significantly altering its appearance from the original architectural style. The *stupa* underwent large-scale repairs in 1908 with a Mon-Burmese merchant as a patron. Stucco and outside elaboration, including Buddha images that were placed in the niches on four sides of the *stupa*, represent Burmese rather than the original Haripunchai art (Ongsakul 2005: 46) (See figure 6.4 for comparison).



Original square-pyramidal *stupa* at Wat Jama Thewi. The structure, niches and Buddha images represent Haripunchai art (motifs, the Buddha images have connected eye brows and squared-face, full and wavy lips).



Ku Kham *stupa*, a replicated version of Suwannajangot Chedi, located at Wat Chedi Liam in Chiang Mai. The structure still belongs to Haripunchai art, but the outside embellishment, niches and Buddha images are now in the Burmese style.

Figure 6. 4: Comparison of two square stupas

b) Uses and reactivation of ancient remains

It is not uncommon to see deserted temples in Thailand reactivated, or to see modern buildings being constructed against ancient ruins that were previously part of *wats*, especially in the northern provinces of Thailand, where the concentration of ancient *wats* and ancient *stupas* is higher than in any other part of the country (Wallipodom 2003). A clash of ideologies can be seen in the reinstatement of old temples. Letting out deserted *wat* compounds to local residents for use as residential or business areas may signify an issue of conservation versus management. However, the act of the restoration of ancient ruins by the *Sangha*, which brings them back to life, represents a deeply entrenched ideology of spiritual continuity, even under the pressure of Western principles of conservation as suggested by expert interviewer 13:

The deserted *wats* are under the control of the Provincial Buddhist Office. Yes, they are supposed to take care of this national heritage, but what is actually happening is they let out the land to people to gain revenues. They have full authority to do so. . . A new temple can be built, if the *wat* compound is larger than 4 *rai*¹¹. But for the old *wats*, any monk can make a request to reinstate them without any conditions on the size of a compound. No wonder old *wats* have been re-occupied by the *Sangha*. . .

(Expert Interview 13, FAD official: Aril 2009)

FAD often claims that it is not possible to monitor the restoration work of all *wats* given back to the Head Monk and the community. It is therefore sometimes too late to stop a Head Monk making any changes to what the FAD defines as archaeological evidence. On the contrary, the monks do not always see those remains as 'archaeological evidence'.

The reinstatement of old temples is not a heritage conservation problem if the new structures do not intrude on ancient fabric. Byrne's (1993: 189) study of *wat* conservation in Thailand suggests that what is restored in a reactivated *wat* is the spiritual life, not the physical fabric. The new structures may be built from the recycled materials of the ruins of former structures or lie on the foundation of components of ancient buildings.

11

Rai = a land unit used in Thailand. 1 acre = 2.5 rai



The two *stupas* before the reinstatement of Wat Chama Thewi, unknown date.

Source: Narentara Panyapu



An old temple reactivated. A modern *viharn* was built against the two *stupas*.

Source: Author

Figure 6. 5: Reactivation of Wat Jama Thewi



Ancient remnants and modern structures in the vicinity at Wat Koh Klang, a formerly deserted *wat*, reactivated in 1974.



A modern *vihara* was built on top of ancient ruins at Wat Koh Klang.

Figure 6. 6: Modern structures are built on top of or in the vicinity of remnants of the past.

These traditional methods of religious heritage conservation are evidently based in opposition to international guidelines, such as the Venice Charter, that have been adopted by the Thai state agencies. According to the standardised practices, the conservation of religious remains and living religious monuments that have historical significance, or encompass designated national heritage sites, should rely on the concepts of authenticity and integrity. Incomplete or damaged monuments registered on the National Heritage List are to be preserved as found. Should reinforcement be required, it must be done with minimal intervention of material fabric (Venice Charter 1964). General maintenance and conservation work on religious structures in Lamphun has been largely based on traditional practices, even though Western ethics in conservation have been facilitated in the province through government agencies' heritage academics. This is because a considerable number of 'living heritage' sites are under the care of other parties that have inherited a traditional worldview from earlier generations.

Value conflicts between parties can also have a great impact in the socio-cultural sphere. The most well known example of a large-scale value conflict is the reaction to the state's attempt to control *Sangha* affairs in Lamphun and neighbouring provinces. The case of the Kruba Sriwichai movement reflected value and relationship conflicts between local communities, including the monks, and the state. Kruba Sriwichai (1878-1938) was one of the most 'respected' Lanna monks at the turn of the twentieth century, and was seen as the spiritual leader of the Lamphun population (Srisuwan 1997; Buadaeng n.d.; Chanamool 2010). His movement resulted in the construction and restoration of regional religious monuments and the re-introduction of many other local Buddhist traditions on a massive scale. The phenomenon reflected an attempt to make the central authority recognise local cultures and greatly affected the way people perceived Buddhist cultural heritage (Srisuwan 1997:32).

Kruba Sriwichai was ordained into the Buddhist *Sangha* when he was 18 and never returned to secular life (Buadang 2002; Santayos 2010:86). A number of *wats* that he renovated contained Buddha relics or Buddha footprints. Kruba Sriwichai's acts were supported by northern royalty. Wat Phrathat Hariphunchai (relic shrine) and Wat Phraputtabat Takpha (Buddha's footprint) in Lamphun

were also renovated and reconstructed under his order. His most famous work, undertaken at the end of his life, was the construction of a 12km road to Wat Phrathat Doi Suthep (Srisuwan 1997).

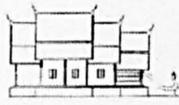
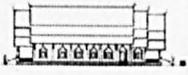
Kruba Sriwichai's movement had social implications for both tangible and intangible heritage. The movement occurred around the time that the nationalist policies were being imposed on local practices (see chapter five). Traditional religious practices and ways of life were being intervened in and controlled by 'outsiders' for the purpose of national unification (Sethakul, 2009: 260). The reform of the *Sangha* during the reign of King Rama IV greatly affected the practices of local monks. Lanna *Sangha* and local practices were in a weak position. The predominant animistic-Theravada Buddhist beliefs emphasised two aspects of Buddhist monks: their role as a mediator performing religious traditions to get rid of bad luck and to obtain merit, and the role of some dedicated monks as *Ton Bun*, or meritorious/sacred persons, to be controlled and monitored by the high-ranked monks sent to Lamphun by the central government (Buadaeng 2002:1; Chanamool 2010: 1).

Kruba Sriwichai was the leader of a movement that revived traditional Lanna practices and chose to ignore orders from central government (Chanamul 2010: 31). Kruba Sriwichai was seen as a *Ton-bun* (Buadaeng n.d.). His role as a Lanna Buddhist monk devoted to traditional practices made him a hero-like figure in Lanna society. Local residents of Lamphun and adjacent provinces, including hilltribes in the highlands, were impressed by his manners and dedication to Buddhism and religious life, and became his disciples and supporters (Buadaeng n.d.). His work in restoring significant religious structures, and re-activating significant *wats*, was supported by the wider public and might be seen as a 'symbol' of the richness of Lanna culture and tradition. The state, however, saw his movement as a threat (Chanamul 2010:1). Any figure who gained respect from a large section of the Lanna population would have looked suspicious in the eyes of the state. His involvement in restoration work and the construction of religious structures lasted from 1904-1938, during which time there were three significant confrontations between Kruba Sriwichai and the state, starting with the claim that he ordained younger followers into monkhood without permission from the central *Sangha* (Chanamul 2010: 3).

In addition to his influence on the blossoming of Lanna Buddhist traditions, his influence on tangible heritage is also evident. Kruba Sriwichai's direct influence on tangible cultural heritage was, firstly, the spread of 'Krubas preference of architectural style' across the region. Many of the Lanna features at the *wats* that he restored were replaced with the work of his artisans. Secondly, his disciples were also inspired by his actions and followed his pursuit of nirvana. The values underpinning his work were mainly related to the Buddhist ideology of merit-making and a large number of *wats* were restored under his influence, which contradicted Western conservation ethics. Surprisingly, there was no public criticism of his work, not even from within academia.

Throughout his life, he restored or renovated 108 *wats*, collected 5,408 pieces of ancient Lanna Buddhist scripts, and built a significant amount of infrastructure, such as the road from the bottom of the hill to the top of Doi Suthep, where the Buddha relic shrine in Chiang Mai is situated (Buadaeng 2002). Kruba's work included the restoration and renovation of the Buddha's relic shrine, *viharn*, other *wat* components and infrastructure including bridges and roads (Srisuwan 1997; Buadaeng 2002). Kruba Sriwichai developed a unique architectural style, which was a combination of mainstream Lanna art, local art and Central Thai art, and many of the artisans followed him from Bangkok with the hope of obtaining merit if they joined the *Krubas* movement (Srisuwan 1997). Some of the main features of Lanna architecture were still used in his work, but the details of embellishment had shifted from traditional styles. Throughout his dedicated work for the Lord Buddha, several 'significant' monuments enshrined in Buddhist texts or chronicles were transformed from their original style into Kruba's new architectural invention. The *viharn* in Wat Phrathat Haripunchai was rebuilt in the Ayuthayan style after it was destroyed by a monsoon (Sukhata Jai-in 2008). A new *viharn* was built against two Haripunchai *stupas* which were hundreds of years old. Other *stupas* were transformed into a round *stupa* that resembled 'Phrathat Haripunchai' (Srisuwan 1997).

According to the work of Srisuwan (1997), the changing styles of Kruba Sriwichai may be summarised as follows:

	Traditional Lanna style	Kruba Sriwichai's style
Form and design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - not too large or too small - multiple-levelled roof and walls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - larger structure - single-levelled roof and walls 
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - posts and lintels used and timber frames for the roof - built of wood and lime-based mortar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - reinforced concrete design - built of contemporary materials, modern cement
Art forms, elaboration	<p>1. Tympanum</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ma-tang-mai style (multi-squares) - Made of gold or glass 	<p>1. Tympanum</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - More elaborated as influenced by central Thai culture. Made of carved wood, glass, and gold 
	<p>2. Buttress</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - made of wood, carved by hand, popular motif was a naga. 	<p>2. Buttress</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - moulded concrete buttresses generally used 

	<p>3. Internal decoration (wall, posts) - gold stencil painting on walls and posts</p> 	<p>3. Internal decoration (wall, posts) - detailed decorations made of glass and stucco on walls, posts and ceiling.</p> 
--	--	---

Table 6. 1: A comparison between traditional Lanna and Kruba Sriwichai's achitectural styles

The new styles, which were influenced by central Thai art, have become widespread in Lanna provinces. Currently, the traditional Lanna *viharns* are very rare, possibly due to technological changes and a lack of artisans who have sufficient knowledge on Lanna art and building techniques.

The case of Kruba Sriwichai left a profound psychological effect on the residents of Northern Thailand. According to the observation survey in 2009 and 2010, Kruba Sriwichai is still seen as a local hero. There are statues or other constructions built in memory of Kruba Sriwichai at a large number of *wats* in Northern Thailand, particularly in Chiang Mai and Lamphun, such as Wat Jama Thewi, Wat Phraputtabat Takpha and Wat Ban Pang. This case shows that value conflict is hard to resolve, as negotiation and compromise are limited by each party's criteria for evaluating actions or behaviours. What one party sees as 'right' may be seen as inappropriate or irrelevant by others. Different heritage practices reflect different cultural traditions, family or religious teachings and personal experiences, which are all deeply held by an individual or a community. Value conflicts can also lead to other types of conflict, such as identity and relationship conflict, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

2. Structure conflict:

Structure conflicts involve issues of access to power and resources, unequal power or authority, barriers that hinder cooperation between parties and time

constraints (Shay Bright n.d.: 5). In Lamphun, there are structure conflicts among state agencies and between state agencies and local residents. Conflicts between state agencies are often seen in the form of disputes over priorities in budget allocation and the focus of conservation plans, bureaucratic problems, overlapping duties and lack of efficient communication between agencies, inconsistent policies, and over-centralisation monopolised by state agencies (Vachrangkul 1995; Synchron 2009b). Conflicts between state agencies and communities often include a lack of movement from below or community participation, which at times leads to relationship problems. These issues signify the relatively unequal power between the government and non-government sectors in heritage management in Lamphun society.

Overlapping duties is one of the structural problems in Lamphun's heritage management. Overlapping duties may occur among different levels of administrative offices or between different types of agency. Local government functions are limited by the overlap of authority between local government and provincial administration. Many functions at the level of local government are also performed by the central government, whose departments extend their operations into the provinces (UNESCAP n.d.). Different offices also perform similar, or sometimes the same, tasks and heritage sites may be under the supervision of more than one agency, as discussed in the ICOMOS consultation session on the drafting of the Thailand Charter:

...There is always confusion over duty allocation [in heritage management]; which agency is going to administer? Which agency is going to implement management policies? Which agency is to provide support? Now it seems that every organisation is trying to do these three tasks despite the fact that this [heritage management] can be done in hierarchy and their work can be allocated...

(Pimolsathien 2009: ICOMOS consultation session on the drafting of the Thailand Charter, 19 March 2009)

Some interviewees who are involved in heritage management expressed their opinions on the current tasks of state agencies relating to heritage management, which are often redundant and lack efficient communication between agencies:

Many agencies are working separately for the same goal. Our office has already hired a consultancy firm to design the action plan for management of physical heritage in the Old Town district of Lamphun. We have got the outcomes, but we possibly cannot apply all of them to Lamphun due to the financial limitations. The museum is doing the same thing right now.

(Expert Interview 14, officials in the Provincial Town Planning Office)

Expert interviewee 14, from the Provincial Town Planning office, referred to the attempt to design a legal framework or action plan to make Lamphun ready for World Heritage listing. When the interview was conducted there was no legal framework or guidelines on the preparation of Lamphun's heritage for the nomination. Different agencies attempted different approaches and conformed to different legislation, although they all had the same goal. Parts of their work were therefore redundant.

Apart from working separately for the same goals, which sometimes produces redundant work and wasted resources, the conservation of some specific heritage sites or monuments may be under the responsibility of various agencies, such as the case of religious structures, as discussed earlier. Registered religious monuments or sites are under the protection of the *wat* which such structures are located in, the FAD and the Buddhism Office. At times, these agencies find that their approaches to heritage management contradict one another. Such situations can be exacerbated, if different agencies lack effective communication and work independently to achieve different goals. One example is the care of the city gates and walls, which are under the supervision of Lamphun's Municipal Office and the Regional Office of Fine Arts:

We [Lamphun Municipal Office] need clear communication and clarification on what we have to do. Experts told us that the four city gates that we built were alien to the environment and do not reflect Lanna identity, but they did not tell us what we should do. The motifs of the poles were imitated from the temple's pole. How could it not be representative of local identity?

(Ethnographic Interview 1, Lamphun Municipal Office)

Another issue is the inconsistency of cultural policies. The heads of administrative offices and other state agencies are appointed by central government and they are prone to being relocated to other places. This results in inconsistency in cultural policies as different people have different foci and interests in cultural heritage issues. Many interviewees directly suggested or implied that the governor's short-term post has always affected Lamphun's cultural policies:

...Inconsistency of policies is the main problem here. We relied too much on the governor's attitude and vision. The administrative system is too centralised. When a new one comes, the focus of cultural policies shifts, and we have to start all over again...

(Ethnographic Interview 9, local expert in local history)

...The problem of inconsistency would not have drastically affected cultural heritage management at local level if local administrative agencies were strong enough. We need a central unit or a management framework to consistently drive the process of heritage management without reliance on the governor's policies. The governor's short-term post will not affect budget allocation if we have a devised plan...

(Ethnographic Interview 3, Head of Lamphun administrative offices)

Lack of community participation is a pressing issue. Lamphun currently lacks participation from the non-government sector in the heritage management process. In the Meaning of Heritage Survey, questions 9, 10 and 11 aimed to explore local residents' opinions on participation in heritage management. The questions were as follows:

9. Who should manage Lamphun's heritage?

10. Have you ever taken part in CHM?

11. Do you want to be more involved in Lamphun's CHM?

Answer	Frequency
Everyone	60 (45.8%)
The Fine Arts Department and Haripunchai National Museum	6 (4.6%)
Religious/Buddhist organisations	12 (9.2%)
Local politicians/local government/local offices (Municipal Office, Provincial Administrative Office, Tambon Administrative Office)	45 (34.35%)
Cultural Organisations/Ministry of Culture	22 (16.8%)
Educational Institutions	10 (7.63%)
Other: The press/leaders at various levels/Tourist Office	7 (5.34%)

Table 6. 2: Responses to the question ‘Who do you think should be involved in the management of Lamphun’s cultural heritage?’

As seen in table 6.1, the most frequent response to question 9 was ‘everyone’ (45.8%). The second most frequent response was local administrative agencies or local government (34.35%). Cultural organisations, which include the Ministry of Culture or cultural offices, came third (16.8%). Surprisingly, the FAD, the Regional Office of Fine Arts and Haripunchai National Museum, which are the main heritage agencies, only accounted for 4.6%, which was even less than religious or Buddhist organisations, which comprise 9.2% of responses in the Meaning of Heritage Survey.

Apart from feeling that heritage management is their duty, local residents tend to associate cultural management with provincial or local administrative agencies rather than state heritage agencies, which are in fact the authorised caretakers of cultural heritage. This may have multiple meanings. Local communities may answer on the basis that they do not perceive ‘cultural heritage’ to include registered monuments or sites that are generally managed by the FAD or heritage agencies, but rather something closer to their way of life. Another possible interpretation may be that local communities want better access to cultural heritage, and if their heritage is looked after by government heritage agencies, they may feel that such heritage is made ‘official’ and thus separated from its real-world context.

The responses to question 10 (‘Have you ever taken part in CHM?’) suggest that cultural heritage management in Lamphun allows limited

opportunities for community participation. Eighty three percent of participants have never been involved in community consultation sessions or other forms of heritage management. Some comments from the Meaning of Heritage Survey, and from expert and ethnographic interviews that reflected local community attitudes towards community participation, are as follows:

...Responsible organisations should have better communication with us, local residents. They circulate the news about what they are doing in the free newspapers. Those papers run out quickly. Only a tiny proportion of the population knows about heritage management or the process of the proposal for World Heritage listing.

(Ethnographic Interview 14, owner of publishing company)

...Management of heritage should be sustainable. Participation from all parties, not just one single agency, is essential. A responsible agency is only a 'host' that facilitates the process for the wider public. Lamphun's descendants should be involved in the management process. They should be informed and equipped with the knowledge about heritage, which the current educational system is lacking. The new generation is drifting away from local history and the knowledge about their heritage...

(Meaning of Heritage Survey participant 29, male aged 31, office worker)

...It [heritage management] should come from local communities. Local communities need to understand the significance of their cultural heritage like in other countries, where communities take an active role in the process...

(Meaning of Heritage Survey participant 43, female aged 50, high school teacher)

They [responsible heritage agencies] need better public relations. The policies should be consistent. The community consultation session needs to be 'actually' inclusive. The process [of heritage management] needs more transparency and the press need to work harder in order to get the public involved and interested.

(Meaning of Heritage Survey participant 57, male aged 46, small business)

University students should take a more active role in CHM

(Meaning of Heritage Survey participant 86, male aged 41, self-employed)

Among survey participants who had not been involved in cultural heritage management, 51.9% wanted to be more involved in the process, while 44.27% did not want more involvement or participation. The rest were unsure about the situation or had no comment. Those who answered 'no' to this question rarely provided further explanation for their refusal to participate, except for 'unsatisfied with current systems' and 'not enough time and money'. These responses may be interpreted in two ways. The answers may suggest that they simply realistically do not have the personal time or resources to be involved, but may also indicate a desire to participate that has been crushed by the current system. A significant point is participants of the Meaning of Heritage Survey were from different backgrounds and professions. The responses from the Meaning of Heritage Survey also suggest relative lack of power on the part of local communities compared to experts and government agencies and NGOs. Participants, who are mainly from the non-government sector, may have limited access to the processes of heritage management, or feel that they have less power to express their needs and their concerns over heritage issues.

Lack of participation from below has been one of the main issues in most processes in Thailand. The centralised management of heritage has professionalised heritage studies, history and archaeology and made these fields specific to specialists or particular groups of government officials. The role of local communities in Thailand is often limited, as most projects that involve rural or local communities are run by state agencies, and the provision of necessary resources or problem-solving strategies are devised by central government (Buasai 2004: 9). In the long run, centralisation can weaken local communities, as the power of decision-making is in the hands of the state.

In the past, heritage management at a local level also lacked participation from local communities. Recently, state agencies have also attempted to include 'community participation' in their cultural policies. Community participation is now seen as an integral part of any heritage conservation plan, which can be seen in Lamphun. There has been evidence of dialogue between state agencies and local communities, such as public hearings, seminars and focus groups, especially since the year 2004, which was the beginning of the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign. However, different sectors, especially the civil and

non- government sectors and the outside experts, have raised some questions regarding the usefulness of community involvement in Lamphun in the past; to what extent were local communities allowed to express their opinions and their needs, and to what extent were their needs and concerns addressed by state heritage agencies. According to the archive study, participant observation and interviews in 2009-2010, two points were observed in Lamphun. Firstly, current forms of ‘community participation’ are generally limited to mundane work or general maintenance of cultural heritage. Most of the decision-making processes are still under some particular groups of residents and government officials. Secondly, previous public consultation sessions focused on specific people and specific topics, and the sessions generally started with government officials providing information to communities. The nature of public sessions at times alienated some groups of residents.

In addition to the lack of participation from local communities, another structural problem related to the over-centralised management system, which was referred to in the Meaning of Heritage Survey and the qualitative interviews. This was that existing approaches to heritage conservation in Lamphun are not holistic, as they are not multi-disciplinary and do not incorporate both tangible and intangible elements. Ideologies underpinning heritage management are mainly based on archaeological/historical viewpoints, and the main focus of heritage management is therefore heritage conservation. The private sector and agencies or institutions outside the heritage sphere have a rather passive role in heritage practices due to the perceived lack of expertise and human resources in heritage-related fields. Examples of such comments are as follows:

It is necessary to use multi-disciplinary approaches to manage Lamphun’s heritage. People of various professions in Lamphun should have wider opportunities to take part in different aspects of cultural heritage management: law, science and technology, governance, economics, education and so on...

(Comments from Final Report, the 2009 consultancy team)

...We have to think about intangible heritage as well. Lamphun is a living city. We cannot just think about physical conservation. We have to let the traditions continue and in order to make the development sustainable, we need to find ‘the one’. Find the leader from the civil sector...

(Expert Interview 5, retired official from ONEP)

This issue is linked to, or is a consequence of, the centralised structure of heritage management and the differential access to power between state agencies and communities. The inclusions of alternative interpretations of heritage are limited, as state agencies and local administrative agencies are authorised spokespersons of the past, and assume the role of the main heritage carers. Heritage management frameworks often come from the authorised definitions of heritage, and approaches to heritage management are often designed by historians, archaeologists, and heritage-related professionals.

Structural conflicts are often hard to resolve unless there is a large-scale change in management or administrative systems. Early perceptions of heritage in Thailand focused on tangible heritage, so the management of heritage was in the hands of specific agencies such as the FAD. The professionalisation of the heritage field also isolates provincial and local administrative agencies from the care of cultural heritage. Tangible and intangible heritage are also managed by different departments or organisations, despite the fact that both types of heritage are interconnected. The relatively unequal access to power between government organisations and communities is also apparent. However, the recent widening of the definition of heritage, and the advent of the concept of ‘community participation’, have affected the way that cultural heritage is managed. The right to maintain local heritage is being decentralised from central agencies. Local histories and local heritage have been brought to the public’s attention, and local communities have been encouraged to take part in heritage-related projects. This recent movement may reduce structural conflicts, but through these attempts, local values are more open to ideological imposition.

3. Interest conflict

The causative factor of interest conflict is the perceived or actual competition over substantive interests (Shay Bright n.d.:5). If value conflicts arise when there are different perceptions of heritage, interest conflicts are caused by the way in which different interest groups use cultural heritage. Living heritage, or heritage that is still in use by different interest groups, is the major

area of interest conflicts since different parties have different expectations of heritage management.

The most evident example is the balance between heritage conservation and economic concerns. The large-scale interest conflict in Lamphun's heritage management is the issue of the competing interests of conservation of heritage and economic development. The priority of the National Social and Economic Development Plan in past decades was the development and construction of infrastructure rather than the preservation of the ancient fabric. Lamphun is an ancient city whose cultural significance has been recognised nationally. However, the city is also seen as an ideal place for the construction of an industrial estate, due to its fertile sources of agricultural products and its appropriate location. The Northern Region Industrial Estate (NRIE) was built in 1983. By 2008, there were 898 factories in the city (Sybchron 2009b: 3-9). There has been criticism from local residents and experts over the impact of this on Lamphun's tangible and intangible heritage. A number of heritage experts and local residents think that the construction of NRIE was a serious mistake:

...The industrial estate has destroyed our fabric of life. Traditional ways of life have disappeared. The new generation has left the village for the jobs in the estate. Who will be there to learn the traditional knowledge from the older generation...?

(Expert Interview 2, expert in Lamphun ethnicity)

Lamphun's tangible heritage has been very much influenced by modern interventions, such as the presence of the NRIE. Maintaining heritage values is very hard...

(Expert Interview 3, lecturer in the history of art at Chiang Mai University)

...The construction of the industrial estate was the worst decision. There are plenty of ancient ruins underneath groups of factories there. This is our great loss...

(Expert Interview 12, Provincial Cultural Office)

Since the construction of the industrial estate, our significant traditions have gradually disappeared. Water pollution has got worse...

(Bunthawee Thanoi, August 2009, focus group led by the 2009 consultancy team)

...The inner city is deserted. The town is very 'hollow' here. There are so many old, deserted terraced buildings and empty houses. I have seen the 'New Town' near the industrial estate. It is crowded and has got everything needed to live a life there. I wonder if the Old Town can be a living city since the economic district has shifted to that side of the city...

(Member of the 2009 consultancy team, town survey in April 2009)

Some former NRIE workers expressed their opinions about the presence of the estate during a discussion on 'Various viewpoints on the establishment of the industrial estate in Chiang Saen', held on 30 November 2004 in Chiang Rai (Prachathai 2004), a neighbouring province to Chiang Mai and Lamphun. Examples of their comments are as follows:

The establishment of NRIE was very quick and Lamphun residents did not know anything until the construction had already started...It has caused many problems, such as water pollution and changing ways of life. Many farmers were forced to change their careers since they did not have enough water or quality water for their crops.

(Khaorop Pinijnam, former NRIE worker, translated by author)

Our precious traditions are gradually disappearing. Our society is divided into two parts: the modern-capitalist world and the traditional world of local communities. Both are strangers to each other...

(Venus Duangdom, former NRIE worker who suffered from chemical poisoning, translated by author)

Residents of Chian Saen and Chiang Rai need to rethink this project. It may cost your life and social fabric. Is it worth it?

(Rachanee Nilchan, Board of Lamphun Environmental Management, translated by author)

The NRIE was established in response to the government's desire to increase job opportunities and raise the standard of living by maximising the use of agricultural products, improving agro-industries and encouraging the textile and silver industries (Bunyanupong 2005: 23). The Northern Region Industrial Estate covers 1788 *rai* (715 acres), including 832 factories with a total of 75,110 factory workers (Synchron Group 2009b). Before the estate was founded, the largest proportion of Lamphun's land was used for agricultural purposes.

Facilities and an urban lifestyle were limited to the central district. The rest of Lamphun was largely agrarian. Local residents lived in extended families and maintained traditional ways of life in accordance with Buddhist beliefs and local traditions (Bunyanupong 2005: 25).

One benefit development plans such as this have is that industrial activity triggers growth in the local economy, but it has also left a massive impact on Lamphun's intangible heritage. Firstly, the structure of closely-knit families has started to disintegrate. Members of the younger generation are leaving the village to find better job prospects in the industrial estate, and rural villages are now suffering from depopulation and an ageing population (Bunyanupong 2005: 26). Secondly, industrial workers are coming to work from a range of regions and countries, including Central Thailand, North-eastern Thailand, Japan and Korea. These people settle around the industrial estate and tend to have no interest in local traditions. Furthermore, outside cultures and modernity have been brought into the area through the immigration of workers. Local traditions and cultures are threatened by outside cultures and capitalism (Synchron 2009b). Lastly, industrial work requires a large amount of time. Industrial workers have less time to participate in annual festivals, folk traditions and other activities related to cultural heritage (Bunyanupong 2005: 25).

Another example of interest conflict is the smaller scale issues of access to and use of heritage sites. Other involved parties' uses of heritage are sometimes different from those of government agencies, which are generally for educational or recreational purposes. Because many of the religious structures comprise heritage in Thailand, local communities have always perceived such heritage as living entities, and their connections to such heritage for ritual purposes are also justified.

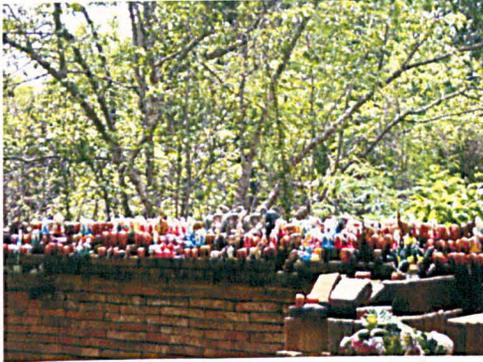
The Royal Elephant and horse shrines were associated with beliefs in holy spirits. The elephant shrine is one of five structures of Dvaravati-Haripunchai art in Lamphun that still survives. During the New Year Festival in April every year, worshippers and a large group of psychics gather at the shrines and perform holy rituals according to their beliefs, which are similar to European pagan rituals. A small house with a Holy Elephant figurine was built near the structures by local communities for these ritualistic purposes. Worshippers believe that the sacred elephant spirit has special powers to grant their wishes.

They often visit the shrines and bring flowers, incense and bananas (the elephant's food). When they believe that their wishes are granted by the power of the Holy Elephant spirit, they bring small elephant figurines to the shrines and place them on the walls (see figure 6.7). The shrines receive a large number of worshippers every year when special rituals are held at the site. Many psychics, fortunetellers and flower and incense sellers also set up their temporary booths near the shrines to serve visitors to or worshippers at the site. Such access to the monuments was reported as detrimental to the cultural landscape in the Thailand Charter consultation session in March 2009. The FAD and Lamphun municipal office have allowed the worshippers access to the site. Preventing these rituals from occurring, and removing temporary booths in order to preserve the cultural landscape, may dismay a large number of worshippers and the host community. As long as the level of impact to the heritage fabric is controlled, the coexistence of interests should not cause interest conflicts. However, measures for control and monitoring of activities may be needed during such events in order to find a balance between spiritual and archaeological values.



The Royal Elephant shrine, with holy thread and robe as media of sacred power radiating from the *stupa*.

Local residents often come to the site to worship the holy spirit of Queen Chama Thewi's Royal Elephant.



Small elephant figurines are offerings to the sacred elephant spirit when the worshipper believes that the elephant has granted their wishes.

Figure 6. 7: The Royal Elephant shrine represents the coexistence of spirit cults and Buddhism in the past and at present

Source: Author

Different parties have different interests in Lamphun's resources. Such parties also have different levels of access to power and resources. Although the causative factors of interest conflicts in Lamphun are also associated with competing values in different parties' understandings of heritage, the causes of interest conflicts are not rooted at an ideological level. Most conflicts revolve around the current use of heritage or resources. There is a possibility that negotiation and compromise can be made between parties, such as developing the legal framework that all parties must comply with, or designing a conservation plan for the cultural environments that most parties, or the majority, are satisfied with.

4. Data Conflict:

Data conflicts are caused by lack of information, misinformation, different views on what is relevant, different interpretation of data and different assessment procedures (Shay Bright n.d.: 5). A data conflict is similar to a value conflict in the way that both are associated with value judgements. However, resolution of data conflicts may be easier to achieve, as data conflicts are related to how a person receives and interprets information, rather than how a person's judgement is shaped by particular ideologies or world views.

Data conflict in Lamphun may be caused by lack of information distribution or misinformation, or competing views on what is relevant to CHM, interpretations of data, and assessment procedures. A number of participants in

the Meaning of Heritage Survey expressed their uncertainty when asked about the term heritage, heritage management and World Heritage.

The first example of conflict relating to competing interpretations of data is the debate over the Thai spelling of the name 'Haripunchai', the formal and ancient name of the city of Lamphun. 'Ha-ri-pun-chai' as written in this research is a romanised pronunciation of the term 'Haripunjaya' in Pali. There are two ways to spell this word in Thai. Although both spellings lead to the same pronunciation, they signify different meanings, and thus lead to different interpretations of Lamphun's history. The issue was brought to a topical seminar held on 28 April 2004, which was attended by local and external expert linguists, monks and 200 other participants. A monk named Phra Maha Supachai supported the spelling derived from the book 'Tamnan Phrathat Haripuchai', which describes the legend of how the relic shrine was first established. Other monks were also in support of this interpretation. The meaning of the term, according to this spelling, is 'A place where the Buddha has a myrobalan fruit'¹² (Sua Lamphun 2004). However, other experts were in favour of the alternative, which signified the relationship to Vishnu, the Hindu god (Sua Lamphun 2004). Finally, it was agreed by the monks and the expert communities that the name of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai is to be spelled in the way that the monk community proposed. However, the spelling used in any official documents will be the one proposed by the experts. Although it seemed that both of them had found a resolution, both sides still made some complaints about the interpretation proposed by the opposite party during the data collection for this research in 2009.

Another interesting case is what different parties think about Lamphun's association with Dvaravati cultures. Representatives of the Haripunchai National Museum said during the first presentation of the 2009 Master Plan development project that the ONEP inspector suggested in 2004 that, should the local government want Lamphun to be listed as World Heritage, Lamphun's culture should be in some way associated to the renowned Dvaravati culture from the central plain of Thailand. Experts and authorised agencies seem to view

¹² According to the chronicle of Phrathat Haripunchai, the Buddha sat near the point where the relic shrine was erected, ate a myrobalan fruit and threw the seed to the place where Phrathat Haripunchai is now located.

Lamphun as part of larger and greater cultures: Dvaravati and Mon. Participants of the Meaning of Heritage Survey, who were mainly sampled from local residents, rarely mentioned such cultures in their answers. The most frequent themes when asking about cultural heritage were 'Buddhism' and 'Lanna'. Some participants, although fewer than those who comprised the first two themes, referred to Queen Jama Thewi. In fact, the only link to wider cultures such as Mon and Dvaravati is Queen Jama Thewi and the five remaining Dvaravati-Haripunchai religious structures, but the degree of authenticity and integrity of these structures is still being questioned.

An example of data conflict among different parties in Lamphun that can be observed from the 2009-2010 fieldwork revolves around the issue of World Heritage listing. Data conflicts in this issue include residents' misunderstanding of the concept of 'World Heritage'. Many participants in the Meaning of Heritage Survey and the ethnographic interviewees expressed their uncertainty about the concept. Some were reluctant to answer a question that they did not know the answer to, and others misunderstood the concepts and the criteria for World Heritage inscription. In Lamphun, public access to information and communication between heritage agencies and the wider public is limited. Misinterpretation of the term and the concept of 'World Heritage' will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

5. Relationship Conflict:

Relationship conflicts tend to involve strong emotions, misperceptions or stereotypes, poor communication or miscommunication and repetitive negative behaviour (Shay Bright n.d.:5). Relationship conflicts in Lamphun are associated with, or even caused by, other types of conflicts that have already been discussed. Relationship conflicts in Lamphun revolve around the issue of 'trust'. Trust links different parties together and builds confidence in relationships. Lack of trust prevents conflict parties from believing in what other parties are saying, and leads them to doubt each other's intentions and motivation in disputes or misunderstandings.

Relationship conflicts in Lamphun are generally reflected in local residents' distrust in state officials and a strong sense of identity or sense of belonging. These were caused by the process of 'Siamification' during the

nineteenth century, and around the time of the military government in the late nineteenth century, in which the central Thai government suppressed local identity. As discussed in chapters four and five, the intentional imposition of central cultures on local traditions was for the purpose of the unification of the nation, but it left psychological effects on Lamphun's residents, whose ethnicity and dialects are different from those of Central Thailand. These effects were caused by the unequal control of conflict, or unequal access to power, between local residents and 'the state'. Relationship conflicts in Lamphun may be categorised as follows:

- Strong sense of identity

Conflicts occur when a person or a group feels that his or her sense of self is threatened, or denied legitimacy or respect (OTPIC n.d.). Lamphun residents generally feel that their cultures have been suppressed and gradually devoured by modernity and other cultures, and that the city's identity has been massively influenced by a larger city like Chiang Mai and central government. A strong sense of identity can be detected from some interviewees and the Meaning of Heritage Survey participants. These feelings are particularly strong among participants and interviewees who are over 40 years old. These feelings may lead to tensions in activities in which local residents have to interact with outsiders.

Some of the local residents show a very strong attachment to traditional ways of life, which they fear will be lost. Examples of such comments include:

Languages, written scripts, music and traditional cultural expressions are disappearing. It is unfortunate. Our dialect is not spoken by the new generation any more. I am trying to make our cultures alive by passing my knowledge to my students...

(Ethnographic Interview 7, expert in traditional knowledge)

The Tai Yong language in Lamphun is disappearing. Members of the new generation are losing their identity. I am trying to include local histories in the formal education curriculum...

(Ethnographic Interview 15, host of radio station and educational supervisor)

...What I would describe as an 'identity boom' emerged around the last decade, due to changes in the constitution and outside driving forces. When they see other societies express their cultures, they want to do that to their own heritage. Peripheral regions have been more open in the way they express their local cultures ...

(Expert Interview 2.2, expert in Lamphun ethnicity)

The concept of 'Hua Muang' [tributary city] is still in the head and the heart of the Lanna population. Many academics, including me, believe that through the use of discourse and heritage, Lanna identity was dissolved. When our identity is destroyed, what do we have left? With no spiritual drive, members of a society are weak...

(Expert interview 15, lecturer in Lanna Art)

People's sense of self is significant to how they interpret the outside world. Any threat to identity is likely to produce a strong response. However, the ways in which Lamphun residents express their strong attachment to local traditions and strong opinions about identity suppression are limited by unequal access to resources and power. The centralised structure of administration does not allow local communities to protect their identity. The relationship between local parties and government agencies has not moved to the extreme end of the conflict continuum.

- Lack of trust in outsiders

Many heritage experts and analysts who took part in the drafting of *the Master Plans for World Heritage listing and for the conservation of the Old Town zone in Lamphun* in 2009 -2010 agreed that Lamphun residents tend to question outsiders. Lack of trust in or scepticism towards outsiders is closely associated with a strong sense of identity. This could be another psychological effect from the incorporation of Lanna into Siam and a long history of identity suppression. The following responses can be detected from the interviews and formal and informal discussions with local residents:

...Academics who are working on CHM and World Heritage listing now are not from Lamphun. They don't understand us. They don't understand what heritage means to us...

(Ethnographic Interview 1, Lamphun Municipal Office)

...If the project is mobilised by Lamphun residents, I will be more willing to participate. Many significant figures from Lamphun will have retired from their work in the academic sphere soon. They may be able to work for the protection of our cultural heritage. I think World Heritage listing is going to be a long-term process. I don't know if it will be successful...

(Ethnographic Interview 8, high school teacher and former community representative)

...I am not from Lamphun, but I have worked here for many years. I think Lamphun residents need more inclusion in CHM. Authorised heritage officials are mostly from other regions, including me. Lamphun needs 'leaders' from their own community and state agencies need to give them more opportunities. However, it is not only authorised agencies that need a change of attitude, local communities also need to be more active in heritage matters. Sometimes I think they are too 'self-sufficient' to adopt new things...

(Ethnographic Interview 11, librarian at Lamphun National Library)

These responses are also related to identity conflicts. Outsiders are perceived as 'opponents' and their views, opinions or traditions are perceived as unjustified or irrelevant to Lamphun's heritage. These relationship conflicts may be the consequence of a long period of value, structure and interest conflicts that accumulate over time and loosen bonds between parties.

- Lack of trust in local government and local government officials

The responses to the Meaning of Heritage Survey and qualitative interviews also suggest that distrust in local government or government officials is another relationship issue among conflict parties in Lamphun. Lack of trust in government officials is caused by various factors. One of the possible explanations may be that heads of the regional offices of state agencies are appointed by central government, and a significant number are from other regions of the country. These appointed officials generally serve the national agenda rather than being spokespersons for local communities. However, a number of local state officials are also targets of local residents' distrust. Another possible explanation is that the centralised structure of provincial local administration often isolates local communities. Local residents have limited rights or power to monitor the work of state agencies. This lack of participation has started to build distrust and suspicions among non-government sectors,

especially local communities. The following interview extracts show strong distrust in state officials:

I don't trust state agencies or the local developers. The World Heritage listing project is too lengthy and we don't know anything about what they are doing. Decision making is a centralised process....

(Ethnographic Interview 8, high school teacher and former representative from the education sector)

Their management policies are too unclear. We don't know what they are doing and how they are using the budget.

(Ethnographic Interview 12, member of the Association of Northern Tourism Federation)

One of the major issues in CHM is the local lack of trust in state agencies. I am from this district and have worked as a mayor for eight years and they still don't trust me...

(Ethnographic Interview 2, Mayor of Ban Ruen District)

...Local residents are afraid that *wat* and the FAD officials will sell the artefacts obtained from the excavation within Wat Phra Yuen. I tried to explain that the excavation was done under the supervision of the FAD, central administrative agencies and other units. The excavation was carried out during the day time, not at night. Artefacts and every other element of heritage are under the protection of the law. If there was an illicit excavation or looting, the committee members and other government officials would have known and reported it...

(Ethnographic Interview 6, Head Monk of Wat Phra Yuen)

It is not easy to find a resolution to these conflicts if the level of distrust among parties is still high. The issue of distrust in Lamphun has mainly been caused by value conflicts and structure conflicts. Resolving the problems related to distrust is possible, but the parties involved need to build trust between each other.

- The changing role of monks and traditional religious ideologies

Although Lamphun is seen as a city that maintains traditional lifestyles, its society has been affected by social and cultural changes in the last few decades that affect the relationships between monks and other parties. The public attachment to the religious worldview has loosened, and the role of the monk as

the centre of faith and the leader of a community has changed. These changes are not only caused by the existence of competing heritage discourses, but also by the advent of modernity and industrialisation, which gradually are changing agrarian ways of life. Other parties' attitude towards monks has also changed, as suggested by the following interviewees:

...The role of the monk at present has completely changed. Earlier, the monks were teachers, masters of traditional knowledge. Since the educational system has changed, *wats* are no longer the main institution of our society. The monks are not teachers, alternative doctors or spiritual leaders. The roles of the current monks are only to prolong the life of Buddhism, to perform the Buddhist rites. The faith is still there, but their greatness as leaders of communities has dwindled...

(Expert Interview 2.2, expert in Lamphun ethnicity)

...Earlier, the monks were philosophers. Now, we have something different. Our society has changed...*Wats* are now living museums, not the main institution of our society any more...

(Expert interview 15, lecturer in Lanna Art)

Due to the changing role of *wats*, the relationship between local communities and the communities of monks, which was closely-knit in the past, has been affected. Although the attachment to the traditional discourse of Theravada Buddhism and animism is still rooted in Lamphun society, the significance of *wats* as the main educational institution has been reduced drastically. Buddhist practices have become less relevant to the younger generation. The changing roles of the *wat* and the community of monks are more evident in urban areas, where residents are more exposed to modern technology and ways of life. Many interviewees were concerned about the relationship between other communities and the community of monks as the religious institution cannot survive without support from other communities.

Conclusion

The existence of competing discourses has affected local residents' perceptions of heritage management and has caused different types of conflicts over heritage practice. Different types of conflicts are in fact inter-related like a complex web.

Some types of conflict may be easier to resolve than others. Value and structure conflicts are fundamental and significant types of conflict that can lead to other issues. Lamphun's stakeholders in heritage management may be divided into conflict parties in order to identify their needs, and to understand the way different heritage discourses influence their heritage practices and the conflicts that occur. Parties are involved in heritage management conflicts at different levels and adhere to a range of discourses that shape their understanding of cultural heritage. Lamphun's conflict parties include state agencies, provincial and local administrative agencies and other state agencies, the community of monks, local communities, local experts in traditional knowledge, local heritage academics, outside heritage academics and the media. The first five parties may be defined as primary parties, or parties whose goals or ideologies are clearly incompatible.

In the past, the relationship between these parties has moved along the continuum of cooperation-competition-tension-conflict. The relationships between Lamphun's conflict parties may not yet have reached the crisis stage, but discontent in other parties' heritage practices has been reported and presented in public forums. The fundamental cause of these conflicts may be the existence of competing values that shape the way cultural heritage is perceived and managed. Value conflicts may be hard to resolve, but resolving other types of conflict, such as interest conflicts, data conflicts and relationship conflicts, may still be possible through negotiation or compromise. However, in negotiation or compromise, some parties that have less power or access to resources may be required to adopt new disciplines.

Lamphun's state agencies have attempted to reduce tensions and find appropriate strategies for conservation. The next chapter will discuss the attempt to globalise Lamphun's cultural heritage through the campaign for World Heritage listing, in which local state agencies and local government hoped to trigger concerns about heritage conservation among residents and bring changes to Lamphun's heritage management.

Chapter 7: Globalising Lamphun's heritage and the involved parties' reactions to the proposal for World Heritage Listing

Recently, cultural heritage has become globalised as a commodity of tourism and urban development, and has been seen as a resource to ameliorate the effects of development (Long and Labadi 2010:11). This chapter discusses how the World Heritage inscription, which may be seen as part of the globalisation of heritage practices, has become embedded in Lamphun's cultural policies with support from government agencies, local government and some representatives of local communities. The preparation for World Heritage listing has massively influenced heritage practices in Lamphun. However, the conflicts in heritage management identified in chapter six need to be resolved in order to meet the criteria for World Heritage nomination. In addition, national policies, which are often underpinned by the nationalist discourse, are significant factors in determining the direction of the campaign for World Heritage listing in Thailand.

Local level conflicts in heritage management have continued for some time and have become ongoing incidents in Lamphun. However, the different parties' reactions were catalysed when, in 2004, the local government introduced the proposal for World Heritage listing to the wider public. Since then, Lamphun's World Heritage campaign has received both positive and negative responses from different sectors of Lamphun society. Despite the positive response from state and private heritage agencies, scepticism and dissent were detected in various sectors of society. This chapter aims to investigate each party's reaction to the proposal for World Heritage listing. Firstly, it outlines the background information to the project, and investigates the general perception of World Heritage by discussing the responses to questions 12 to 15 of the Meaning of Heritage Survey. The chapter then investigates how each party reacted to the proposed 'Lamphun to World Heritage' project and, finally, it assesses possible interventions in the conflict by discussing how the related issues have been, and may be, resolved by the different parties.

The proposal for World Heritage nomination is a significant move for Lamphun's heritage agencies. This project aims to encourage all of Lamphun's sectors to implement standards of practice to control the changes of both tangible and intangible heritage (Sukkata Jai-in 2011). In order to prepare Lamphun for nomination, Lamphun's heritage needs to be managed in accordance with the international standards for conservation, which are contradictory to current practices. The significant implication of the proposal for World Heritage listing is that many of the regional and national development plans devised by Lamphun's various agencies have brought heritage management to public attention.

Background to the World Heritage listing project

As discussed in chapter four, Lamphun's cultural significance as an early cultural and religious centre has been recognised at local, regional and national levels. Lamphun is the most ancient city in Northern Thailand and hosts several sacred or religious sites which are associated to Buddhist ideologies, the Buddha relic cult and, as suggested in various Chronicles and ancient documents, have been part of cultural networks (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). Consequently, local government, local heritage experts and local state officials considered that Lamphun had sufficient universal outstanding value to become a World Heritage site. The local newspaper, *Sua Lamphun*, and Haripunchai National Museum first proposed the idea of World Heritage inscription to heritage scholars and local state officials at a Comprehensive Town Planning seminar on 16 June 2004, at which the main topic of discussion was the call for the establishment a conservation zone in Lamphun's core district (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). Then, the project was again proposed to the Vice Prime Minister, Dr. Witsanu Krua-ngarm, at the mobile cabinet meeting on 19 June 2005. Subsequently, the first budget of 3 million baht was approved (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). This budget was allocated to fund the preliminary studies and circulation of information among state agencies. Research on the physical changes needed in the area near the ancient monuments and sites was undertaken. Relevant data for the proposal was submitted to Thailand's National World Heritage Committee, the Committee that would develop the nomination.

As specified in the World Heritage Convention, Lamphun's cultural heritage meets the following four criteria:

- (i) To represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- (ii) To exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- (iv) To be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; and
- (v) To be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.

(Haripunchai National Museum 2008)

From 2005, heritage agencies and provincial administrative agencies have attempted to encourage the civil sector to become part of the preparation process for the inscription. Local residents from different sectors were invited to join Lamphun's campaign committee for World Heritage. The committee's members were divided into different units, and each unit is led by relevant state agencies as follows:

1. The administrative unit is led by provincial and local administrative agencies or local government;
2. The archaeology unit is led by the Fine Arts' Regional Office;
3. The history unit is led by the Haripunchai National Museum;
4. The architecture unit is led by the Town Planning Provincial Office;
5. The unit of religion, art, culture and traditional knowledge;
6. The public relations unit.

(Synchron 2009b: 5-27)

Since its launch, the local press, radio stations and newspapers have actively promoted this campaign. There were both informative and critical pieces, and public discussions on local heritage were conducted as a response to the World Heritage listing project. In a 2004-2005 series of articles, the Sua

Lamphun newspaper discussed the history and significance of Lamphun's heritage sites and artefacts.

Fieldwork in 2009 explored the responses to Lamphun's World Heritage campaign. The document based research of local newspapers and public web forums suggested that responses to the World Heritage listing could be divided into those who agreed, disagreed and had no preference, as long as their ways of life would be unaffected by the project.

Questions 12 to 15 in the Meaning of Heritage Survey aimed to explore Lamphun residents' responses to the issues around the World Heritage nomination. Such questions included:

12. What do you understand by the term 'World Heritage'?
13. Have you heard about the 'Lamphun to World Heritage' project? Have you got involved?
14. Do you want Lamphun to be inscribed on the World Heritage list?
15. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of being a World Heritage site?

Reactions to Lamphun's proposed World Heritage Listing vary according to a person's experience, viewpoint and access to power and resources. Firstly, participants' understandings of the term 'World Heritage' were explored. The results suggest that Lamphun's local residents understand the basic concepts of World Heritage, but still have limited knowledge about post-inscription processes, such as particular sets of conservation practices with which a World Heritage site needs to comply and the criteria for the inscription. Some misunderstandings of the types of heritage relevant to the World heritage nomination can be seen from the responses of a few of the survey participants and the ethnographic interviewees.

According to the responses to question 12 of the 'Meaning of Heritage' Survey (What do you think is meant by the term World Heritage?), 49 out of 131 participants understood the basic concept that World Heritage was cultural heritage universally significant to or universally recognised by humankind. Twenty-four participants referred to the concepts relevant to 'outstanding value'. Only 11 participants mentioned the role of UNESCO, the World Heritage

Committee or other NGOs, and only eight participants referred to the post-inscription monitoring and management. As shown in table 7.1 below, the frequency of responses declined as the detail of the meaning of World Heritage went deeper.

Answers to the question 'What do you understand by the term 'World Heritage''	Frequency
Heritage that meets the criteria agreed by WH Committee, UNESCO, and other NGOs	11
Cultural Heritage that's universally significant to/recognised and owned by humankind	49
Heritage that needs some forms of management framework, such as all the changes to World Heritage sites need to be monitored	8
Inherited from ancestors	5
Very Significant/brilliant/spectacular (Outstanding value)	24
Branding of heritage/competition between nations	2
Heritage that needs to be preserved for future generations	5
Natural resources, forest, waterfall, etc...	3
Cultural traditions, festive events	2
Others: unique, ancient	14
No comment/ don't know	8

Table 7. 1: Participants' responses to the question 'What do you understand by the term World Heritage?'
The Meaning of Heritage Survey 2009.

In addition to the results of the Meaning of Heritage Survey, many of the 2009 and 2010 fieldwork's ethnographic interviewees suggested that Lamphun's 'intangible' elements, such as ways of life and local traditions, ought to be included in the Tentative List for nomination. Their responses reveal misunderstandings of what is relevant to the WHC. This finding is not surprising,

since local residents' ways of life, until the launch of the World Heritage listing campaign in Lamphun in 2004, had no relevance to the concepts of World Heritage. The mass campaigning may arouse local residents' attention, but the term World Heritage and the tasks for the preparation of Lamphun for World Heritage listing were still seen by the general public, or those outside the heritage circle, as 'of little relevance' to their lives. Some of the quotes that reflect their current understanding of World Heritage include:

...The Poy Sang Long [ordination of young males under 20] tradition is unique. I think this tradition should be given the title 'World Heritage'...

(Ethnographic interview 5, Head Monk of Wat Phathat Haripunchai)

...We're not only including tangible heritage, we will look at intangible traditions, festive events, and ethnicity as well...

(Ethnographic interview 7, local experts in traditional knowledge)

...An expert from SPAFA suggested that the scope of conservation zone to be added in the nomination should only include Wat Phrathat Hariunchai, but the committee would like to include a wider area and include other aspects of heritage, such as cultural traditions and Lamphun ethnicity...

(Expert interview 12, Provincial Cultural Office)

In fact, the concept of intangible heritage is hardly seen as 'relevant' to the criteria for World Heritage listing, and is more relevant to the ICHC, of which Thailand is in the process of becoming a signatory. Intangible heritage, such as performing arts and traditional knowledge, cannot be nominated and inscribed on the World Heritage list without their association to tangible heritage that meets the criteria for nomination.

The survey also explores whether local residents agreed with the proposal for World Heritage listing. Question 13 explored the effectiveness of the public relations of Lamphun's World Heritage campaign. Despite the fact that the campaign was promoted through diverse types of media, 47.33% of survey participants had never heard of it. However, as shown in table 7.2 below, the results of question 14 (Do you want Lamphun to be inscribed on the World

Heritage list?) suggested that the majority of participants (107 out of 131) wanted Lamphun to be inscribed on the World Heritage list.

Answer	Frequency
Yes	107
No	16
Not sure	4
No comment	4

Table 7.2: Participants' responses to the question 'Do you want Lamphun to be a World Heritage Site?'
The Meaning of Heritage Survey 2009.

Those unsure about, or disagreeing with, the nomination represent 18.32% of the survey participants. The majority (81.68%) agreed with the proposal for World Heritage Listing. There are diverse reasons why survey participants wanted Lamphun to be inscribed on the World Heritage List (see table 7.3). However, only 10.69% suggested that World Heritage would lead to better conservation and management measures. One of the most frequent answers (18.32%) was associated with the reputation, pride and prestige that participants thought would come with the World Heritage status. Another 18.32% suggested that Lamphun should be listed as a World Heritage site because of its cultural significance. Another 19.85% referred to economic or tourism benefits. The responses suggest that a large proportion of participants see the main purposes of World Heritage listing as a source of reputation or economic stimulation rather than a framework for conservation and management.

Answers	Number
World Heritage Listing may trigger the economy.	13
The World Heritage Status will attract more tourists.	13
Being inscribed on the list means better conservation and management of the town.	14

Lamphun will receive sufficient recognition nationally and internationally.	24
Lamphun has a significant amount of significant cultural heritage.	24

Table 7.3: Participants' responses to the question 'Why do you want Lamphun to be a World Heritage site?'
The Meaning of Heritage Survey 2009.

Finally, question 15 explored the perceived advantages and disadvantages of Lamphun being a World Heritage site (see table 7.4.1). Participants believe that there may be more advantages than disadvantages in the proposed listing. The results confirmed that economic/tourism benefits are perceived as the main advantage. Reputation was the second most frequent response, whilst the third most frequent response was that conservation should be the main reason for the inscription. As regards the perceived disadvantages of the inscription, participants are equally concerned about both physical and socio-cultural problems (see table 7.4.2). Participants suggested that they are afraid of pollution and the intrusion of outside cultures, which may lead to the degeneration of local traditions.

Advantages	Frequency
Economic/tourism benefits.	63
For the purposes of conservation.	15
Reputation.	17
Better development/ management.	5
Encourage sense of belonging, sense of community.	11

Table 7. 4.1: 'What do you think are advantages of Lamphun being a World Heritage site?'
The Meaning of Heritage Survey 2009.

Disadvantages	Frequency
Pollution, associated problems.	15
Management problems.	6
Local traditions are threatened.	14

Table 7. 4.2: 'What do you think are disadvantages of Lamphun being a World Heritage site?'
The Meaning of Heritage Survey 2009.

In summary, the majority of participants in the Meaning of Heritage Survey responded that they agreed with the World Heritage listing. Generally, local communities may not understand fully the concepts of World Heritage, especially the information about the values and ethics in heritage management that will be imposed on local traditions, if Lamphun becomes a World Heritage site. Also, it seems that economic/tourism benefits are the perceived reasons for and advantages of the inscription, which is not the main focus of the WHC. Increased tourism can create challenges for heritage conservation without necessarily achieving significant local economic participation (Lane 2009). Although the inscription affects the local economy and tourism, there needs to be a monitoring process and legal framework, which, according to the Operational Guidelines of the WHC, preserve Lamphun's 'cultural value'. Stakeholders in Lamphun's heritage management need to understand the advantages, disadvantages and limitations of being a World Heritage site. The next section outlines and discusses each party's response to the proposal for World Heritage listing.

Different parties' responses to Lamphun's proposal for World Heritage listing

According to the results of the survey and interviews, the majority of participants and interviewees did not reject the idea of World Heritage listing. However, tensions and conflicts over Lamphun's World Heritage listing revolved around the methods and strategies used to achieve the listing. These are discussed below.

Government heritage agencies

Unsurprisingly, heritage agencies whose current tasks include developing the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign support the proposal for World Heritage listing. After the first meeting in 2004, the members of Lamphun's World Heritage Committee were appointed in 2005. Most heritage agencies are represented on the Lamphun to World Heritage committee. The Haripunchai National Museum is the key agency of this campaign. Since the launch of the campaign, Haripunchai National Museum has been a secretarial agency, responsible for allocating tasks and budgets to different units, and organising

public discussion or consultation sessions to circulate the information to different parties. The World Heritage listing campaign is seen as a strategy to ‘improve’ the conservation of Lamphun’s tangible and intangible heritage. Dr. Pensupa Sukhata Jai-in, Head of Haripunchai National Museum and art historian, is one of the key persons in the ‘Lamphun to World Heritage’ committee. She suggests that the reasons behind the World Heritage listing projects were as follows:

...Lamphun, formerly known as Haripunchai, is a city of repeated occupation. It has been called a ‘living historic city’. Lamphun’s cultural significance, which has been recognised at national and regional levels, should be sufficient for World Heritage inscription. It has all the potential and resources that meet the criteria for World Heritage inscription...

(Dr. Pensupa Sukata Jai-in, Head of Haripunchai National Museum, Manager online 19 July 2004, translated by author)

...Lamphun is charming and interesting. In the eyes of others, they may judge Lamphun from what is visible. In fact, what is in the museum was accidentally found by locals. We haven’t explored the underground heritage. Lamphun is a cradle of cultures. What we can do is to nominate it for World Heritage listing

(Dr. Pensupa Sukata Jai-in, Head of Haripunchai National Museum, Daily News, 6 July 2009, translated by author)

...We are using the concept of ‘World Heritage’ as a strategy to revive the history and past cultures that have lain dormant and buried. We are not desperately in need of the title to be an imperialist slave of UNESCO. If not World Heritage, can we use local or national standards for conservation? Yes, we can. But they possibly won’t create great impacts on local communities and encourage them to think about their cultural heritage holistically. When we pay attention to the term ‘local heritage’, we can see that this term encouraged ‘newly invented heritage’¹³ that allows local government to spend much of the budget on these matters...

(Dr. Pensupa Sukata-Jaiin, Head of Haripunchai National Museum, Matichon Weekly, February 2011, translated by author)

¹³ Lamphun’s heritage officials have described newly invented heritage as the phenomenon of intangible culture performed in a non-traditional way. Sometimes it is associated with the over-use of heritage, such as competition between communities for the largest textile blanket.

Lamphun's other heritage agencies have different roles and viewpoints on the campaign. Some, such as the Cultural Office's representative, are active supporters of the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign, as can be seen in the following interview extract:

Lamphun has a great potential. Dr. Pensupa [Head of Haripunchai National Museum] and I did the survey ourselves. We have plenty of historic monuments and many yet undiscovered under the ground. The whole walled area should be included in the nomination

(Expert interview 12, Officials from the Provincial Cultural Office)

Other agencies, such as the Fine Arts' Regional Office, may see the Lamphun project as part of a larger project, which encourages Lanna towns to research and study the potential of becoming World Heritage sites, as suggested by another Fine Arts official:

In 2003, the central government was thinking about the construction of the Industrial Estate at Chiang Sean. The cultural significance of the town is too great, therefore we started to think of a project that would encourage residents and state agencies to think about conservation. We finally thought of the World Heritage project that includes the development of three cities [Chiang Saen, Nan, Lamphun] in the north to become World Heritage sites to prevent threats from modern intervention...When I brought this up with [the director of the National Committee on the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of Thailand] he suggested that it might be possible to conduct research on all significant Lanna cities...

(Expert interview 13, Director of the Regional Office of Fine Arts)

Participant observation suggests that the Haripunchai National Museum is the main driving force of the project, which is due possibly to its resources and expertise. Other heritage agencies, state administrative agencies, and local communities have relatively fewer resources and knowledge. When I arranged the interviews with different persons in different authorities, they often recommended Haripunchai National Museum as the most up-to-date source of information. Some people even refused to give an interview as they thought their roles in the Lamphun to World Heritage project were limited. In the case of Lamphun, the demands for World heritage listing came from a group of local

heritage experts and state agencies rather than the civil sector. This fact also caused concerns amongst some government heritage agencies. Some experts and government officials in heritage agencies expressed their concerns that the process seemed to be top-down, rather than bottom-up. Insufficient opportunities for public involvement may lead to inhospitable responses from local residents:

...In order to make the project successful, we have to work together with the communities. It is not promising to force local residents to leave the site for better conservation by state agencies since we need cooperation and participation from them...There have been sessions of public hearing, and we need a lot more. But we have to prepare and provide local residents with relevant information first. Otherwise they'll make a judgment depending on their personal experience and values...

(Expert Interview 10, Director of Lamphun's Buddhism Office)

Although Lamphun's heritage agencies encourage stakeholders and host communities to be part of the management process, the roles of most communities in cultural heritage management in Thailand are still passive, since their contributions have been limited to practical issues rather than the decision making processes, as discussed in chapter six. In fact, their roles may not be passive at all, but they are active contributors in other activities underpinned by the traditional discourse of heritage, rather than the national and local policies underpinned by Western AHD and national narratives.

Provincial and local administrative agencies and local authority

Provincial and local administrative agencies are supporters of the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign, and are responsible for the allocation of the budget. World Heritage listing has been included in the province's future directions, which have three main objectives: development of agricultural products; development of the industrial sector, including small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and household production; and preserving Lamphun's old town environment and enhancing its cultural tourism (Synchron 2010). However, as discussed in chapter six, other priorities take precedence over their role in the World Heritage project. Annual budgets allocated to cultural projects in 2009 and

2010 were still limited compared to other priorities. The cut in budget is a common problem of the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign. For instance, in 2004, the 3-million baht budget for the preliminary research, agreed by the provincial administrative agency, was cut and reallocated for the assistance of the victims of the Tsunami in Southern Thailand. In 2005, the central government reduced the budget for the conservation and development project of Lamphun, Nan and Chiang Saen, proposed by the FAD from 158 to 30 million baht (Haripunchai National Museum 2006). Without sufficient financial resources, the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign was delayed.

In addition to the financial issues, administrative agencies are concerned about the possible impacts on traditional ways of life and, at times, have expressed their disagreement with or criticism of the experts' suggestions for major physical changes in Lamphun. For instance, in his 2004 visit, Prof. Dr. Adul Vichiencharoen, President of Thailand's National Committee on the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, proposed that the Methi Wuttikorn School for novices in Wat Phrathat Haripunchai be relocated, since it is located next to the Dvaravati *stupa*, one of Lamphun's five Dvaravati-Haripunchai monuments. There were various responses to this proposed relocation. Many state officials expressed their concerns:

..I don't really agree with relocating Methi Wutthikorn School. It will create more resistance from stakeholders. There may be other means to improve the cultural landscape of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai, such as changing the appearance of the school building to make it harmonious to the traditional Lanna environment. A compromise sounds better to me...

(Ethnographic interview 3, Head of Lamphun's Administrative Office)

...Most of the experts are not local. They don't understand our traditions and our ways of life. They think what is appropriate for Lamphun for us...Relocating Methi Wuttikorn school is also an issue. Relocation involves the monks and the communities. If the school is really going to be relocated, we need a clear explanation for those stakeholders. What is going to happen after the relocation? Where would they be relocated? Who is responsible for the cost?

(Ethnographic interview 1, Lamphun Municipal Office)

Heritage agencies and provincial and local administrative agencies are perceived as the authorised facilitators of the World heritage listing campaign. One of the most significant responses from heritage agencies and administrative agencies was their attempt to develop management frameworks for the conservation of Lamphun's heritage, in order for Lamphun to meet the criteria for the World Heritage nomination, and to control the perceived and actual 'unorthodox' uses of heritage. These were seen as an encroachment of ancient monuments and traditional conservation work on religious structures. The use of a legal framework was seen by responsible agencies as the way to direct other parties' practices and resolve the ongoing heritage issues.

The community of monks

The monks are major stakeholders in the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign, since *wats* and religious structures comprise the majority of Lamphun's physical heritage. However, the monks still have a limited role in the campaign for World Heritage listing. Prior to 2009, few documents referred to the community of monks' participation. In August 2009, there was a more serious attempt to include the monks in the consultation session. The monks from 23 *wats* in the affected area and local communities were invited to a consultation session, but only 9 monks attended the session (Synchron 2009b). The monks' reactions vary from *wat* to *wat*, according to their experiences and personal interests.

The monks' interest is very different from the secular interest groups. As suggested in previous chapters, the monks' main duty is to transmit the Buddhist teaching and Buddhist values to future generations. However, the monks' worldly roles have changed and diminished. The World Heritage listing campaign seems to be irrelevant to the monks' religious life. The general value conflicts between the community of monks, heritage agencies and heritage experts was raised in the 2009 discussions, which attempted to draft a Master Plan for the preparation of Lamphun for World heritage nomination. The current lack of participation in the World Heritage listing campaign may be classified as avoidance. Due to the monks' behaviour, which is normally influenced by Buddhist teachings and the *Vinaya* (monastic disciplines), competitive or aggressive responses are unlikely to happen. However, some of the interviewees' comments expressed scepticism about the process, such as:

It is like a 'fastfood' project [piecemeal/adhoc]. The emphasis is laid on the exhibitions and public relations. In all the community sessions I attended, there were papers and articles about Lamphun's history, but there were no solid plans or timetables for the project. Experts keep talking about what they know, but it's not relevant to Lamphun's identity... The monks should be informed about what those agencies are doing, but we know nothing...I am trying to avoid conflict by staying where I am. Instead of confronting or meeting more people, I decided to do my PhD at North University...'

(Ethnographic Interview 6: The Head Monk of Wat Phra Yuen)

More commonly the monks were rather circumspect. Some of the monks expressed their concerns over the community of monk's perception of heritage and interest in World Heritage Listing. The relationship between the monks and the other parties on the issues concerning the World heritage campaign clearly illustrated value conflicts. Although there had been no strong resistance from the community of monks, avoidance behaviour made negotiations difficult, for example:

...Changing the monks' perception is difficult. They will continue to do what they think is right. There should be an MOU between the experts and the community of monks...

(Expert Interview 5: Head Monk of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai)

...I have heard of the project and have participated in the meeting. I think it is quite a difficult project. Working with the monks is one of the hardest tasks. Some of the monks are interested and experienced in heritage issues, but others may not pay any attention at all...

(Ethnographic Interview 13: The Head Monk of Wat Nong Nam)

During the fieldwork, one high-ranking monk commented that the communities of monks tended not to have aggressive or competitive responses, and it was possible to achieve cooperation. Collaboration between parties is possible, but the monks need to be informed and included in most of the preparation process, as shown in the following:

...I can provide support if necessary. I can organise a meeting between the Lamphun to World Heritage board and the communities of monks ...It's not that the monks are unwilling to cooperate, we just need dialogue between experts and the monks...

(Expert Interview 5: Head Monk of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai)

Participant observation suggests that generally the Head Monks welcomed visitors to their *wats* and were willing to talk to them. Often, I visited different *wats* with no prior arrangement for the field survey, but the Head Monks approached and finally got a chance to discuss heritage issues. Most conversations suggest that the monks limit their interest to their *wats*, surrounding communities and Buddhist affairs. Like local communities, the community of monks sees World Heritage listing as irrelevant to their Buddhist lives. In the recent past, there have been various sessions when experts or academics in heritage-related fields have attempted to pass information to the community of monks. However, value and interest conflicts have continued to be a problem in Thailand's CHM. One of the interesting questions is how the community of monks was approached. The terms generally used by government officials and heritage experts in the Thailand Charter consultation session on 29 March 2009, and often in the expert interviews, describe these sessions as 'Provision of knowledge for the monks'. This implies that these sessions might have been one-way communication, rather than opportunities for monks to express their opinions or their preference, and for negotiations to then occur. The drafting of the 2009 Master Plan for the preparation of Lamphun for the future World Heritage nomination included the monks' role as another significant key sector in promoting the World Heritage listing campaign. However, whether or not resolution of value and interest conflicts between the monks and the heritage and government sector is achieved depends on the actual application of the plan and the establishment of common ground between the monks and other parties

Local communities

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the majority of participants (81.68%), are not resistant to World Heritage listing. Additional comments suggested that although they agreed with the listing, their main areas of concern were how Lamphun was

going to achieve this goal, and how their ways of life would be affected. Those who disagree or were sceptical expressed themselves through criticisms of current heritage practices or avoidance behaviour. The civil sector's major concerns also revolve around the issue of community participation. Responses to the Meaning of Heritage Survey suggested that 47.33% of participants had not heard of the campaign despite large scale advertising in different types of media. The Lamphun to World Heritage campaign is affected by the centralised structure of Thailand's CHM. The perceived barrier between government agencies as 'project owners' and local residents as 'passive followers' often obstructs communication between parties, and sometimes prevents the civil sector getting involved in the projects. The Lamphun to World Heritage campaign is perceived as 'their' rather than 'our' project. Participants of the Meaning of Heritage Survey stated:

We need clearer communication on the progress, what they are doing

(Meaning of Heritage Survey participant 002)

Definitions of cultural heritage in Lamphun vary among interest groups. Before establishing management strategies, they need to first establish understanding and communication among themselves what is meant to them by 'cultural heritage'

(Meaning of Heritage Survey participant 028)

The preparation for the World Heritage listing should be sustainable, and everyone should be involved in the process, instead of appointing one or two organisations to take responsibility. These organisations can be facilitators, but communities need to have rights in decision making. Our descendants need to be involved and informed about our heritage and how we can conserve it. The current educational curriculum does not include this aspect and the younger generation is lacking information on heritage

(Meaning of Heritage Survey participant 029)

Responses from local communities to the proposal for World Heritage listing varied according to their experiences and perceptions of heritage. Due to having unequal access to power and resources compared to the government sector, one of the expert interviewees suggested that:

...When talking about inclusion or participation, we have to think about people who are not present as well as those who are present in the meeting or consultation sessions. If local residents disagree, they just don't turn up at the meeting...

(Expert interview 8, President of Nan Provincial Coordinating Mechanism, leader of Nan's heritage movement)

According to the interviewees and participants of the Meaning of Heritage Survey, avoidance is the most common reaction from people who disagree with the proposal for Lamphun's World heritage listing. A 2009 attempt to conduct qualitative interviews revealed that many members of the Lamphun to World heritage committee withdrew themselves, both officially and unofficially, from the project and refused to be interviewed. Many members of the committee could not answer the questions since they have not been involved in the project for more than a year. One of the former committee members suggested that:

I did participate in the consultation session, but I didn't give any opinion since I have no knowledge about heritage management. People talked about the same thing. I saw the same speakers every time I went. I can see no progress there and I felt that I didn't belong in the meeting. I don't want to go back again

(Ethnographic Interview 8, Highschool Teacher)

Some interviews and participants showed their discontent at the transparency of the communication between the Lamphun to World Heritage Committee and local residents about the project. Lack of communication may lead to mistrust from the civil sector. Previously, the public hearing and community consultation session has been used generally to disseminate information on Lamphun's significance, but the public has been given limited information about the project's progress, as shown in the following:

...Different sectors always argue over what they will get from heritage activities. I think they [heritage agencies] do it [World Heritage listing] for themselves. I don't understand how they [heritage agencies] allocate benefits from heritage activities. What we were asked to do was something not relevant to heritage or tourism. We were also asked to attend the Rod-

Nam-Dam-Hua¹⁴ and saw that they distorted our tradition by letting the elders pay respect to the younger, but more powerful, ones. My father went to the consultation, came back home and told me what happened. I am glad I'm not involved in it [Lamphun's CHM] otherwise I will have to protest. He told me to come along, but I am not going to ...

(Ethnographic Interview 12, member of the Association of Northern Tourism Federation)

In summary, according to the Meaning of Heritage Survey, the majority of local residents are not resistant to the World Heritage listing campaign as long as the inscription does not impact negatively on Lamphun. However, local residents do not feel that World Heritage listing is relevant to their lives. In addition, comments from local communities suggested that their role in the preparation of the nomination remained limited, and the centralised structure of CHM caused a barrier between state agencies, experts and local residents. For those who disagreed with the project, the most common reaction was avoidance, as they isolated themselves from activities or events relevant to the World Heritage listing project.

Local experts in traditional knowledge

Generally, the group of local experts in traditional knowledge interviewed for this research supported, or are were not resistant to, the proposal for World Heritage listing. Most of the local experts in traditional knowledge were included in the Lamphun to World Heritage committee appointed in 2005 (Haripunchai National Museum 2005). They are generally confident that Lamphun has great potential to be a World Heritage site and that the inscription is achievable. Examples of their comments are as follows:

... I have taken an advisory role in the [Lamphun to World heritage] committee and help the committee to develop a management plan. I just attended the most recent meeting. This year the Lamphun to World Heritage project got allocated 15 million baht and it will be spent on different projects, to develop. I think whether Lamphun is going to be successful or

¹⁴ A New Year tradition, which is common in Northern Thai provinces. Younger generations come to the elders' house and give them presents composed of food and other day-to-day products.

not depends on the strength of the 'Lamphun to World Heritage' committee...

(Ethnographic Interview 7: local experts in traditional knowledge)

Lamphun has a great potential, but the city of Lamphun has to make sure that cultural heritage is 'edible'. I mean cultural heritage should generate income for local residents...

(Ethnographic Interview 9: owner of heritage consulting company)

I'm sure the World Heritage project is going to be successful, even though it may take a long time. The key aspect is to involve local communities.

(Ethnographic Interview 16: Sculptor and expert in Buddhist heritage)

In general, the responses from local experts in traditional knowledge are positive. Two significant points were, firstly, the preparation process must be participatory and, secondly, once Lamphun is listed, local residents should be able to work and gain income from activities related to cultural heritage, or to be precise, from the cultural tourism that would be stimulated once the city is inscribed on the World Heritage list. Interviewee 9 further explained his term 'edible heritage': local communities generally feared that once the city is inscribed, they will lose autonomy over the city. Lamphun will then be conserved by particular strategies, which will make it more like an open-air museum that they cannot touch and they cannot do anything within a conservation zone. They think that such actions do not benefit the local economy and prevent them from earning their living. What they expected from the inscription is to preserve their ways of lives as well as to gain benefit from cultural tourism, possibly from cultural activities within the city, such as textile markets, souvenir markets, etc.

Nonetheless, the role of local experts on the committee is limited to practical issues. Also, these local experts are not responsible for developing strategies or the management framework. Decision-making and planning remain in the hands of the members, who are mainly from government heritage and administrative agencies. Also, the local experts' influence on the wider public is now limited to a specific group of people, who are interested in art and traditional knowledge, since traditional knowledge has become an extra-curricular activity for the current generation entering the formal education

system. The inclusion of local experts in traditional knowledge is the right step, since members of this party have various fields of traditional knowledge. Additionally, local communities' perceived barriers to participation may be reduced, if these local experts are allocated a more active role in the preparation of the Lamphun for World Heritage nomination.

Local heritage academics

Local academics in the fields of heritage, history and archaeology generally have an advisory role in the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign, and they are included on the Lamphun to World Heritage committee. However, unlike government heritage agencies, the local authority and local residents, heritage scholars are less involved in the preparation of the Lamphun for World Heritage listing.

Local heritage academics have various opinions on the proposal for listing. In general, heritage academics are concerned about Lamphun's surviving tangible heritage, which will be assessed as part of the evaluation process for the inscription. They are concerned that Lamphun's religious heritage has been managed by traditional methods that do not preserve material authenticity, and that the ancient cultural landscape within *wats* has been altered for *Sangha* or communal uses. In addition, the existence of competing interests in conservation and development cause tensions in heritage management, and modern structures have devalued much of Lamphun's cultural landscape within the old town zone. Some interviewees thought Lamphun's cultural heritage was significant. However, Lamphun may not satisfy the criteria for World Heritage inscription unless the management framework is changed and the physical environment is improved. Examples of interviewees' concerns include:

...Lamphun is lucky that it has got a history and potential. It has moats and remains of the walls. The city of Lamphun should increase that potential by paying more attention to physical aspects of religious sites in the Old Town zone. The concept of cultural landscape is also important. Existing heritage needs to be conserved, modern intervention needs to be reduced, particularly at the temples at the four city gates...

...Lamphun has a limited number of 'authentic' tangible remains, thus people of Lamphun have to take special care of

these structures, both historic monuments and the functioning structures. Local authority has to make better use of legislation and guidelines. There is no need to reconstruct new things, but preservation of what is left is needed. The concept of cultural landscape should be taken into consideration. The maintenance of existing structures, such as moats and walls should be in a way that enhances Old Town cultural landscape. The *wats* at four city gates should have received special attention. Wat Phrathat Haripunchai is also very important as the heart of Lamphun...measures for protection of these structures should be developed and it will be more effective if the governor agrees with this...

(Expert Interview 4: Lecturer in history of art at Chiangmai University)

Lamphun's tangible heritage has been very much affected by modern intervention, such as the presence of the NRIE (Northern Region Industrial Estate). Maintaining heritage values is very hard...

(Expert Interview 3: Lecturer in history at Chiang Mai University)

As exemplified below, another concern amongst heritage experts is the perceived purpose of the inscription. Some local experts suggested that expectations for economic and tourism benefits should be reconsidered, since over-emphasis on economic activities often places stress on cultural heritage:

...If Lamphun becomes a World Heritage site, Lamphun residents generally expect to see an increase in visitor numbers and they may expect that this will improve the local economy. They need to change their attitude. A major aim of being inscribed on the World Heritage List is for conservation and management purposes...

(Expert Interview 3: Lecturer in history of art at Chiang Mai University)

Community participation or community involvement was another issue which attracts the attention of heritage scholars. The experts, like other parties, suggest that the current heritage management strategies, including the proposal for World Heritage listing, are top-down processes. As shown below, local academics are concerned about local traditions and international conservation standards:

...An important point is the proposal for World Heritage listing is now driven by the governor and Dr. Pensupa, not by any of Lamphun's residents; one day they will have to leave when their terms end. Lamphun's residents are lacking the key persons from within their community whom they trust and who are willing to participate and provide support ...

(Expert Interview 4: Lecturer in history at Chiang Mai University)

...The key to World Heritage inscription is community participation. Local communities need to understand the concept...Keys to achieving a well-balanced CHM and meeting the criteria for World Heritage listing are respect and trust from the locals, key persons from within the society, a powerful press to keep informing the public and finally Lamphun needs heritage that generates income as well. They don't want to be an open-air museum...

(Expert Interview 3, lecturer in history of art at Chiang Mai University)

Having a legal framework in accordance with international standards for heritage management sounds plausible, but it should be noted that those guidelines and principles do not come from the spirit of local people. I wonder how long it would last. Management will not be sustainable...

(Expert Interview 15: Lecturer in Lanna Art)

The academic circle's responses to the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign are generally in the form of advice. In the mapping of conflict detailed in chapter six, local academics are classified as a secondary party since this party tends to have an indirect role in Lamphun's heritage conflicts. If Lamphun's centralised structure of heritage management is changed, local academics may assume more diverse roles in the preparation of the Lamphun for World Heritage nomination.

The press and media

The press and media played an important role in promoting the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign to the wider public. The campaign has been talked about on the radio station, and since 2004 news on Lamphun's cultural significance has been reported to the public. The 'Sua Lamphun' newspaper was a significant agency that circulated information about the World Heritage Listing process.

Local press and media were also part of the committee set up in 2005, and they were actively involved in the public relations plan for the project, which included:

1. The use of local newspaper and radio station;
2. An outreach campaign for Lamphun's residents in 8 districts (Amphoe);
3. Letters to the local authority;
4. A mass rally campaign; and
5. A Long-term plan for national and international public relations.

(Haripunchai National Museum 2006)

However, some participants in the survey suggested that the role of Lamphun's local newspapers was limited and inconsistent. Despite the use of press and media to circulate news and information on the proposal for World Heritage listing, almost half of the participants of the Meaning of Heritage Survey had not heard of the proposal:

...We need better public relations. There should be more information on what they [heritage agencies] are doing, when and where available in the media. Now the information is only limited to people who have their interests in this issue [heritage and World Heritage Listing]. Those who are not interested in heritage do not know anything about the project...

(Survey Participant 003, female 21 university student)

...The project should be publicised on a wider scale. The development plan should be consistent. The press and media have to be accessible to the public and more serious about the project...

(Survey Participant 054, male 46 own-business)

As discussed in the previous section, this research does not include a methodology which directly explores the influence of local or national media on people's perception of heritage. However, according to the archival research, most of the news articles are informative and provide readers with historical facts, but have not included details of how far the project has progressed. The articles in various local newspapers presented similar ideas and similar stories

about Lamphun's history and folklore, Lamphun's physical heritage and the history behind such structures.

Outside heritage experts

The outside experts' role, and their responses to the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign, are similar to those of the local heritage academics. These parties are not directly involved in the World Heritage issues but, generally, have an advisory role in the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign. Some outside experts' comments on how Lamphun should be prepared for the nomination often introduced new sets of practices. For instance, following local state agencies being informed of the proposal for World Heritage listing in 2004, Prof. Dr. Adul Vichiencharoen, President of Thailand's National Committee on the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, suggested to the Head of Haripunchai National Museum that:

Lamphun has great potential to meet four criteria for World Heritage listing. Lamphun residents need to be ready for massive physical change, such as removal of modern construction in the vicinity of significant historic monuments
(Polmangnua 1-8 August 2004, translated by author)

A comment from a representative of Thailand's National Committee on the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage led to a quick response from government heritage agencies and provincial and local administrative agencies. The committee was set up and the tasks were allocated. Throughout the preparation processes, experts from outside Lamphun were invited to comment and to advise on Lamphun's cultural resources and management strategies. As shown below, most of the comments are related to Lamphun's current situation and preparation for the nomination. Conservation of tangible heritage is the main area of concern since the physical authenticity and integrity of heritage sites are significant criteria for World Heritage listing:

If Lamphun really wants to be a World Heritage Site, heritage agencies and local government need to make clear aims and every move in CHM and any change in physical heritage will have to conform to criteria for World Heritage nomination...
(Expert Interview 9: Advisor of the Project of administration of Old Town environment)

...The World Heritage inscription does not control land use or ensure the protection of physical heritage. Ayutthaya and Ban Chiang are suffering from modern intervention. Lamphun needs a legal framework that protects the use of tangible heritage within the conservation zone. The Old Town conservation plan will even make the preparation for World Heritage nomination possible...

(Comments from the ONEP experts, the 2010 presentation of Old Town conservation plan, January 2010)

In addition to the care of physical heritage, outside experts questioned the current preparation process. Like other parties, outside experts pointed out that the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign allowed limited opportunities for community involvement. Some groups of local residents may be included in the committee, but the majority of local residents have limited knowledge about the process, and have limited opportunities to express their opinions on World heritage issues. As shown below, most of the strategies and future directions came from specific groups of people:

...Lamphun has to find its identity and find the key persons from inside its own community. The project is now driven by experts and government officials. A strong leader of the civil sector is really needed to attract attention from local communities...

(Expert Interview 5: Retired officials of ONEP)

In the case on Nan, which has been seen as a city with strong civil sectors and active public participation in CHM, local residents of Nan are forced to be united to fight against difficulties. Development and conservation can go hand in hand. I'm sure that Lamphun will achieve that one day. Lamphun's residents just need to be united and find the common ground...

Somjet Wimolkasem, Experts from Nan
1-3 August 2009

In general, the outside experts' comments are based on international or standard heritage practices, which, often, involve the use of a legal framework to control the use of the cultural landscape within a conservation zone. In the eyes of outside experts, Lamphun was not physically ready, and needed to undergo a

series of improvements. In terms of administration and management, Lamphun's CHM needed to be more inclusive of local residents and other parts of the private sector.

Issues in the preparation of Lamphun's nomination for World Heritage listing

Chapter six classified conflicts over Lamphun's heritage management into a number of categories: value conflict, structure conflict, relationship conflict, interest conflict data conflict. The proposal for World heritage listing and the preparation of the nomination have brought such conflicts to the attention of Lamphun's residents. These have made the conflicts more visible since the parties have a chance to discuss and exchange their opinions about heritage management and can attempt to resolve pressing heritage management issues. With regard to the parties' responses to the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign, there are issues in the preparation of Lamphun's heritage for the inscription which they need to be aware of and resolve.

Firstly, the campaign has exposed value and structure conflicts in heritage management, which may be difficult to resolve and often lead to other types of conflict, such as relationship and interest conflicts. The campaign was introduced and mobilised by state agencies, whose policies and practices are influenced mainly by the Western AHD and the national development plan, which, sometimes, local residents perceive as 'inappropriate' to local traditions. Value conflicts are illustrated by diversity in heritage practices. Maintaining authenticity and integrity, as part of the criteria for World Heritage evaluation, seems to be a problematic issue in Lamphun. The cultural landscape problems can be seen at the most significant sites such as Wat Phrathat Haripunchai, the four *wats* at the city gates and Wat Jama Thewi, which are among Lamphun's most significant heritage sites. Some *wats* such as Wat Phra Kong-Rue-Si or Wat Pratul, even contain no traditional Lanna structures, since they have been renovated periodically over time. Control of traditional practices is needed in order to meet the criteria for World Heritage inscription. The question is how will local communities embrace the Western ethics in conservation and abandon

their traditional practices? And how is the heritage fabric, which has been altered already, managed in order to revive the cultural landscape?

In addition to management issues of the physical environment, the value and structural conflicts cause perceived barriers between state agencies, which are the main driving force of the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign, and local residents, who, normally, take a less active role in the project. Distrust in state officials and avoidance are the forms of responses that were often detected in the Meaning of Heritage Survey and ethnographic interviews. At times, the campaign was delayed due to the local residents' resistance. Local residents were not objecting to World Heritage listing, but they were concerned about the methodologies and how the aim is achieved. For instance, in 2009 the provincial annual budget allocated 2,450,000 baht for the conservation project of Wat Jama-Thewi and the Haripunchai National Museum building. Some local residents opposed the project, as they did not trust state officials to look after the artefacts from the two sites during the conservation work. Therefore, the project was reconsidered (Synchron 2009b: 5-32). In addition, the Head of the Haripunchai National Museum commented on the relationship between the museum and local residents on heritage issues as follows.

...Haripunchai National Museum as the main facilitator of the World Heritage nomination process is in a very fragile position as it is placed in the middle of the conflict. The local government has always had their own way of CHM, which sometimes can be contradictory to the FAD's way of conservation. It is hard to deal with them. On the other side, local residents are also keeping an eye on the project. Now the project is delayed due to the lack of a Master Plan and we cannot get any budget allocated from the provincial office. People start complaining that there have not been tangible outcomes from the project...

(Expert interview 11, FAD officials, Informal discussion with a consultancy Team, May 2009)

Local communities' distrust can also be detected in the 2009-2010 fieldwork. Government officials and Lamphun's responsible organisations frequently mentioned in the interviews that local communities did not understand the concepts of heritage conservation and the concept of World Heritage. The general perception of survey participants and interviewees suggests that heritage

management has been seen as a 'specialised field' of people with particular knowledge, rather than an issue for local residents. As shown below, the most common response from government officials was that the public lacks sufficient knowledge about heritage and heritage management, and that a public hearing needs to be held to equip the public with knowledge about heritage:

...We did have a public hearing and consultation process about the proposal for World Heritage listing, but mostly they respond to the questions with their existing knowledge. We have to tell them and provide sufficient information on the issue first...

(Ethnographic Interview 3, Head of Lamphun's Administrative Office)

Some residents accept that really they do not have sufficient knowledge of the issues. Consequently, they felt alienated when they attended the community consultation session. In addition, as shown below, there have been criticisms that those sessions were tokenistic, and too little was done to improve the understanding of all of Lamphun's conflicting parties:

...Community consultation sessions only included a small group of people. I knew nothing and heard nothing about the progress. Public hearing sessions were conducted just to fulfil the objectives, but they were of no use...

(Ethnographic interview 14, owner of a printing company)

Value, structure and relationship conflicts around the issues of heritage management, and particularly the World Heritage listing campaign, are difficult to resolve. There have been attempts to create dialogues between government and non-government sectors such as community consultation sessions, public exhibitions and seminars in order to reduce tensions and distrust. As discussed in the previous section, a number of local state agencies, local heritage academics and outside experts have commented that Lamphun needs a more bottom-up approach to the preparation for the inscription. The first step may be to find the leading figures within Lamphun's community, in order to reduce the perceived psychological barriers between local residents and state officials, and between local residents and outside experts. However, according to the fieldwork data,

Lamphun is located too close to Chiang Mai, and a significant number of Lamphun residents are educated in, work in, and move to Chiang Mai, which is the centre of Northern Thailand. Finding potential leading figures to attract cooperation from local residents is a difficult task.

Secondly, there is a data conflict among local residents over the concept of World Heritage. Data conflicts involve lack of information, misinformation, different views on what is relevant, different interpretation of data and different assessment procedures (Bright n.d.:5). As discussed above, the Meaning of Heritage Survey and the ethnographic interviews suggest that a number of Lamphun's residents do not understand, or only partly understand, the concepts associated with World Heritage. Some participants expressed their demands for more information from the responsible organisations. There were also data conflicts within the committee, such as the scope of the conservation zone to be used in the Tentative List, which took time to be resolved. From 2004 to 2010, agencies had competing preferences and supporting reasons. Examples of various comments on the extent of a core conservation zone are a case in point:

The larger the conservation zone is defined, the more complicated the conflict in World Heritage listing can be...

(Ethnographic interview 3, Head of Lamphun Provincial Office)

I think only the area of Wat Phrathat Haripunchai is significant enough to be defined as a conservation zone. Its significance and cultural value is undoubted. The larger, the more complicated ...

(Ethnographic interview 1, Lamphun Municipal office)

...I think the whole walled area and the moat should be included in the core conservation zone, so that we can gain control over inappropriate land use in the ancient city...

(Lamphun to World Heritage committee member, informal discussion, May 2009)

Past attempts at proposed conservation plans were too focused on smaller details and did not reflect the overall picture of Lamphun's heritage management. For instance, the first report in 2005 relied on the archaeological and architectural aspects of heritage management, and focused solely on Wat Phrathat Haripunchai, with little connection culturally to other parts of the city.

The 2008 Action Plan focused on the physical appearance of the walled zone, for example by controlling the designs of buildings within the walled zone, and creating a cultural landscape by rebuilding using the Lanna style signage, traffic lights, telephone booths, bins and other objects. The Action Plan includes a large scale reconstruction, using Lanna style, of the façade of existing buildings in the walled area of the main street, which passes through the City Hall, Wat Phrathat Haripunchai and the Haripunchai National Museum, decorating traffic lights, lamp posts, telephone booths and post boxes in Lanna style, and creating a pleasant cultural landscape and public space (Pisut Technology 2008). The most important point is that Lamphun's Old Town zone surely represents 'Lanna heritage' and provide an Old Town atmosphere to visitors. Nonetheless, it lacks authenticity, as most of the landscape would be recreated, and local residents' autonomy over the Old Town zone would also be affected.

This research does not try to justify each party's perception or understanding of 'cultural heritage', since parties' heritage practices are influenced by different sets of ideologies. Western or international standards for conservation practices are not necessarily the most appropriate heritage management strategies; rather policies and practices need to be agreed on by stakeholders or conflict parties. However, understanding of the concept of 'World Heritage', as defined by UNESCO, and clear communication between the parties involved, are necessary for the preparation of Lamphun's future nomination. Local residents' lack of data, or the use of different criteria to assess Lamphun's heritage, will lead to further conflicts in the preparation process and in the management process after the inscription.

Lastly, stakeholders, who include Lamphun's various parties, may need to discuss and reconsider the purpose and strategies for the World Heritage nomination. Globalising Lamphun's heritage means that Lamphun has to accept changes to its values, management structures and conservation practices in order to meet the criteria for World Heritage inscription. Control of the use of heritage is not only necessary for the evaluation from the World Heritage Committee, but also for the conservation of Lamphun's 'outstanding universal values' after the inscription. Frequently, parties who are involved and interested have asked the following questions: Who wants Lamphun to be a World Heritage site? Who will manage Lamphun's heritage after the inscription? What changes will the

inscription bring to Lamphun? Is it necessary for Lamphun to be a World Heritage site in order to receive attention from state agencies and local government in heritage conservation, and prevent threats to cultural heritage from modern developments? The aim of these questions is to decide whether or not World Heritage listing is suitable for Lamphun, and how to make sustainable changes to their heritage practices.

According to the interviewees' comments in the previous section, heritage agencies regard World Heritage listing as a strategy to encourage other sectors to be part of heritage management. Local authorities and administrative agencies may see the associated economic value which comes with World Heritage status. Some of the monks and local communities may see World Heritage as irrelevant to their normal lives, and some may be in opposition to the campaign. One of the interviewees' responses may be a good explanation of the relevance of the World Heritage concept to Lamphun:

...Lamphun is culturally saturated. Their residents are too familiar with their cultural heritage and they may not feel that the title of World Heritage would be exciting for them...

(Expert interview 15, Lecturer in Lanna Art)

Other World Heritage Sites in Asia

The aim of this section is to make a comparison of Lamphun to two World Heritage Sites in Southeast Asia, Luang Prabang in Laos and Hoi An in Vietnam. The reason is external experts, including the Old Town Conservation committee and consultancy firm that drafted the 2009 Master Plan, often refer to these two cities as useful case studies that Lamphun might use as a model for the development of a management framework. Lamphun is similar to these two cities in many respects: richness of traditions, being a living city and with a population that has traditional and agrarian ways of life, although there are differences in the agencies that originated the plan for nomination.

Luang Prabang

Luang Prabang is the former capital of the Kingdom of Lan Xang. It represents the fusion of traditional architecture and Lao urban structures with those built by the European colonial authorities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (UNESCO 2011f). Traditional buildings in Laos include commercial buildings, *stupas*, temples, and colonial houses (UNESCO 2011f). Its unique well preserved townscape illustrates a key stage in the blending of Lao and colonial traditions, with outstanding architecture, land use and the management of spaces over time.

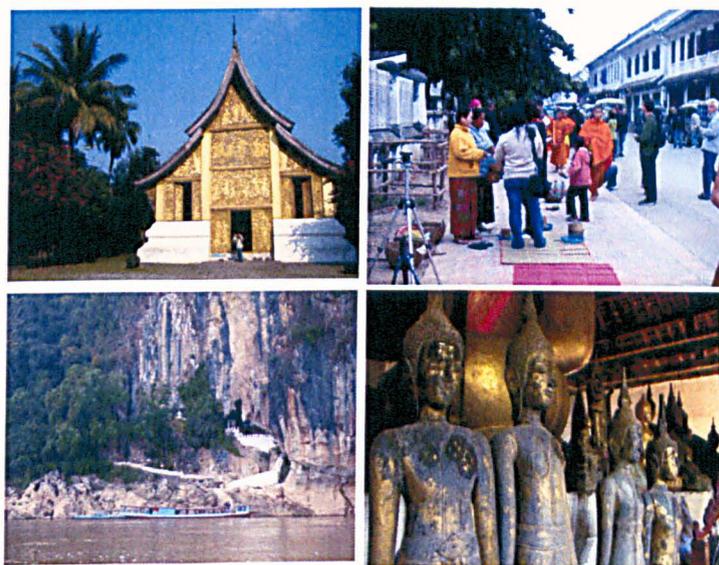


Figure 7. 1: Luang Prabang

Source: Author

An area of 1.4 hectares was designated a heritage preservation zone following the approval of the Master Plan in 1996. As a result of heritage regulations, no monuments can be destroyed, moved or modified externally or internally (UNESCO 2004b: 43). Restoration must adhere to original architectural specifications, including facades, roofs, materials, finishes and colours (UNESCO 2004b: 43). An organisation called ‘La Maison du Patrimoine’ (the Heritage House) was established as a joint venture between provincial heritage agencies and the French city of Chinon in order to ensure that conservation work undertaken in Luang Prabang is carried out in accordance with international World Heritage standards (UNESCO 2004b: 43; Synchron 2009b 4-28). This serves as an advisory service to the municipal government and the local community, providing advice and management on issues of heritage conservation in Luang Prabang (UNESCO 2004b: 43).

In addition to the conservation of heritage, and as Luang Prabang is a popular tourist destination, a management plan for controlling tourism was established. Stakeholders were identified and categorised into local residents, Buddhist *Sangha*, target beneficiaries (from tourism), private sector, government, special interest groups and development agencies (UNESCO 2004b: 83). A council consisting of these stakeholders was set up. Four models for stakeholder cooperation were developed by UNESCO to provide an operational strategy for developing tourism sustainably:

1. Model for Fiscal Management for Heritage Conservation, Maintenance and Development at the Municipal level.
2. Model for investment by the tourism industry in the sustainability of the cultural heritage resource base and supporting infrastructure.
3. Model for community education and skills training, leading to employment in the heritage conservation and culture tourism sector, with emphasis on opportunities for women and youth.
4. Model for consensus building (conflict resolution) among tourism promoters, Government agencies, property developers, local residents and heritage conservationists.

(UNESCO 2004b)

Lamphun is similar to Luang Prabang in that both are religious centres and both have a large number of Buddhist heritage sites and traditions. The difference is Luang Prabang's inscription was initiated by the central Lao government, assisted by Western experts, whilst the call for Lamphun's nomination came from local heritage agencies and local experts. Considering the four models above, heritage maintenance and conservation at Luang Prabang is also monitored and sponsored largely by government officials and international organisations. One model addressing community participation stressed local education and training, which is rather a one-way or top-down process of communication and restricts the use of local knowledge in planning. However, this may be accommodated by model 4, which allows for consensus building and for local residents to participate and express their concerns and expectations in managing local heritage.

However, conservation work in the designated zone is heavily influenced by agencies that adhere to the Western conservation ethic, which is utilised to protect the ‘outstanding universal values’ of the city. The proposal for the World Heritage nomination of Luang Prabang was initiated when the historic fabric of the city was in a high degree of material authenticity (1994), whilst Lamphun’s physical environment has been significantly more affected by modern intervention. The issues for heritage management in Luang Prabang centre on how to preserve the authenticity and integrity of the city’s fabric while managing the impact of tourism. This is particularly important, as the city has become a popular tourist destination. Another ongoing issue is the transmission of traditional knowledge in building construction. As most of the conservation campaigns are driven from heritage agencies, traditional practice has gradually become less popular among local communities (UNESCO 2004b: 45). This lack of traditional artisanship is also an issue in Lamphun and other provinces in Thailand (Bunyasurat 2006b) and possibly one of the main reasons that contribute to the lack of material authenticity in Thai religious heritage.

Hoi An

Hoi An is located on the northern bank of the Thu Bon River in Quang Nam province on the south central coast of Viet Nam (UNESCO Bangkok 2008). Most of the buildings are of the traditional architectural style of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Traditional buildings include religious buildings, such as pagodas, temples and meeting houses, which relate to the development of a port community. Intangible heritage, such as traditional lifestyles, religion, customs and cooking have been preserved and many festivals still take place annually (UNESCO 2011g). Hoi An satisfied two criteria for inclusion on the World Heritage List:

Criterion (ii): Hoi An is an outstanding material manifestation of the fusion of cultures over time in an international commercial port.

Criterion (v): Hoi An is an exceptionally well preserved example of a traditional Asian trading port (UNESCO 2011g).

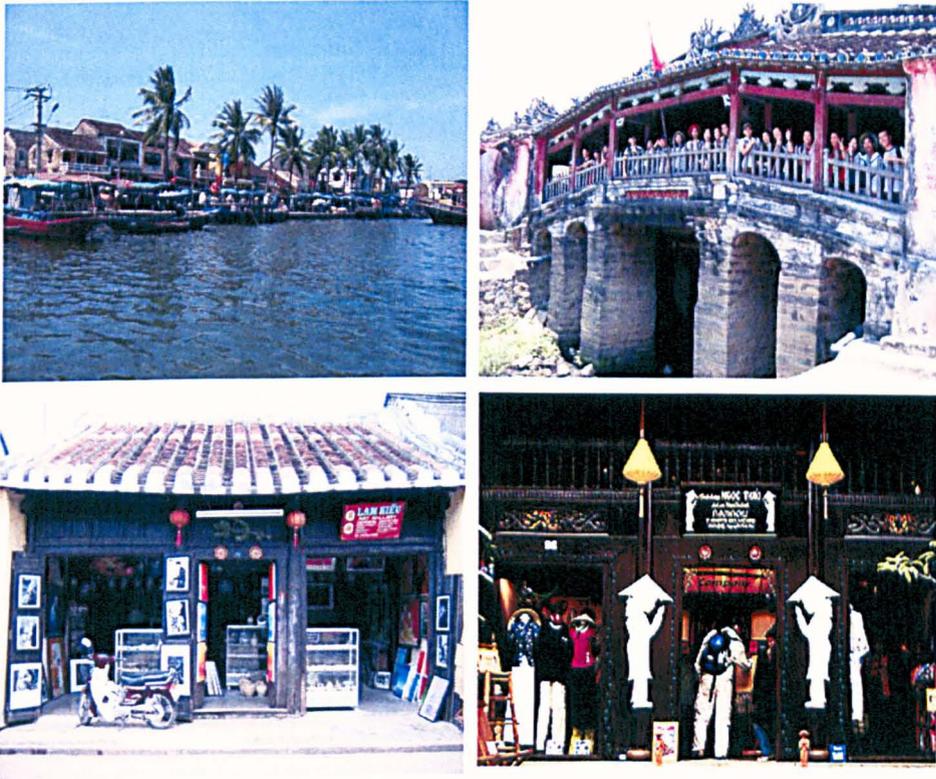


Figure 7.2: Hoi An
Source: Synchron 2009b

Similar to Luang Prabang, Hoi An's heritage management strategy centres on zoning. The town was divided into two zones: an intact protection zone (where buildings are preserved in their original state) and an ecological environment and a landscape protection zone (where modification of buildings is allowed, but any impacts on the cultural landscape must be monitored). Historic buildings are classified into four main categories according to their authenticity and integrity (UNESCO Bangkok 2008). The government owned some of the historic buildings in the city, but a large number of historic buildings in Hoi An are under private ownership. Incentives and subsidies for local developers and property owners to pursue Western conservation principles were widely applied, but financial assistance depends on the building classifications suggested in the management plan (UNESCO Bangkok 2008: 33). In terms of public involvement, the population of Hoi An mainly participate in tourism management as the beneficiaries of tourism and as contributors of information and resources or implementers. The public, however, has no major role in the decision-making process and therefore has limited control over the outcome of tourism plans (UNESCO 2008: 71).

Reflecting on the cases

These examples reflect the fact that both international agencies and the government of a nation-state are effective facilitators of the Western AHD underpinning heritage management, as suggested by various heritage scholars (Byrne 1991, 1993; Taylor 2004; Smith 2006; Peleggi 2007, 2012; Askew 2009). Western colonisation in the late nineteenth century might have led to the localisation of Western epistemologies and scientific methods, including heritage management strategies. Although political situations have changed, Southeast Asian countries' governments still officialise Western ethics underpinning heritage practices (Taylor 2004; Jiajanpong 2005; Askew 2009). The World Heritage Listing ensures that the inscribed cultural heritage sites have a satisfactory degree of authenticity, integrity and management framework (UNESCO 2011a), and most Southeast Asian countries, including Thailand, have become State Parties to the WHC and actively prepare heritage sites for World Heritage nomination.

These two cases, which are considered well-preserved examples of Asian historic cities by the World Heritage Centre (UNESCO 2011a), illustrate a rigid control of tangible heritage by the state, and also international heritage agencies, at least in the case of Luang Prabang. Soft and hard regulations were employed in order to preserve the authenticity and integrity of tangible heritage. In both cases, the heritage authorities also attempted to encourage the transmission of intangible cultural heritage, such as the provision of training in traditional building construction in Luang Prabang and state organised festive events in Hoi An (UNESCO 2004b; UNESCO Bangkok 2008). However, threats to heritage preservation in these cities come from changing ways of life, which is more evidently illustrated in the area of intangible heritage. For example, the decreasing number of participants in the traditional building technique training programme in Luang Prabang and the disappearance of some traditions in Hoi An (UNESCO 2004b; UNESCO Bangkok 2008). In most Asian cities the driving force for the preservation of authenticity and integrity of historic landscapes often do not occur from within local community, or a community of monks. This is largely because the conceptualisation and appreciation of cultural heritage by UNESCO and similar agencies does not fit in with local traditional worldviews

(Peleggi 2012: 62). Conservation projects and World Heritage inscription of these two cities took place at a time just before the discourse of modernity took hold in these countries and started to alter the originality of local heritage. Much of the tangible heritage is still intact because of regulations that are now in place to control development planning. However, the main problem for the sites already on the World Heritage list is increased tourist activities. These may be a catalyst for changes as the tourism industry requires facilities and infrastructure (UNESCO 2007: 1-4).

Possible solutions for Lamphun's cultural heritage management and examples of other similar cases in Thailand

The Lamphun to World Heritage campaign has encouraged local administrative and heritage agencies to develop management strategies for Lamphun's cultural resources. Lamphun's local government is attempting to implement a heritage management framework in order to preserve the city's cultural significance, and reduce modern interventions in preparation for the future World Heritage nomination. At least three reports by consultancy teams have been produced to analyse current problems and propose possible solutions for Lamphun (Chergreen 2005; Pisut Technology 2008; Synchron 2009b). The proposed strategies are divided broadly into the use of legislation or a conservation plan to control uses of heritage within a conservation zone, the use of a bottom-up approach and collaboration between the state and local communities. The following section discusses possible resolutions to the heritage conflicts and their strengths and weaknesses with reference to other cases in Thailand.

Top-down approach: implementing regulation and incentives for the protection of cultural heritage

Measures for the protection of heritage can be divided into soft and hard regulations (ONEP 2007: 44). Soft regulation may include the use of charters, guidelines and codes of practice to suggest best practice for conservation. Hard regulation is the use of legislation, legal documents or rigid conservation plans to control the use of heritage. The Sukhothai Historical Park project illustrates the

way in which the Thai government has implemented a rigid conservation and management plan, which required the relocation of local residents. Government heritage agencies claimed that the project overcame the issue of local resistance and culminated in success when Sukhothai was inscribed on the World Heritage list. Sukhothai historical park is largely influenced by Western conservation ethics. The park now looks similar to the ruins of dissolved abbeys and priories within England, such as Fountains Abbey, Whitby Abbey and Bolton Abbey owned by the National Trust, English Heritage, or private organisations. That is, the park consists of piles of ruins on green, tidely mowed lawns. However, its status as World Heritage, and its appearance and rigid conservation plan, may make members of the local community feel that the park is owned by specific agencies rather than being local heritage. As Keith Emerick (2003) has argued, a highly managed landscape creates an atmosphere of the site as a 'frozen moment' that alienates the site from the contemporary local population. Waterton (2009) makes a similar point, that such obsessively tidy and controlled landscapes often render the sites within them 'people-less'.

Example: Sukhothai historical park and associated towns

In the early 1990's, Sukhothai and associated towns were amongst the first historical parks that were listed as World Heritage Sites. Established in 1238, Sukhothai is an early Thai polity in lower Northern Thailand, and is often recognised and presented by Thailand's government institutions as 'the birthplace of the Thai nation and the country's first capital city' (TAT 2007: 8). The park consists of clusters of ruined *stupas*, laterite columns, Buddha images and other components of ancient monasteries (TAT 2007). This was a large project, and the FAD was responsible for the development plan. The plan involved a significant alteration of the physical landscape, and affected more than a third of the 600 households living inside the park's proposed boundary. An area of 2,887 rai (4.62 km²) was redeveloped, while the relocated houses occupied an area of 1.97 km² (ICOMOS n.d.: 177). Around 400 houses near the park also needed to be redeveloped to improve the cultural landscape (ICOMOS n.d.). Affected households were given compensation. The development plan firmly followed Western/international standards for heritage conservation and management. The plan requires that if there is to be any restoration, the original

ancient bricks must be used. If some structures need to be repaired with modern building materials, they will be used only to consolidate fragile points (ICOMOS n.d.).



Figure 7. 3: Sukhothai Historical Park

Source: Author

Sukhothai represents the use of regulation to create or revive a cultural landscape in a historical park. Since the aim of the project was to gain listing as a World Heritage site, the conservation process at the site needed to be in accordance with international conservation standards. In Sukhothai's case, the strong measures to control land use in the historical park produced immediate results.

The use of a rigid legal framework to improve Lamphun's management strategies may be more complicated than in Sukhothai's case, and cause resistance from local residents, since most of the significant structures are in the urbanised area and local communities still use most of the sites and monuments. Implementing regulation on the conservation of urbanised areas means activities in the conservation zone are closely monitored or controlled. The two significant conservation plans which will possibly have a great effect on Lamphun's cultural heritage management are the 2009 *Master Plan for the preparation of Lamphun for World Heritage nomination* and the 2010 *Conservation and Development Plan for Lamphun's Old Town*. The first document outlines procedures for the preparation of Lamphun's physical heritage and residents for World Heritage nomination. The plans suggest that all alteration of religious structures and other

town components, such as the City Gate and City Wall, should be stopped until the local government introduces regulations to control structural design and land use within the core conservation and buffer zones (Synchron 2009b: 9-3). In addition to the physical aspects of conservation, the Master Plan includes the development of human resources and intangible culture, such as introducing at different levels the concepts of World Heritage and heritage conservation to Lamphun's residents, and the revival of intangible culture and Lamphun's identity.

The Conservation and Development Plan for Lamphun's Old Town was a response to the Prime Minister Office's 2003 Regulation on Conservation of Old Towns. The ONEP supported the project. The Standard for the Natural and Cultural environment of Old Towns prioritises and distinguishes old towns from other types of cities. The regulation still addresses the central concepts of authenticity and integrity. Although the regulation is very much dedicated to conservation of tangible heritage, it includes other new concepts such as cultural landscape, community empowerment, revival of artisanship, and revival of traditional ways of life (ONEP 2007).

On the one hand, these conservation plans are effective tools in preserving the physical features and atmospheres of old towns and associated activities. In addition, intangible heritage can be revived, and uncontrolled changes to tangible and intangible heritage monitored and managed using legal or management frameworks. On the other hand, the implementation of the regulation controls most locals' affairs, and all changes to the physical environment have to conform to national conservation and management standards, which are still more or less underpinned by Western conservation ethics. Local residents in the conservation zone may well feel that they are losing autonomy over their homes.

Bottom-up approach: call for more inclusive approaches to heritage

In addition to top-down processes, community heritage projects are an alternative heritage management strategy. The growing interest in community empowerment was in response to the recent argument that the state has been the main player in rural development, whilst locals have been forced to take a passive role, consequently making local communities weaker (Buasai 2005: 34). Many

community projects are based on the social theory that the power of a community depends on four factors: resources, social network, knowledge system, cultures and beliefs (Buasai 2005). Cultural heritage has become involved in community empowerment and these four factors, as heritage is part of local communities' belief systems. Social networks and local knowledge may be built and strengthened through heritage practices and the transmission of cultural traditions. The case of Nan illustrates cultural heritage management that comes from the grassroots or community level.

Example 2: Nan and community heritage project

Nan is another small Lanna city located in Northern Thailand. Being located away from other big cities, Nan's physical appearance remains relatively intact, and traditional ways of life continue uninterrupted (Kovathanakul 2006: 275). Nan was declared an 'old town' in response to The Office of the Prime Minister's Regulation on Conservation and Development of the Old Town B.E. 2546 (2003 AD). It was announced that the heart of the city, and the Wat Prathat Chae Heang compound, were the 'core' conservation zones where all activities which may bring changes to the physical heritage would be monitored. Nan's cultural heritage is now managed under various tangible and intangible heritage conservation projects, such as Nan's Old Town Conservation Plan, Nan's Town Planning, Nan's identity, Nan's cultural atlas by local communities, Nan's local museums projects and the proposal for World Heritage listing (Nan Province 2009).

However, according to local residents, the strength of Nan's heritage management is not its rigid conservation plans. In addition to its well-preserved physical environment, Nan has been seen as a small city in which the civil sector, with assistance from the non-governmental agencies, strongly participates in heritage management, and the Nan Provincial Coordinating Mechanism (PCM) works efficiently in coordinating various communities. The Nan PCM emerged in 1990 when small communities of monks, local residents, farmers, youths and others formed a network group called 'Love Nan'. The 'Love Nan' Group's main function is to empower local communities, and many aspects of their work are related to both tangible and intangible heritage. In 2003, the United National Development Programmes (UNDP) measured the Participation Index in

Thailand, which ranges from 0.295 to 0.768. This measures political and civil society participation, which includes community groups, households' participation in local groups and social services. Nan ranked first out of 76 provinces in Thailand with a score of 0.768 (UNDP 2003: 108).

Apart from the non-government agencies' local movements, Nan's participatory action research, conducted by Praicharnjit in 2002-2007, encouraged local communities to take an active role in multiple activities such as archaeological site management and the management of artefacts, local museums and community research. These activities are aimed at enabling local communities to manage their own heritage with minimal reliance on the state or authorised agencies. Local communities formulate a management approach, with experts assisting only in terms of research and methodology. For example, local kiln sites were named after landowners to associate the locals with the sites and to create a sense of belonging (Praicharnjit 2005). Researchers and members of the local community together carried out later excavations. The local community is involved in every step of excavation and management of the finds. Other projects involved construction of village museums and child training sessions in local arts and knowledge (Praicharnjit 2005). When the research project was concluded in 2004 there were new discoveries from excavations, and members of the local community started to see cultural heritage as their own property rather than the state's, as was previously the case.

Nan's bottom-up approaches to heritage management are successful in the views of experts and local residents due to several factors. Somjet Wimonkasem, one of the driving forces for the Nan PCM and a guest speaker at Lamphun's community participation session on 1-3 August 2009, suggested that Nan's civil sector's strength came from its initial lack of development, which compelled Nan's local residents to work together to find a way towards well-being. Nan is lucky that most of the community leaders are monks, local experts in traditional knowledge and Doctor Boonyong, who initiated the 'Love Nan' network, which later became an office of Nan PCM.

Lamphun's civil sector is currently not as strong as Nan's. Throughout the fieldwork, both the expert and ethnographic sides expressed concerns that the non-governmental civil sectors were not strong and harmonious enough to take on responsibility or an active role in heritage management. However, some

interviewees commented that Lamphun really needs a driving force at the community level to first overturn the perceived barriers between the government and the civil sector, and encourage the local communities to express a sense of place and a sense of belonging in a creative way. Nan's communities are not only groups of people who happen to live in the same place, they also share common interests. Lamphun has a diverse range of interest groups, such as the textile production village and the wood carving community, which have the potential to become strong communities. If such communities are harmonious and strong, the path of Lamphun's heritage management will be decided by local communities and become a sustainable development.

Collaboration: work together

Due to the current situation in Thailand, pure top-down or bottom-up heritage management strategies may not be applicable and effective at community level. The former is too oppressive, and likely to be resisted by local stakeholders, and the latter requires a high degree of participation from the stakeholders. Collaboration is something that each party's agenda hopes to achieve, at least to meet at some level of adequacy the needs of all the parties. In Thailand, collaboration may be achieved through the authorised agencies, local authority, experts and local communities participating together. *Wat Pongsanuk* won an award of Merit in the 2008 UNESCO Asia-Pacific Heritage Awards for the Culture Heritage Conservation competition (UNESCO 2009). It is a partner in UNESCO's Museum-to-Museum Partnership project, which fosters a training relationship between museum experts at the Cultural Heritage Centre for Asia and the Pacific at Deakin University in Australia, focusing on selected temples of heritage significance in Lampang Province (UNESCO 2009).

Example 3: Wat Pong Sanuk

Most of the reconstruction or renovation work of a living *wat* is done by the monks alone, or sometimes with the FAD's expertise, if that *wat* contains significant or historic structures. Conservation projects of historic structures by the FAD mostly adopt the top-down approach, in which authorised agencies manage the projects (Bunyasurat 2006: 197). *Wat Pong Sanuk* is located in Lampang, another city of Northern Thailand. It is a Buddhist *wat* with a

significant component called ‘Viharn-Phra-Chao-Pan-Ong’ (The Great Hall of a Thousand Buddhas). Local craftspeople renovated the *viharn* in collaboration with Chiang Mai University’s Faculty of Fine Arts. The former structures were largely wooden, and had deteriorated. Local communities wanted to have the structures renovated by traditional methods, which would replace existing fabric with new ones: replacing tiny Lanna tiles with modern thick ones, replacing cement ground blocks with marble (Bunyasurat 2006:198). The research project, led by an expert from Chiang Mai University’s Faculty of Fine Arts, decided to assist the renovation by conserving the original *viharn*. The experts’ tasks included providing necessary training, and reviving traditional artisanship in order to conserve the spiritual value and Lanna Buddhism (UNESCO 2009). Local communities and the monks have renovated the *viharn* using traditional Lanna techniques gained from the training session in March 2006, and the work has been done together with student attendees from three universities: Chiang Mai University, Silpakorn University and Rajabhat Chiang Rai university (Bunyasurat 2006: 203). Apart from the renovation project, the universities’ experts also assisted local communities to build a small museum to keep artefacts from the *viharn* (Bunyasurat 2006: 203).

This case reflects the willingness of the local communities and the experts to work together. There were negotiations about the way in which materials were renewed in the renovation, and as requested by local communities, the spiritual life of the *viharn* was extended. This case is rather different from the top-down approach, where locals have little knowledge of conservation projects, and is different from the bottom-up approach, under which locals can decide their own management plans. For the community of experts, the project prevents uncontrolled changes using modern construction techniques, and preserves the site’s authenticity and integrity according to Western conservation standards. The local communities’ desire for merit-making can also be fulfilled. However, the project, with UNESCO’s support and assistance, has taught Western conservation and management values to local communities. This process is similar to ‘freezing’ both tangible and intangible cultural heritage associated with the construction of religious structures from evolving as the concept of ‘authenticity’, which is contradictory to traditional conservation practice, is introduced to local communities.

Reflecting on the cases

These three strategies reflect the measures that have been implemented in Thailand. There are both strengths and weaknesses to these three strategies. They are possible solutions, but local residents, government officials, and the local authority need to decide together the one that is suitable for Lamphun. The use of purely top-down strategies may threaten the sense of place and identity. However, if there is no legal enforcement or conservation plan, the consequences from industrialisation and economic development, together with traditional practices of conservation, will gradually change the existing cultural heritage. A balance between the state and private sector needs to be established, and the perceived psychological barriers which obstruct collaboration or compromise need to be resolved.

The balance between practices may be established through the dialogue between government and civil sectors, which should occur on a regular basis to enable parties to exchange their needs and expectations. Each consultation session should be an exchange of opinions and attitudes not only in the form of one-way communication. If possible, leading figures in heritage management should also come from within Lamphun community to solve the issue of distrust. Another essential point is that the heritage management of a city with a large amount of sacred heritage needs to address both tangible and intangible aspects of heritage. Intangible heritage in this context should include both cultural expressions and belief systems. The supernatural aspect of heritage is an integral part of the heritage system in Lamphun, thus it should be integrated and given sufficient recognition in the conservation plan. The tangible cannot survive without the intangible and *vice versa*. Moreover, conflicts should be identified in the consultation session and resolution should aim to tackle both practical and psychological levels, which means not only that heritage needs management, the human factor also needs to be taken into consideration. The use of outside parties as mediator on some occasions may be helpful as the parties involved in the conflict tend to have their standpoints in the conflicts and protect their interest accordingly.

After a long period of research and data collection, Lamphun has started using the *Master Plan for its preparation of the Lamphun for World Heritage*

listing. The consequences have not yet been revealed, but political instability has slowed down the project. Following the 2011 intensification of tensions between Thailand and Cambodia, there is uncertainty about the future of Lamphun's World Heritage listing.

Political situation along the Thai-Cambodian border and the likely impacts on Lamphun

Askew (2010:40) has argued that the globalisation of heritage practices, particularly the World Heritage program, may lead to competition between nation-states rather than hegemony in heritage management. According to Askew, the World Heritage program is often a nation-state's domestic project of cultural reification and domination (Askew 2010: 40). His argument is best reflected in the disputes between Thailand and Cambodia over the ownership of the Preah Vihear Temple and associated area, which has massively affected the direction of Thailand's World Heritage listing.

The political tension between Thailand and Cambodia over the Preah Vihear Temple has continued for decades. As stated in the Siam-France Treaty of 13 February 1904 and the Treaty of 23 March 1907, the natural watershed was used to define the boundary between the two countries. According to article one of both treaties, the line of the natural watershed placed the Temple of Preah Vihear within Thailand's territory. However, French officers surveyed and drew up the Annex I map to show the border's location and placed the temple on the Cambodian side of the border (ICJ 1962a). Disputes over the ownership of the Preah Vihear Temple commenced, and culminated when the Cambodian government brought the issue to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). By nine votes to three, the Court found that the Temple of Preah Vihear is situated under the sovereignty of Cambodia, and that Thailand is obliged to withdraw any military and police force, or other guards or keepers, stationed at the Temple or in its vicinity on Cambodian territory. By seven votes to five, the Court found that Thailand is under an obligation to restore to Cambodia any objects of the kind specified in Cambodia's fifth Submission, which, since Thailand's occupation of the Temple in 1954, the Thai authorities may have removed from

the Temple or the Temple area (ICJ 1962b). However, Thailand still maintained that the ICJ's rule included only the area of the temple, and the adjoining area of the 4.6 km² still belonged to Thailand (Vejjajiva 2008).

The disputes over the boundary between the two countries calmed down, until Cambodia was successful in the inscription of the Temple of Preah Vihear on the World Heritage list in 2008 after the Thai Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cambodia's Deputy Prime Minister signed a joint communiqué on 18 June 2008 (Silverman 2011: 7). The Thai Court later cancelled the joint communiqué, since Thailand claimed that allowing Cambodia to have the sole authority to manage the site would risk losing Thailand's sovereignty over the disputed area, and the former action of the Thai Minister of Foreign Affairs was in opposition to Thai Law (Urairat 2008: 13; Silverman 2011:7). The disputes over the adjoining area of the Temple broke out again. Different political factions in Thailand have used the Preah Vihear Temple to attack each other. For instance, the People's Alliance for Democracy (PAD) has accused former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva's government of failing to protect the nation's sovereignty (Silverman 2011: 7).

On 26 June 2011, the World Heritage centre decided to advance Cambodia's plan to the meeting in Paris, despite Thai lobbying to have the plan delayed until border demarcation work with Cambodia was complete. Mr. Suvit Khunkitti, head of the Thai delegation, announced that Thailand was to withdraw from the WHC (Bangkok Post, 26th June 2011). This action unavoidably affected Thailand's World Heritage programme. If Thailand withdrew from the WHC, heritage sites awaiting nomination would no longer be inscribed on the World Heritage list, since Thailand would no longer be a State Party of the convention. The future of the World Heritage listing projects in Thailand remains uncertain until an official decision is made on withdrawal from the WHC. The denunciation would take effect twelve months after the receipt of the instrument of denunciation (WHC, the Convention Text 1972). However, when the 'Phua Thai' Party was elected as government in July 2011, the situation changed. Surapong Tovijakhaikul, the current Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced on 14th October 2011 that the national committee had agreed to remain a State Party of the WHC (Thai Post, 14 October 2011). The reason given for this change of position was that being a State Party would allow Thailand a

chance to address the problem posed by the dispute with Cambodia. Moreover, the government considered that, in terms of the resources and expertise provided by WH membership, it would be more advantageous than not to remain a State Party (Thai Post, 14 October 2011).

This case illustrates the fact that heritage practice in Thailand is highly political. The inscription of the Preah Vihear temple, sovereignty over the temple's adjacent area, and even Thailand's status as State Party of the WHC have been exploited by political factions. Although concepts of universal values and appreciation of cultural heritage may be adopted by Thai heritage professionals, the current influence of the nationalist discourse supersedes the significance of the Western AHD, and cultural heritage has become an aspect of nation-state political posturing.

Despite UNESCO's attempt to give priority to the conservation and protection of cultural heritage, Thailand still sees the WHC as a tool to express nationalism. The significance of sovereignty over the disputed area outweighs the significance of international cooperation on heritage conservation practices. This incident may bring significant changes in the management of Thailand's heritage sites, since it has triggered public interest in the World Heritage system, the usefulness of World Heritage status and the possibility of using regional or national standards for conservation rather than a universal standard.

Conclusion

Long and Labadi (2010:11) have observed that globalisation has affected heritage practices in two broad domains: disruption of traditional cultures caused by the extension of market relationships across geographical space, and the closer interactions between local, regional and national cultures. These phenomena have led to both homogeneity and strong expressions of cultural difference. Lamphun's recent cultural policies reflect an attempt to push for its heritage to be recognised globally, but management complications and policies at local and national levels make Lamphun's future direction uncertain. The effects of globalisation on heritage practices in different regions across the globe have been a pressing issue in the heritage circle. The World Heritage system is one of the most popular international programs which Thailand has been interested in,

and which encouraged large scale research and preparation of various sites for inscription.

The World Heritage listing project in Lamphun was originated by local experts or heritage academics together with local government. Heritage authorities have attempted to make the project 'inclusive' by including community participation in the preparation process, but the mobilisation of the project remains largely centralised. There have been various forms of response from local residents: participation, scepticism, avoidance and resistance. Different types of conflict, discussed in chapter six, were revealed when the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign started. Local conflicts include conflicts in the practical aspects of conservation, and the perceived psychological barriers between the state and the private sector often obstruct the campaign. State agencies or the authorised caretakers of cultural heritage in Thailand see World Heritage listing as a way to bring about the sustainable management of heritage sites, whilst the focus of other sectors may be economic benefits. Different parties may need to find common ground and decide what strategies are suitable for the care of Lamphun's heritage. The examples of Luang Phrabang and Hoi An were drawn on to compare various management frameworks for historic cities in Southeast Asia, but it is likely that heritage management in such cities and the driving force for World Heritage inscription is still largely centralised at the government sector. Another three examples, Sukhothai, Nan and Wat Pongsanuk, illustrate different strategies used to deal with conservation problems in Thailand. The conservation plans at all three places are seen by both government and non-government sectors as 'successful', despite the fact that a range of different strategies have been used by local government or local communities to deal with the problems at each place. After all, the solution may simply be the strategy that most parties within a community agree to comply with, or feel that they are comfortable with, without the need to fully accommodate other ideologies or sacrifice their own beliefs.

Chapter 8: Discussion on Cultural Heritage, Conflicts and Discourses on Heritage

'There is, really, no such thing as heritage'

(Smith 2006: 11)

This quote illustrates how heritage, as a cultural practice, is understood and perceived under the influence of particular sets of values, or discourses. Perceptions of heritage may vary, geographically and temporally, depending on social, cultural and political circumstances. In Thailand, according to the research findings, more than one discourse has influenced heritage practices at the local level, and the coexistence of competing discourses in heritage management often puts pressure on cultural heritage. The interplay between discourses is, in fact, on a continuum. One discourse does not permanently dominate others, since socio-cultural or political changes can often introduce, or re-introduce, another set of values that affects people's perception of heritage. In the case of Lamphun, traditional Buddhist-animistic ideologies, the royalist-nationalist discourse and Western ethics in conservation have become the most dominant and influential discourses in heritage management at different times. If the discourses of heritage influence people's perception of heritage at an ideological level, the conflicts that emerge from the existence of competing discourses are hard to resolve. Relationship and interest conflicts may be reduced by finding the common ground between the parties. Psychological factors need to be taken into consideration, which means parties involved in the conflicts must feel that their needs are addressed by each other. The most likely solution is possibly to be aware of the differences, create dialogues between conflicting parties and discuss what can be negotiated.

Lamphun's cultural heritage includes a wide range of entities. Its management sits within a complex web of internal conflicts between different communities. The global-local conflicts were galvanised when the idea of World Heritage listing was proposed to the public in 2004 (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). In order to satisfy the criteria for World Heritage inscription, Western conservation ethics were given priority over traditional heritage

management practices, which often threaten Western concepts of authenticity and integrity. State heritage agencies still see traditional practices conducted by the non-government sector as a hindrance to the preparation of Lamphun for World Heritage listing. What happened in Lamphun during the fieldwork from 2008-2011 illustrates how different discourses become dominant and influence cultural heritage management at different times.

Discursive nature of heritage: root of the problems

This research emphasises that the meaning of heritage is not static. The perceived meaning of heritage is influenced by a particular discourse, or the way we think, talk, or discuss things (Smith 2006:11). Therefore, it varies across space and time. There is also variation of practices within one society. Although the more recent definitions of cultural heritage are associated with cultural practices, rather than objects of inherent value (Smith 2006), the formalised meanings of heritage tend to rely on classic definitions of heritage, which focus on material, tangible aspects. These are embedded in national and international documents, such as the UNESCO WHC, a series of ICOMOS international charters, or even the Thai Acts on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Arts and National Museums. The recent trend in heritage management may reflect increasing recognition of alternative interpretations of heritage, such as the ICHC, but some Western countries still see it as irrelevant to their heritage (Smith and Akagawa 2009).

The discursive nature of heritage puts pressure on Lamphun's heritage management, as communities do not use the same criteria to determine their heritage practices. This research has divided heritage stakeholders into different conflict parties. These are: heritage agencies, provincial and local administrative agencies; the communities of monks; local communities; local experts in traditional knowledge; local heritage academics; and the press. Their responses suggested variations in understanding of heritage between, and even within, parties. Although local residents of Lamphun recognise that the Western AHD and the nationalist discourse, as discussed in chapter two, influence formalised meanings of heritage, their fundamental understanding of heritage is still, largely, influenced by traditional ideologies, particularly Buddhist-animistic ones. The results of the Meaning of Heritage Survey and qualitative interviews,

discussed in chapter five, suggest that a large proportion of local communities in Lamphun associate cultural heritage with ways of life, religious or spiritual beliefs, or with other categories; and that the purpose of their conservation and management is different from the formalised processes performed by government agencies. Tensions or conflicts in heritage management emerge when different sectors of society are unaware of the diversity of interpretations of heritage, or are unable or unwilling to negotiate, compromise, or recognise other parties' perceptions of heritage. In the case of Lamphun, possibly like other parts of Thailand, conflict parties that have better access to resources and power have the right to define 'appropriate' heritage practices, and are prone to making other groups that are dedicated to alternative practices accommodate mainstream ones.

Another significant issue that illustrates the presence of a diverse interpretation of heritage is the growing recognition of intangible heritage. The debates concerning tangible and intangible heritage have been of public interest, and UNESCO finally recognised and formalised intangible cultural heritage by launching the ICHC in 2003. Some Western countries, such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia, objected to the relevance of the ICHC to their domestic heritage practices (Smith 2006: 109; Smith and Waterton 2009: 289). However, in Thailand, intangible heritage has been an important part of cultural policies. There are government agencies charged with heritage management, such as various departments under the Ministry of Culture, some offices under the Fine Arts Department, and the Buddhism Office. The Department of Cultural Promotion is drafting an Act on the Safeguarding of National Cultural Heritage in order to prepare the list of national intangible heritage before becoming a signatory of the ICHC (Ministry of Culture 2011). The current structure clearly separates tangible and intangible heritage agencies. As discussed in chapter six, separating responsibilities for management may lead to conflicting policies and overlapping duties that, at times, may affect the integrity of tangible heritage.

The results of the Meaning of Heritage Survey, as discussed in chapter five, also suggested that, in the case of Lamphun, intangible heritage is equally important to tangible heritage. However, since the early formation of heritage agencies was influenced by Western ethics in conservation, the tasks of

conservation, and in safeguarding tangible and intangible heritage in Thailand, are clearly under the responsibility of different organisations, despite the fact that intangible and tangible heritage in Thailand are interrelated. Maintaining or safeguarding intangible cultural heritage is a difficult task, as living cultures tend to adapt and change, and there is no solid legal framework to protect or prevent ‘threats’ to intangible heritage. As discussed in chapter two, unlike tangible heritage, intangible heritage involves knowledge and skills, which are extremely dynamic. Heritage practices are constantly modified as suitable for social, cultural or even economic situations. In Lamphun, like other parts of Thailand where perception of ‘authenticity’ is seen as irrelevant to their lives (Byrne 1993; Peleggi 2012), local residents do not feel obliged to transmit cultural traditions unchanged. When intangible heritage becomes modified in response to social change, tangible heritage, which is closely related to intangible heritage, inevitably experiences change, too.

The modernisation of the country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century brought about a paradigm shift and heritage agencies in a Western sense were established because of such changes. The modernisation, or ‘civilisation’ in the view of the Thai elites during this period, also introduced changes in terms of sciences and technology, which are gradually replacing the traditional agrarian ways of life (Winichakul 1994). Both tangible and intangible heritage experience changes in different ways. Changing building technology significantly changes the forms, design, and styles of living Buddhist heritage. Traditional building techniques and artisanship are becoming less popular and finally only a limited number of people are trained in such areas. Maintaining traditional styles has become a luxury, since the artisanship and traditional building materials required for the conservation are increasingly rare and expensive. One of the significant changes to intangible heritage is the loss of centrality of the monks. Once the role as community leader in worldly affairs has been taken from the community of monks, the relationship between *wats* and villages is loosened. The core ideology or the traditional worldview that influences the way the wider public perceived them may be the same as Buddhism and the supernatural beliefs have taken root firmly at different levels in Thai society, but components of heritage practices, particularly in terms of

physical appearance and the existence of some traditions may gradually be modified.

Heritage and Identity

This section reiterates that heritage is a cultural process of meaning making that defines identities under the influence of social values or norms and, thus, the nature of heritage is discursive and conflict-ridden (Smith and Waterton 2009). Some scholars, such as Lowenthal (1998), Walsh (1992), and Smith (2006), see heritage as a useful tool for re-authoring the past by controlling collective memory and identity. Harrison (2010:39) also suggests that the type of heritage that performs social work on building community and identity is more concerned with the practices or intangible aspects of heritage. The politics of heritage and identity can be illustrated by various cases from all over the world, such as the repatriation of indigenous ethnographic objects to America, tensions between the state and indigenous peoples in Australia, and postcolonial archaeology and nationalism in Asia (Smith 2006; Smith and Waterton 2009; Harrison 2010).

Politics and heritage may be linked as heritage contributes to the construction and representation of identities (Harrison 2010:39) and connecting people to places and community. Conflicts over heritage and identity often emerge when an individual's or a community's sense of self is threatened (Conflict Research Consortium n.d.). The coexistence of discourses of heritage in Lamphun can also explain how heritage is used to legitimise or delegitimise identities under the influence of a set of practices, values or cultural norms. Conflicts over identity claims between Lamphun, as part of the Lanna Kingdom, and central Thailand, was a serious issue that still has psychological effects on local residents. Through the process of 'Siamification' and creation of 'Thai identity', as discussed in chapter five, cultural heritage policies have been employed by the central government to create homogeneity. In addition to conflicts between northern and central Thai culture, there are also internal conflicts between Tai Yong and Tai Yuan ethnic groups. The Tai Yong tradition, which belongs to the majority of the population in Lamphun, was reportedly seen as 'third class', inferior to Tai Yuan and central Thai cultures. Identity conflicts have created discontent and resistance in the form of over-expression of local

identities, and an increase in the sense of place and identity among the local population.

Throughout the pilot survey and data collection, expressions of localism could be detected through the private interviews and public discussions and there seems to be a conflict that has taken root deep in the psychological level of Lamphun residents. The process of remembering and forgetting local memories in Lamphun has led to psychological effects that make Lamphun's residents sensitive to identity issues and to them feeling uncomfortable with outsiders, as discussed in chapter six. At present, a number of Lamphun's residents, as observed from the expert and ethnographic interviewees and even in the Meaning of Heritage Survey, still have a strong 'sense of identity' as a legacy of past nationalist cultural policies. A number of them still feel that they are suppressed, culturally, by the state and overshadowed by Chiangmai, a neighbouring province, and the former capital of the Lanna Kingdom. Lamphun's heritage has been used both by the state and by locals throughout the process of nation building, until the state hegemony became less powerful after the 1970s (Peleggi 1996). An acute sense of identity may bring both advantages and hindrances to heritage management. Local residents' pride in their own culture and heritage obviously encourages them to protect their interest and identity in some ways. Nonetheless, over-expression of local identity may at times be associated with political alignment and heritage is again exploited to serve a political agenda. It may also lead to rejection of outside cultures, knowledge and expertise that may be useful for local heritage management.

A contemporary identity issue in Thailand may be the conflicting conservation methods of Buddhist tangible heritage. 'Identity', in this context, is not related to ethnicity or cultural groups, but to 'communities of interest', which are communities of experts, Buddhist believers, and local residents. Byrne (1993) suggests that the ways in which local communities look after their *wats*, or religious structures, illustrate their connection to places, power and faith. Decayed *wats*, thus, represent exhausted merits, whilst renovation, restoration, reconstruction, or even, encasement of decayed *stupas*, represent spiritual continuity. Therefore, the traditional practices that locals perform on cultural heritage express their identity as dedicated Buddhists, members of communities and patrons of Buddhist structures. Experts, as authorised caretakers of the past,

represent their own identity through their attempts to preserve originality and the cultural values of ancient structures.

Different communities of interest in Lamphun have used heritage to express their identities. The effects of this on tangible heritage may be in the form of a widespread central Thai architecture in Lamphun, but it was the area of intangible heritage that was most affected by identity suppression. Management of Buddhist tangible and intangible heritage has frequently revealed the interplay between discourses and Buddhist cultures, and the representation of local and national identities. This will be discussed in the following section.

Heritage, Buddhism and Identity

This section emphasises the observation that Buddhism is closely related to the three dominant discourses of heritage in Thailand, discussed in chapter five, and that Buddhist heritage is the stage for the interplay between these discourses. Byrne (1993:32) suggests that 'It sometimes seems that Thailand has no other past but the Buddhist past'. This is because tangible remnants of the past, living traditions and cultural expressions, are related to Buddhist ideologies. At national or central administrative levels, Buddhism was associated with kingship and governance among the early polities throughout the region of modern day Thailand (Wyatt 1982). For modern day Thailand, Buddhism, as the official state religion, has been a constituent part of the grand 'royalist-nationalist' narrative, the triad of nation-religion-monarchy, which played a great role in the use of heritage to campaign for the country's 'modernisation' since the early 1910s (Wyatt 1982, Peleggi 2002: 17). A close relationship between Buddhism and kingship strengthens the position of both ideologies and enables them to shape the way tangible and intangible heritage is produced, used and managed. Apart from an influence on political legitimacy at the administrative level, Buddhism is also the foundation of the commoners' belief system (Thokan 2002). Traditional ways of life of residents in the area of modern day Thailand in earlier times were developed from orthodox Buddhist doctrines and animism, or traditional beliefs in supernatural powers, which dwell in a mnemonic or sacred environment (Tambiah, 1970; Kanjanusthiti 1996; Netaraniyom, 2009: 61). Calendar rites and traditional knowledge are influenced by Buddhist ideologies, agricultural

ways of life and other religious beliefs, and are associated with *wats* and the *Sangha* (Thokan 2002).

In Lamphun, Buddhist heritage is another significant element that communities use to construct and represent their identities, to gain control over the local population, and to resist the authorised discourses, as illustrated in previous chapters. For instance, the attempt to control local sects of Buddhism and the movement of Kruba Sriwichai led to the central Thai government's and local residents' uses of Buddhism and Buddhist heritage to legitimise their identities. Lamphun residents' understanding and interpretation of cultural heritage are heavily influenced by their faith in Buddhism and spiritual continuity, as discussed in chapters four and five. The majority of tangible heritage in Lamphun is associated with Buddhist beliefs, or the traditional Theravada-animistic worldview, as confirmed by the results of the Meaning of Heritage Survey. Buddhism is also an integral part of Lamphun's social system, with 98.4% of Lamphun's population identifying as Buddhist. There are 460 *wats*, 1,264 monks, 1,913 novices, 75 Sunday Buddhist Schools, and 83 Dhamma schools for monks (Information from Lamphun's Cultural Office 2008). Phrathat Haripunchai, the Buddha relic shrine, is placed at the heart of the city in terms of its cultural significance and in terms of attributed values given by local residents, as confirmed by the results of the Meaning of Heritage Survey. Later Lanna and Siamese rulers, who had political influence in Lamphun, had to address the significance of Phrathat Haripunchai (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). Wat Phrathat Haipunchai has always been under royal patronage, and it has been declared one of the most significant 'national' Buddhist *stupas* of 'Thailand' (Synchron 2009b). Tourists and pilgrims from different provinces and regions visit the relic shrines during the annual festival and authentic spiritual feelings are still in the atmosphere. Other tangible heritage, such as historic monuments, living *wats*, other relic shrines, are closely associated with intangible traditions and cultural expressions. A religious structure is often viewed as a system of both tangible and intangible elements.

The Buddhist heritage receives attention from different communities: the state, private sector, the monks and local communities. Buddhist heritage and its management represent local identity and connections between communities and places. *Wat* communities represent a system of tangible and intangible heritage

and are integral in ensuring that host communities are associated through social networks and traditional knowledge and belief systems. *Wats* and associated traditions have covered almost all aspects of how heritage is constructed at local levels: resources, social networks and the transmission of knowledge and belief systems. An attempt to compete with the traditional discourse of heritage, or control current practices by the monks and local communities may deepen identity conflicts. Before working to conserve tangible Buddhist heritage, it might be useful to revive a temple-based heritage system, and develop other aspects of Buddhist communities that have been lost through the competition between heritage discourses in the recent past. This is because suppression of traditional practices may produce similar results to the suppression of identities. Allowing the non-official caretakers of heritage to be revived may reduce tensions and conflicts in relationships between communities.

Traditional methods of conservation and heritage management started at a small unit, the *wat* community, where intangible cultures were transmitted, and where tangible structures were associated with cultural values and expressions on various occasions. Up to the present, many of the attempts to resolve value conflict in heritage management are in the form of authorised agencies telling the communities of monks what to do. According to the Thailand Charter consultation session in March 2009, there have been regular sessions where the monks are given knowledge and information on Western conservation ethics. This strategy may be a one-way communication process in which the communities of monks feel discontented and they are forced to accommodate a set of values unfamiliar to them, whilst the local traditions or concerns of the monks have not been 'heard' by the experts' side. However, there have also been attempts to start collaboration. For instance, UNESCO's Museum-to-Museum Partnership is an interesting project that aims to enhance the capacity of temple-based communities to manage their artefact holdings by empowering local stakeholders and, particularly, monks, the traditional caretakers of temple collections. If the project is a two-way process, which means that, while locals learn from heritage experts and heritage experts learn about traditional knowledge from local community members, communication between the monks and local communities and state heritage agencies may be more effective.

Globalisation, Internationalisation and Hegemonic Discourses in Heritage Management at Lamphun

Long and Labadi (2011:11) argued that globalisation may occur in two ways: firstly, as a disruptive force to local or national cultures, particularly the traditional ones; and secondly, by increasing integration and interactions between nation-states, often leading to cultural homogeneity and expressions of cultural difference. Globalisation has been described as a process that allows greater interaction between nations or localities, and it is described by Long and Labadi (2010:2) as a process that takes different forms at different times. Earlier forms of globalisation include the colonial expansion of European powers. Later waves of globalisation, after the collapse of imperial power and the Soviet Union political bloc, have been more related to capitalism (Labadi 2010). Internationalisation of heritage may be explained as a process in response to globalisation (Lee 2004). International agencies, such as UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM, ICOM, have been criticised as facilitators of 'Eurocentric' viewpoints to other parts of the world through the assistance and expertise provided to state parties (Byrne 1991; Cleere 2001; Smith 2006).

Although globalisation has been viewed as a process that enhances homogeneity of practices and is in opposition to local manifestations of cultural identities, later research, for example, Robertson (1995), has argued that globalisation, in fact, involves the reconstruction of home and locality. Thus, he coined the term 'glocalisation', which is the global creation of the local, and the localisation of the global. Glocalisation is a term used to explain the phenomenon that local knowledge and expertise are integrated into the global stage. According to the research findings, globalisation has two broad significant impacts on Lamphun's heritage. Firstly, globalisation brings other cultures into proximity and also brings industrialisation, commercialisation and modernisation to Lamphun. Lamphun's traditional cultures have inevitably been influenced by outside cultures. Secondly, globalised heritage practices, such as World Heritage listing, have been introduced to Lamphun and affected the way heritage is managed.

The first impact of globalisation on Lamphun to be discussed is socio-cultural change because of cultural homogenisation and over-expression of

cultural difference. Globalisation is often associated with modernisation and such processes can change the character of physical heritage and intangible heritage (Pattanakiattihai 2006: 161). Although the introduction of outside cultures, particularly the central Thai ones, were the product of the nationalist cultural policies of the central Thai government, as discussed in chapter five, which occurred during the time of nation-building from the 1930's onwards, globalisation is also another crucial factor that accelerated cultural change through industrialisation, tourism and other forms of development.

These social changes have affected Lamphun's identity in different ways. The very first surge of globalisation that caused a great impact on Lamphun might have been the construction of the railway system in 1903 by the central Thai government (Sethakul 2009: 299). The Chiang Mai-Lamphun basin experienced a great cultural change following the expansion of the local economy and improved transportation systems. Material cultures from Western countries and central Thailand became popular among the northern elites, and later expanded to all walks of life, such as Western food, clothing, and architecture (Sethakul 2009: 309). However, Sethakul (2009) discussed the point that the consequences of early forms of globalisation were limited to the use of material culture and some day-to-day cultural practices. The advent of outside ideologies left no significant impact on the Chiang Mai-Lamphun basin at that time. A more recent effect of globalisation could be seen when the NRIE was established in Lamphun in 1982. Industrial workers, who moved to Lamphun, have brought with them outside cultures and cultural values and they tend to neglect Lamphun's cultural traditions (Synchron 2009b: 3-64). A number of local residents expressed their concerns about the effects on tangible heritage and local traditions, as discussed in chapter six. The traditional systems of closely-knit communities, extended family, and Buddhist and agricultural societies were gradually replaced by industrial and urban societies.

Tourism is another significant issue closely associated with globalisation. Global tourism is a significant factor that shapes cultural policies in Thailand (Peleggi 1996). Peleggi (1996: 445) suggests that global tourism in Thailand has led to iconisation of heritage sites as a symbol of national identity to attract the attention of the increasing number of tourists. In Thailand, visitors to heritage sites may be divided into international visitors and the internal movement of

tourists during feast days and festivals (Peleggi 1996). Peleggi (1996: 436) also observed that apart from holiday excursions with friends and family, the internal movement of tourists can be associated with the merit-making or pilgrimage cults. However, international and domestic tourists are attracted to different types of heritage. International tourists tend to be motivated by and attracted to the monumental type of heritage, whilst local tourists are motivated by and induced to visit heritage sites with festivals or fairs.

In Lamphun, domestic excursions seem to be more influential compared to international tourism. As seen in table 8.1, the numbers of domestic tourists and excursionists were much greater than the international ones. These domestic visitors may visit Lamphun as part of their pilgrimage route as Phrathat Haripunchai is often the pilgrims' destination. During the observation of the Phrathat-bathing festival in 2009, crowds of tourists flowed into Lamphun for the Buddhist ceremony. Many of the participants came from neighbouring provinces, or from different parts of the country. Most visitors came with private transportation, whilst most of the foreign visitors observed during this period relied largely on guided tours, or arranged day excursions from Chiang Mai.

Year	Thai tourists ¹⁵	Foreign tourists	Thai excursionists	Foreign excursionists
2001	16,709	62	273,154	85,826
2002	24,412	566	229,855	92,923
2003	25,160	1,190	207,603	95,765
2004	42,796	1,058	258,602	126,602
2005	110,607	2,895	365,469	109,728

Table 8. 1: The number of tourists and excursionists in Lamphun from 2001-2005
Source: Lamphun Provincial Office of Tourism and Sports

The number of visitors and excursionists in table 8.1 also suggests that Lamphun has quite a limited number of visitors compared to other Northern provinces, like Chiang Mai, which generally attracts around 2-3 million (Information from TAT Chiang Mai 2007). Visitors to heritage sites may not consider themselves tourists as the purpose of their visit to such places is for

¹⁵ Tourists mean visitors who stay overnight or intentionally visit Lamphun as the main destination. Excursionists are visitors who take a day trip from somewhere else.

merit-making. Some of Lamphun's heritage sites are nationally recognised, such as Phrathat Haripunchai, which is designated as one out of eight highly respected Buddha relic shrines throughout the country and it is under Royal patronage (Synchron 2009b). The strength of Lamphun's heritage is not the monumentality or creativity of physical heritage, but religious and cultural significance as the earliest polity in Northern Thailand dates back over 1,300 years (Haripunchai National Museum 2008). Tangible heritage related to Queen Jama-Thewi's narrative is also mostly in the form of religious sites, and the scale of these sites is still quite small compared to historical parks, like Sukhothai, or to urban heritage sites like Ayuthaya, which are both World Heritage sites. Therefore, and as discussed in chapter six, religious significance has been used as Lamphun's selling point, and a series of programmes to encourage pilgrimages has been introduced by Lamphun's local government. Lamphun residents often criticise the over-use of religious significance as destructive of both intangible traditions and tangible heritage as the increase in pilgrims and tourists can lead to pollution problems. Currently, global tourism is not a major factor that shapes Lamphun's heritage, but a recent attempt to increase the scale of Lamphun's tourism to a global scale, and the proposal for World Heritage listing, may lead to complications and conflicts over heritage practices between different sectors of society. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

Another significant impact of globalisation on Lamphun is the increasing influence of universal heritage practices introduced by heritage agencies and heritage academics. In Thailand, universal heritage practices were exercised by local-level heritage management, through the work of government officials under the supervision of FAD, and legislation that has been influenced by international documents, such as the Venice Charter. More recently, international conventions, and guidelines from international heritage agencies, have been considered by Lamphun's heritage agencies. One of the most influential international heritage agencies is UNESCO, whose work on heritage includes 'good' globalisation, such as the development of protocols, declarations, universal principles and compilation of inventories (Askew 2010:20). Two of the most significant and popular international treaties that influence heritage practices at different levels are the 1972 *Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (World Heritage Convention or WHC),

and the 2003 *Convention for the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (ICHC). Since Thailand has not yet become a signatory to the ICHC, and Lamphun has not yet become a World Heritage site, these two Conventions do not have direct legal enforcement in Lamphun. However, since 2004, the proposal for World Heritage listing has been made a priority in Lamphun's cultural policies (Haripunchai National Museum 2006). It has become a significant step that has brought about changes of practices in heritage management in Lamphun.

As illustrated in chapter seven, different sectors in Lamphun have different viewpoints and responses to the proposed World Heritage plan, depending on the discourse to which they adhere. Although the majority (81.68%) of survey participants agreed with the proposal for listing, the purposes of World Heritage listing between the parties involved in the conflicts were also different. Local experts and government heritage agencies believe that World Heritage listing will lead to the establishment of some form of conservation framework to stop uncontrollable changes and 'unorthodox' conservation and management of cultural heritage. Provincial and local administrative agencies may also expect economic benefits from increased tourism. Local residents and the communities of monks may expect that their identity will be protected, but some may also see the World Heritage project as irrelevant to Lamphun's way of life. At the time of writing, debates over why, and how, the World Heritage inscription can be achieved have continued for almost eight years. Conflicting values in heritage practices, large-scale work on conservation, and the protection of physical heritage, in order to meet the criteria for the inscription, seem to be major hindrances.

Participant observations in 2009 and 2010 suggested that as Lamphun is so small, the number of heritage professionals working in this province is limited and this pool of people are involved in most heritage activities. These experts, government officials, or local experts in traditional knowledge were also the main actors on the World Heritage listing committee. The conflicting values that have already existed in the heritage sphere are hard to resolve as these figures have already been dedicated to particular heritage discourses, and perceived barriers between parties have already occurred. Relationships and interest conflicts that followed value conflicts made cooperation or collaboration

difficult. Conflicts in Lamphun's heritage management are at a local level, but as Lamphun has been classified as an ancient town with first priority by ONEP (Synchron 2009b), outside parties are drawn to the site. Outside experts from ONEP, who came to provide advice on conservation strategies, and consultancy firms hired by provincial administrative agencies and the Regional Office of Fine Arts, may be seen as intervening parties. Their roles in 2009-2010 were as mediator and facilitator in consultation sessions held in the second half of 2009.



Figure 8. 2: community consultation sessions held between local state agencies, local residents and a consultancy firm as a mediator in the second half of 2009

Source: Synchron 2009b

Through the World Heritage listing process, Lamphun’s cultural heritage will become ‘globalised’ and ‘glocalised’. That is Lamphun’s local identity will become known to others on a global scale or at least this is the hope of local state agencies and some local residents. However, the World Heritage inscription cannot be done without negotiation about and compromise over current heritage practices conducted by non-government actors, such as traditional practices of heritage management by local communities, or access to and use of

archaeological fabric for spiritual purposes, as outlined in chapter six. Although the result of the World Heritage listing project is yet to be achieved, the most evident consequence of the World Heritage listing project that can be seen, up to the time of writing, is that different Lamphun communities have become more attentive to heritage issues in Lamphun.

The 2009 Master Plan has calculated that the whole preparation process may take as long as twenty years in order to make such development sustainable (Synchron 2009b). The strategies for making Lamphun ready for the nomination include: firstly, building understanding of conservation, protection of tangible and intangible heritage, and creating a sense of place and belonging for local residents; secondly, revival of cultural landscapes and the maintenance of authenticity and local identity; thirdly, developing human resources, educational resources, and management systems (Synchron 2009b). The preparation strategies include changes of physical heritage, and changes of attitudes and heritage practices. According to the 2009 Master Plan, Lamphun's residents will need to accept the concept that conservation of heritage is common to all humankind. Physical environments of the Old Town conservation zone, which are now maintained with no restrictions by the local municipal office and local residents, will have to be controlled in order to recreate physical environments that reflect Lamphun's identity and architecture. Deserted *wats*, the city wall and city gates, moats, and residential buildings in the walled zone will be protected and, in some cases, restored by local craftspeople. Authenticity, integrity and Lamphun's identity will be the central concepts of any conservation work within the defined conservation zone.

Due to the need to satisfy the criteria for World Heritage nomination, the authenticity and integrity of tangible heritage has to be preserved and that definitely controls traditional practices of *wat* maintenance and conservation. The preparation process, as suggested in the Master Plan, truly places Lamphun under the influence of the Western AHD, and this management framework will even control uses of heritage in a much wider context compared to earlier legislation, which can only protect designated cultural heritage. As Byrne (1993) and Peleggi (2012) suggest, conservation practice by state agencies, academics, or the upper class that have been exposed to Western cultures, has been influenced by Western conservation ethics, while heritage practices, at a local level, are largely

based on traditional Buddhist ideologies. Conflicts in heritage practices are evident particularly in the case of urban heritage conservation since most structures are still in use.

The Master Plan also implies that the intangible should be transmitted unchanged, which is unlikely to happen since Lamphun is experiencing social changes due to the presence of NRIE in the province. In fact, intangible heritage is impossible to be controlled as it involves skill, knowledge and experience, and such factors are dynamic (Munjeri 2004). Protecting cultural practice from organic development is similar to creating an 'authentic illusion' (Skounti 2009). The use of the Master Plan to control informal heritage practice may also increase relationship conflict as the merit-making practices at some significant *wats* inside the conservation zone would be controlled. Conservation of private properties within the conservation zone would also be monitored. It is likely that communities will not see the differences between this Master Plan and other guidelines until the relationship conflicts are solved.

Another point to note is the Master Plan only provides general codes of practice. It does not have direct legal binding force. The effectiveness of this Master Plan depends on the willingness of local residents to take further action. In order to bring about changes to the current situation, local authorities and heritage agencies have to draft action plans or conservation plans that are in accordance with the Master Plan. Evaluating from the current situation, the Master Plan might not create significant changes in Lamphun's heritage management as the core ideas of World Heritage inscription and traditional Buddhist practices are completely opposite. However, it is still necessary for heritage agencies in Lamphun at least to study the Master Plan and consider possible conflict resolution, should they still want Lamphun to be listed as a World Heritage Site.

The case of Lamphun and the World Heritage listing campaign clearly demonstrates that globalisation significantly affects heritage practice. The WHC is a powerful tool for embedding Western conservation ethics to State Parties; however, Peleggi (1995, 2002) and Connors (2005) argued that the power of the state is also crucial in shaping collective memory, or constructing knowledge about heritage. Peleggi (1995, 2007) and Askew (2010) observed that a nation-state's power in controlling the flow of Western or international intellectuals into

their country is significant. Askew (2010) argues against the previous suggestion that UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention embed hegemonic discourses in heritage management in countries in their sphere of influence and stresses that nation-states are the most powerful controller of the past and determine the direction of cultural policies, and the nationalist policies of a nation state can affect international treaties like the WHC (Askew 2010).

The listing of the Preah Vihear Temple, nominated solely by Cambodia, is a good illustration of how nationalist ideologies can interrupt the influence of the Western AHD, and the government's preference for the globalisation of heritage (see chapter seven). The Preah Vihear Temple is located in the disputed area on the Thai-Cambodian border, and the ownership of the Temple and adjoining areas has long been a national debate (Urairat 2008). From 2008, delegates from Thailand have tried every way they could to make the World Heritage Committee reconsider the listing of the Temple as a trans-boundary heritage site, or to delay the consideration of the conservation plan proposed by Cambodia until the boundary demarcation is resolved (The Bangkok Post: 19/06/2011). The disputes between the two countries, and the role of ICOMOS Thailand and the Thai representative in the World Heritage Committee in resolving 'the risk of losing sovereignty over the land', have been pressing issues. They have been widely discussed in important public forums, such as the Annual ICOMOS Thailand meeting in February 2009, and the talk on World Heritage listing and the election of the ICOMOS Thailand president in February 2010. PAD, the right-wing, nationalist movement, started rallying from January 2011 and demanded stricter government handling of the border issues, including withdrawal from the WHC (The Asian Correspondent, 10 February 2011). Following the announcement by the Head of the Thai delegates in the 35th session of the World Heritage Committee that Thailand will withdraw from the WHC there were various responses from Thais. The nationalist movements and supporters of Abhisit Vejjajiva's government supported the denunciation made in the meeting, but some heritage experts and liberals were critical of that decision. Whether the decision to withdraw was driven by pure nationalism, or by politics within Thailand, universalist heritage practices have been derailed by national politics.

According to the research findings discussed in chapter six, the Western AHD was incorporated into Lamphun's local heritage authority through the work of heritage experts, academics, and government agencies, and has become embedded in national cultural policy and legislation. Western conservation ethics have been imposed on local traditions through the work of local agencies, such as the Haripunchai National Museum and the Regional Office of Fine Arts. One of the sub-research questions is: 'To what extent have Western conservation ethics, or international codes of practice, influenced Lamphun's cultural heritage management?' The answer is that in Lamphun the Western AHD and national cultural policies are equally important, and have become the authorised discourses of heritage. The national cultural policies have influenced local-traditional intangible cultural heritage, whilst the Western AHD has influenced the work on tangible heritage. The nationalist policies imposed on Lamphun's local traditions, from the late nineteenth century, are rather influential, as many of the Lanna traditions, such as languages and the education system, have been replaced by the Central Thai and Western cultures, as discussed in chapter five. The fieldwork data, discussed in chapters five and six, indicates that Western ethics underpinning heritage management only have an impact on the cultural heritage registered on the National Heritage list, or cultural heritage of outstanding cultural significance under the supervision of government heritage agencies. Cultural heritage under the care of locals is perceived, understood and managed by traditional methods that are dedicated to spiritual beliefs. One of the interviewee's propositions may be a good summary of how AHD affects Lamphun's traditional means of heritage management.

I can close my eyes and imagine how international standards for conservation are implemented in Lamphun. But these strategies lack the 'spiritual driving force'. They do not come from the heart and soul of local residents. Do you think these strategies are sustainable?

(Expert interview 15, lecturer in Lanna Art)

Up to the present, Western values underpinning conservation practices and heritage management have come from the government sector, and affect some heritage sites or monuments that are registered on the national heritage list. In Lamphun, only registered monuments are protected by law. The rest of the

towns or cities are under the control of the private sector, landowners or Head Monks. Uncontrolled changes to the cultural landscape have caused great concern amongst heritage agencies and responsible organisations. In addition to improvement of the cultural landscape, heritage and local administrative agencies also hope that World Heritage listing will revive lost traditions, and safeguard intangible heritage that is gradually lost due to socio-cultural change. However, if the implementation of universal heritage practices comes from the demands of government agencies, the management strategies may not be sustainable, as change of practice does not come from the demands of local communities. Communities' roles in heritage management, especially in the preparation for World Heritage listing, has been highlighted in most strategic plans. The question of how local communities see themselves in the heritage management process, and whether communities should take an active role in heritage management, will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Heritage, Archaeology and Communities

Smith and Waterton (2009: 11) suggest that professional workers in the heritage sector are also a community of interest among others, and these communities of expertise also attempt to protect their interests and aspirations, and that other community groups may seek greater control and acknowledgement of their definitions, understandings and uses of heritage. The concept of 'community' in public policy is often seen as revolving around negotiations over social exclusion, multiculturalism and cultural diversity (Smith and Waterton 2009). Community heritage, community participation, community archaeology, community involvement and community empowerment are the terms that have been embedded in Western government documents, development plans and strategies from the 1990s onwards (Smith and Waterton 2009). In Western countries, such as the United Kingdom, new schemes such as the Local Heritage Initiatives have been established in order to encourage communities to recognise their heritage assets and to manage them effectively (Hodges and Watson, 2000). In Thailand, heritage-related projects have been seen by some experts as the way to strengthen communities and reduce tensions and politics within heritage management (Praicharnjit 2003; Buasai 2005; Sattayanurak 2005), and

involvement of local communities or communities of interest are often seen as a strategy that leads to the sustainable development of localities (Sanghitkl 2006: 22).

From the experts' point of view, community participation in heritage management is seen as part of sustainable development (Vongsa 2006: 158; Pattakiattichai 2006: 161). Sustainable development is the term used to describe an approach to development that looks to balance different and, often competing, needs against an awareness of environmental, social and economic limitations (Sustainable Development Commission, 2011). The use of integrated management strategies is thought to be a solution for tensions and conflicts in heritage management, by using multi-disciplinary methods, and involving stakeholders from various communities of interest (Vongsa 2006; Pattanakiattichai 2006). Community participation is now seen as an integral part of several heritage conservation plans in Thailand, including the 'Lamphun to World Heritage' project in Lamphun. According to the research on related government documents and archives, there have been dialogues between state agencies and local communities in Lamphun, in order to find common ground between communities of interest. In 2007, representatives from different communities in the walled areas were invited to the consultation sessions, and were asked to express their needs and opinions on what they think Lamphun's heritage should be. However, tensions and dissonance in heritage management still exist.

Discontent was expressed by some participants of the Meaning of Heritage Survey and interviewees, since they have seen no progress after the consultation session. The growing interest in community heritage in Lamphun may have some significant meanings. Firstly, to local residents, the growth of local or community heritage may be a counterpoint to the popularity of elite cultures underpinned by the nationalist discourses and the Western AHD. To heritage experts, local traditional cultural heritage that fits in with local narratives may make locals feel more appreciated and at ease, compared to the authorised or formalised cultural heritage. Secondly, local heritage projects may revive local communities' relationship with cultural heritage, rather than isolating heritage from its context and possessors and, thus, communities are strengthened

(Grimwade and Carter 2000). The growing interest in community heritage may be a good sign of negotiation or collaboration between parties.

However, some important points to consider are:

1. To what extent are local communities and other heritage interest groups allowed to express their opinions and their needs in the dialogues between communities of expertise and other communities?
2. To what extent are their needs and concerns addressed by state heritage agencies and other relevant organisations?

The fieldwork data and participant observation conducted at heritage events in Lamphun from 2008 to 2010 suggests that the role of communities in heritage management is very much limited to practical aspects, such as the maintenance of heritage sites or monuments, and organising events designed and planned by authorised agencies. Formalised heritage management has been mainly mobilised by state agencies or experts, and this structure often leads to the separation of local communities from the context of cultural heritage. Conversations with local communities in Lamphun from 2009-2010 suggest that the most common misunderstanding between local residents is their access to and ownership of heritage sites. Most local residents believed that once they found archaeological remains in their property the ownership of such structures belonged to the FAD or the Regional Office of Fine Arts. In fact, according to the Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums B.E. 2504, ownership of the sites still belongs to the landowner until the FAD or local authority has purchased or arranged relocation for affected settlements. According to the conflict mapping in chapters six and seven, responses from communities to conflicts or tensions in heritage management are mainly related to the use of different criteria to assess heritage issues and distrust in each other. The most common response from communities of experts was that other parties, particularly local residents, are not 'ready' to take an active role in heritage management, such as decision making and planning. Local residents have their own ways of interpreting heritage, which cannot protect cultural heritage from modernisation, industrialisation and commercialisation. If they have a chance to

express their opinion, they will make value judgments according to their aspirations according to their limited knowledge of heritage matters.

However, the role of communities of experts or state agencies are often criticised by other communities, particularly local residents. Experts are criticised at times for their lack of connection to the local context. Their conservation work responds to national cultural policies and legislation, and their instructions are sometimes unclear and insufficient. One of the objectives of the Lamphun to World Heritage campaign is to encourage different communities in Lamphun to raise awareness of Lamphun's cultural significance and discuss their needs and concerns on heritage issues.

On the other hand, the proposed 2009 Master Plan may bring about a large-scale change in both cultural landscape and traditional practices by communities in Lamphun. The indicators that will be used to measure whether objectives are achieved are set out as follows:

- The public and communities are involved in the protection, maintenance and conservation of Lamphun's cultural heritage and feel appreciated and proud of local history and heritage.
- Cultural heritage is revived and improved to represent the authenticity of the fabric and identity of Lamphun. Conservation must rely on local artisanship and materials that resemble the original ones or be of the same quality.
- 60% of local residents gain full-time or part-time income from Lamphun's cultural heritage or related activities. The driving force for cultural heritage management comes from both government agencies, private heritage agencies and local communities

*(The 2009 Master Plan for the preparation of Lamphun
for World Heritage listing: Synchron 2009b)*

In order to achieve the outlined objectives, local communities are expected to negotiate or accommodate the formalised notions of heritage and heritage management, including an assumption that everyone should care for cultural heritage, the authenticity of function, design and artisanship, and an assumption that the majority of Lamphun's residents can, and are willing to, earn

their living from cultural heritage. Proposed preparation methods include four stages: pre-preparation, preparation of the city, preparation of documents (tentative list), nomination (the 2009 Master Plan, Synchron 2009b). During the pre-preparation stage, plans for the construction of new structures in significant *wats*, and construction of buildings that do not represent Lamphun's architectural styles in the conservation zone, are suspended. In later stages of preparation, a series of legislative and conservation plans for the protection and revival of the cultural landscape, environment, management system, intangible traditions, social and economic activities, will be introduced and come into force (Synchron 2009b).

Through these methods, all works related to Lamphun's tangible heritage conducted by the non-government sector in the proposed World Heritage boundary will be controlled, and intangible culture will be closely monitored and safeguarded. Different communities will be involved in the preparation process according to the conservation plans and legislation. The advantages are that local communities have opportunities to discuss and express their demands and opinions on heritage matters, and Lamphun's heritage will be protected in the form of a 'living open-air museum', as suggested in the Master Plan. The question that all involved parties in the conflict need to answer is to what extent local residents and communities agree to follow the plan. And if they do not resist, will they be content with the new agreed heritage management frameworks that may control their traditional practice?

Community involvement has become the key concept in most public policy, including *the Master Plan for the preparation of Lamphun for the World Heritage listing*. The Master Plan aims to tackle participation issues by addressing community involvement more than other guidelines in the past. It also suggests Lamphun should have a central agency that consists of members from both government and civil sectors to help maintain heritage in the region. Currently, it seems that government heritage agencies and communities of experts have authorised power and access to resources in heritage management, and other communities are obliged to accommodate the formalised disciplines. The emphasis on 'local identity' or 'community heritage' in recent public policy occurred under the influence of the formalised management or legal framework, which means local heritage is flourishing under the strategies approved and

facilitated by the authorised agencies. Finding the most appropriate solution for heritage management is like choosing the routes that lead to a destination. If different communities have different destinations, the routes they choose may never be the same ones, and dissonance will be unavoidable. The first priority in exploring a heritage management solution in Lamphun may be to eradicate the psychological barriers between parties in conflict, particularly between state agencies and local communities. Solving relationship and data conflicts can be a beginning that leads to resolution of interest and structural conflicts. Value conflicts may not be easy to resolve, but if different communities are willing to discuss, argue and accept others' value judgements, negotiation or collaboration may be achieved despite the presence of cultural or value difference, or at least awareness of the difference would lead to understandings between parties. However, the tendency of the negotiation is that differential access to power will force the less powerful parties to accommodate the ideologies held by the more powerful ones.

According to Bright's Conflict Chart, there are five types of conflict intervention: prevention, management, settlement, resolution, and transformation (Bright n.d.). In order to solve, or reduce, conflicts in Lamphun, it is necessary to choose the most appropriate measure or measures. The end results may be determined by parties involved in the conflicts when they feel that their needs are acknowledged by each other. Previous chapters have outlined three possible solutions to Lamphun's heritage conflicts: the use of legislation or hard measures, such as a rigid conservation plan (top-down approach), community heritage projects (bottom-up), and mixed methods (working together). Lamphun's communities need to discuss and decide which method is most appropriate, since resolutions need to satisfy parties in conflict at three levels: psychological, procedural and substantive. Solving conflicts at the psychological level means that all parties should be pleased with the relationship between parties as this is the first step or gateway to negotiation, as suggested in previous chapters that relationship conflict should be among the first issues to be resolved. In the case of Lamphun, the solution might be sufficient acknowledgement of Tai Yong identity and appointing leading figures in the heritage committee from within the community instead of relying on government officials. Involved parties need to be acknowledged by each other. The procedural level is each

party must be satisfied with the processes that each party deals with and they perceive such processes as 'fair'. Currently, parties involved in the heritage conflict in Lamphun seem to be sceptical of each other, especially in the . This step may reduce the issue of 'distrust'. Finally, the substantive level is the level where parties feel that their expectations are met in the end.

Conclusion:

Hegemony in cultural heritage management in Thailand comes from both external and domestic factors. The Western AHD and the nationalist discourses are influential in heritage practice at different levels, since the structure of cultural heritage management in Thailand has been a state-based process with a centralised organisation. The official meaning of heritage in Thailand includes both tangible and intangible heritage, but the focus and emphasis has been laid on tangible aspects, influenced by Western/international ethics in conservation. These notions of heritage and conservation are contradictory to traditional heritage practices that have been transmitted through informal knowledge and belief systems.

This research has been based on the fact that heritage is a cultural process of meaning making. Thus, the nature of cultural heritage is dissonant and conflict-ridden. Cultural heritage is closely associated with the production of identity and sense of place. Value conflicts in cultural heritage management may not be retrievable, but tensions can be reduced by addressing the fact that there are differences in the way heritage is understood. According to the discussion in previous chapters, heritage management in Thailand has been a centralised, or top-down, process (state-based management). A state-based heritage management approach separates heritage sites from their context, and generates feelings that 'cultural heritage' does not belong to 'communities', but to 'the nation-state'. Conversely, a pure bottom-up approach in cultural heritage management may also lead to uncontrolled changes in tangible heritage, and local practices may further move away from the Western or international standards for conservation. To traditional Thai perceptions tangible and intangible heritage coexist as a system. The changing concepts of authenticity of material, design, and artisanship may also accelerate changes in the perception of

the authenticity of 'function', 'spirit', or 'feeling' of cultural sites. These changes in the heritage system should not be a problem, if there are no competing discourses in heritage management. As Thailand has already been influenced by various discourses of heritage, conflicts of practices are unavoidable.

Heritage management can be viewed as social or cultural action, by which Harrison (2010:13) suggests old and new practices can be adopted and adapted within a cultural system. The context of management has continuously changed and heritage management approaches need to change at particular intervals too. One of the most significant points is recognition of 'local identity' as the key to better participation. Better participation means all parties are allowed to express their needs and expectations. In the past, community participation was in the form of one-way communication and the structure of heritage authorities was rather centralised. Respecting one another's identity and dialogues between communities of interest may reduce relationship conflicts, which is the first step towards cooperation, which may bring about resolutions to other types of conflicts. If the authorised heritage sector and local communities can find common ground, heritage, as a system of both tangible and intangible entities, may find its balance in heritage management.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This thesis proposes that international and national codes of practice or guidelines in conservation and heritage management are useful devices, but in no way universally practical. The case of Lamphun and other examples in Thailand and neighbouring countries were drawn on to illustrate a variety of heritage practice ranging from the top-down to bottom-up strategies. The research has supported Smith's (2006) suggestion that heritage is a cultural process and may be understood as a discourse. It clearly illustrates that there are institutionalised ways that people perform heritage practices and the conflicts that arise from the coexistence of such heritage discourses may not always be resolvable. The nature of heritage is conflict-ridden. In a case where conflicts are deeply rooted like Lamphun, heritage management is in fact as much about the management of stakeholders and their expectations as about the management of heritage itself. This thesis makes a contribution to Thai heritage policy and practice by identifying the degree and types of conflict that occur over heritage issues. It also contributes to the debate whether there is Western hegemony in heritage management. As various scholars (Byrne 1991, 1993, 2004; Taylor 2004; Peleggi 2007, 2012) have suggested, in the past, heritage management in Thailand focused upon the material aspect of heritage, possibly due to the influence of Western conservation ideologies that had taken root in government heritage policies. The human factor has been perceived as a small component of the whole heritage system despite the fact that heritage is, in fact, a cultural process constructed by different communities of interest. Cultural heritage is utilised by different communities to serve different purposes. Focus on material heritage would drive involved parties deeper into conflict as different communities have different interests and conservation approaches. The imposition of Western values underpinning heritage management, such as authenticity of tangible heritage and the assumption that heritage appreciation should be common in all parts of the world, may further place tensions on heritage as this conceptualisation has never been totally embraced by local communities in non-Western countries like Thailand.

The opening of this thesis, drawing on the now extensive literature on heritage conflict (Tunbridge and Ashorth 1996; Littler and Naidoo 2005; Smith

2006; Harrison 2010 amongst others), emphasised that the nature of heritage is dissonant, and that heritage is prone to conflicts. Indeed, heritage, as both Smith (2006) and Harrison (2010) argue, is a political resource used in conflicts within and between communities and nations. One of the significant heritage debates is the imposition of the Western AHD on local practices in non-Western societies, which may cause tensions in heritage management and the imposition of such values on traditional practices has been termed by Byrne (1991) 'inappropriate ideology transfer'. The Western AHD claims that heritage appreciation and conservation is universally true, and it favours Western notions of heritage in the form of monumentality, tangibility, age value and aesthetics (Smith 2006). International heritage agencies play a major role in developing policies and facilitating practices across national borders to member countries (Byrne, 1993; Cleere, 2001; Taylor, 2004; Smith, 2006; Waterton 2010). These agencies transfer the Western AHD through the promotion of policy documents, legislation or guidelines on conservation ethics and cultural heritage management, such as the Athens Charter, The Venice Charter and the World Heritage Convention. One of the most significant points is that the importation of Western ideologies was a conscious choice made by the Thai nation-state. The Western AHD, together with Western epistemologies, was exploited to strengthen Thai identity, represented through the concept of the triad of nation-religion-monarchy, and modernisation projects (Winichakul 1994, 2000; Peleggi 2007). The Western AHD has been actively reworked by the Thai nation-state to serve political purposes.

This research sought to investigate the effects of Western AHD on heritage management at a local level, to see how different communities respond to the Western hegemony within heritage practices. However, the research suggests that the Western AHD is significant, but not the only factor that generates conflicts in heritage management at a local level. The implementation of Western conservation strategies on local heritage in Thailand may be considered a 'lack of fit'. However, even if the Western AHD did not exist in Thai society, there would still be conflicts over identities and social values. Competing interests between communities of interest would still exist, but might be differently expressed. Conflicts over heritage management are in fact caused

by different interpretations of the term cultural heritage, to which communities have attributed a range of values and significance.

Recent understanding of heritage has advanced from a focus on the tangible, material aspect of heritage to a tendency towards the interpretation of heritage as a cultural process (Skeates 2004: 9; Harrison 2010: 9), which is involved in the making of identity and social values. It is this widening scope of the meanings of heritage that allows the dominant discourses of heritage to be challenged and criticised. The Lamphun experience suggests that there have always been competing discourses within a society, depending on social, cultural and political circumstances. Heritage has always been involved in the inclusion and exclusion of communities and the recognition of identities.

Lamphun's heritage is perceived differently by its communities. When I selected Lamphun as a case study and started to seek advice from experts in 2008, before I started my actual data collection, I received a variety of responses from experts in Thailand. Some were pleased with my choice, since the conflicting characteristics of Lamphun's heritage may provide, it was thought, interesting insights for the research. Some suggested that Lamphun, previously known as Haripunchai, would make a good case study, as it is a city of both local and national cultural significance in both the historical and spiritual aspects of heritage. Others were critical of Lamphun as my choice since, in the eyes of some heritage experts, Lamphun's tangible heritage has been intruded on by modern structures, and the proposal for World Heritage nomination was dismissed as the plan of just a few local experts. The conflicts, they also argued, might only be due to a misunderstanding of the concepts of conservation among some groups of residents. Many suggested other possible case studies, which, according to them, were more interesting and which contained more visible tangible heritage of outstanding value, such as Nan, a small Lanna town that has been used as a model for conservation zoning, or Pai, another small tranquil town in a remote area near the Chiang Mai-Mae Hong Sorn border. However, the reason why I chose Lamphun was in fact the critiques of the city by the latter groups of experts. The problems associated with integrity and authenticity of tangible heritage, the richness of intangible culture and its reputation for Buddhist traditions, Buddhist arts and Buddhist structures clearly illustrated the

presence of conflicts of ideologies and interests caused by the existence of competing discourses of heritage.

This research is based on the proposition that heritage can also be understood as a discourse (Byrne 1993; Smith 2006). It also outlined significant discourses that shape the way heritage is managed in Thailand, and particularly in Lamphun. The three discourses identified in this research are: firstly, the traditional religious discourse, which is mainly based on Buddhist ideologies with some influence from spiritual cults; secondly, the royalist-nationalist discourse underlying national cultural policies implemented by the central government; and, finally, the Western conservation ethics or Western AHD. However, this does not mean that there is no other discourse that shapes the way people understand and perceive heritage. Heritage is indeed a contentious entity. Heritage practices may mean a set of conservation practices, protocols, techniques or procedure to heritage experts, but they may also mean leisure, sources of income or cultural practices. Each interpretation of heritage is often influenced by a set of values and practices that affect the way people talk, think or practice heritage. These institutionalised ways of understanding heritage are indeed discourses of heritage. The coexistence of these discourses has caused tensions in the management of cultural heritage. Tensions may occur at both practical and psychological levels. The history of Lamphun represents a long story of tensions or conflicts between different sectors of society. Conflicts over Lamphun identity or identities are often associated with such things as languages, performing arts, food, traditions and ceremonies. Competing discourses between traditional Buddhist-animistic practices and national cultural policies often leave psychological effects on local residents. Tensions over tangible heritage are more concerned with communities of experts and local communities.

‘Community’ is a term that has multiple meanings. The use of the term community in chapter six may signify ‘people who live together or practice common ownership’. The term ‘conflict party’ indeed signifies ‘community of interest’. With reference to Lamphun, different communities attempt to protect or create their identities and sense of place through the use of heritage. For instance, the parties of heritage agencies and outside heritage experts adhere to the Western AHD as they are influenced by legislation which inherited many of the codes of practice from Western conservation ethics. State administrative agencies

and local residents may perceive heritage differently. To these parties, heritage is seen as cultural capital or the representation of Buddhist traditions. The communities of monks may see heritage as part of the Buddhist cosmos, which is completely irrelevant to the concepts of authenticity, integrity or conservation. Other parties may have a more flexible standpoint, such as local heritage academics and local experts in traditional knowledge. The fundamental cause of these conflicts may be the existence of competing values that shape the way cultural heritage is perceived and managed. Value conflicts can often lead to other types of conflict, such as structure conflict, interest conflict, relationship conflict and data conflict. All parties interact with each other and move along the continuum of cooperation-competition-tension-conflict. At times, different parties are obliged to negotiate and cannot represent the discourse that they adhere to.

Communities often use heritage to represent their identities and create a sense of place and even social values. To put it more simply, heritage is a tool for communities to react against each other. Among the reactions or responses from communities to conflicts are: competition, avoidance, compromise, collaboration, accommodation and competition. The latter is the strongest response, which can often be seen in the use of strong measures for protection by a party that has superior access to resources or power. These are often state agencies, as the administrative structure of Thailand is centralised. The party that has access to power may also be the party that legitimises or creates the dominant discourse of heritage. Communities of experts in Lamphun decided to respond to conflicts in heritage management by introducing the plan for World Heritage listing, which may help empower the Western AHD in firmly establishing its place in Lamphun's society. Nevertheless, the implementation of Western conservation ethics in a non-Western context is a complicated issue, and Lamphun is sitting within a complex web of conflicts. Competing discourses influenced various practices that are considered by the community of experts as 'hindrances' to the conservation work. Traditional practices will always compromise the Western notion of authenticity and integrity, and the nationalist policies are always part of the national agenda. Although the Western AHD is the discourse that shapes and represents experts' attempts to express their demands

and concerns in heritage management, there are often other social, cultural and political factors that determine the dominant discourses of heritage.

Heritage is indeed a cultural process that involves the process of meaning making. Thus, heritage management will never be free of conflicts or politics as the meaning of heritage is collectively defined by communities. The coexistence of discourses that influence heritage practices is common to all societies, but the level of conflict depends on how the parties involved react to each other. The interplay between discourses is on a continuum. The dominant discourse is defined according to what the most powerful party sees as most appropriate. With reference to Lamphun, early governance and kinship relied on Buddhist beliefs and commoners' ways of life were also much involved with faith and religions; thus, heritage was associated with Buddhist ideologies, which have amalgamated with preceding Animistic beliefs. A more recent royalist-nationalist discourse emerged at the time of nation-building. National integration is a significant factor that was intended to lead Thailand out of the imminent threat of losing sovereignty caused by Western colonial powers. Another recent discourse, the Western AHD, is associated with globalisation, internationalisation and modernity. Western cultures were seen as 'civilised' by the state. When the new discourse was introduced, the pre-existing discourses continued and the influences of such discourses can still be seen in conflicting heritage practices identified in chapters six and seven. The relationship between parties that adhere to different heritage discourses is in fact on a continuum. When the nationalist policies became less strong from the 1980s, the growth of localism or local heritage started and local traditions flourished as a response to suppression and imposition by outside identities. Conservation practices, as influenced by the Western AHD, are seen by communities of experts as a way to counterpoint traditional practice, which are subject to social changes in terms of both tangible and intangible heritage. However, when political situations are unstable, heritage has often been involved in the politics between factions, identities or nations. The nationalist discourse may be the most influential again, and overshadow others until there is another surge of social, cultural or political change.

This research responds to the international debates over whether there is a Western hegemonic discourse that often puts pressure on cultural heritage management in non-Western societies. It has shown that while Western

hegemony does exist, other competing discourses are equally influential. The research demonstrates that heritage management will never be free of values or politics. It has demonstrated that the effects of internationalisation or the globalisation of heritage on heritage practice at a local level in a non-Western context, with reference to Lamphun, are profound, but are only part of the story. In a place where management or administration is centralised, the parties that deliver globalised heritage practices are likely to be government agencies and experts. The outcomes of the implementation of these protocols, procedures or practices are often counterbalanced by traditional practices performed by locals, and negotiations are necessary. This research also responds to national and international demands for community participation in heritage management. An issue highlighted by the research is that perhaps one of the most important points in working with communities is that comments from all parties should be seen as legitimate or valid, otherwise conflicts will hinder further cooperation and collaboration. As discussed in chapters seven and eight, value and structure conflicts may be hard to resolve, as they are related to ideologies and belief systems of different communities, but interest or relationship conflicts are possible to solve. The nature of cultural heritage is discursive and because of this its management is even more so. There is variation of practices even within one single country. A management framework that fits in with one context may not work properly in another context, where social and cultural factors are different. In a non-Western context like Lamphun, World Heritage Listing may not be the best solution in the end since locals may feel that they have to sacrifice more than what they can get. Alternatively, they may not resist, but they would not participate actively as expected by heritage authorities either. This thesis proposes that a universal or standardised heritage practice will never work in all circumstances. Heritage management is the management of conflicts and management of involved parties. Each locality should break its heritage conflicts into component parts in order to find possible conflict resolution that satisfies the parties involved in the conflicts at a psychological level. The most useful management framework should not only aim to manage cultural heritage, but priority should also be given to heritage stakeholders or culture bearers since in the end those who want to protect and conserve cultural heritage, in a Western sense, are only a small unit of a larger system.

The fieldwork conducted in Lamphun was a case sampling of a small city in a non-Western country. Although this case study may be an example of how different communities of interest react to each other, it should also be noted that the effects of heritage on each locality is rather case-specific. The research on interpretation and understanding of heritage is also related to an author's value judgement. Places, date, time and ongoing events or incidents are also significant factors that affect the integrity of data. There may be other interpretations of data, if the research questions are approached differently. The difficulties and limitations of the practical aspects of this research were discussed in chapter three. The main difficulties were: the use of an open-ended questionnaire, which at times intimidated potential participants; bureaucratic problems in gaining access to resources and interviews; political instability was another problem that often caused delay in heritage projects, and also caused difficulties in gaining physical access to some sources in the heart of Bangkok, where demonstrations often took place during fieldwork periods.

One of the areas of further research that may develop some of the findings of this study could be a consideration of the roles of the media in heritage practices. This research does not discuss in detail the work that the press and social media does on cultural heritage, and *vice versa*. Another interesting issue is the study of the dominant discourse in Thailand's heritage management in the near future. There have been changes and challenges to the old structures, which are often criticised as products of early Western influence, such as the establishment of the national list of intangible heritage, and the plan to become a signatory of the ICHC. A detailed study of various community heritage projects may be another interesting area that will further investigate how local communities and communities of experts interact with each other. Another area to consider is the effects of domestic and international tourism and the way this influences the development of heritage discourses.

The concluding statement of this thesis is that heritage management should be a dynamic practice. Heritage is defined and re-defined by a range of communities as they negotiate their identities and sense of place. These negotiations will have ongoing influences, and will change not only the content of heritage discourses, but also which discourses are given power and legitimacy.

Since the dominant discourses might change over time, why do we then define a single or 'best' set of practices that are held to be 'universally true'?

Appendix 1: Full survey and interview questions

The ‘Meaning of Heritage’ Survey

1. Age.....Occupation.....Hometown.....Gender.....
2. What does ‘cultural heritage’ mean to you?
3. What do you feel are the key characteristics of cultural heritage?
4. How often do you visit heritage sites and what sort of sites do you visit?
5. How often do you participate in heritage-related activities? What activities are these?
6. What are your reasons for visiting heritage sites or engaging in heritage activities?
7. How do you feel when visiting heritage sites or engaging in heritage-related activities?
8. Please name three (or more) of the key aspects of Lamphun’s ‘cultural heritage’ ?
9. Who do you think should be involved in the management of Lamphun’s cultural heritage management?
10. Have you ever been involved in heritage management? (If so, please specify) How often are you engaged in such activities?
11. Would you like to participate more in activities relating to cultural heritage? If so, what sort of activities would you like to do?
12. What do you understand by the term ‘World Heritage’?
13. Have you heard of the ‘Lamphun to World Heritage’ Project?
Have you been involved?
14. Do you want Lamphun to be a World Heritage site? Why?
15. What, if any, will be either the benefits or dangers (or drawbacks) if Lamphun became a world heritage site?
16. Do you have any other comments on how you would like cultural heritage management in Lamphun to be undertaken?

Interview Questions

Questions for state officials in local state agencies

1) Is there a particular unit/department in your organisation, which is directly responsible for cultural heritage management? What are the main duties of your organisation?

2) Does your organisation work in partnership with other governmental or non-governmental organisations? What are they?

3) What does your organisation perceive as 'heritage'? What is the meaning of heritage adopted by your organisation?

4) Does your organisation address or adopt the conceptual distinction between tangible and intangible heritage? Do you have other ways to categorise cultural heritage?

5) What do you consider 'uniqueness' of cultural heritage in Lamphun?

6) Do you think Lamphun has been sufficiently addressed at the national level?

7) Do you think local residents are aware of cultural, historical and archaeological values of the city?

8) Which policy documents in heritage management are you following? Who decides what is to be treated as heritage and who decides and develop conservation and management plans?

9) Do you include 'community involvement' in your policy, if so, does it work as planned in the real practice?

The reasons for asking these questions are to investigate these local agencies' perspective on heritage, heritage management and community/ interest groups and see whether they incorporate community concerns into practice and how.

10) Have there been any tensions or ideological conflicts at national and local levels? i.e. conflicts between local authority and national organisations and between local authority and local residents.

11) If there were ideological conflicts, what were they about? and how did you solve the problems? Were you confined to the legal documents or was there any form of negotiation, such as using regionally or locally developed principles in heritage management?

12) What are the main problems in cultural heritage management in Lamphun?

13) Why was Lamphun designed to be nominated as a World Heritage Site?

14) A) Have there been any comments from the locals? If so, who are these people? B) Have there been any positive responses? C) Have there been any tensions?

15) Have there been any comments from other organisations from the top of the hierarchy, i.e. the FAD? Have they been positive or negative?

16) Have there been any difficulties in meeting the nomination requirements of UNESCO (the UNESCO significance criteria)? What have been the major hurdles in the nomination process?

17) What have been the most positive experiences of the nomination process?

These questions are asked in order to see if tensions also exist between local and national and local/national and international levels, specifically on the issue of the proposal to the World Heritage listing.

The regional office of Fine Arts Department of Thailand (FAD), main responsible body of heritage management in Thailand

1) What are the main duties of the regional office of FAD in cultural heritage management?

2) What are current principles or legislation used in cultural heritage management in Thailand? Are they developed domestically? Have they been influenced by international charters?

3) What do you perceive as 'heritage'? What is the meaning of heritage adopted by your organisation?

4) Does the FAD address or adopt the conceptual distinction between tangible and intangible heritage? Do you have other ways to categorise cultural heritage?

5) Why isn't Thailand a signatory of the Convention for the safeguarding of ICH?

These first questions are to examine the nature and structure of the organisation and their perception of heritage and relate issues.

6) Is 'community involvement' included in the policy adopted by the FAD, if so, how do you define community involvement? Does it work as planned in the real practice?

7) Does FAD work with other heritage organisations? Which ones? Can you give me some example of how you work with others? Are their principles different from the FAD's? If so, does it affect your work on heritage management?

8) Do you agree that the main problem of heritage management in the non-western World, and especially Buddhist countries is 'authenticity'. Is the FAD aware of this issue and how the FAD decide to tackle the issue? What is meant by authenticity?

9) What have been the major obstacles in heritage management in recent times?

10) Is there any difference between theory and practice? How can you find the balance?

11) Are there any special concerns or issues in cultural heritage management in Northern Thailand, especially in Lamphun?

12) What is your opinion on the World Heritage Campaign in Lamphun? To what extent has the FAD been involved in the project?

13) What do you have to work towards in order to meet the requirements for the nomination? Do you think the nomination is possible to happen?

14) Do you think World Heritage listing will be useful and positive for Thailand and for the Lamphun region?

The Fine Arts Department is a governmental organization, which is directly involved in the maintenance, conservation and reconstruction of archaeological sites in Thailand. It is necessary to examine what perspectives on heritage and conservation authorised persons have, how they incorporate international guidelines into practice, and whether there are any problems in current management strategies due to conflicting values attached to archaeological remains, such as the issue of authenticity and access to religious remains (For example, women are not allowed to enter pagodas that contain Buddha relics).

NGOs: Thai ICOMOS,

1) What are the main duties of your organisation? What activities does your organization engage in cultural heritage management in Thailand?

2) Since Thai ICOMOS and SEAMEO-SPAFA are regional offices of international organisations, how do you link heritage work at national and international levels? Do you work in partnership with other governmental organisations or NGOs?

3) Is community involvement part of your principles? How does your organisation define community involvement? Are there any problems working with local people? If so, could you give me some example?

4) Do you think the majority of local residents in Thailand are sufficiently informed about heritage issues? Do local residents support the work of local or national agencies or do you see any tensions between local/national agencies and communities?

- 5) Do you think Thai experiences have anything to offer international debate and policy development?
- 6) What are the main issues within cultural heritage management in Thailand?
- 7) Do you agree with the literature that the main problem of heritage management in the non-western World, especially in Buddhist countries, is different perception of 'authenticity'? Do you agree or disagree with this statement and how does your organization decide to tackle the issue?
- 8) From your experience, are there any issues in the attempts to apply international guidelines of heritage management in the Thai contexts?
- 9) To what extent can the regionally/locally developed principles and guidelines reduce tension among stakeholders?
- 10) Does the cooperation between countries in the same regional sphere help with cultural and expertise exchange? Do other countries have similar problems?
- 11) How well are the regionally developed documents, such as the Hoi An Protocols, utilised in the current cultural heritage management in Thailand?
- 12) It seems that there are several heritage sites in Thailand awaiting nomination to the World Heritage Committee. Do you think that acquiring the status will change peoples' perception in Thailand of these heritage sites?
- 13) What do you envisage the implications of the inscription will be? From your experience, has any one expressed their fear of losing autonomy or other concerns about the listing?

These NGOs also play an important role in promoting heritage events and activities in Thailand. These questions aim at exploring their roles in heritage management and how they work with community groups and their possible future direction in heritage management with an emphasis on the use of international charter and guidelines for heritage management in Thailand.

Local experts/ Local academics

- 1) What do you understand by the term 'heritage'?
- 2) What is your opinion on the current heritage management strategies pursued by responsible organisations?
- 3) Do you think that Lamphun's historical, archaeological and cultural values are sufficiently addressed at the national level?
- 4) Many scholars in the field of heritage propose that Western underpinning values of heritage management sometimes seems unfit with the non-Western contexts. What do you think about this statement and why?
- 5) Do you think that the current management strategies follow international charters? Has there been any adaptation from the international guidelines into real practice? Do you see any tensions between Thai management aims and philosophies and those at international level? Do you see tension between national and local levels in Thailand?

These questions attempt to explore local academics and expertise' perspective on cultural heritage and heritage management and see whether they align themselves with the government agencies or local residents.

- 6) What are the 'ideal' cultural heritage management strategies in your opinion?
- 7) What do you think is the main issues in cultural heritage management in Lamphun?
- 8) What do you think about the World Heritage Campaign? What do you see as its positive aspects? What negative aspects are there?
- 9) Have you been involved in the consultation process or any other activities? If so, how useful or effective were they?
- 10) Do you think Lamphun has got sufficient resources to be inscribed on the list?
- 11) What do you think the implications of the nomination and the inscription will be? And is it going to affect Lamphun, its cultural values and people's ways of life?

12) If the current cultural heritage management practice create conflicts and tensions among stakeholders, whom do you see as having the most legitimate claims?

The proposal for World Heritage listing came from some local academics and government officials. Exploring the viewpoint of those who take part in the in comparison with those who are not involved may show how different people understand the term 'World Heritage' differently.

UNESCO office in Bangkok

1) What are the main duties of your organisation? What activities does your organization engage in cultural heritage management in Thailand?

2) Since Thai ICOMOS and SEAMEO-SPAFA are regional offices of international organisations, how do you link heritage work at national and international levels? Do you work in partnership with other governmental organisations or NGOs?

3) Is community involvement part of your principles? How does your organisation define community involvement? Are there any problems working with local people? If so, could you give me some example?

4) Do you think the majority of local residents in Thailand are sufficiently informed about heritage issues? Do local residents support the work of local or national agencies or do you see any tensions between local/national agencies and communities?

5) Do you think Thai experiences have anything to offer international debate and policy development?

6) What are the main issues within cultural heritage management in Thailand?

7) Do you agree with the literature that the main problem of heritage management in the non-western World, especially in Buddhist countries, is different perception of 'authenticity'? Do you agree or disagree with this statement and how does your organization decide to tackle the issue?

8) From your experience, are there any issues in the attempts to apply international guidelines of heritage management in the Thai contexts?

9) To what extent can the regionally/locally developed principles and guidelines reduce tension among stakeholders?

10) Does the cooperation between countries in the same regional sphere help with cultural and expertise exchange? Do other countries have similar problems?

11) How well are the regionally developed documents, such as the Hoi An Protocols, utilised in the current cultural heritage management in Thailand?

12) It seems that there are several heritage sites in Thailand awaiting nomination to the World Heritage Committee. Do you think that acquiring the status will change peoples' perception in Thailand of these heritage sites?

13) What do you envisage the implications of the inscription will be? From your experience, has any one expressed their fear of losing autonomy or other concerns about the listing?

UNESCO is directly responsible for the nomination of World Heritage and the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Heritage expertise, authorised persons in heritage organisations in Lamphun are now working towards the nomination of the city to the World Heritage List. They receive massive support from some local residents, but oppositions can often be seen in the webforum, news articles in local newspapers, and so on. These questions are to explore how UNESCO works with the non-Western countries, specifically Thailand, and how they manage values at heritage sites in order to compare against the perspectives of heritage professionals and local residents in Lamphun.

Appendix 2:

A summary of the results of the ‘Meaning of Heritage’ Survey

3.1 Participants’ details

Age

Answer	Frequency
0-25	53
26-35	29
36-45	13
46-55	21
56 up	14

Occupation

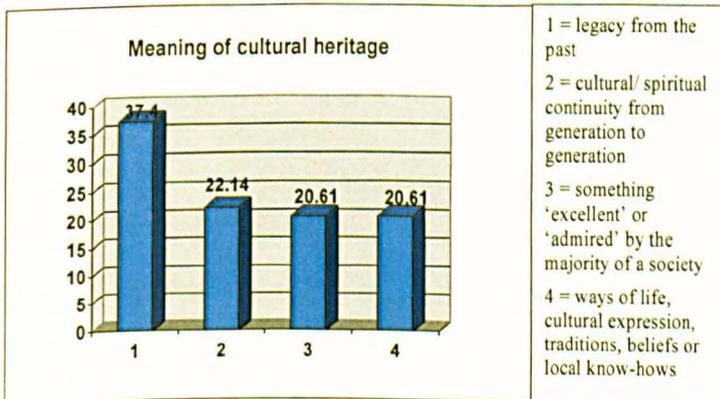
Answer	Frequency
Student/University student	38
People working in the government sector: Civil Servant/ Government Officials/ Village Headperson	12
Nurse/ physiotherapist	2
Researcher/University Lecturer/ school teacher	10
Engineer/Lawyer	2
Heritage related professions: Archaeologist	1
Owner of Small Business	5
Office Worker(private company)/ hotel worker/ Banker	14
Industrial Worker/ General labourer/ self-employed/ driver	7
Merchant/ craftperson/ skilled labourer	14
Agriculturer	2
Housewife/ Unemployed	13
Other: Librarian/chef	2

Hometown and Gender

Answer	Frequency
Lamphun	92
Chiangmai	15
Other towns in Northern Thailand	7
Other regions in Thailand	16
Other countries	1

Answer	Frequency
Female	73
Male	58

3.2) What does ‘cultural heritage’ mean to you?



Answer	Frequency
National Identity	3
Something excellent, extravagant	27 (20.61%)
Ways of life/culture/traditions/beliefs/local know-hows	27 (20.61%)
Ancient monuments/artefacts/visual art/something ancient/ legacy from the past	46 (37.4%)
Something that can be passed on from generation to generation	29 (22.14%)
A place/something intangible valued by the majority of people	4
Something unique to each culture	3
A place or an object with historical values, educational values and aesthetic values	3
Natural and cultural creation	2
Can be divided into tangible and intangible	6
Something related to Buddhism and religions	2
Something we should conserve	11

Diagram comparing what participants think is the meaning of the term 'cultural heritage'

3.3) What do you feel are the key characteristics of cultural heritage?

Answer	Frequency
Unique	15 (11.45%)
Tangible (archaeological sites or monument, artefacts)	25 (19.08%)
Follow or serve the religious beliefs, particularly Buddhism	6 (4.58%)
Transferable from group to group, generation to generation	12 (9.16%)
Intangible (Languages, Folklore, myth, legends, literature, music)	13 (9.92%)
Something that tell us about the past	6
Authentic	5 (3.82%)
Ancient	24 (18.32%)
Ways of life, traditions, know-hows, courtesy	21 (16.03%)
Beautiful/ fine	13
Don't need to be ancient, but generally accepted by the majority of people that they're worth conserving	1
Temples	3 (2.3%)
respectable	5

3.4) How often do you visit heritage sites and what sort of sites do you visit?

Answer	Frequency
Everyday, as a routine	16
Often (every week – a few times a month – every fortnight)	10
Quite often (once a month – once in two months)	14
Occasionally (a few times a year)	28
Rarely (Less that a few times a year)	47
Never	6
Can't really tell, always visit heritage sites when there are festivals and special Buddhist events	9

Type of heritage

Answer	Frequency
Temples	86 (65.65%)
Museums	22 (16.79%)
Archaeological sites/ historical parks	28 (21.37%)
Others: community centre, statue	3 (2.3%)

3.5) How often do you participate in heritage-related activities? What activities are these?

Answer	Frequency
Everyday, as a routine	15
Often (every week – a few times a month – every fortnight)	8
Quite often (once a month – once in two months)	8
Occasionally (a few times a year)	11
Rarely (Less than a few times a year)	35
Never	28
Can't really tell, always visit heritage sites when there are festivals and special Buddhist events	26

Type of intangible heritage

Answer	Frequency
Courtesy/ day-to-day practice/ local know-hows	2 (1.53%)
Religious Practice (Stupa Bathing ceremony, Merit-making, Monk Offering, etc)	55 (42%)
Festivals (Thai New Year, Loy Kratong, etc), celebrations	11 (8.4%)
Others: Seminar, museum visit, field trip	4

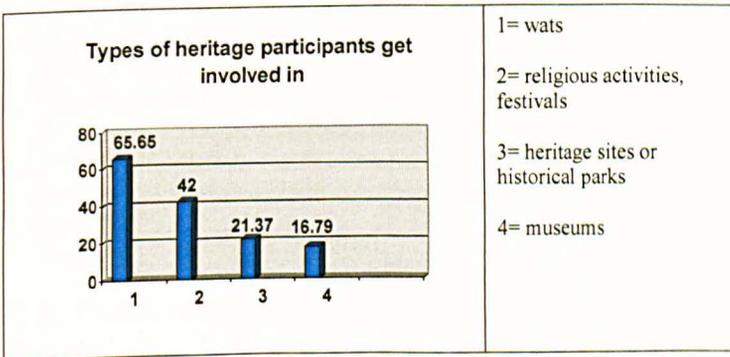


Diagram showing types of heritage that participants are associated with

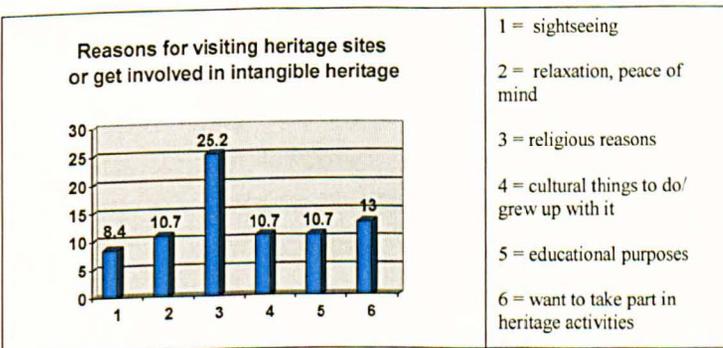


Diagram showing reasons for visiting heritage sites

3.6) What are your reasons for visiting heritage

sites or engaging in heritage activities?

Answer	Frequency
Beauty/excellence/grandiosity	5
Sightseeing	11
Relaxation/peace of mind	14 (10.7%)
Curiosity	4
Religious Reasons	33 (25.2%)
Cultural things to do/ grew up with it	14 (10.7%)
Professional reasons	6
Educational purposes	14 (10.7%)
Wants to learn about the past	8
Want to be part of conservation/management	17 (13%)
Want to help transmit traditions or culture to future generations	
Personal Interest	6

3.7) How do you feel when visiting heritage sites or engaging in heritage-related activities?

Answer	Frequency
Proud/ Nationalistic	39 (29.77%)
Relaxed/Focused/at peace	60 (45.8%)
Appreciated/ motivated	16 (12.21%)
Nothing/ feel so normal	3
Bored	1
Curious/interested	9
Annoyed with management and conservation/ want to take part in conservation	9
Feel that they belong to the place	6

3.8) Please name three (or more) of the key aspects of Lamphun's 'cultural heritage' ?

Answer	Frequency
Wat (Temples)	
- Wat Phrathat Hariouchai	65
- Wat Jamathewi	36
- Wat Phrayuen	14
- Wat Phrayuen	19
- Wat Pra Buddhabarttakpha	1
- Wat Koh Klang	23
- Other temples (eg. Wat Mahawan, Wat Kuramak)	(total = 158)
Sites/monuments/groups of buildings	
- Royal Elephant and Horse shrines	21
- Museums	9
- Queen Jamathewi's Statue (The first queen of Haripunchai)	15
- Moats and the City Wall	8
- The sacred well	2
- Other sites (e.g the Town Hall, River Guang)	6
	(total = 61)

Languages	- Tai Yong	8
Festivals and local traditions	- Stupa bathing ceremony at Wat Phrathat Haripunchai	10
	- New Year Festival (in April)	6
	- Tan Kuay Salak (Offering ceremony for ancestors)	13
	- Loy Kra Tong (Lantern Floating Ceremony)	5
	- Poy Luang (Communal offering. All villagers gather offerings either in the forms of objects and money for donations to the communal temple)	7
	- Others festivals and traditions	8
		(Total = 49)
Art and Craft	- Textile	13
	- Wooden Craft, engraved wood	1
		(Total = 14)
People	- Queen Jama Thewi	6
	- Kruba Srivichai (Leader of the Monk that resist the incorporation of Lanna into Central Thai government)	1
		(Total =7)
Artefacts	- Votive tablets	9
Other Intangible Heritage	- Folk music	2
	- Queen Jama Thewi's folklore	3
	- Traditional clothes and dance	6
		(Total = 11)

3.9) Who do you think should be involved in the management of Lamphun's cultural heritage management?

Answer	Frequency
Everyone	60 (45.8%)
The Fine Arts Department and Haripunchai National Museum	6 (4.6%)
Religious/Buddhist organisations	12 (9.2%)
Local politicians/ local government/local offices (Municipal office, Provincial Administrative Office, Tambon Administrative Office)	45 (34.35%)
Cultural Organisations/ Ministry of Culture	22 (16.8%)
Educational Institution	10 (7.63%)
Other: The press/ leaders at various levels/ Tourist Office	7 (5.34%)

3.10) Have you ever been involved in heritage management? (If so, please specify) How often are you engaged in such activities?

Answer	Frequency
Yes	22 (16.8%)
No	109 (83.2%)

Reasons for Yes:

- Being in the heritage organisations' board (1)
- Arrange activities for the elderly and school children and the public (7)
- Attend community consultation sessions (4)
- Attend Seminars held by museums (4)
- Help with Funding (1)

3.11) Would you like to participate more in activities relating to cultural heritage? If so, what sort of activities would you like to do?

Answer	Frequency
Yes	68 (51.9)
No	58 (44.27)
Not sure	3
No comment	2

Reasons for Yes:

- Conservation (14)
- Public relation/ advertising (7)
- Share opinion in and participate in heritage activities (8)

Reasons for No:

- Hate the way government officials think (3)
- Don't have time and money (2)

3.12) What do you understand by the term 'World Heritage'?

Answer	Frequency
UNESCO's standard of heritage Conservation	11 (8.4%)
Cultural Heritage that's universally significant/ recognised and owned by humankind	44 (33.6%)
Heritage that needs special measures for protection	8 (6.11%)
Very Significant/brilliant/spectacular/ancient	24 (18.32%)
Branding of heritage/ competition between nations	2
Others: Need to be preserved for future generations Unique	

3.13) Have you heard of the 'Lamphun to World Heritage' Project?

Have you been involved?

Answer	Frequency
Yes	69 (52.67)
No	62 (47.33)

3.14) Do you want Lamphun to be a World Heritage site? Why?

Answer	Frequency
Yes	107 (81.7%)
No	16 (12.21%)
Not sure	4 (3.05%)
No comment	4 (3.05%)

Reasons for Yes:

- Trigger the economy (13)
- For tourism purposes (13)
- For better conservation and management (14)
- For recognition nationally and internationally (24)
- Lamphun's cultural significance, deserves it! (24)

Reason for No:

- Will bring changes to ways of life
- Lamphun will be filled with tourists/ too busy
- Responsible organisations don't communicate with each other very well. There may be problems if Lamphun goes on to that level
- Citizens will lose their autonomy over the city

3.15) What, if any, will be either the benefits or dangers (or drawbacks) if Lamphun became a world heritage site? (Participants' answers are similar to 3.14)

3.16) Additional comments from participants

- Locals need more chances to give their opinions on cultural heritage management.
- Before preparing the nomination file, the local and government organisations should discuss the meaning of 'heritage' first, as different groups still hold different beliefs.
- Lamphun's heritage organization should start with providing information on cultural heritage to students and local residents first. If the local do not know themselves well, how can the nomination be successful?
- There should be more advertising on Lamphun. The city is 1400 years old and has a lot to offer, but Lamphun has always been overlooked.
- Many participants do not trust government officials in charge of the World Heritage issues. They need more clarity in what they have done and what they are doing.

Appendix 3:

Relevant Thai legislation and documents

Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Arts and National Museums, B.E. 2504 (1961)

BHUMIBOL ADULYADEJ, REX.

Given on the 2nd Day of August B.E. 2504,

Being the 16th Year of the Present Reign

His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej is graciously pleased to
proclaim that:

Whereas it is expedient to revise the law on ancient monuments,
antiques, objects of art and national museums;

Be it, therefore, enacted by the King, by and with the advice and
consent of the Constituent Assembly acting as the National Assembly, as follows:

Section 1. This Act is called the "Act on Ancient Monuments, Antiques, Objects of Art and National Museums, B.E. 2504."

Section 2. This Act shall come into force after the expiration of thirty days from the date of its publication in the Government Gazette.

Section 3. The following shall be repealed:

(1) The Act on Ancient Monuments, Objects of Art, Antiques and National Museums, B.E. 2477; and

(2) The Act on Ancient Monuments, Objects of Art, Antiques and National Museums (No. 2), B.E. 2486.

All other laws, by-laws and regulations insofar as they deal with matters provided herein or are contrary hereto or inconsistent herewith shall be replaced by this Act.

Section 4. In this Act:

"ancient monument" means an immovable property which, by its age or architectural characteristics or historical evidence, is useful in the field of art, history or archaeology and shall include places which are archaeological sites, historic sites and historic parks;

"antique" means an archaic movable property, whether produced by man or by nature, or being any part of ancient monument or of human skeleton or animal carcass which, by its age or characteristics of production or historical evidence, is useful in the field of art, history or archaeology;

"objects of art" means a thing skillfully produced by craftsmanship which is high valuable in the field of art;

"duplicate antique" means a thing which is a duplicate of an antique or a particular part of an antique registered under this Act or which is in the possession of the Department of Fine Arts;

"duplicate object of art" means a thing which is a duplicate of object of art or a particular part of object of art registered under this Act or which is in the possession of the Department of Fine Arts;

"duplicate" means imitate, replicate or reproduce by any means in order to be like or similar to the original object regardless of its original size, features or material;

"competent official" means the person appointed by the Minister for the execution of this Act;

"Director-General" means the Director-General of the Department of Fine Arts;

"Minister" means the Minister having charge and control of the execution of this Act.

Section 5. The Director-General may, in regard to the issuance of permit or licence by him under this Act, entrust a government official of the Department of Fine Arts in a position not lower than a Director or its equivalent to act on his behalf or the *Changwat* Governor of any locality to act on his behalf in such locality. Such entrustment shall be published in the Government Gazette. After the publication of entrustment of authority to the *Changwat* Governor of any locality according to paragraph one, the application for permit or licence shall be filed with the *Changwat* Governor of such locality.

Section 6. The Minister of Education shall have charge and control of the execution of this Act, and shall have the power to appoint competent officials, issue Ministerial Regulations prescribing fees not exceeding the rates provided in the schedules hereto attached, granting exemption from fees, and prescribing other activities for the execution of this Act. Such Ministerial Regulations shall come into force upon their publication in the Government Gazette.

CHAPTER I

Ancient Monuments

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 is 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 therewith, 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.

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.

In the case where the building being constructed without permit, the Director-General shall have the power to stop the construction and to demolish the building or a part of the building within sixty days from the date of the receipt of the order.

Any person who refuses to stop the construction or to demolish the building or a part of building according to order of the Director-General shall be liable to the offence of refusing the order of official. The Director-General shall demolish the building or a part of that building and the owner, the occupier or the constructor shall have no right to claim damages or proceed with the case whatsoever against the persons executing that demolition. If the owner does not remove the demolished materials from the ancient monument's compound within fifteen days from the date of the completion of the demolition, the Director-General shall sell such materials by auction. Proceeds of sale after deduction of demolition and sales expenses shall return to the owner of such materials.

Section 8. All ancient monuments listed and published in the Government Gazette by the Director-General under the law on ancient monuments, objects of art, antiques and national museums before the day of the coming into force of this Act shall also be taken as registered ancient monuments under this Act.

Section 9. In case the registered ancient monument owned and lawfully possessed by any person is deteriorating, dilapidating or being damaged by any means whatsoever, the owner or possessor thereof shall inform the Director-General of the deterioration, dilapidation or damage within thirty days from the date of his or her being aware of its occurrence.

Section 9 bis. The ancient monument under section 9 which display to the public for collecting admission fee or any other fees as regular business or yield any benefits whatsoever from such ancient monument, the owner or possessor thereof shall bear the expense of repair, in total or in part, as prescribed by the Director-General.

In determining the expense of repair under paragraph one, the Director-General shall appoint a committee of not less than three persons and the owner or possessor shall also be a member.

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 10 bis. The competent official shall have the power to enter any ancient monument for the purpose of inspection as to whether there has been any repair, modification, alteration, demolition, addition, destruction, removal of ancient monument or its parts or any excavation or construction of building within the compound of ancient monument. The competent official shall have the power, for this purpose, to seize or attach any object which is reasonably suspected of excavation within the compound of ancient monument.

The inspection, seizure or attachment under paragraph one shall be made between sunrise and sunset. After an inspection, seizure or attachment has taken place in the Bangkok Metropolitan area, a report shall be made to the Director-General and in other *Changwats* to the *Changwat* Governors and the Director-General.

Section 11. The Director-General shall have the power in regard to any registered ancient monument even owned or lawfully possessed, to order the competent official or any person to make a repair or to do by any means whatsoever for restoration or preservation of its original condition; provided that its owner or possessor has first to be notified thereof.

Section 12. In case of transfer of the registered ancient monument, the transferor shall give the Director-General within thirty days from the date of transfer a written information specifying the transferee's name and residence as well as the date of transfer. The person who acquires ownership of a registered ancient monument by inheritance or by will shall inform the Director-General of such acquisition within sixty days from the date of the acquisition. In case there are many persons acquiring ownership of the same ancient monument and one of the co-owners entrusted to give information of the acquisition of ownership has given the information within the said period, it shall be taken that all co-owners have given such information.

Section 13. When it is deemed appropriate for preserving the condition, safety, cleanliness and tidiness of the registered ancient monument, the Minister shall have the power to issue a Ministerial Regulation on conducts of visitors during their visit; and may fix admission fee or any other fees. The organizing of visits to ancient monument owned or lawfully possessed by any individual who charge admission fee or any other fees shall be notified in writing prior to the Director-General and shall be complied with the rules, procedure and conditions notified by the Director-General in the Government Gazette.

Section 13 bis. When it is deemed appropriate for promoting education and publicizing culture and arts, the Director-General shall have the power to give a written permit to an individual to carry out any activity that gain benefit from the compound of registered ancient monument not owned or lawfully possessed by any individual. The person receiving the permit shall bear all expenses incurred in that activity and shall pay ownership fees, remittances, and other fees to the Department of Fine Arts. The payment received shall benefit the Archaeological Fund in accordance with rules notified by the Director-General in the Government Gazette.

CHAPTER 2

Antiques and Objects of Art

Section 14. The Director-General shall have the power, if he deems that any antique or object of art not being in the possession of the Department of Fine Arts is useful or of special value in the field of art, history or archaeology, to cause, by means of notification in the Government Gazette, such antique or object of art to be registered.

The Director-General shall have the power, if he deems that any antique whether it is registered or not, or any registered object of art should be conserved as a national property, to cause, by means of notification in the Government Gazette, such antique or object of art not to be traded. If he deems that they should become a national property, the Director-General shall have the power to purchase such antique or object of art.

Section 14 bis. When it is deemed appropriate for preservation and registration of antiques or objects of art dating from Ayudhya and earlier periods, the Director-General shall have the power to cause, by means of notification in the Government Gazette, any locality to be an area of survey for a particular antique or object of art. In such cases, the owner or possessor shall inform the numbers, appearances and places at which such antiques or objects of art are stored to the Director-General in accordance with the rules, procedure and conditions notified by the Director-General.

When a notification under paragraph one has been made, the Director-General or a person entrusted by him or her shall have the power to enter a dwelling place of an owner or possessor or a place at which antiques or objects of art are stored between sunrise and sunset or during working hours for the benefit of registration. In the case where it is deemed that any antique or object of art is useful or of special value in the field of art, history or archaeology, the Director-General shall have the power under section 14.

Section 15. No person shall repair, modify or alter any registered antique or object of art, unless permit has been obtained from the Director-General. If the permit contains any conditions, they shall be complied with.

Section 16. In case the registered antique or object of art is deteriorating, dilapidating or being damaged or lost or removed from the place at which it is stored, the possessor of such antique or object of art shall inform the Director-General of the deterioration, dilapidation, damage, lose or removal within thirty days from the date of his or her being aware of its occurrence.

Section 17. In case of transfer of the registered antique or object of art, the transferor shall give the Director-General within thirty days from the date of transfer a

written information specifying the transferee's name and residence as well as the date of transfer.

The person who acquires ownership of a registered antique or object of art by inheritance or by will shall inform the Director-General of such acquisition within sixty days from the date of the acquisition. In case there are many persons acquiring ownership of the same antique or object of art and one of the co-owners entrusted to give information of the acquisition of ownership has given the information within the said period, it shall be taken that all co-owners have given such information.

Section 18. Antiques or objects of art which are the State property and under the custody and care of the Department of Fine Arts are inalienable, except by virtue of law. However, if the number of certain similar antiques or objects of art is in excess of need, the Director-General may permit to transfer them by means of sale or exchange for the benefit of national museums or give them to the excavators as rewards or for a consideration of their service in compliance with rules notified by the Director-General in the Government Gazette.

Section 18 bis. Antiques or objects of art which are under the possession of the Department of Fine Arts or are registered and are useful or of special value in the field of art, history or archaeology, the Minister shall have the power to cause, by means of notification in the Government Gazette, such antiques or objects of art to control the duplication.

When a notification under paragraph one has been made, the productions, trade or possession in a place of business of a duplicate antique or duplicate object of art under duplication control thereof shall be complied with the rules, procedure and conditions notified by the Director-General in the Government Gazette. The person who wishes to produce a duplicate antique or duplicate object of art under such duplication control shall inform a list of items to the Director-General and show a sign of duplication on each produced item.

After being informed according to paragraph two, the Director-General shall notify lists of producers and duplicate antiques and duplicate objects of art under duplication control to the Director-General of the Customs Department for the benefit of export or take out of the Kingdom.

Section 19. Any person wishing to engage in the business of antiques and objects of art not to be traded under section 14 paragraph two must obtain a license from the Director-General. The application for a license and the grant thereof shall be in accordance with the rules, procedure and conditions prescribed in the Ministerial Regulation.

In case the Director-General grants the application, he shall notify the list of the licensees in the Government Gazette. In case the Director-General refuses to grant the application, the applicant is entitled to lodge an appeal in writing with the Minister within thirty days from the date of his or her being aware of such order.

The decision of the Minister shall be final.

Section 19 bis. Any person wishing to display antiques and objects of art to public for collecting admission fee or any other fees shall submit prior notification in

writing to the Director-General and shall comply with the rules, procedure and conditions notified by the Director-General in the Government Gazette.

Section 19 ter. The licence issued under section 19 shall be valid until 31st December of the year of its issuance. If the licensee wishes to apply for a renewal of his or her licence, he or she shall file an application to the Director-General before the expiration thereof. Having filed the application, he or she may carry on his or her business until such time when the Director-General makes an order refusing the application.

The application for a renewal of licence and the grant thereof shall be in accordance with the rules, procedure and conditions prescribed in the Ministerial Regulation.

In case the Director-General grants the application, he shall notify the list of the licensees in the Government Gazette.

In case the Director-General refuses to grant the application, the applicant is entitled to lodge an appeal in writing with the Minister within thirty days from the date of his or her being aware of such order.

The decision of the Minister shall be final.

If there is an appeal for a renewal of the license under paragraph three before the decision is made by the Minister, the Minister may give the permission that the appellant may carry on his or her business if he or she so requests.

Section 20. The licensee under section 19 shall produce the license in the conspicuous place of his or her business and he or she shall make a list of the antiques or objects of art or duplicate antiques or duplicate objects of art which are in his or her possession and keep such list within such place in compliance with rules notified by the Director-General in the Government Gazette.

Section 21. The competent official shall have the power to enter any place of production, business, exhibition or storage of antiques or objects of art or duplicate antiques or duplicate objects of art between sunrise and sunset or uring working hours for the purpose of inspection as to whether the licensee has complied with this Act or whether the antiques or objects of art or duplicate antiques or duplicate objects of art unlawfully acquired or whether there are duplicate antiques or duplicate of objects of art not being complied with notification prescribed by the Director-General under section 18 bis in such places. In the case where there is a reasonable cause to suspect that the licensee has not complied with this Act or there are the antiques or objects of art or duplicate antiques or duplicate objects of art unlawfully acquired or duplicate antiques or duplicate objects of art not complied with notification prescribed by the Director-General under section 18 bis, the competent official shall have the power to seize or attach any antiques or objects of art or duplicate antiques or duplicate objects of art for the benefit of legal prosecution.

Section 21 bis. In the performance of duties, the Director-General or a person entrusted by him or her or the competent official, as the case may be, shall produce his or her identity card to the owner, the possessor, the licensee or the person concerned at the places being inspected under section 14 bis or section 21 and such person concerned shall provide him with reasonable facilities.

The identity card of the competent official shall be in the form prescribed in the Ministerial Regulation.

Section 21 ter. In the performance of duties, the Director-General or a person entrusted by him or her or the competent official shall be an official under the Penal Code.

Section 22. No person shall export or take out of the Kingdom any antique or object of art irrespective of whether it is registered or not, unless a licence has been obtained from the Director-General.

The application for a license and the grant thereof shall be in accordance with the rules, procedure and conditions prescribed in the Ministerial Regulation.

The provisions of paragraph one shall not apply to objects of art which are not more than five years old and have not been registered and the bringing of antiques or objects of art in transit.

Section 23. Any person being desirous of temporarily dispatching antiques or objects of art out of the Kingdom shall apply to the Director-General for a license. In case the Director-General gives the order refusing to grant the application, the applicant is entitled to lodge an appeal against the Director-General's refusal with the Minister within thirty days from the date of his or her being aware of such order. The decision of the Minister shall be final.

In case the Director-General deems appropriate or the Minister decides that a license be issued to the applicant for temporarily dispatching antiques or objects of art out of the Kingdom and the applicant has agreed to comply with the conditions, methods and requirements on deposit of security money and/or payment of penalties as prescribed in the Ministerial Regulation relating thereto, the Director-General shall accordingly issue a license to the applicant.

Section 23 bis. In the case where it is necessary to export or take out of the Kingdom any antiques or objects of art or parts of them which are in the possession of the Department of Fine Arts for the purposes of education, analysis, research, repair or assembly, the Director-General shall have the power to export or take out temporarily of the Kingdom such antiques or objects of art or parts of antiques or objects of art. In case the parts of such antiques or objects of art have to be processed or destroyed in regard to the process of analysis or research, the Director-General may export or take such parts out of the Kingdom without having to bring them back.

Section 24. Antiques or objects of art buried in, concealed or abandoned within the Kingdom or the Exclusive Economic Zone under such circumstances that no one could claim to be their owners shall, whether the place of burial, concealment, or abandonment be owned or possessed by any person, become the State property. The finder of such antiques or objects of art shall deliver the same to the competent official or the administrative or police official under the Criminal Procedure Code and is entitled to not more than a reward of one-third of the value of such property.

The Director-General shall appoint a committee of not less than three members to determine the value of property according to paragraph one. The finder is entitled to appeal against the decision of the said committee to the Director-General within fifteen days from the date of his or her being aware of the decision. The decision of the Director-General shall be final.

Section 24 bis.31 In the case where the license issued under this Act is lost or materially destroyed, the licensee shall file an application for a substitute for the license to the Director-General within fifteen days from the date of his or her being aware of the loss or destruction. The application for a substitute of the license and the issuance thereof shall be in accordance with the rules, procedure and conditions prescribed in the Ministerial Regulation.

CHAPTER 3

National Museums

Section 25. There shall be national museums for keeping antiques or objects of art which are the State property. Any site on which a national museum is to be established or any place required to be a national museum as well as the cancellation of the status of national museum shall be published by the Minister in the Government Gazette.

National Museums existing on the day of the coming into force of this Act shall be national museums under this Act.

Section 26. Antiques and objects of art which are the State property under the custody of the Department of Fine Arts shall not be kept in other place than in the national museums. But in case it is unable or unsuitable to keep them in the national museums, they may be, subject to the permission of the Director-General, kept in other museums, temples, or places belonging to the government.

The provisions of paragraph one shall not apply to the case of temporarily displaying antiques or objects of art at any place by permission of the Director-General, or to the case of taking antiques or objects of art out of the national museums for repair by order of the Director-General.

In case of plurality of similar pieces of antiques and objects of art, the Director-General may allow any Ministry, Sub-Ministry or Department to keep some pieces of them.

Section 27. When it is deemed appropriate for preserving the safety, cleanliness and tidiness of national museums, the Minister shall have the power to issue a Ministerial Regulation on conducts of visitors during their visit and may fix admission fee or any other fees.

CHAPTER 4

Archaeological Fund

Section 28. There shall be set up a fund called the "Archaeological Fund" for the expenses of operation profitable to ancient monuments or museum activity.

Section 29. The archaeological fund consists of:

- (1) money acquired under this Act;
- (2) monetary benefits accruing from ancient monuments;
- (3) donation in cash or property;
- (4) central fund or capital money which, under the law on ancient monuments, objects of art, antiques and national museums, is at the disposal of the Department of Fine Arts on the day of the coming into force of this Act.

Section 30. The keeping and the payment of archaeological fund shall be in compliance with rules prescribed by the Minister.

CHAPTER 4 BIS

Suspension and Revocation of Licences

Section 30 bis. When any licensee violates or does not comply with this Act, Ministerial Regulation, Notification or rules issued under this Act or conditions imposed by the Director-General, the Director-General shall have the power to suspend the license for a period of not more than sixty days each time; but in the case where a licensee is prosecuted in the Court for an offence under this Act, the Director-General may suspend the license pending the final judgment of the Court.

The person whose license has been suspended shall not apply for any license under this Act during the period of such suspension.

Section 30 ter. When it appears that any licensee has received the final judgement of the Court for a violation of this Act or violates the order of suspension, the Director-General shall have the power to revoke his license. The person whose license has been revoked shall not apply for any license under this Act until the period of two years from the date of the revocation has elapsed.

Section 30 quarter. The licensee shall be notified of the order of suspension and the order of revocation in writing. In the case where the person whose license has been suspended or revoked is not found or refuses to receive the order, such order shall be posted at the conspicuous place specified in the license or the domicile of such

licensee, and such licensee shall be deemed to have known thereof from the date of posting the order.

The order of suspension and the order of revocation under paragraph one shall be published in the Government Gazette and may propagate in newspaper or by other method.

Section 30 quinque. The person whose license has been suspended shall have the right to appeal in writing to the Minister within thirty days from the date of his or her being aware of the order. The decision of the Minister shall be final.

The appeal under paragraph one shall not stay the execution of the order of suspension or revocation.

CHAPTER 5

Penalties

Section 31. Any person who finds any antique or object of art which is buried in, concealed or abandoned at any place under such circumstances that no person could claim to be its owner and converts the same to himself or herself or to other person, 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.

Section 31 bis. Any person who conceals, disposes, makes away with, purchases, or receives in pledge or otherwise any antique or object of art obtained through the commission of an offence under section 31 shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years or to a fine not exceeding five hundred thousand Baht or to both.

If the offence under paragraph one is committed for commercial purposes, the offender 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.

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 monument, 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 33. Any person who damages, destroys, causes depreciation in value to, makes useless of or loss any registered antique or object of art, 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 34. Any person who does not comply with section 9, 12, 13 paragraph two, 14 bis, 16, 17 or 20 or does not comply with the Ministerial Regulations issued under section 13 or 27 shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month or to a fine not exceeding ten thousand Baht or to both.

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.

Section 36. Any person who trades in antiques or objects of art not to be traded by the notification issued under section 14 paragraph two or violates section 15 or does not comply with the conditions imposed by the Director-General in the licence under section 15, shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years or to a fine not exceeding five hundred thousand Baht or to both.

Section 36 bis. Any person who does not comply with the notification issued under section 18 bis paragraph two or does not inform a list of his produced items to the Director-General or does not show a sign of duplication on his or her produced item under section 18 bis paragraph two, shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year or to a fine not exceeding one hundred thousand Baht or to both.

Section 37. Any person who does not comply with section 19 paragraph one 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.

Section 37 bis. Any person who does not comply with section 19 bis or the notification issued under section 19 bis shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or to a fine not exceeding fifty thousand Baht or to both.

Section 37 ter. Any person who obstructs or does not provide reasonable facilities to the Director-General or person entrusted by him or her or the competent official who is performing the duties under this Act shall be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month or to a fine not exceeding ten thousand Baht or to both.

Section 38. Any person who, in violation of section 22, exports or takes out of the Kingdom any non-registered antique or object of art 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.

Section 39. Any person who, in violation of section 22, exports or takes out of the Kingdom any registered antique or object of art shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of one year to ten years and to a fine not exceeding one million Baht.

Transitory Provisions

Section 40. Any person who, on the day of the coming into force of this Act, trades in antiques or objects of art or as his or her regular business, displays the same to the public for collecting admission fee shall apply to the Director-General for a licence to that effect within thirty days from the day of the coming into force of this Act.

The provisions of sections 19 and 20 shall not apply to the person who trades in antiques or objects of art or as his or her regular business, displays the same to the public for collecting admission fee, and has applied for a license in conformity with the

foregoing paragraph, thus as from the day of the coming into force of this Act up to the day of receiving the license.

(Translated by AsianLII: www.asianlii.org/th/legis/consol_act/aoamaooaanm1961650)

Regulation for Monument Conservation, The Fine Arts

Department 1985.

The Fine Arts Department is the government authority responsible for the control, maintenance and protection of monuments as historical evidence and treasure of the nation. It is also responsible for the restoration of monuments in accordance with artistic, historical, and archaeological methods and principles and to assess their importance in an economic, social, and cultural context.

The followed regulations given in section 10 and 11 of the Bill of Monuments, Antiques, and Museums of 1961 which stipulates:

Section 1. These regulations are called 'Regulations for Monument Conservation 1985.'

Section 2. These regulations shall be effected since the day they are declared.

Section 3. In these regulations:

“Conservation” refers to the act of keeping and maintaining a monument in order to retain its values. This comprises protection, maintenance, preservation, restoration, and repair.

a) “Preservation” refers to the act of keeping the monument in its original state and preventing it from further damage.

b) “Restoration” refers to the act of putting back to a former state.

c) “Repair N” refers to the act of repairing and improving a monument to its original state. However, the original and the newly constructed part should be in harmony with each other and be detectable from each other.

“Monument” refers to immovable property whose age, architectural styles and historical evidence can be of value to arts, history, or archaeology. This includes all antiques attached to the monuments and site.

3. " Committee " refers to a group of persons appointed for considering, controlling, keeping, and preserving the monuments.

4. Before starting any actual conservation work, following activities must be carried out

4.1 It is essential to survey the original state and the present state of a monument with special emphasis on the records of construction and preservation with the reference to the architectural styles, the use of materials, and the degree of deterioration. This should be done in the form of documentation with detailed photographs, diagrams, and drawing which can be used as a reference for the conservation project. Such records may also serve as important historical documents in the future.

4.2 The planning of a conservation project must be based on the evaluation of the

monument's values, such as, its historical, archaeological, architectural, and aesthetic values. The conservation planning should aim primarily at preserving the most significant value. However, the lesser values must be also taken into account.

4.3 If a monument has been repaired or restored in the past, the restored parts should be evaluated. If it has lessened the values of the monument, it should be removed and the original element be reinstated.

5. Any conservation project must take into account the landscape and the surrounding of the monument. Anything that may diminish their values should be appropriately improved.

6. If a monument has been altered in the past, detailed information on the alterations must be carefully examined, for example, the number of the alterations, the period of each alteration, and any errors or defects as the results of the alterations. The conservation to be taken need not conform to a particular style. An appropriate style that will enhance the values of the monument should be selected and used as the basis for the conservation. However, there must be records of such alterations or methods of conservation in the form of documents, drawings, or models.

7. For the monuments of the highest significance and values, only stabilization and preservation works should be carried out.

8. Any new techniques and methods of stabilization must be carefully studied and tested before they can be used on a historic monument. This is to ensure that will not damage and reduce the values of the monument.

9. The intervention for the stability of a monument should be done only when it is necessary. The new structure must be sympathetic and in harmony with the original.

10. When it is necessary to reconstruct the missing parts of a monument in order to retain the architectural value and to enable the progress of the conservation process, the new parts should be designed to be distinct from those of the original through the use of different materials, colour, or texture. However, they should be harmonised with the original.

11. The conservation of valuable paintings, sculptures, and antique art objects which are attached to or placed within a monument should only be dealt with by means of preservation or stabilization in order to retain their original values as much as possible. This is except consecrated objects which have been continuously worshipped. The repair or restoration must be approved by the committee before the work is carried out.

12. The conservation of ruined monuments can be done by the reassembling of the original fragments to the original form, or partial reconstruction using the original material. The missing parts which are necessary for the reconstruction can be made.

13. Archaeological sites should be preserved in the condition after their excavations. Necessary measures must be taken to prevent further damage without diminishing their values.

14. Historic monuments that are consecrated places and familiar to the local people must be restored without any alteration, since it may diminish their values or the devotion that the people give to the monuments.

15. Certain precaution must be taken against vandalism and robbery. Invaluable antiquities, which include sculptures, paintings, art objects or parts thereof, must be kept in a safe place while their replicas are installed in their original places. However, this is an extreme measure which should be taken only when there is no alternative.

16. The conservation of historic buildings which are still in used includes the alteration and additional to the original structure. The addition may not necessarily be made identical with the original building but must be sympathetic and in harmony with the original ones and must not diminish the values of the originals.

17. Maintenance measures must be established for all monuments whether listed or unlisted, so that they will always be in good condition.

18. In the case of dilapidated structure that may cause danger, the initial stabilization must be done before any intervention takes place in order to prevent further damage.

19. There should be a collaboration between government organizations, private sector, and specialists in the relevant fields for the benefits of the conservation of the national heritage.

20. The records of all interventions concerning conservation or excavation must be kept in the form of research papers with illustrations which may either be drawings or photographs. The records must includes every practical step in details. For Instance, the clearing and the planing of the site, the stabilization of various parts, etc. These records must be kept in the National Archive.

21. The Director-General of the Fine Arts Department has the duty to enforce the abovementioned regulations.

Declared on August 19, 1985.

(Source: Kanjanusthiti 1996: 241)

Abbreviations and Glossary

AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
Amphoe	District, a Thai administrative unit, which is smaller than a province, but larger than a <i>Tambon</i>
Buddhism	Buddhism is an Indian cultural import that has greatly affect cultural heritage formation in Southeast Asia. In pre-modern Thailand, Theravada Buddhism bonded local populations to the cult of Buddhist icons and relics and the patronage of monastic orders.
Bun	Meritorious acts
Baap	Wrong-doings
Chedi/ stupa/ pagoda	A symbol of enlightenment and is one of the most ancient icons of Buddhist art. It is the most sacred monument found in all of the ancient Buddhist countries. A <i>stupa</i> is the principal structure in <i>wat</i> . The main purpose of building <i>stupas</i> is to enshrine Buddhis objects.
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management
Dvaravati	Dvaravati is the Mon political entity in Central Thailand, centred in the modern province of Nakorn Pathom (Peleggi 2007: 38). The name 'Dvaravati' was also used to describe art forms of archaeological remains found in Thailand and surrounding areas. The most prominent Dvaravati artifacts are Buddha images, which are very unique and represent adaptation from Indian art (Leksukhum 2004).
FAD	The Fine Art Department of Thailand
Haripunchai	Haripunchai is what Lamphun was called when it was first established around 1,300 years ago. Haripunchai is how the name is written in Thai (Haripunjaya according to the Pali script).
Jama Thewi	The name of the first female ruler of Haripunchai or Lamphun. Queen Jama Thewi (Cāmadevī in Pali) is the first ruler of Haripunchai in the seventh century. According to Cāmadevīwaṃsa and Jinakālamālipakaraṃaṃ, the Pali transcripts, she was the Mon princess of Lopburi, one of the Dvaravati states. After Haripunchai was built by the Hermits, she was asked to visit Haripunchai and crowned as the first ruler of the city.
ICCROM	International Centre for the study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICHC	The Convention for he Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage
ICOM	International Council of Museums
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
Kruba	A revered monk in the Tai Yuan (Lanna) <i>Sangha</i> .

Lanna	Lanna was the independent political entity in Northern Thailand. The king dom consists of the Ping, Wang, Yom, and Naan river plains. The Ping river valley is the biggest and the most important region as it resides Lamphun and Chiangmai (the capital city of Lanna).
Lavo	The name of an ancient Dvaravati city in Central Thailand, also known as Lopburi.
Lawa	An ethnic group that originally lived in Chiang Mai-Lamphun Basin.
Mandala	Literally means circle. It symbolically represents the cosmos. Hindu and Buddhist sacred art often takes a mandala form. The basic form of most Hindu and Buddhist mandalas is a square with four gates containing a circle with a centre point.
Mon	Mon is an ethnic group, which is among the earliest people that resides Southeast Asia. The Mons were responsible for the spread of Theravada Buddhism in Southeast Asia.
NRIE	Northern Region Industrial Estate
ONEP	Office of Natural Resources and Environmental Policy and Planning
PAO	Provincial Administrative Organisation
Phi	Spirit. Before the advent of Buddhism, local Northern Thais believed in the existence of <i>Phi</i> in mountains, trees, rocks and other natural creations. The beliefs relevant to <i>Phi</i> enabled pre-modern northern villages to maintain order and establish community rules. The spirit cult was so deeply entrenched into Lanna society that it still actively influences both tangible and intangible cultural heritage in Northern Thailand despite the presence of Buddhism.
Phrathat	A <i>stupa</i> that enshrines relics of the Buddha is called <i>Phrathat</i> , thought to be the most sacred type of <i>stupas</i> .
Pitaka	Buddhist canons and scriptures. The term Tripitaka is normally used to describe three sets of the Buddha's teachings.
Relic	An object of religious veneration, especially a piece of the body or a personal item of a saint. In this research, the Buddha relic is frequently referred to.
Sangha	The monk community
SEAMEO-SPAFA	SEAMEO Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts
Siam	The former name of the Kingdom of Thailand
Tai Yong	An ethnic group, which is closely related to the Tai Lue that reside in Muang Yong, Burma. A group of Tai Yong was forcibly resettled in Lamphun around 200 years ago.

Tai Yuan	An ethnic Tai sub-group that live in Northern provinces of Thailand. The Tai Yuan comprise the majority of Northern Thai population.
TAO	Tambon Administrative Organisation. A Tambon (sub-district) is a small unit of local administration. It is larger than a village, but smaller than Amphoe (district).
Thai	Citizens of Thailand
Theravada	Literally means 'the Teaching of the Elders'. It is the oldest surviving sect of Buddhism.
Viharn/ Vihara	One among the principal components in <i>wat</i> . It is a congregated hall for Buddhist believers.
Wat	<i>Wat</i> is the Thai term used to describe religious enclosures. The adjacent English terms to describe ongoing activities related to <i>wat</i> may be temples or monasteries (Freeman 2001). <i>Wats</i> are places of worship and also a place for Thai males to be ordained and learn both secular and ecclesiastic aspects of life and some of them are used as meditative retreats, thus they have a close connection to the lay community.
WHC	The Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage or the World Heritage Convention
Wiang	<i>Wiang</i> is a Northern Thai word used to describe a fortified settlement. Many peripheral towns are also referred to as a <i>wiang</i> , such as Wiang Koh Klang in Lamphun.

Bibliography

- Aikawa, N.** (2004) 'An historical overview of the Preparation of the UNESCO International Convention for safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Museum International*, 56 (1-2):137-149.
- Aksorndit, T.** (2009) *Tamnan Phra Jao Liab Lok: the Buddhist literature of regional and local studies*, Chiangmai: Tamponya. [in Thai]
- Anderson, B.** (2006) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London: Verso.
- Argasruek, W.** (1985) *The History of Honourific Titles and Honourific fans*, Bangkok: Sri-anan. [in Thai]
- Athens Charter** (1931) 'The Athens Charter', retrieved from http://www.icomos.org/athens_charter.html, page consulted 15/05/2008.
- Aikawa-Faure, N.** (2009) 'From the Proclamation of Masterpieces to the Convention for the safeguarding of ICH', in L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds) *Intangible Heritage*, London: Routledge: 13-44.
- Akagawa, N. and Sirisrisak, T.** (2005) 'Intangible heritage in urban planning process Case study: Chao Phraya Riverscape Thailand', The 8th International Conference of the Asian Planning Schools Association 11-14th September 2005.
- Akagawa, N and Sirisrisak, T** (2008) 'Cultural landscapes in Asia-Pacific: implication of the World Heritage Convention', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 14 (2): 176-191.
- Askew, M** (1996) 'The Rise of Moradok and the Decline of the Yarn: Heritage and Cultural Construction in Urban Thailand', *SOJOURN* 11(s): 183-210.
- Askew, M.** (2010) 'The magic list of global status: UNESCO, World Heritage and the agendas of the states', in C. Long and S. Labadi (eds) *Heritage and Globalisation*, Oxon: Routledge: 19-44.
- Bagnall, G.** (2003) 'Performance and performativity at heritage sites', *Museum and Society*, 1(2): 87-103.
- Bandarin, F.** (2005) 'Forward', in D. Harrison and M., Hitchcock (eds) *The Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and conservation*, Britain: Cromwell Press: v-vi.

- Bangkok Post** (2011) 'Government to pull out of WHC', retrieved from <http://www.bangkokpost.com/news/local/243998/government-to-pull-out-of-whc>, 26/06/2011.
- Banjomyut** (n.d.) 'Religious Ceremonies', retrieved from <http://www.banjomyut.com/pratridok/ceremony/01.html>, page consulted 24/01/2011.
- Barker, E.** (1999) *Contemporary Cultures of Display*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Beck, W.** (2006) 'Narratives of World Heritage in Travel Guidebooks', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12(6):521-535.
- Benton, T.** (2010) *Understanding Heritage and Memory*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Berg, L. B.** (2007) *Qualitative Research Method for the Social Science*, Pearson Education Inc: Boston.
- Blake, J.** (2001) *Developing a New Standard – Setting Instrument for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Elements for Consideration*, Paris: UNESCO.
- Blake, J.** (2009) 'UNESCO's 2003 convention on intangible cultural heritage: the implications of community involvement in 'safeguarding'', in L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds) *Intangible Heritage*, London: Routledge: 47-53.
- Bortolotto, C.** (2010) 'Globalising intangible cultural heritage? Between international arenas and local appropriations', in C. Long and S. Labadi (eds) *Heritage and Globalisation*, Oxon: Routledge: 97-114.
- Brannen, J.** (2004) 'Working Qualitatively and Quantitatively', in C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. Gubrium and D. Silverman (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice*, London: SAGE: 312-326.
- Buadaeng, K.** (2002) 'Kruba movements and the Karen in Northern Thailand: Negotiating Sacred Space and Identity', in H. Yukio and T. Sayavomgkhamdy (eds) *Cultural Diversity and Conservation in the Making of Mainland Southeast Asia and Southwestern China Regional Dynamics in the Past and Present*, Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd: 262-293.
- Buasai, S.** (2005) *Power of the community: the synthesis of community-based research*, Bangkok: TRF. [in Thai]

- Buergin, R.** (2001) 'Contested Heritages: Disputes on people, forest and a world heritage site in globalizing Thailand', SEFUT working paper no 9.
- Bunnag, J.** (1973) *Buddhist Monk, Buddhist Laymen*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bunyanupong, S.** (2005) 'Lamphun at present: The age of industrial estate', *Document for the Seminar '200 years Lamphun: Development and revival' 8 April 2006*, Lamphun: Haripunchai National Museum. [in Thai]
- Bunyasurat, W.** (2006) 'Viharn Phra Chao Pun Ong Conservation Project: Community Pride', in *Proceeding of International Conference on 'Sustainable local heritage conservation: The transdisciplinary approach' and ICOMOS Thailand Annual Meeting 2006*, Bangkok: Amarin: 196-205. [in Thai]
- Bunyasurat, W.** (2006b) Viharn-Phra-Chao-Pan-Ong Wat Pongsanuk Lampang, retrieved from <http://www.muangboranjournal.com/modules.php?name=Sections&op=viewarticle&artid=79>, page consulted 20/06/2011.
- Burra Charter** (1999) The Burra Charter, retrieved from http://www.icomos.org/burra_charter.html, page consulted 15/05/2008.
- Byrne, D.** (1991) 'Western Hegemony in archaeological heritage management', *History and Anthropology*, 5: 269-276
- Byrne, D.** (1993) *The Past of Others: Archaeological Heritage Management in Thailand and Australia*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Australian National University
- Byrne, D** (1995) 'Buddhist Stupa and Thai social practice', in G.L. Barnes (ed.) *Buddhist Archaeology, World Archaeology*, 27(2): 266-281.
- Byrne, D** (2004) 'Chartering Heritage in Asia's Postmodern World', retrieved from http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/19_2/news_in_cons1.html, page consulted 10/01/2012.
- Carman, J.** (2002) *Archaeology and Heritage: An introduction*, London: Continuum.
- Carman, J. and Sørensen, M.L.S.** (2010) *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*, Oxon: Routledge.
- Carr, K.** (2011) 'Pieces of Princes: Personalized Relics', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 38(1): 93-127.
- Chanamul, S.** (2010) 'Kruba Sriwichai: Ton Bun Lanna', in S. Malasam (ed.) *Yong Lamphun: Yong World Heritage*, Documents for the Seminar at Ban Wiang

- Yong 27 February-2 March 2010, Lamphun: Tambon Wiang Yong: 1-33. [in Thai]
- Chergreen** (2005) *Final report for the study of Lamphun's potential for the World Heritage listing project*, Lamphun: Chergreen [in Thai]
- Cleere, H.** (1996) 'The concept of 'Outstanding universal value' in the world heritage convention', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological sites* 1: 227-233.
- Cleere, H.** (2001) 'The uneasy bedfellows: universality and cultural heritage'. in R. Layton, P.G. Stone and J. Thomas (eds) *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*, London: Routledge: 22-29.
- Cleere, H.** (2006) 'The World Heritage Convention: Management for who and by whom?', in R. Layton, S. Shennan and P. Stone (eds) *A future for archaeology: the past in the present*, London: Routledge: 65-74.
- Clement, E.** (2002) 'The Looting of Angkor: keeping up the pressure', *Museum International*, 54: 138-142.
- Cohen, P.T.** (2001) 'Buddhism Unshackled: The Yuan 'Holy Man' tradition and the Nation-State in the Tai World', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 32(2): 227-247
- Condominas, G.** (2004) 'Researching and Safeguarding the Intangible Heritage', *Museum International*, 56 (1-2): 21-31.
- Conflict Research Consortium** (n.d.) 'Conflict Information Consortium', retrieved from <http://conflict.colorado.edu/>, page consulted 8/06/2011.
- Connors, M.K.** (2005) 'Ministering Culture: Hegemony and the Politics of Culture and Identity in Thailand', *Critical Asian Studies*, 37(4): 523-551.
- Cooney, G.** 2006 'Introduction', *World Archaeology* 39(3): 299-304.
- Council of Europe** (2005) 'The Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society', retrieved from <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/199.htm>, page consulted 21/12/2011.
- Crabtree, B.F. and Miller, W.L.** (1999) *Doing Qualitative Research*, London: Sage Publications.
- Cuevas, B.J. and Stone, J.I.** (2007) 'Introduction', in B. Cuevas and J. Stone (eds) *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, discourses, representations*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

- Damrikul, S.** (2004) *Haripunchai History and Art*, Bangkok: Muangboran. [in Thai]
- Davison, G.** (2008) 'Heritage: From patrimony to Pastiche', in G. Flairclough, R. Harrison, J.H. Jameson Jnr, and J. Schofield (eds) *The Heritage Reader* Oxon: Routledge: 31-41.
- Deckha, N.** (2006) 'Beyond the Country House: historic conservation as aesthetic policies', in L. Smith (ed.) *Cultural heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural studies vol III*, Oxon: Routledge: 206-226.
- Dey, I.** (1993) *Qualitative Data Analysis: A user-friendly guide for social scientist*, London: Routledge.
- Ditsakul, S.** (2003) *Arts in Thailand*, Bangkok: Silpakorn University. [in Thai]
- Donnachie, I.** (2010) 'World Heritage', in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, Manchester: Manchester University Press: 115-153.
- Eam-anant, P.** (1997) 'Guidelines on Conservation of Northern Vernacular Houses', paper no 019 presented in International Conference on Conservation and Revitalisation of Vernacular Architecture, May, Bangkok.
- Eam-anant, P.** (2007) 'Authenticity in the conservation of Old Town', *Practices and measures for conservation, development and rehabilitation of the old town and its surrounding area*, Bangkok: ONEP: 14-19 [in Thai]
- Emberling, G.** (2008) 'Archaeologists and the Military in Iraq, 2003-2008: Compromise or Contribution?', *Archaeologies*, 4 (3): 445- 459.
- Embree, J. F.** (1950) 'Thailand – A loosely Structured Social System', *American Anthropologist, New Series*, 52(2): 181-193
- Emerick, K.** (2003) *From Frozen Monuments to Fluid Landscapes: the conservation and presentation of ancient monuments from 1882 to the present*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York.
- Engelhardt, R.** (n.d) UNESCO Newsletter of the unit of culture
- English Heritage** (2009) 'Literature Review: Historic Environment, Sense of Place, and Social Capital', retrieved from http://hc.english-heritage.org.uk/content/pub/sense_of_place_lit_review_web1.pdf, page consulted 21/12/2011.
- Erder, C.** (2004) 'Principles, Practice, and Process: A Discussion about Heritage Charters and Conventions', retrieved from http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/newsletters/19_2/dialogue.html, page consulted 10/01/2011.

- Fairclough, N.** (2001) 'The dialectics of discourse', retrieved from <http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/norman/2001a.doc>, page consulted 24/12/2011.
- Fairclough, N.** (2003) *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N., Graham, P., Lemke, J. and Wodak, R.** (2004) 'Introduction', *Critical Discourse Studies* 1(1): 1-7.
- Fine Arts Department Thailand** (n.d.) 'The Fine Arts Department, History' retrieved from <http://www.finearts.go.th/th/history.php>, page consulted 16/06/2008. [in Thai]
- Fine Arts Department Thailand** (1980) *Report on the excavation of Ku-Chang-Ku-Ma*, Chiang Mai: the Regional Office of Fine Arts [in Thai]
- Fine Arts Department Thailand** (1982) *The list of registered heritage of Lamphun*, Chiang Mai: the Regional Office of Fine Arts [in Thai]
- Fine Arts Department Thailand** (2001) 'The cultural history and identity of Lamphun', retrieved from <http://webhost.m-culture.go.th/province/lamphun/default.html>, page consulted 23/04/2009 [in Thai]
- Flick, U.** (2002) *An introduction to qualitative research*, London: SAGE Publications.
- Foley, M., McPherson, G., Matheson, C** (2006) 'Glocalisation and Singaporean Festivals', *International Journal of Event Management Research*, 2(1): 1-16.
- Freeman, M.** (2001) *Lanna: Thailand's Northern Kingdom*, London: River Books.
- Glover, I.** (2005) 'Some uses of Archaeology in East and Southeast Asia', in M.T. Stark (ed) *Archaeology of Asia*, Oxford: Blackwell: 17-36.
- Grimwade, G. and Carter, B.** (2000) 'Managing Small Heritage Sites with Interpretation and Community Involvement', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 6(1): 33-48.
- Guardian** (2003) 'The end of civilization, in [Guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk) Wednesday 2nd April 2003', retrieved from <http://arts.guardian.co.uk/features/story/0,11710,927788,00.html>, page consulted 7/05/2008.
- Hafstein, V. TR.** (2009) 'Intangible heritage as a list: from masterpieces to representation', in L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds) *Intangible Heritage*, Oxon: Routledge: 93-111.

- Hall, S.** (2006) 'Whose heritage? Unsettling the heritage, re-imagining the post nation', in L. Smith (ed.) *Cultural heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural studies vol II*, Oxon: Routledge: 87-100.
- Haripunchai National Museum** (1999) *Haripunchai National Museum*, Bangkok: Kampai Imaging Ltd.
- Haripunchai National Museum** (2005) *A summary of what has been done for the Lamphun to World Heritage Project*, unpublished document. [in Thai]
- Haripunchai National Museum** (2006) *A summary of what has been done for the Lamphun to World Heritage Project*, unpublished document. [in Thai]
- Harrison, D.** (2005) 'Introduction: Contested Narratives in the Domain of World Heritage', in D. Harrison and M. Hitchcock (eds) *The Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and conservation*, Britain: Cromwell Press: v-vi.
- Harrison, R.** (2010) 'Heritage as Social Action', in S. West (ed.) *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, Manchester: Manchester University Press: 240-276.
- Harrison, R., Fairclough, G., Jameson Jnr, J.H., Schofield, J.** (2008) 'Heritage, Memory and Modernity: An introduction', in G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J.H. Jameson Jnr, and J. Schofield (eds) *The Heritage Reader* Oxon: Routledge: 1-12.
- Harvey, D.** (2006) 'Heritage Past an Heritage Present, temporality meaning and the scope of Heritage Studies', in L. Smith (ed.) *Cultural heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural studies vol I*, Oxon: Routledge: 25-44.
- Hassard, F.** (2009) 'Intangible Heritage in the United Kingdom: The Dark side of enlightenment?', in L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds) *Intangible Heritage*, Oxon: Routledge: 270-288.
- Hewison, R.** (1987) *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, London: Meltuen London Ltd.
- Higham, C.** (2002) *Early Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia*, Bangkok: River Book.
- ICJ** (1962) 'A summary of the Summary of the Judgment of 15 June 1962', retrieved from <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?sum=284&code=ct&p1=3&p2=3&case=45&k=46&p3=5>, page consulted 29/06/2011.
- ICJ** (1962b) 'ICJ Case Concerning the Temple of Preah Viher (Cambodia v. Thailand)', retrieved from <https://6533210983389550588-a-1802744773732722657-s-sites.googlegroups.com/site/verapat/temple/TempleofPreahVihear-Judgmentof15June1962-Englishonly%5BVerapatPariyawong%5D.pdf?attach>

auth =ANoY7conQec6PjVKgQzeMTBlockBNoNMO_afy5Hpfu_w20c8nK
10RhJ0MLqfiuuDooc-WmCGvwCmheBrOKXtvod-Wof9ugDvV1Z3-Y6JP5
eQI9nMNBGF3FzQrVOEWff5T6Zwmnh7U1ssRV-NmkCYb6F33w0z3 56dHG
Aa6_zN4IOPDEbSBv9YTbRWzejaNV03TTgfxFimOWAS0DH9wL998mSmlu
b5oFPaNOcns9gJNJbZZKnaX2NYaWzwIAVvDZh5tlkY2LdDb6vN-uaxGDeIf
HNPRvm8qsQtdC8fdJuy0-70JW1KAnum8gQ%3D&attredirects=0, page
consulted 29/06/2011

ICOMOS (n.d.) 'Present Conditions in Ancient Sukhothai', retrieved from
http://www.international.icomos.org/publications/93garden18_b.pdf, page
consulted 28/01/2010

ICOMOS Thailand (2005) *Towards Thailand Charter Workshop, The Scientific seminar on '2 decades of ICOMOS Thailand: Cultural Heritage Conservation, Towards Thailand Charter on conservation' 25-26 November 2005*, Bangkok: Amarin

ICOMOS Thailand (2007) *The second draft of the Thai ICOMOS Charter*, unpublished [in Thai]

ICOMOS Thailand (2008) 'ICOMOS Thailand', retrieved from
<http://www.icomosthai.org/>, page consulted 16/06/2008.

Ishikawa, Y. and Kono, Y. (1986) *Study on Burobudur*, Tokyo: The Sophia University Institute of Asian Cultures.

Ito, N. (2003) 'Intangible cultural heritage involved in tangible cultural heritage', the 14th ICOMOS Assembly in 2003.

Jackson, P. (1989) *Buddhism, Legitimation, and Conflict: The Political Functions of Urban Thai Buddhism*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Jackson, P.A. 1997 'Withering Centre, Flourishing Margins: Buddhism's Changing Political Roles', in K. Hewison (ed) *Political Change in Thailand* London: Routledge: 75-93.

Jiajanpong, P. (2005) 'Towards Thailand Charter for Cultural Heritage Conservation', *Papers following the seminar on anthropological research: integrated research in the conservation and development of archaeological sites in Northern Thailand*, Chiangmai: National Research Council of Thailand. [in Thai]

Jokilehto, J. (2005) *Definition of Cultural Heritage: References to Documents in History*, documents for ICCROM working group 'Heritage and Society'.

- Jongsung, Y.** (2004) 'Korean Cultural Property: Protection Law with regard to Korean Intangible Heritage', *Museum International*, 56(1-2): 180-188.
- Jory, P.** (1999) 'Thai Identity, Globalisation and Advertising Culture', *Asian Studies Review*, 23: 461-487.
- Jory, P.** (2008) 'Luang Pho Thuat and the Integration of Pattani', in M. J. Montesano and P. Jory (ed.) *Thai South and Malay North: Ethnic Interactions on a Plural Peninsula*, Singapore: NUS Press: 292-303.
- Kanjanusthiti, P.** (1996) *Buddhist Architecture: Meaning and Conservation in the Context of Thailand*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of York.
- Kademankij, K.** (2004) 'Problems and solutions in the conservation of architectural heritage in Asia-Pacific', in *Papers following the seminar for anthropological research: integrated research in the conservation and development of archaeological sites in Northern Thailand*, Chiangmai: National Research Council of Thailand: 137-155.
- Keyes, C.F.** (1971) 'Buddhism and National Integration in Thailand', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 30(3): 551-567.
- Keyes, C.F.** (1975) 'Buddhist Pilgrimage Centre and the Twelve-Year Cycle: Northern Thai Moral Order in Space and Time', *History and Religions*, 15(1):71-89.
- Khantipong, J.** (n.d.) *Traces of Haripunchai Culture: significant factors for Word Heritage listing*, documents in Haripunchai National Museum's archive [in Thai]
- Kincheloe, J.L.** (2003) *Teachers as Researchers: Qualitative inquiry as path to empowerment*, London: Routledge.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B.** (1998) *Destination Culture*, California: University of California Press.
- Klinkhajorn, K.** (2005) 'Creativity and the setting of monuments and sites in Thailand: Conflicts & Resolution', *Proceedings for Scientific seminar on '2 decades of ICOMOS Thailand: Cultural Heritage Conservation, Towards Thailand Charter on conservation' 25-26 November 2005*, Bangkok: Amarin
- Kovathanakul, D.** (2006) 'The Comparative of Cultural Heritage Management of Nan City and Luang Prabang: Sustainable Tourism Perspective', *Proceeding of International Conference on 'Sustainable local heritage conservation: The*

- transdisciplinary approach* and ICOMOS Thailand Annual Meeting 2006, Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing: 272-281. [in Thai]
- Kurin, R.** (2004) 'Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: a Critical Appraisal', *Museum International*, 56(1-2): 66-77
- Kvale, S.** (2007) *Doing Interviews*, London: SAGE Publications.
- Labadi, S.** (2007) 'Representations of the nation and cultural diversity in discourses on World Heritage', *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 7(2): 147-170
- Lamphun Municipal Office** (n.d.) *Information leaflet on Lamphun's cultural heritage* [in Thai]
- Lamphun Municipal Office** (2007) *Lamphun Municipal Office's appointment letter for the Ku-Chang-Ku-Ma community*. [in Thai]
- Lamphun Province** (2011) Lamphun's online database, retrieved from <http://i.lamphun.go.th>, page consulted 27/03/2011. [in Thai]
- Lamphun Provincial Administrative Office** (n.d.) *Information leaflet on Lamphun's cultural heritage*. [in Thai]
- Lane, B.** (2009) 'What, Who, and How? Enhancing Economic Benefits of Archaeological World Heritage Sites', retrieved at http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCHD/Resources/430063-1253312487684/UNC_WHSEconomicResearch.pdf, page consulted 7/06/2011.
- Lanna Corner** (2008) 'Wat Lokmoli reinstatement', retrieved from <http://www.lannacorner.com>, page consulted 14/03/2009. [in Thai]
- Larsen, K. E.** (1995) 'Nara Conference on Authenticity', *Proceedings of the Conference in Nara*, Japan, 1-6 November 1994, Trondheim: Tapir.
- Leawrungruang, W.** (2001) *Lamphun Architecture*, Chiangmai: Chiangmai University Press. [in Thai]
- Lee, J.K.** (2004) 'Globalization and Higher Education: A South Korean Perspective', retrieved from <http://globalization.icaap.org/content/v4.1/lee.html>, page consulted 18/06/2011.
- Leksukhum, S.** (2006) *Northern Thai Art: Haripunchai-Lanna*, Bangkok: Muangboran. [in Thai]
- Little, J. and Naidoo, R.** (2004) 'White past, Multicultural present' in L. Smith (ed.) *Cultural heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural studies*, Oxon: Routledge.

- Littler, J. and Naidoo, R.** (2005) *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of 'Race'*. London: Routledge.
- Logan, W.** (2002) 'Introduction: Globalisation, cultural identity and heritage', in W.S. Logan (eds) *The Disappearing Asian Cities: Protecting Asia's Urban Heritage in a globalising World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Logan, W.** (2007), 'Closing Pandora's Box: Human Rights Conundrums in Cultural Heritage Protection', in H. Silverman and D. Ruggles (eds), *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*, New York: Springer: 33-52.
- Long, C. and Labadi, S** (2010) *Heritage and Globalisation*, Oxon: Routledge.
- Lowenthal, D.** (1998) 'Fabricating Heritage', in L. Smith (ed.) *Cultural heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural studies* vol III, Oxon: Routledge: 109-124.
- Lysa, H.** (2000) 'Twenty Years of 'Sinlapa Watthanatham': Cultural Politics in Thailand in the 1980s and 1990s', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 31(1):21-47
- Mackenzie, R.** (2007) *New Buddhist movement in Thailand: towards an understanding of Wat Phra Dhammakaya and Santi Asoke*, Oxon: Routledge.
- Malasam, S.** (1997) *Tai Yong migration*, Bangkok: Thammasart University.
- Malasam, S.** (2006) 'The study of Tamnan: The case of Muang Yong's chronicle', *Document for the seminar '200 years of the re-settlement of Tai Yong in Lanna'*, Chiangmai: CMU and Haripunchai National Museum. [in Thai]
- Manager online** (2011) 'The Bloodshed heritage: the Preah Vihear Temple', retrieved from <http://www.manager.co.th/Politics/ViewNews.aspx?NewsID=9540000080194>, page consulted 2/07/2011. [in Thai]
- Marvasti, A.** (2004) *Qualitative Research in Sociology: An introduction*, London: SAGE.
- Matichon** (2008) 'Six heritage sites in Thailand awaiting nomination', *Matichon*, 24/03/2008. [in Thai]
- Matichon Weekly** (2011) 'World Heritage, Our Heritage, Fake Heritage', *Matichon Weekly*, 18-24 February 2011. [in Thai]
- Mathers, C., Darvill, T., Little, B.J.** (2005) 'Archaeological value in the world context', in C. Mathers, T. Darvill and B.J. Little (eds) *Heritage of Value, Archaeology of Renown*, Florida: University Press of Florida: 1-20.

- Meskeil, L.** (2002) 'The intersections of identity and politic in archaeology', *Annual review of Anthropology*, 31: 279-301
- Meskeil, L.** (2002b) 'Negative heritage and past mastering in archaeology', *Anthropology Quarterly*, 75(3): 557-574
- Meuser, M. and Nagel, U.** (1991) 'Expert Interview', in D.K. Garz (ed.) *Qualitative Empirical Social Research*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag: 441-471. [in German]
- Ministry of Culture** (2010) Objection to joining the ICHC, retrieved from http://www.m-culture.go.th/detail_page.php?sub_id=1953, page consulted 05/01/2012.
- Ministry of Culture** (2011) Proposal for joining the ICHC, retrieved from www.m-culture.go.th/detail_page.php?sub_id=2587, page consulted 12/06/2011.
- Moore, C.** (1996) *The mediation process*, 2nd ed., San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Musigakama, N.** (1989) *Theory and Practices: Conservation of monuments and sites*, Bangkok: Archaeology Division. [in Thai]
- Nan Province** (2009) 'Information on personnel who works for the projects for the conservation of national art and cultures, Nomination for the 'Thai Heritage Conservation' badge 2009', unpublished. [in Thai]
- Netaraniyom, S.** (2009) *Phrathat: Ku-sa-la-lak in Buddhism: From Idealist Geographical Landmarks to Network of Communities in Chiangmai-Lamphun Basin*, Chiangmai: Tarnpunya. [in Thai]
- Office of Archaeology** (2011) 'Office of Archaeology', retrieved from <http://www.finearts.go.th/archae>, page consulted 6/06/2011. [in Thai]
- ONAB** (n.d.) 'Office of National Buddhism', retrieved from <http://www.onab.go.th/>, page consulted 12/06/2011. [in Thai]
- ONEP** (2007) *Practices and Measures for Conservation, Development and Rehabilitation of the Old Town and Its Surrounding Area*, Bangkok: ONEP. [in Thai]
- ONEP** (2009) *World Heritage sites in Thailand*, Bangkok: Naja. [in Thai]
- Ongsakul, S.** (2005) *Wiang Kum Kam: The study of Lanna settlements*, Chiangmai: Within Design. [in Thai]
- Oonjaijin, K.** (2005) *Wiang Kumkam: The first capital of Lanna*, Chiangmai: Jarasturakij.

- Openbase** (2008) 'Online Database', retrieved from <http://www.openbase.in.th/node/5637>, page consulted 20/05/2011. [in Thai]
- OTPIC** (n.d.) 'Online Training Program on Intractable Conflict', retrieved from <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/>, page consulted 12/06/2011
- Panichpan, W.** (2005) *The Lanna ways of life*, Bangkok: OS Printing House. [in Thai]
- Pattakiattichai, P.** (2006) 'An Investigation of Local Heritage Conservation of Ko Kret : From Suffer to Survive to ...Sustain?', in *Proceeding of International Conference on 'Sustainable local heritage conservation: The transdisciplinary approach' and ICOMOS Thailand Annual Meeting 2006*, Bangkok: Amarin: 160-171. [in Thai]
- Peleggi, M.** (1995) *Politics of ruins and Business of nostalgia*, Bangkok: White Lotus.
- Peleggi, M.** (2002) 'National heritage and tourism in Thailand', *Annals of tourism research*, 23 (2): 432-448.
- Peleggi, M.** (2007) *Thailand: The Worldly Kingdom*, Trowbridge: Cromwell Press.
- Peleggi, M.** (2012) 'The unbearable impermanence of things: reflections on Buddhism, cultural memory and heritage conservation', in P. Daly and T. Winter (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Heritage in Asia*, London: Routledge: 55-68.
- Pimolsathien, Y.** (2005) '40 years of Venice Charter', in *Proceedings of Scientific Seminar on '2 decades of ICOMOS Thailand: Cultural Heritage Conservation Towards Thailand Charter on Conservation' and ICOMOS Thailand Annual Meeting 2005*, Bangkok: Amarin: 36-45.
- Pimolsathien, Y.** (2009) 'Conservation and Management of Sacred Places', *Conference Documents for ICOMOS Thailand International Conference 2008, 7-9 February 2009*, Bangkok: ICOMOS Thailand. [in Thai]
- Pisut technology** (2008) *The Action Plan for the conservation of Nan's and Lamphun's Old Town zone*, Lamphun: Town Planning Office. [in Thai]
- Prachathai** (2004) 'A lesson from Lamphun's NRIE: an example for Chiang Saen's residents', retrieved from <http://prachatai.com/journal/2004/12/1511>, page consulted 3/06/2011.

- Praicharnjit, S.** (2003) *Community Archaeology: research on community participation in CHM at Nan*, Bangkok: Thai Khadi Research Institute, Thammasart University. [in Thai]
- Rattanapanyathera** (n.d) *Jinakālamālipakara*□a□ translated by Sang Monvitoon (1975), Bangkok: Fine Arts Department [in Thai]
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J. and Elam, G.** (2003) Designing and selecting samples, in J Ritchie and J. Lewis (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*, London: SAGE.
- Robertson, R.** (1995). 'Glocalisation: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity', in M. Featherstone, S. Lash & R. Robertson (eds), *Global Modernities*, London: Sage.
- Rubin, H., & Rubin, I.** (1995). *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of hearing Data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ruskin, J.** (1849) 'The Lamp of Memory', in L. Smith (ed.) *Cultural heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural studies vol I*, London: Routledge: 94-110.
- Sanghitkul, A.** (2004) 'Introduction to ICOMOS Thailand', in *Proceedings for Scientific Seminar on 'ICOMOS and Cultural Heritage Conservation Network in Thailand and ICOMOS Thailand Annual Meeting 2004', 27-28 November 2004*, Bangkok: Amarin: 24-29. [in Thai]
- Santayos, J.** (2010) 'Khruba Sriwichai and the new Kruba cult from 1987-2007', *Sinlapa Wattanatum* 31(4):81-95. [in Thai]
- Sanyakiattikhun, S.** (2009) *Ancient settlements in Chiangmai-Lamphun Basin*, Chiangmai: Tarnpanya.
- Sattayanurak, A.** (2005) *Community History: A new direction for historical study*, Bangkok: TRF
- Sattayanurak, A.** (2007) 'History and critical thinking about the Thai society', retrieved from <http://61.47.2.69/~midnight/midnight2544/0009999472.html>, page consulted 24/04/2010.
- Schofield, J.** (2008) 'Heritage Management, Theory and Practice', in G. Fairclough, R. Harrison, J.H. Jameson Jnr, and J. Schofield (eds) *The Heritage Reader*, Oxon: Routledge: 15-30.
- Schmitt, T.** (2008) 'The UNESCO concept of safeguarding intangible heritage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 14(2): 95-111.

- Sethakul, R.** (2005) 'Western countries in Lanna and the implications on relationship with Siam', *Document for the Seminar '200 years Lamphun: Development and revival*, 18 April 2006 at Haripunchai National Museum, Lamphun: Haripunchai National Museum. [in Thai]
- Sethakul, R.** (2009) *The cultural and economic history of the Chiangmai-Lamphun Basin*, Chiangmai: Silkworm Books. [in Thai]
- Shay Bright, L.** (n.d.) 'The Conflict Mapping Chart', retrieved from http://www.cmsupport.org/ConflictMapping/ConflictMappingChart_ShayBright.pdf, page consulted 8/05/2010.
- Shinawatra, W.** (2004) 'Problems and solutions in the conservation of architectural heritage in Asia-Pacific', in *Papers following the seminar for anthropological research: integrated research in the conservation and development of archaeological sites in Northern Thailand*, Chiangmai: National Research Council of Thailand: 87-101. [in Thai]
- Silverman, D.** (2006). *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction* (3rd ed.). London: SAGE.
- Silverman, H. and Ruggles, D.** (2007) 'Cultural Heritage and Human Rights', in H. Silverman and D. Ruggles (eds) *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights*, New York: Springer: 3-22.
- Silverman, H.** (2011) 'Border wars: the ongoing temple dispute between Thailand and Cambodia and UNESCO's World Heritage List', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17(1) 1-21.
- Sivaraksa, S.** (2009) *Rediscovering Spiritual Value: Alternative to Consumerism from a Siamese Buddhist Perspective*, Bangkok: Sathirakoses-Nagapradipa Foundation.
- Skeates, R.** (2004) *Debating the Archaeological Heritage*, London: Duckworth.
- Skounti, A.** (2009) 'The authentic illusion: humanity's intangible cultural, the Moroccan experience', in L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds.) *Intangible Heritage*, Oxon: Routledge: 74-92.
- Smith, E.** (2011) 'Archaeological Involvement With the Military - An Ethical Crisis', retrieved from http://www.ucl.ac.uk/network-for-student-activism/w/Archaeological_Involvement_With_the_Military_-_An_Ethical_Crisis, page consulted 24/01/2012.

- Smith, L.** (1994) 'Heritage Management as postprocessual archaeology?', *Antiquity*, 68: 300-309.
- Smith, L.** (2006) *Uses of Heritage*, London: Routledge.
- Smith, L. and Akagawa, N.** (2009) *Intangible Heritage*, London: Routledge
- Smith, L. and Waterton, E.** (2009) *Heritage, Communities and Archaeology*, London: Duckworth.
- Smith, L. and Waterton, E.** (2010) 'The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16(1): 4-15
- Somjai, A.** (2003) *Wat and Community: Abbots and Villagers in Lanna Villages*, Chiangmai: Social Research Institute. [in Thai]
- SPAB** (n.d.) 'The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings', retrieved from <http://www.spab.org.uk/html/what-is-spab/>, page consulted 15/06/2008.
- Spradley, J. P.** (1980) *Participant Observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Srisuwan, C.** (1997) 'Kruba Sriwichai movement', retrieved from http://www.thapra.lib.su.ac.th/objects/thesis/fulltext/thapra/Charnnarong_Srisuwan, page consulted 12/05/2009, unpublished master's thesis, Silpakorn University. [in Thai]
- Sua Lamphun** (2004) *The history of Lamphun series*, published in 2004 [in Thai]
- Sujaritkul, S.** (2008) 'Disputes between Thailand and Cambodia over Preah Vihear Temple', in A. Hampanitpan (eds) *The case of Preah Vihear Temple*, Bangkok: S. Charoen Printing: 15-18. [in Thai]
- Sujit, P.** (2007) *Beads: Past and Present*, Bangkok: Muangboran.
- Sukhata Jai-in, P.** (n.d.) *Information leaflet for The Lamphun to World Heritage Project* [in Thai]
- Sukhata Jai-in, P.** (2008) 'History of Lamphun', *Document for Tour Guide Training Session*, Lamphun: Haripunchai National Museum. [in Thai]
- Sukhata Jai-in, P.** (2009) 'From Wiang Koh Klang to Phrathat lampang-Luang', *Document for the academic seminar on 30 April 2009*, Lamphun: Haripunchai National Museum. [in Thai]
- Sukwiboon, S.** (2003) *The history of Pad-Thai*, Bangkok: Muangboran. [in Thai]
- Swearer, D.** (2010) *The Buddhist World of Southeast Asia*, Albany: State University of New York Press.

- Swearer, D. and Premchit, S.** (1998) *The Legend of Queen Cama (Cāmadevīwamsa) a translation and Commentary*, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Suksawas, S.** (2005) *Community Archaeology: the implications of research on Northern Thai region*, Bangkok: Muangboran. [in Thai]
- Sustainable Development Commission** (2011) 'What is Sustainable Development?', retrieved from <http://www.sd-commission.org.uk/>, page consulted 13/06/2011.
- Synchron Grop Ltd** (2009) *Preliminary report on the drafting of Lamphun's Master Plan for World Heritage Listing* [in Thai]
- Synchron Grop Ltd** (2009b) *Lamphun's Master Plan for World Heritage Listing* [in Thai]
- Synchron Grop Ltd** (2010) *Preliminary Report on the drafting of Lamphun's Old Town Conservation* [in Thai]
- Tambiah, S.J.** (1970) *Buddhism and Spirit Cults in Northeast Thailand*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tambiah, S.J.** (1976) *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a historical background (Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology)*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tambiah, S.J.** (1984) *The Buddhist saints of the forest and the cult of amulets: A study in charisma, hagiography, sectarianism, and millennial Buddhism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tamnan Phra Jao Liab Lok** (21st century) 'Tamnan Phra Jao Liab Lok', retrieved from <http://truthoflife.fix.gs/index.php?topic=8441.0>, page consulted 15/01/2012.
- TAT** (1994) *The role of the monks in conservation of cultural heritage in a wat*, Documents disseminated to the monk communities, Bangkok: TAT [in Thai]
- TAT** (2007) *World Heritage Sites of Thailand*, Bangkok: Promotional Material Production Division.
- Taylor, K.** (2004) 'Cultural Heritage Management: a possible role for charters and principles in Asia', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 10 (5): 417-433

Thai Post 2011 'Announcement of the future direction for Thailand's role as State Party to the WHC', retrieved from <http://www.ryt9.com/s/tpd/1257914>, page consulted 4/01/2012.

Thanakoses, R. (2004) 'Urban Planning: Landscape and conservation of archaeological heritage in Asia-Pacific', in *Papers following the seminar on anthropological research: integrated research in the conservation and development of archaeological sites in Northern Thailand*, Chiangmai: National Research Council of Thailand: 102-116. [in Thai]

Thokan, K. (1994) *Buddhism and Thai society*, Bangkok: Odeon Store. [in Thai]

Titchen, S.M. (1996) 'On the Construction of 'Outstanding Universal Value' Some comments on the implication of the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention', *Conservation and Management of archaeological Sites*, 1: 255-242

Tomaszewski, A. (2003) 'Tangible and Intangible values of cultural property in Western Tradition and science', in The ICOMOS 14th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium, retrieved from <http://www.international.icomos.org/victoriafalls2003/papers.htm>, page consulted 18/05/2008.

Trigger, B (1989) *A history of Archaeological Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

J. E. Tunbridge and G. J. Ashworth (1996) *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*, Chichester: Wiley.

UNDP (2003) 'Thailand Human Development report', retrieved from http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/asiathepacific/thailand/thailand_2003_en.pdf, page consulted 30/01/2011.

UNESCAP (n.d) 'Local Government in Asia and the Pacific: the comparative study', retrieved from <http://www.unescap.org/huset/lgstudy/country/thailand/thai.html>, page consulted 11/06/2011.

UNESCO (1972) *The Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural heritage*.

UNESCO (1994) *The Nara Document on Authenticity*

UNESCO (1995) *The Nara Conference on authenticity in relation to the World Heritage Convention*, proceedings, Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre

UNESCO (1998) *Progress Report, Synthesis and Action Plan on the Global Strategy for a representative and credible World Heritage List*.

UNESCO (2001) 'The Hoi An Protocols for best Conservation in Asia', retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001826/182617e.pdf>, page consulted 15/03/2008

UNESCO (2003) *Hoi An Protocols for best conservation practice in Asia*.

UNESCO (2003b) *The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Paris, 17 October 2003.

UNESCO (2004) 'Globalization and Intangible Cultural Heritage', retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001400/140090e.pdf>, page consulted 15/06/2011.

UNESCO (2004b) *Tourism and heritage site management: Luang Prabang, LAO PDR*, Thailand: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2007) *Tourism at Cultural Heritage Sites in Asia: Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide Training and Certification Programme for UNESCO World Heritage Sites*, Macao: UNESCO

UNESCO (2009) 'Wat Pongsanuk', retrieved from <http://www.unescobkk.org/news/article/us-consul-general-in-chiang-mai-visited-the-wat-pongsanuk-temple-museum-in-lampang-on-30-march-2009/>, page consulted 30/01/2011.

UNESCO (2011a) 'the World Heritage Convention website and related documents', retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>, page consulted 15/10/2011.

UNESCO (2011b) *UNESCO Operational Guidelines*, page consulted 15/06/2011.

UNESCO (2011c) 'Intangible Cultural Heritage and related documents', retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich>, page consulted 15/06/2011.

UNESCO (2011d) 'Cultural Landscape', retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/>, page consulted 6/01/2012.

UNESCO (2011e) 'UNESCO Director-General regrets the announcement of Thailand's intention to denounce the 1972 World Heritage Convention', retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/772>, page consulted 24/01/2012.

UNESCO (2011f) 'Luang Prabang', retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/479>, page consulted 24/01/2012.

UNESCO (2011g) 'Hoi An', retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/948>, page consulted 24/01/2012.

- UNESCO BKK (2008)** *Cultural tourism and heritage management in the World Heritage Site of the ancient town of Hoi An*, Bangkok: UNESCO BKK
- UNESCO BKK (n.d.)** 'Office of the Regional Advisor for Culture in Asia and the Pacific', retrieved from <http://www.unescobkk.org/index.php?id=531>, page consulted 16/06/2008.
- Urairat, A. (2008)** 'Preah Vihear Temple: Imperial heritage to World Heritage' in A. Harnpanitpan (eds) *The case of Preah Vihear Temple*, Bangkok: S. Charoen Printing. [in Thai]
- Van der Aa, B.J.M; Groote, P.D. and Huigen, P.P. (2005)** 'World Heritage as NIMBY? The case of the Dutch Part of the Wadden Sea', in D. Harrison and M. Hitchcock (ed.) *The Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and conservation*, Britain: Cromwell Press: 11-22.
- Van Esterik, P. (2000)** *Materializing Thailand*, Oxford: Berg.
- Varner, G. (2009)** *Sacred wells: a study in the history, meaning and mythology of holy wells and waters*, US: Algora.
- Vatcharangkul, E. (1995)** *Aspects of Archaeological Heritage Management in Thailand*, unpublished master's thesis, University of York.
- Vejajiva, A. (2008)** 'A summary of Mr. Vejajiva's speech on 24 June 2008', in A. Harnpanichpan (ed.) *The case of the Preah Vihear Temple: From colonial Heritage to World Heritage*, Bangkok: university of Rangsit: 33-37. [in Thai]
- Venice Charter (1964)** 'The Venice Charter', retrieved from http://www.icomos.org/venice_charter.html, page consulted on 15/03/2008.
- Vongsa, M. (2006)** 'Sustainable Local Heritage Conservation : The Transdisciplinary Approach', in *Proceeding of International Conference on 'Sustainable local heritage conservation: The transdisciplinary approach' and ICOMOS Thailand Annual Meeting 2006*, Bangkok: Amarin [in Thai]
- Wallipodom, S. (1998)** *Our Ayuthaya*, Bangkok: Matichon. [in Thai]
- Wallipodom, S. (2003)** *The meaning of 'the Great Relic Shrines' in the Siamese civilizations*, Bangkok: Muangboran. [in Thai]
- Walsh, K. (1992)** *The representation of the past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-modern World*, London: Routledge.
- Walsh, K. (2001)** 'Collective Amnesia and the Mediation of Painful Pasts: the representation of France in the Second World War', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7(1): 83-98

- Wall, G. and Black, H.** (2005) 'Commentary, Global heritage and local problems: Some examples from Indonesia', in D. Harrison and M. Hitchcock (ed.) *The Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and conservation*, Britain: Cromwell Press: 156-159.
- Wannasai, B.** (2003) *Telling Lamphun's stories*, Lamphun: Lapas Publishing. [in Thai]
- Waterton, E., Smith, L. and Campbell, G.** (2006) 'The utility of discourse analysis to heritage studies: the Burra Charter and social inclusion', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12(4): 339-355.
- Waterton, E.** (2009) 'Sites of Sights: Picturing Heritage, Power and Exclusion', *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 4(1): 37-56.
- Waterton, E.** (2010) *Politics, Policy and the Discourse of Heritage in Britain*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- West, S.** (2010) *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- West, S. and Ansell, J.** (2010) 'A history of Heritage', in S. West (eds) *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, Manchester: Manchester University Press: 7-40.
- West, S. and Bowman, M.** (2010) 'Heritage as Performance', in S. West (eds) *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, Manchester: Manchester University Press: 277-312.
- Whitehill, W.M.** (2006) 'Promoted to glory! The origin of preservation in the United States', in L. Smith (ed.) *Cultural heritage: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural studies vol I*, Oxon: Routledge: 143-159.
- Wichienkeaw, A.** (2006) *Artefacts and structures in Lanna temples*, Chiangmai: Sangsilapa. [in Thai]
- Williams, A.** (1994) 'Resolving Conflict in a Multicultural Environment', *MCS Conciliation Quarterly*, Summer.
- Wilmot, W. W., and J. L. Hocker.** (1998) *Interpersonal conflict*, Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Winichakul, T.** (1994) *Siam mapped*, US: University of Hawaii Press.
- Winichakul, T.** (2000) 'The Quest for Siwilai: A geographical discourse of civilizational thinking in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Siam', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 59(3) 528-549.

Wright, P. (1985) *On living in an old country, The National Past in Contemporary Britain*, Norfolk: the Thetford Press Ltd.

Wyatt, D. (1982) *Thailand: A short History*, Chiangmai: Silkworms Books.