An exploration of the potential for collaborative management of palm leaf manuscripts as Lanna cultural material in northern Thailand

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Information School

The University of Sheffield

by

Piyapat Jarusawat

August 2017

Abstract

The cultural heritage of the Lanna region of upper northern Thailand is unique. One of its distinctive features is palm leaf manuscripts ("*Khamphi Bailan*"), which are viewed simultaneously as examples of sacred writing, means of transferring cultural knowledge, religious symbols, artefacts of beauty, products of a particular cultural tradition, and fragile historical documents. The aim of this study is to develop a model of community-based collection management for palm leaf manuscripts by exploring the views of community members and experts. Four models of community involvement provide possible guidelines for the management of these manuscripts. The first model is that of community-focused information services (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009), taken from librarianship studies. The second and third are from archival science: participatory archiving (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007) and community archiving (Flinn, 2007, 2010). The last model is that of indigenous curation (Kreps, 2005, 2008), which is influenced by the new museology. All of them are based on community engagement with cultural collections.

The research method was interview-based and qualitative. Semi-structured interviews, participant observation and a photographic inventory (Collier & Collier, 1986) were used as the methods of data collection. The two groups of participants within the main study comprised 11 community members and 12 experts. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data.

The results of the study revealed that the community members and experts had similar ideas about the knowledge contained in PLMs, seeing their value in terms of Buddhism, herbal medicine, history, language and literature, and academic study and research. However, certain emphases were different. For example, although both groups regarded the teaching of Buddhist concepts as the most important content of PLMs, community members had more belief in the value being primarily sacred; the manuscripts, to them, allowed the making of religious merit. Further, the results demonstrated that the two sets of participants held slightly different views about how PLMs should be managed. In this respect, the experts thought that custodians should be the owners of PLMs because it was they who were directly responsible for the manuscripts; community members, in contrast, felt that the community itself should be recognised as possessing ownership. In terms of the classification of PLMs, the community group held the opinion that manuscripts should be classified by age and value; the experts showed a preference for using the content of PLMs to separate them into subject categories. Moreover, the experts opted for practicality and appearance in accessible storage methods to keep PLMs, but the

community wanted to see the manuscripts stored in traditional ways, with new designs created in order to display the PLMs to the public. With regard to PLM preservation, it emerged that community members wished to maintain traditional approaches, particularly in the way that PLMs were kept but also in community events and community involvement, for example through following religious traditions and producing copies of the manuscripts. The experts tended to focus more on knowledge preservation, employing such methods as digitisation and protection of intellectual property rights.

All four prior models of community involvement considered in this study concern communities which possess a level of control over their archives. This is not entirely the case for PLMs as Lanna communities are unable to read their own ancient script and thus rely on experts who can. It is these experts who manage the manuscripts. Moreover, PLMs are not used in daily life due to their being ancient material. Therefore, communities often tend to be unaware of their PLMs. Therefore, none of the existing models can be applied exactly to PLMs. For example, Srinivasan is mostly concerned with orally-transmitted knowledge. Flinn (2007, 2010) concentrates on how people might gather material of their own choice, but in the Lanna case the monasteries already hold their collections. The model proposed by Kreps (2005, 2008) is the most relevant here, focusing as it does on how, within existing social practices, people might develop their own ways of collecting, preserving and displaying objects. Given, then, that these existing theories do not deal adequately with PLMs, it became necessary to develop a model suitable to the context. The model proposed in this study contains two stages, where the initial process involves preparing the community to participate in the management of PLMs by having knowledgeable local people or experts supply information and education. The subsequent process concerns the creation of a form of sustainable community engagement, one in which the concept of PLM ownership emerges within the community, thus enabling a community-based management of the manuscripts which allows the making of merit.

Keywords: Palm leaf manuscripts; indigenous knowledge; collection management; community collaboration; community participation.

Presentations, publications and awards

Publications

Jarusawat, P., Cox, A. M., & Bates, J. (2017, March). *Community involvement in the management of palm leaf manuscripts as Lanna cultural material in Thailand*. Paper presented at iConference 2017: Effect, Expand, Evolve: Global Collaboration across the Information Community, March 22-25, Wuhan, China.

Jarusawat, P., Cox, A. M., & Bates, J. (2015, October). *Collaborative management of palm leaf manuscripts as Lanna cultural material in libraries and communities in Thailand*. Paper presented at the 6th International Conference on Asia-Pacific Library and Information Education and Practice, A-LIEP 2015, Manila, Philippines. Retrieved from: http://www.vub.ac.be/BIBLIO/nieuwenhuysen/presentations/2015-10-aliep-manila/2015%20ALIEP%20Proceedings%20with%20ISSN.pdf

Posters

Jarusawat, P., Cox, A. M., & Bates, J. (2015, July). *An exploration through the photo inventory method of the value of collaborative management of palm leaf manuscripts as Lanna cultural material in libraries and communities in Thailand.* Poster presented at iFutures 2015, Sheffield, UK (Appendix 9).

Jarusawat, P., Cox, A. M., & Bates, J. (2015, March). *An exploration of the value of a collaborative model of collection management for Lanna cultural material in libraries in northern Thailand*. Poster presented at iConference 2015, California, United States. Retrieved from: http://hdl.handle.net/2142/73682 (Appendix 10).

Award

"Most Interesting Preliminary Results Paper Nomination" presented to Piyapat Jarusawat, Andrew Cox & Jo Bates, University of Sheffield, in recognition of the paper "Community Involvement in the Management of Palm Leaf Manuscripts as Lanna Cultural Material in Thailand" from iConference 2017: Effect, Expand, Evolve: Global Collaboration across the Information Community, March 22-25, Wuhan, China (Appendix 11).

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my family who gave me constant support throughout the period of my PhD study.

I would also like to express my deepest appreciation and gratitude to my supervisors Dr. Andrew Cox and Dr. Jo Bates. Their guidance, support, kindness and understanding were invaluable in helping me complete my thesis.

Further thanks are due to my English language teacher, Dr. George Turner, who assisted me for four years and provided help, support and encouragement. I would also like to thank my proof reader, Andy Lee, who was very patient and helped with the English in my thesis.

I would like to thank my examiners Andrew Flinn and Sheila Webber who were very kind to me and suggested many useful avenues of thought to add value to my thesis.

I would like to offer my gratitude to Chiang Mai University for funding and supporting my PhD study over the past four years.

I very much appreciate the contribution made by my interviewees. They were willing to engage with the subject, provide valuable information, and continue to serve as valued consultants.

I would also like to thank my many friends and colleagues in Thailand who helped me collect data and supported me through many difficulties.

Finally, it is important to thank my friends and colleagues in Sheffield, both in the University of Sheffield Information School and at the All Siam Thai restaurant. They provided much encouragement and motivation during my PhD study.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Background and statement of the problem

Lanna culture, that of the northern part of Thailand, is pluralistic. It is a fusion, formed in the past by different racial groups, which has resulted in a rich synthesis of cultural diversity. These different groups include the Tai Yuan, Tai Lue, Tai Khone, and Tai Yong, others from the central, north-eastern and southern parts of Thailand, and Chinese people, all of who have been settled in the Lanna region for generations (Penth & Forbes, 2004) and now consider themselves to be "local people". The area of the former Lanna kingdom developed its own distinctive language, culture and traditions during the fourteenth century; all have been retained, although they are less widely practised now than in the past. Lanna culture thus differs significantly from the dominant Siamese culture found across most of Thailand.

Buddhism, which spread from Sri Lanka to the region in the fourteenth century, is central to Lanna culture. In terms of the transmission of Buddhist ideas, palm leaf manuscripts (PLMs) ("*Khamphi Bailan*") inscribed in the Lanna language were almost certainly the most significant vehicle. PLMs were one of the earliest media for writing; they were made from dried palm leaves, with styluses used to inscribe text. They were widely used across Southeast Asia. In the northern part of Thailand, palm leaves were the writing medium utilised for LannaTham manuscripts, where the term "Tham" means "Dharma" or the Buddha's teachings (see Definitions of Key Terms, p. 10). These manuscripts were originally used to record the story of Buddhism; the LannaTham scripts were thus considered sacred texts (Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002; Ongsakul, 2005; Veidlinger, 2007). They contain three types of text: LannaTham, FakKham and ThaiNithet (or KhamMueang). These exhibit differences in letter form but are written in the same language, Lanna. LannaTham script is the commonest; it was widely used and is now considered most representative of Lanna culture (Ongsakul, 2005).

PLMs are now recognised as cultural objects. They are managed by community members, particularly abbots in monasteries, to preserve the Buddha's teachings and other knowledge contained within them. PLMs are an important carrier of Lanna culture, a key means by which it has survived over such a long period; they are ancient documents that represent an expression of civilisation and history. PLMs are also a form of cultural heritage. Their main value for Buddhism is that they hold accounts of its beliefs and practices. However, other knowledge, covering history, herbal medicine, literature, folktales, law, astronomy and astrology, can also be found in PLMs; they are thus of great value to researchers. They also embody the unique ancient artwork

practises of artisans (Prudtikul, 2011; Veeraprajak, 2011; Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002). Both monks and community members now preserve PLMs by copying from older manuscripts and storing the replacement versions in traditional chests and cabinets in order to maintain them for coming generations.

Recently, however, two major problems have emerged concerning PLMs: their disuse, and the non-involvement of the community in their management. PLM neglect now occurs because many present-day Lanna people have lost some sense of their own regional identity and thus become less aware of traditional Lanna cultural artefacts, including PLMs (Abhakorn, 2006; Grabowsky, 2008). Three factors are behind this: natural disasters, Thai nationalism, and limited government budgets. First, natural disasters such as flooding, fire and infestation, all of which damage PLMs, are a significant concern. Second, the establishment of a Thai nationalism, as adapted from Western ideas, has badly affected local cultures and regional ways of life (Abhakorn, 1997). For instance, in the nineteenth century the Thai government forbade the use of LannaTham manuscripts and banned the use of the Lanna language as it sought to impose a stricter form of nationalism on all regions (Ongsakul, 2005; Wyatt, 2003); as a result there was a sharp drop in the number of Lanna scripts. This decline was due to both the wilful destruction of many such scripts and the fact that the Thai national government put others in storage out of public view: in a sense, they were hidden away. Further, according to Grobowsky (2008) PLMs have been largely neglected for over a century due to the effects of globalisation, in the sense that national governments, such as that in Thailand, have often sought to make their respective cultures appear more progressive or "civilised". They have therefore tended to ignore many minority ethnic cultures. Third, while the attitude of the government toward PLMs has become more positive in recent years, budget limitations have negatively affected the launch and delivery of activities and workshops related to PLMs (Abhakorn, 1997, 2006).

With regard to the second major problem, the non-participation of the community in the management of PLMs, one issue that has been identified is the way that control over many PLMs is held by professional linguists and historians. These professionals possess the authority to limit public access for reasons of conservation and cataloguing (Lagirarde, 2012). They employ a top-down concept of management, an approach which tends to exclude potential users and local communities. Moreover, although it was forbidden to access most PLMs in the past as they were considered obsolete, as most community members were in any case unable to read or write they were unable to appreciate the cultural value of their local manuscripts. Nevertheless, there still exist a large number of PLMs in monasteries and libraries, manuscripts which remain to be discovered and studied (Abhakorn, 1997: Ongsakul, 2005). PLMs are an important element of cultural heritage, as they represent knowledge resources for interested people and institutions, but, due to the suppression of the Lanna language and culture over several generations, a

disconnection between PLMs and local people has occurred. A lack of awareness of their cultural significance and appreciation has thus developed over time.

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasise that professionals do play an important role in studying and conserving PLMs. Indeed, various international initiatives have sought to collect and preserve PLMs, including those from Thailand. There are four organisational levels – provincial, national, international and integrated – involved in managing these fragile manuscripts and creating programmes to preserve them. For example, at provincial level, the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University Library, the Palm Leaf Scripture Studies Center (Institute of Lanna Studies, Chiang Mai Rajahat University), and the Palm Leaf Manuscripts Conservation Institute at Wat Sungmen carry out such roles. At national level, the National Library of Thailand manages and preserves PLMs. At international level, various initiatives collect and preserve PLMs, including Thai manuscripts. Such collections were probably sold or donated to interested researchers in the past, but it is beyond the remit of this thesis to track the process by which each collection was relocated. UNESCO created its "Memory of the World" initiative in 1992 and then the "Memory of the World: Asian Pacific" programme in 1998 to preserve and grant access to historical documents, including PLMs from Thailand (UNESCO, 2008; UNESCO, n.d.). In addition, Northern Illinois University Libraries collect, preserve and digitise Lanna PLMs (Martin & Olson, 2005). To promote integration, a number of institutions, including the German Federal Foreign Office, the Henry Luce Foundation, the University of Pennsylvania, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the National Library of Laos, Chiang Mai University Library and the Berlin State Library, have collaborated to launch the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts. This institute provides lists of Lanna PLMs, holds actual PLMs, and also offers some in digital format.

Still, while there have been a limited number of such international initiatives, most Lanna PLMs are held in monastery libraries and museums in Thailand. A number of others are stored in national and academic libraries. This means that most PLMs are kept at provincial level and some at national level; institutions at both levels play an important and direct role in the management of PLMs. Monasteries and libraries are those which generally maintain physical PLMs. Such institutions house, preserve, digitise, translate and transliterate PLMs in order to safeguard as a study resource the valuable knowledge recorded in the manuscripts.

Most research into PLMs has investigated their content, collection, storage as art objects, and management, but none has covered collaboration between community members and experts, particularly in the sense of community engagement as a bottom-up process, taking into account both local and expert views. In terms of research into PLM content, studies have focused on Lanna history and culture (Ongsakul, 2005) and knowledge content in Lanna PLMs (Phra Maha Suthit Apakaro (Oboun), 2005; Vongyai, 2003). With regard to research into PLM collections, several

studies have been conducted on the revitalisation of Laotian PLMs as part of a plan to establish a national identity for Laos (Phengphachanh, 2008). Two studies have been undertaken on PLM storage, considering art and belief in relation to material storage. One piece of research has examined Buddhist beliefs in relation to cover cloth design in north-east Thailand by concentrating on local wisdom taught through patterns expressing Dharma and belief and faith in Buddhism (Kempila & Sridharma, 2007). Another study has looked at the value of storing items in cabinets and boxes made by the community. This work emphasises the value of Thai painting of cabinets and boxes (Suk-erb, 2008). In terms of PLM management, research has been undertaken in relation to classification, metadata, preservation, management systems, and community engagement. For research focusing on aspects of classification, studies have assessed how the content of manuscripts is classified (Phattarakiatcharoen, 2013). Another study has examined the creation of standards for electronic records with metadata, the preservation of original manuscripts, and the need to increase access for local people and communities. It investigates guidelines which could be applied in order to affect improved collaboration between libraries (Chamnongsri, 2009). In terms of research into preservation, this has focused on identifying ways of revitalising the preservation of PLMs through community management by using documentary and field studies (Phra Maha Suthit Apakaro (Oboun) *et al*., 2006). This latter study differs from the current research in that it focuses more on reinvigorating Wat Sungmen customs, some of which involve preserving PLMs. By contrast, this study concentrates on how PLMs should be managed and aims to determine the most suitable collaboration process. In terms of research into management systems, certain studies have focused on specific areas of PLM management, using a cultural approach to determine the processes and techniques of PLM maintenance in north-east Thailand (Rawarin, 2010). In relation to research into community engagement, projects which include community engagement to manage PLMs have been launched by institutions and experts through a top-down process (Leksomboon, 2015). In other words, they seek to establish a hierarchical system with professional experts at the top and local communities at the bottom.

Research by Leksomboon (2015) focuses on initiatives in community-based management, but it is more of a practical than academic study. Furthermore, the evidence that does exist suggests a failure by researchers to listen to the community voice. There is a gap in the research regarding both collection management based on local community involvement through a collaborative process and the values held by locals and experts. Leksomboon (2015) focuses on the future of PLMs, where the findings of the research show that PLMs are housed mainly in monasteries and that local communities are the traditional owners. Experts have shown concern about how effective local communities, including abbots, monks, laypeople and local people, are at managing these manuscripts, and displayed a level of anxiety about the sustainability of PLMs in

such circumstances. The challenge is for local communities to take this opportunity to control PLMs by themselves (Abhakorn, 1997; Lagirarde, 2012).

This study makes much mention of community members and experts. At this point, some form of definition of these terms should be provided. Community members are those people who live in the Lanna region and who are involved, to some degree, even at a basic level, with PLMs. It may be simply that they have heard of the existence of PLMs. Other forms of participation, however, are more direct. Some community members might be used to taking part in ceremonies involving PLMs or be engaged in taking care of them; a few, a small number, might even have gained a deep knowledge of the history and significance of PLMs. They might speak the Lanna language. Such community members could well be connected to the monastery; they could be abbots or monks. However, they could just as well be male or female members of the local community. On the other hand, experts, for the purposes of this study, are those professionals who, whether for academic reasons or personal interest, have chosen to work in the field of PLMs. Such experts are generally employed by information institutions; they range across a number of different disciplines: language, history, librarianship and computer science. It should be stated, nevertheless, that the distinction drawn between the community members and professional experts might be seen as slightly arbitrary. There is, indeed, the possibility of movement between the two groups. It is also important to note that while this study separates community members and experts, this should not be taken to mean that community members do not possess PLM expertise. Thus, while it may be that, in some cases, the level of knowledge of PLMs held by certain community members and experts is comparable, the two sets of participants do tend to approach the manuscripts in quite different ways, which is why this study makes a clear distinction between them.

Previous studies have not covered actual collaboration between community members and the monasteries which hold PLMs. Another omission in many studies concerns the opinions of community members who live in the Lanna region and those of the experts involved in PLM management. Moreover, there is no study base detailing community participation activities. Furthermore, there is a lack of research into expert and community views regarding the value of PLMs and how they can be appropriately managed. This is important because, at present, as stated above, most local people cannot read or write LannaTham and they often show a lack of interest in PLMs. These problems concern community participation and collaboration between community members and experts. To engage community members in managing PLMs could be difficult and time-consuming, but it is an essential task. Experts can play an important management or administrative role in regard to PLMs. However, developing a model of management which involves both community members and experts is important to enable communities ultimately to manage their collections in sustainable and efficient ways.

Collaboration can fill the participation gap by responding to community needs, sharing knowledge, building trust, and enhancing essential skills for PLM management.

1.2 Research aim, objectives and questions

This study seeks to develop a collaborative model of PLM management which includes both community members and experts. To achieve this, it aims to explore the views of members of both groups.

To achieve the study aim, the following four objectives were defined:

1. To explore the perceived value community members and experts place on PLMs by observation, collection of photographic evidence in the field, and through interviews.
2. To examine how PLMs are currently managed, and to research views on how they should be managed, by conducting interviews with community members and experts, creating a photographic inventory, and through observation in the field.
3. To discover how community members and experts believe the community should participate in the management of PLMs by conducting interviews with community members and experts and through the use of a photographic inventory and field observation.
4. To develop guidelines for a collaborative model for managing PLMs, involving both community members and experts, through analysis of the findings of this research and those in the literature.

The aim will be achieved by answering four research questions:

1. What similarities and differences are there in how community members and experts perceive the value of PLMs?
2. What similarities and differences are there in how community members and experts think PLMs should be managed in terms of authorship, ownership, classification and cataloguing, preservation, access, and community participation?
3. What similarities and differences are there in the ways community members and experts think the community should participate in the management of PLMs?
4. What should be the characteristics of a collaborative model for the management of PLMs?

1.3 Scope of the study

Few studies have been carried out on the management of Lanna PLMs in northern Thailand or the Lanna region, which is why this study focuses on PLMs in three northern Thai provinces. Lanna PLMs in northern Thailand account for the largest reserve of such resources in the country as a whole (Phra Maha Suthit Aphakaro (Oboun), 2005). Of the eight provinces (Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lampang, Lamphun, Nan, Phayao, Phrae and Mae Hong Sorn) which comprise the Lanna region, three – Chiang Mai, Phrae and Lampang – were selected, largely because of their importance in the history of PLMs. Chiang Mai was chosen as the largest and most central location for Buddhist education in the region (McDaniel, 2008). Phrae is the city where the most renowned abbot, Krupa ("*Phra*" or monk) Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein, collected, created and copied a large number of Lanna PLMs, and kept them at Wat Sungmen (Sungmen Temple) (McDaniel, 2008). At Wat Laihin (Laihin Temple), located in Lampang province, another celebrated monk, Krupa Mahapa Kesarapanyo, also gathered together Lanna PLMs (McDaniel, 2008; Veidlinger, 2007). The oldest such PLM is stored in this monastery (Penth, 2004). Thus, Chiang Mai, Phrae and Lampang were selected as appropriate places for the researcher to investigate and to gain a deeper understanding of Lanna culture.

Moreover, in order to acquire a greater awareness and wider view of the importance of PLMs, the culture of north-east Thailand was investigated through the available literature and fieldwork, in both a pilot study and in the main study. Thus, data was collected in Mahasarakham province, a region which has adopted PLM management processes from the Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture, Chiang Mai, the latter being the first institution to become involved with PLMs. Furthermore, the nature of PLM management in central Thailand was also researched, in order to achieve as comprehensive as possible an understanding of the issue in contemporary Thailand. Bangkok is the capital of Thailand, and the most important information institutions at both national and regional levels are situated there; hence the National Library of Thailand and the SEAMEO Regional Center for Archaeology and Fine Arts were the locations chosen for interviews with subject experts.

1.4 Theoretical approach

The characteristics of PLMs are such that the manuscripts can be stored in all information institutions, in libraries, archives and museums (LAMs), as books, documents or cultural objects. Unfortunately, however, LAM practices may not always be appropriate for PLM management. In Western libraries, PLMs are treated as items similar to printed books, even though books can generally be reproduced. PLMs, however, do not share this capacity; they are more like archived material, as each is a unique manuscript. In this sense they are similar to objects held in museums as they represent ancient, valuable and precious artefacts. Therefore, it is difficult simply to apply existing theories of community participation as found in information management. This research investigates the extent to which four existing such models might be appropriate in the case of PLMs. The first is the participatory archiving model proposed by Shilton and Srinivasan (2007). The second is that concerning culturally sensitive collaborative collections as set out by Becvar and Srinivasan (2009). The next is Flinn's (2007, 2010) model of community archiving, and the last covers non-Western models of museum and indigenous curation as proposed by Kreps (2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2014).

Two models of librarianship have emerged from Srinivasan's research in the last ten years. The importance of collecting information from indigenous people in a culturally sensitive way is one issue that has gained in importance for indigenous libraries and archives. Shilton and Srinivasan's (2007) participatory archiving model lays out the processes relating to appraisal, arrangements and description, all of which are necessary to encourage community members to engage with collections. The other model stresses culturally sensitive collection using collaborative methods including direct indigenous involvement; it aims to ensure appropriateness and to establish the "right" kind of research relationship and ownership of the projects (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009). These two models together present two common concepts: that the voice of the community is included and that community-based management is the aim. Professionals have to rely on the community's competence and knowledge for precise information.

In Flinn's (2007, 2010) studies of community archives, community-based activities are highlighted. Community members are engaged in collecting, creating, controlling and owning their collections. This concept has become increasingly important as communities have begun to realise that government archives fail to collect and keep the most important and valuable documents and material within a particular community. Thus, a community can build its own projects and begin to take control by collecting and creating content that is important to the community; members can choose the content which they believe best reflects their experiences. They then collect and create documents, oral histories and a wide range of artefacts by themselves. Even though the community takes control of these projects, some aspects of management, such as preservation, require professionals – archivists and librarians, for example – to take proper care

of the materials. As such, this theory offers a vision of how community members might create, engage with and manage their collections.

The fourth model derives from museology. It was conceived by Kreps (2003, 2005, 2008, 2014) and concerns the notion of "indigenous curation", a non-Western form; it focuses on community involvement in collections which exist in a social context. In indigenous curation, local people already have their collections. They choose which to present and attach social relationships to the objects on display in the museum, as part of demonstrating their actual use. The presentation of an object in its natural social context differs from the way artefacts are generally presented out of context in Western museums.

In summary, all four models – indigenous libraries, participatory archiving, community archives and indigenous curation – have a similar approach, one which concentrates on local people handling their own collections. The granting of authority to community members in gathering, selecting and managing cultural artefacts leads to their empowerment and ownership of such collections, with experts and institutions listening to the voice of the community. These are significant concepts in community-based management frameworks. The intention of this thesis is to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of each model in relation to the management of PLMs, and to advance the most suitable approach to apply.

1.5 The researcher's position in the research

In undertaking the research, there were five factors that motivated the researcher to conduct fieldwork as an insider while collecting data during the participant observation. These were: professional interest, family interest, community request, female involvement, and religious connection. The first motivation was professional interest, in the sense that, having studied librarianship from bachelor's degree to PhD, the researcher has long been interested in rare documents; she chose to study rare book management in university libraries in Thailand for her master's degree. As the researcher's interest in rare material grew, she made the decision in her PhD study to focus on the management of ancient document in the form of palm leaf manuscripts. The second motivation was family interest. The researcher and her family consider themselves to be local people who live and were born in the Lanna region. While her father has Chinese blood, he was born in Chiang Mai and speaks the Lanna language. Her mother comes originally from the central part of Thailand but moved to Chiang Mai 44 years ago. Although, she cannot speak Lanna, she feels settled herself in this territory and considers herself part of Lanna region. The third motivation was community request, where the researcher gained more inspiration during the data collection in both the pilot and main studies. While the researcher was conducting interviews, she experienced much warmth from community members and experts; they were willing to provide data and emotional responses, and seemed to expect her to become involved in the management of PLMs. For example, when some participants arrived for interview, they brought more interviewees with them. This happened twice, in both the pilot and main studies. Moreover, the researcher felt the high expectations of community member in her role of librarian. One interviewee said that "librarians should come to take care of PLMs. Why they did not come? Don't they know that there are PLMs are waiting for them? It's such a long period of time already that there have been no librarians involved in PLMs...You have high education and knowledge; I hope you will reach to the policy level. Amen! Amen! Amen! Merit be with you…Oh God! I do really want you, little child. Our temple has merit that has a librarian like you has come to help…I have a deep happiness and have faith in this temple to know that you are a librarian. (Laughs.) Happy!" The fourth motivation was female involvement, in the sense that the researcher gained a surprise expectation from a female community member who said to her that "there has to be cooperation between males and females to manage PLMs together in order to get the idea…language experts represent the male role and librarians represent the female role". The last motivation was religious connection. The researcher is a follower of the Buddhist religion and, as such, was honoured to be part of continuing the Buddha's teaching by involving herself in the study of PLMs. Thus, by responding to these five forms of motivation during the data collection process, the researcher was able to immerse herself more fully in the events and activities as an insider participant.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The following is an overview of the thesis content:

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter reviews the literature relevant to the research in order to provide background information and a theoretical framework to the study. The first section explores the history of the Lanna kingdom and of PLMs in Lanna Buddhism. The second section covers indigenous knowledge in relation to globalisation and the management of cultural collections. Following that is an examination of indigenous knowledge management and collaboration frameworks, including the indigenous library, archival theory and indigenous curation or new museology theory. The chapter ends with an introduction to the concept of community participation.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter focuses on the methodology used in this research. First, the research philosophy and approach are explained, together with a demonstration of how they are appropriate to the research questions. Then the two phases of data collection are set out, and the approach to data analysis is justified. The next section encompasses research ethics and quality management; it indicates how high quality research practices were ensured throughout this study. Finally, the influence of the pilot study is reported in terms of the suggestions it supplied for the collection of data in the main study.

Chapter 4: Community views on PLM management

This chapter presents the findings from the main part of the empirical study. It develops the main findings concerning the views of the community, as achieved through analysis of semi-structured interviews, participant observation and the photo inventory. The findings include differing views about the value of PLMs, authorship and ownership, organisation and participation. In addition, aspects of the culture and beliefs related to Buddhist material and PLMs are demonstrated through the use of the photographic inventory and observation.

Chapter 6: Expert views on PLM management

The main findings of the study are continued in this chapter, but this time with the focus on expert views, those derived from interviews regarding PLM management, authorship, ownership, storage, classification and cataloguing, preservation, access, and community participation. The chapter also explores existing trends and barriers in achieving a collaborative model.

Chapter 7: Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings in relation to the literature on indigenous knowledge management and collaboration frameworks. A summary of all the findings is supplied so as to draw out similarities and differences between the opinions of community members and experts. In addition, aspects of palm leaf manuscript management are used to illustrate underlying values in order to reveal what might be appropriate management techniques. This section is followed by a comparison of the findings of the study with the existing literature on libraries, archives and museums, particularly in terms of community participation. Again, similarities and differences are identified and discussed. An appropriate community-based framework for palm leaf manuscript management is developed at the end of this section.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This chapter summarises the study and answers the research questions. The contributions to knowledge made by the study are explained and its practical implications set out. Also offered are the study limitations and recommendations for future research.

1.7 Definitions of key terms

Lanna:

The term "Lanna" refers to the tradition, custom, art, music and culture of northern Thailand. The word Lanna is actually two words combined: "Lan" meaning a million, and "Na" meaning rice field. Thus, Lanna literally translates as "a million rice fields", a reference to the rich agriculture of the region. Lanna consists of eight provinces, with Chiang Mai the administrative centre.

Lanna scripts:

In the past, three scripts were used in the Lanna kingdom: LannaTham, FakKham, and ThaiNithet or KamMueang. These scripts were employed for both non-religious and religious purposes, and originated from the ancient Mon and Khom kingdoms. LannaTham script was the most widely used and was written mainly for religious purposes. At present, most people cannot read or write these scripts but they do still speak the Lanna language. Each of these traditional scripts has gradually declined in importance within communities and is now known by only a small group of academics (Penth, 2004; Ongsakul, 2005).

Palm leaf manuscripts (PLMs) ("Khamphi Bailan"):

PLMs are made from the leaves of the Palmyra or Talipot palm and are chosen as suitable material upon which to record information because they are durable and flexible. A PLM is considered to be sacred writing as it generally contains Buddhist doctrine. In this research, the term "palm leaf manuscripts" refers to the Lanna palm leaf manuscripts of northern Thailand.

Dharma:

This pertains to Buddhist notions of universal truth. It concerns the internal practices of Buddhist teaching based on factual reality (Buddha Dharma Education Association & BuddhaNet, 2008), and is often seen as containing the fundamental principles of the religion. Rahula (1974, p.58) further explains that, *"There is no term in Buddhist terminology wider than [Dharma]. It includes not only the conditioned things and states, but also the non-conditioned, the Absolute Nirvana. There is nothing in the universe or outside, good or bad, conditioned or non-conditioned, relative or absolute, which is not included in this term."*

Making merit:

In Buddhism, eternal happiness can be achieved through doing meritorious deeds via action, conservation and consciousness, all of which affect an agent's current life and afterlife. The more the doer gains merit, the more he or she receives merit. Merit can be acquired directly by an agent

or indirectly by others who could be alive or dead (Venerable K. Sri Dharmananda Maha Thera, 2011).

TanTham or TanDharma:

TanTham is an ancient Lanna ceremony which involves offering a palm leaf manuscript to a monk; the PLM is usually a new copy of an old, existing manuscript. This ceremony brings merit to all genders and includes the transfer of local knowledge, language study, artistic weaving, and the development of a bond between descendants and the deceased. Women use traditional patterns to weave items in which PLMs are wrapped; this demonstrates the weavers' faithfulness to Buddhism (see Figure 2.3). Monks who are ordained or have entered into the monkhood are examined by experts over their ability to write LannaTham script. Finally, the monks accept an offering of PLMs and read them as a sermon in front of the Lanna people. This is a deliberate approach: the aim is to encourage the transfer of linguistic knowledge among the community. It is an important strategy which seeks to develop and strengthen cultural ties within Lanna culture (Phanichphant, 2005). Unfortunately, this traditional practice is becoming increasingly rare and is seldom performed in public, perhaps because PLMs have lost much of their cultural significance due to local people's inability to understand the contents of the various texts.

TakTham or TakDharma:

TakTham is a ceremony involving the preservation of PLMs by bringing them into the sunlight. The ceremony begins with the condition of the manuscripts being checked; some are then selected for repair, depending on the degree of damage. After this, the PLMs are arranged and the participants walk, holding the PLMs, in a clockwise direction three times around the the chapel ("*Ubosatha*"); this is called the triple circumambulation. Later, the PLMs are placed in the morning sunlight.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a review of those studies relevant to the field of indigenous knowledge, those directly pertinent to the research questions. It begins with an overview of the history and character of the Lanna region and delineates the significance of palm leaf manuscripts. Further, globalisation and sustainable development are assessed in terms of their relation to traditional knowledge. A description of indigenous people's knowledge is supplied in order to clarify the meaning of the term and Lanna knowledge in particular, the aim being to show how Lanna culture has changed over time and the impact of globalisation on Lanna culture. The chapter continues by exploring what culturally sensitive indigenous knowledge management of Lanna collections would mean. It then introduces the traditional structures and roles of libraries, archives and museums to provide an outline of information institutions in the past and present. Finally, models of community participation in information services such as libraries, archives and museums are compared. These theoretical conceptualisations of participation are then applied in considering the potential for community involvement in the management of PLMs.

2.2 Background and history of Lanna region, northern Thailand

2.2.1 The meaning of Lanna

There is no certainty about the meaning of the word "Lanna". Penth (2000, 2004), however, suggests that the likely meaning is "the land of one million fields" (Figure 2.1). The earliest use of the term dates from 1553 and can be found in a Thai stone inscription from Chiang Rai province. At present, this stone inscription is on show in Chiang Mai. In the same period, the term "Lan Chang" was used; this refers to the city-state of Luang Phra Bang, of the Laos Kingdom, and "the land of one million elephants" (Penth, 2000; Ongsakul, 2005). Penth (2004, p. 12) has also found evidence of the use of the word "Llana" on European maps and globes, such as the Leardo map (1448) and the Behaim Globe of 1492, both of which are older than the Thai inscriptions. During the reign of King Tilokarat (1441-1487), the term "Lanna" seems to have come into popular use (Ongsakul, 2005; Pongsripian, 1996).

Figure 2.1: Rice field in Mae Hong Son, Thailand

Figure 2.2: Lanna kingdom and surrounding territories

Lanna is the name given to the region of upper northern Thailand which today consists of eight provinces: Chiang Mai, Lamphun, Lampang, Chiang Rai, Pa Yao, Phrae, Nan, and Mae Hong Son. Ongsakul (2005) and Phanichphant (2005) suggest that Lanna is better understood as a cultural unit which covers political, social and culture practices rather than simply as a governmentally defined area. As the Lanna area extends beyond the boundaries of Thailand, Lanna territory might, in other words, be considered as more than a national unit. Considered from a cultural and political perspective, Lanna culture reaches as far as the frontier cities in the northern parts of Tak, Sukhothai, and Uttaradit in Thailand, northern Laos, eastern Burma, northern Vietnam, and southern China (Ongsakul, 2005; Phanichphant, 2005) (Figure 2.2).

2.2.2 Indigenous people, Lanna people and people in Lanna

In the Lanna region, the Lua are the oldest and largest group of indigenous people. They have lived in this region for over 1,300 years and use the Mon-Khmer family language (Huapcharoen, 2010; Phanichphant, 2005). Other important groups of indigenous people in the region are the Mon and Lua. They both belong to the same ethnic group, which is Austro-Asian. Another major group, called the Tai Lue, are part of the Thai-Kadai ethnic group and speak the Tai family language. The ancestors of the Lanna people or Tai Yuan are assumed to have resulted from intermarriage between Lua, Mon and Thai-Kadai communities (Forbes, 2004; Huapcharoen, 2010; Phanichphant, 2005).

Thus, the ancestors of the Lanna people were a mix of Lua, Mon and Tai. In the past, the Lanna kingdom was highly developed. Its people had their own language and writing script, and the region became a centre for Buddhism (Ongsakul, 2005; Penth & Forbes, 2004). However, this position was eroded as the region fell under the control of Burma (1558-1774) and then the Siamese kingdom (1774-1899), and later as a result of British incursions (1829-1892) (Ongsakul, 2005). These events in Lanna history helped create a strong sense of cultural identity, one with unique characteristics. Most Lanna area has since become a part of Thailand but it still retains its own culture and traditions. Much Lanna wisdom and many chronicles were written on PLMs, awaiting rediscovery (Ongsakul, 2005).

In terms of the population of Lanna today, there are three ethnic groups: the Tai, that part of the population retaining Lanna culture; ethnic Chinese; and the Chao Khao (Forbes, 2004). The majority of the population is Tai, including the Khon Muang (who are a combination of the Tai Yuan (northern Thai), Tai Lue, Tai Khone, Tai Yong, Tai Khone, and Tai Yong), Tai Lue, Khon Phak Klang, Khon Isan, and Phak Tai. Nearly 90% of the population, or about 10,800,000 Tai people, live in northern Thailand. The ethnic Chinese are divided into two groups: those who arrived via land routes in the fifteenth century and those who arrived by sea in the 1900s. The last group consist of Thailand's hill tribes (the Chao Khao), who constitute about 1% of the country's

population (Forbes, 2004). It is difficult to identify accurately the proportions of the population made up of Khon Mueang, Khon Phak Klang, and ethnic Chinese in the north. Ethnic Chinese in Thailand are commonly considered to account for approximately 11% of the population, although significant numbers of Chinese people have blended with Tai people, and consider themselves to be Thai as well as Chinese (Forbes, 2004).

2.2.3 Lanna society and culture

In the past, Lanna was a matriarchal society where traditions were transferred through women. Roles held by women included owning property and managing the home. Other distinctive Lanna ways of living covered the following of certain diets and Buddhist tradition, beliefs and worship (Phanichphant, 2005). In terms of food, according to Phanichphant (2005), Lanna people preferred to eat sticky rice, vegetables and dried food: eating meat was not their usual practice. Another aspect of Lanna culture was a spiritual respect, one normally found in primitive agricultural societies. Lanna people worshipped various spirits, believing that they could help them solve problems and safeguard their lives (Huapcharoen, 2010; Phanichphant, 2005). The methods by which they paid respect set the pattern of the transfer of tradition, the way they taught their descendants social norms. Their spiritual worship included a set of beliefs which had developed prior to the inception of Buddhist worship, for example ancestor spiritual worship. People paid respect to ancestors who had done good deeds, in the belief that they would protect their descendants who followed the same path. When these descendants failed to carry out good deeds, for example by having sex before marriage, the belief was that such acts were bad omens and that calamities would befall the family. To prevent this happening, it was necessary for families to ask forgiveness for their ancestors by holding formal ceremonies (Phanichphant, 2005).

The most important element of these socio-cultural norms was Buddhism, which spread through Lanna, and led the formerly matriarchal society through gradual change, focusing more on male roles such as governor, master and monk (Phanichphant, 2005). The arrival of Buddhism, with its centralisation and more international culture, transformed Lanna from a matriarchal to a patriarchal society (Charoenmuang, 2011; Phanichphant, 2005). Even though Buddhism restricted the role of women and transferred power in social and administrative ways from women to men, female roles still had their own importance, in family life and in crafts such as weaving, crafts which needed both patience and fine motor skills (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Weavers making women's clothing

2.2.4 Lanna's historical development

The fact that Lanna is a landlocked territory surrounded by mountains created difficulties in the past in terms of power and stability. The region's geography was a significant factor in enabling Lanna to become, originally, an independent city-state, although it was not an easy task to retain that independence, particularly as other powers, such as Burma and Siam, were situated on each side of Lanna. The Lanna Kingdom's formative period was between 1296 and 1355, its most prosperous period lasted from 1355 to 1525, and a period of decline followed from 1525 to 1558. Thus, for around 260 years, Lanna was an independent state with Chiang Mai its capital. According to Penth (2004) and Ongsakul (2005), in 1477, King Tilokarat was the leader who undertook the eighth revision of the Tripidok (a collection of the Buddha's teachings) at Wat Bhodharam or Jed Yod. This event is often considered to symbolise the highest stage of Lanna development. However, the Mangrai dynasty then ended, leading to the erosion of the Lanna kingdom. Lanna was conquered and fell under Burmese control between 1558 and 1774. In this period of Burmese occupation, Lanna art declined, largely as a result of the forced evacuation of Lanna craftsmen to Burma. During and after the period of occupation, Lanna people followed an ethos of sustainable living, one of inactivity and non-violence. Then Lanna became a tributary state of the Siamese kingdom between 1774 and 1899 (Penth, 2004; Phanichphant, 2005; Ongsakul, 2005).

From 1809, western colonialism began to have an effect on Siam. Lanna, as a part of Siam, was dominated by the British Empire, which took huge advantage of logging and forestry concessions. This, however, brought turbulence to the Lanna border region and led to the Lanna people losing the territory by 1892 (Charoenmuang, 2011; Penth, 2004; Ongsakul, 2005). In 1903, Siam lost the west bank of the Mekong River in Nan province to France. In 1939, during the reign of King Rama VIII, a monarch from Siam, the Chao Chet Ton dynasty of Lanna came to an end. Both Britain and France then tried to increase their power over Lanna, turning the Lanna people toward nationalism and becoming part of Siam, or Thailand (Penth, 2004; Ongsakul, 2005). During the

imperialist period, central government in Siam and foreign missionaries attempted to change Lanna life and culture. For example, from 1829 onwards, as encouraged by the Siamese government, Lanna people, who had not previously worn shirts, began to wear white or navy cotton shirts with round necks and short sleeves; these were called, for women, the sarong, and, for men, the fisherman pants (Phanichphant, 2005). Missionaries brought different kinds of schools, hospitals and printing houses, in addition to Christianity.

Since Lanna became part of Thailand, there have been two main periods of significant change to Lanna culture and education as a result of increased influence asserted by central government and the West. In the first period (1953-1982), there were both positive and negative signs for Lanna society. Some Lanna people preserved local identity by publishing books about Lanna history and culture, but at the same time others were responsible for destroying city walls for road expansion and commercial building (Charoenmuang, 2011). Moreover, Lanna scripts were lessened in importance because central government forbade the teaching of Lanna in schools. Moreover, in 1959, the Buddha's teachings held in Lanna monasteries were translated into Thai; thus Lanna monks became less interested in studying Lanna scripts and turned to Thai and English versions instead. This was something of a crisis in the development of the Lanna language. Perhaps this was part of a wider scheme. Lanna people were perceived, across Thailand as a whole, to have lower human and cultural values; they were encouraged to transform themselves, to be more like people from the central region or Bangkok. As a result, the Lanna language was downgraded in importance, and a large number of Lanna historical documents disappeared (Charoenmuang, 2011). However, foreign students and researchers then began to pay more attention to Lanna anthropology, art and culture; study of the Lanna region and its culture started to re-emerge. After its initial promotion by foreigners, Lanna culture was finally recognised by the central government of Thailand for its value and importance, particularly after a 1960 development policy established Chiang Mai at the centre of the Thai tourism industry (Girard, 2015; Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998; Robinson, 2012). The growth of Chiang Mai University, a local art and culture institute and a social research institute, was another outcome of the policy (Charoenmuang, 2011; Phanichphant, 2005). Phanichphant (2005, p. 91) describes how "the Lanna were awakened again to use their art and culture in business and for the income of the country."

The second period of change involved community-based preservation of Lanna art and culture; it lasted for 18 years from 1982 to 2000. Charoenmuang (2011) describes a decrease in Lanna language use among Lanna people. In fact, although the local language was spoken less, the period saw the beginning of Lanna script being taught in monasteries. Then, around 1997, the desire to preserve Lanna culture seemed to increase. A community club called "*Hao Hug Kham*

Muang" ("We Love Lanna Language") was founded in 1997, and a journal, written in Lanna and called "*Dok Khayom*" ("Payom Flower"), was launched in 2000.

2.2.5 Community and expert preservation of Lanna culture

At present, there are two main groups, of communities and experts, who are aware of the importance of Lanna wisdom. Both aim in different ways to preserve Lanna culture. Communities have gathered together to build clubs based on their interests and skills. Experts have established information centres and museums under the auspices of official institutions. Since 2000, at least 50 Lanna wisdom clubs, classrooms and community groups have been founded in the eight provinces of the Lanna region (Saengngam *et al*., 2005). These clubs, classrooms and groups were created by various types of community members. As an example, there are five interest groups set up by community members. First, "*Petch Lanna*" ("Lanna Diamond") was established in 2000 by people with local knowledge in order to preserve Lanna musical culture involving drums, gamelans and dance. The second club was created in 2002 by people interested in swords. They named the club "*Chomrom Kon Rak Dab*" ("Sword Lovers' Club"), with the aim of preserving ancient weapons and Lanna martial arts. The third is "*BanHong Youth*", a group created by community leaders and monks. This group preserves culture and tradition in music, dance and herbal medicine. The fourth group is "*Berk Fa Club*", set up in 2004 to preserve local music, dance and folk art. Finally, "*SaLiPingJaiKaewKwang*" was established in 2004 to preserve Buddhist traditions and folk art (Lanna Wisdoms School, 2011).

Three dedicated learning places were also built. The first is the Lanna Wisdoms School in Chiang Mai, established in 2000 by a committee of community members, the government and the private sector working together to act on the idea of sustainable preservation put forward by a Buddhist monk, Phra Putapojvarapon, the previous abbot of Wat Chedi Luang. He suggested that "to succeed in preserving culture and Lanna wisdom, it is not enough to hold Lanna preservation activities only four days every year" (Lanna Wisdoms School, 2011). Such activities must continue in permanent operation to ensure the preservation of Lanna wisdom. This school is the most famous and successful for preserving Lanna wisdom. It preserves all aspects of Lanna culture, including the Lanna language and literature, music, basketwork, dance, martial art, drawing, folk toys, lantern making, weaving, earthenware, silverware, lacquering and carving. There are five aims in preserving Lanna wisdom: 1) to bring together the wisdom of Lanna elites and local craftsmen across various skills; 2) to gather information and knowledge to publish in textbooks for future generations; 3) to design a curriculum for short courses; 4) to distribute knowledge in order to raise public awareness of the importance of Lanna in education; and 5) to coordinate a network in both government and private sectors, and thus encourage the delivery of regular Lanna-related activities (Lanna Wisdoms School, 2011).

The second learning centre, "*Payha Lanna Wisdom – Suan Cha Ping Hin Fai*" ("Tea Garden of Toasted Flint") was established in Chiang Mai by the Payha Lanna wisdom preservation community. The centre is famous for Lanna herbal steam treatments, which it copyrighted in 2007. It uses knowledge about herbal medicine, knowledge achieved by learning and translation from Lanna text written on palm leaves and mulberry paper ("*phapsa*"). This learning centre provides a Lanna massage service and has a herbal garden of approximately 3200 square metres for study purposes. Teaching of folk art such as martial arts also takes place there (Phrommathep, 2000). The third example is a cultural preservation centre, the "*Monfai Lanna Learning Centre*". This site is considered to be a living museum and provides various activities involving Lanna arts and crafts. In addition, Monfai offers a space for artists to learn about Lanna art and has created a network of both local and international artists. It allows artists to experience "sustainable and self-sufficient living" (Monfai, 2015).

The other group involved in preserving Lanna culture consists of experts, usually those working with cultural collections in government information institutions such as museums and libraries. In recent years, the government has followed a pattern of collecting and storing resources in information institutions. Chiang Mai provides a good example. Here, four museums and libraries have been established for over 35 years: the Tribal Museum, Chiang Mai (1965), the Chiang Mai National Museum (1973), the Northern Thai Information Center, Chiang Mai University Library (1981), and the Northern Thailand Information Center, Payap University Library (1982) (National Discovery Museum Institute, 2015; Northern Thai Information Center, Chiang Mai University Library, 2010; Payap University Library, 2017). In the last two decades three museums and one information centre have been founded in Chiang Mai. The museums are located in the centre of the city: the Chiang Mai City Arts and Cultural Center (1997), the Chiang Mai Historical Center (2012), and the Lanna Folklife Museum (2013) (Klangwiang Chiang Mai Museums Partnerships, n.d.). Chiang Mai Historical Center also has a library section, so visitors can borrow books for a week. It is a museum and library combined, and thus provides a much needed service for the public and general visitors. The information centre is the Lanna Architecture Center, created in 2001 for learning and research purposes, as a centre for restoration and conservation, a meeting place for architects and other interested people, and an important historical tourist attraction (Lanna Architecture Center, 2013).

2.2.6 Summary

The history of Lanna has seen growth and then decline in Lanna society and culture. The fifteenth century can be seen as the golden age, as Lanna had its own language and literature. However, Lanna was then a Burmese colony for over 200 years. At the end of the nineteenth century, Lanna was attacked by western countries and later became a part of Thailand, a minority culture which was sometimes suppressed by centralising government. However, although Lanna culture and

language were banned by the central government in the twentieth century, some Lanna people still spoke the local language and continued to preserve their culture and wisdom, mostly orally but with some written transmission. Lanna people have more recently created clubs, classrooms and communities to preserve their historical wisdom through folk music and instruments, folk art, traditional herbs and food, handicrafts, crafts, and language and literature. At the same time, the government has also established information institutions, such as museums and libraries, to collect and display cultural objects. Thus, in this case, both community members and experts are attending to Lanna wisdom. The most important feature of Lanna identity, one that reflects the glory of the golden age, is the Lanna script. Unfortunately, most Lanna people today cannot read or write Lanna. An enormous amount of material on palm leaf manuscripts thus remains unrecorded; the time is still to come when this hidden Lanna knowledge can be bought into the public arena.

The next section describes different aspects of the storage and classification of palm leaf manuscripts.

2.3 Palm leaf manuscripts in Lanna

In Lanna history, the earliest written records, from around 1370, were stone inscriptions. PLMs were used from the fourteenth century, when monks and local academics started to write chronicles, a method which lasted until the mid-twentieth century (Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM), 2016; Ongsakul, 2005). Penth (2000, p. 35) states that PLMs were "the principle writing material in Lanna culture". Because writing in Lanna came into regular use, this resulted in the region's having more manuscript records of history than did other parts of Thailand. However, even though there is an abundance of written history, much Lanna history has yet to be learned. Due to the lack of research interest in this area, the treasure of Lanna knowledge is concealed in PLMs (Ongsakul, 2005). The oldest PLMs still in existence were copied in the eighteenth century, at the beginning of the Ratanakosin (Bangkok) Era (Ongsakul, 2005). Lanna chronicles were influenced by Buddhist chronicles from Sri Lanka. The writing down of material was carried out to underpin religion and show merit. Thus the earliest writings were about the Buddha (Ongsakul, 2005). Religion, fact and folklore are the basic topics in the PLM chronicles. During the golden age of Lanna, classical texts included the Mulasasana, Camadevivamsa, and Jinakamali chronicles.

2.3.1 Oral and written traditions in Lanna

Lanna culture was originally transmitted orally, as teaching, songs and customs, but was later written down on material such as palm leaves. Now, Lanna cultural material is even being recorded in digital form. Thus there are both oral and written traditions (Ongsakul, 2005; McDaniel; 2008; Veidlinger, 2007). This conforms to the way Lanna culture was handed down through the generations by storytelling and then, due to the creation of LannaTham script, in the form of written records of these stories on PLMs (Ongsakul, 2005; McDaniel; 2008; Veidlinger, 2007).

PLMs have elements of both oral and written transmission. At first, texts memorised by monks were transmitted orally, but they were later conveyed in the form of manuscripts. Manuscripts based on oral sources, such as "heart-letters" or love verses, have also been found. PLMs then became part of a written culture as a copying process was more widely used (Veidlinger, 2007). The majority of texts found on PLMs concern the teachings of the Buddha.

2.3.2 Lanna scripts

There are three types of script in Lanna: LannaTham, FakKham, and ThaiNithet (Ongsakul, 2005). LannaTham was adapted from Mon script, was commonly used in the region, and was created for religious purposes (Jory, 2000; Ongsakul, 2005) (Figure 2.4). It was formerly used as the primary script in writing Pali, an ancient language in the Indo-European family, one used in much Buddhist literature. Pali itself does not have a written alphabet, and hence other local scripts, such as Thai, Khmer, Roman and Mon, have been used to record it (Ongsakul, 2005). According to Ongsakul (2005), Lanna people consequently regard LannaTham as a sacred script. LannaTham was later adapted to write the northern Thai dialect, and, together with Buddhism, reached the Lan Chang Kingdom and the Isan region (eastern Thailand). The second script, FakKham, mixes King Ramkhamhaeng's Sukhothai script with LannaTham, and mostly appears in stone inscriptions. ThaiNithet is the most recent Lanna script, combining LannaTham and FakKham scripts, and is normally used in poetry (Ongsakul, 2005).

To transmit the Tipitaka (Buddhist scriptures divided into three parts: the "*Vinaya Pitaka*" (rules for monks and nuns); the "*Sutta Pitaka*" (teachings of the Buddha and some of his enlightened disciples); and the "*Abhidharma Pitaka"* (the Buddha's teachings organised in a number of different themes) (Buddha Dharma Education Association & BuddhaNet, 2008)) in Lanna, Lanna scripts were written by copying from Pali texts. This tradition of written copies of Pali texts in Lanna script began in what is considered the golden age, the fifteenth century, after a delegation of monks went on a mission to Sri Lanka and then returned to Thailand. The oldest Lanna

manuscript at Wat Laihin dates from 1417, this being the oldest Pali manuscript in Southeast Asia (Veidlinger, 2007).

Figure 2.4: LannaTham script recorded on palm leaf manuscript

2.3.3 PLMs in Lanna Buddhism

PLMs have existed since the fifteenth century, the golden age of Lanna culture and literature. This section presents the main aspects of PLMs, with particular regard to their cultural context. During the period of repression, about a century ago, PLMs were often stored in caves to hide them from the government and to protect them. However, they sometimes suffered damage due to adverse environmental conditions. Over the past 40 years, however, various institutions have come to manage PLMs. In local areas, the majority of manuscripts are now stored in local monasteries (École française d'Extrême-Orient, n.d.).

One means of protecting PLMs is to use the traditional method of transcribing scripts onto new palm leaves. Transcribing and translating Lanna scripts can be time consuming, as it involves three main stages. First, the texts are transcribed from the Lanna alphabet into the Thai system. The second stage involves translations into the Thai alphabet in order for the texts to be understood in the central Thai language. The final stage focuses on checking the accuracy of the translations with etymologists and linguists (Manosé Research Center, 2014).

This section examines the features of manuscripts, current institutional storage locations, the TanTham tradition, and the problems of neglect. With regard to preservation, PLMs have been copied onto microfilm by organisations such as the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University (Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts, 2016).

2.3.3.1 Features of PLMs

Ongsakul (2005, p. 1) explains the characteristics of PLMs: "these chronicles were incised on palm leaves with a sharp instrument and then soot was rubbed into the incisions, where it combined with sap. Bundles of leaves were stitched together and sometimes bound between decorated wooden covers". PLMs have unique features in terms of their composition. Five features are presented and discussed in this section: palm leaves, bundles of leaves, title indicators, wooden covers, and woven wrappers. Palm leaves are a medium to record content (Igunma, 2014), with this content being mainly about Buddhism but also including material related to history, literature, herbal medicine, astronomy and astrology (Igunma, 2014; Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002).

PLMs are bundles of leaves ("*Phuk*") onto which LannaTham scripts are inscribed (Igunma, 2014; Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002). Each palm leaf has two holes punctured in it, so that they can be held together with cotton thread (Igunma, 2014). On the back of the last palm leaf, a colophon ("*Awasanpoj*") can usually be found, a statement of the purpose behind recording the material. This statement is generally basic data, such as the date on which the manuscript was completed, the name of the sponsor, and the monastery where it was made (Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002); Veidlinger, 2007). Colophons can be seen as native methods of embedding metadata. According to Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan) (2002) and Veidlinger (2007), the uses of PLMs and the purpose for making the manuscripts mostly appear in the colophons. The reasons are various but they reflect aspects of Buddhist philosophy and spirituality, such as achieving merit and attaining nirvana. PLMs are thus considered objects of worship as well as means of enhancing the transmission of knowledge (Veidlinger, 2007). The copying of chronicles onto new PLMs has been common practice, due to their non-durable lifespan (Igunma, 2015b; Ongsakul, 2005). The reason for creating manuscripts and keeping them in monasteries was that donors would gain merit (Igunma, 2015b; Veidlinger, 2007).

Title indicators ("*PanChuck*") are normally made from wood or bamboo (Figure 2.5). Titles and sometimes short descriptions identify PLM content (Igunma, 2014; Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002). For protection, there are wooden covers ("*Mai PraKap*") consisting of two parts (Figure 2.6). They cover the front and back of the manuscript bundle. There is also a woven cover giving another layer of protection (Igunma, 2014; Veidlinger, 2007). There are not only texts on the palm leaves but also calligraphic decorations and other artwork. All these features provide a deeper understanding of the history and evolution of the manuscripts (Igunma, 2014; Veidlinger, 2007).

Figure 2.5: Title indicators

Note. Title indicators made from bamboo at Wat TonYang Luang, Chiang Mai (left) and with artwork at the Palm Leaf Scripture Studies Center, Institute of Lanna Studies, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University (right)

Figure 2.6: Wooden covers

Note. Wooden covers without decoration at the Palm Leaf Scripture Studies Center, Institute of Lanna Studies, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University (left) and with artwork at the Ratchamangkhalapisek National Library of Chiang Mai (right)

2.3.3.2 Current institutional storage locations

In northern Thailand, the main storage locations for Lanna PLMs are the Rathamangkhalaphisek National Library and the Northern Thai Information Center, Chiang Mai University Library (Abhakorn, 1997, 2006; Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM), 2016). However, some organisations have conducted projects to survey and catalogue Lanna manuscripts stored in monasteries in northern Thailand. For example, the Social Research Institute at Chiang Mai University began such a project in 1971 (Veidlinger, 2007). Another project, this time conducted by the Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture of Chiang Mai University, began in 1987 (Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM), 2016). At national level, the National Library of Thailand, certain other national library branches, and the Siam Society have initiated a project to preserve and maintain PLMs (Veidlinger, 2007). All these organisations have continued to survey manuscripts, cataloguing and digitising them wherever possible (DLNTM, 2016; Veidlinger, 2007). Worldwide, Thai manuscript collections are kept in the Royal Danish Library in Copenhagen, the Otani University Library in Japan, and the British Library in the United Kingdom (Veidlinger, 2007).

2.3.3.3 TanTham tradition

Valuable Lanna traditions, those seen as most worthy of preservation, aim to encourage gratefulness (Figure 2.7) by inviting people to make donations on behalf of ancestors. Such traditions include "*TanGuaySaLak*", "*TanTham*", and "*PoiLuang*" (Phanichphant, 2005). There have been concerns that TanTham traditions are in decline as they have rarely been seen in society. They seem to have almost disappeared for a century but in the past ten years there has been a gradual revival and interest in them. According to Phanichphant (2005), TanTham is a remarkable tradition that links a variety of local forms of wisdom; it involves offering a PLM, a new copy of an existing manuscript, to a monk. Mostly, Lanna people copy the Jataka, texts about the Buddha's previous births, and the basic teachings of Buddhism. As a PLM is considered to be a sacred object, it must be stored properly in a "*Ho Tham*" (a temple's raised depository or tower). The TanTham tradition brings charity and good deeds to all genders. It combines a transfer of local knowledge, a study of language, artistic weaving, and a bond between descendants and the deceased. Women weave items in which to wrap PLMs, using patterns from traditional weaving, showing their willingness and faithfulness to Buddhism (Figure 2.8). Monks who are ordained or have entered into the monkhood are examined by experts in their ability to write LannaTham script. Finally, the monks accept an offering of PLMs and read them as a sermon in front of Lanna people. This is an ingenious approach: it involves the transfer of linguistic knowledge between experts and novices. It is the most significant tradition, showing the civilisation of Lanna society and culture (Phanichphant, 2005).

Figure 2.7: Buddhist temple, the centre of tradition in Lanna communities

Figure 2.8: Woven wrappings for palm leaf manuscripts

2.3.3.4 The problem of neglect

It is important to note that, over time, the value of PLMs has gradually altered, largely due to changes in technology, attitudes and social values. Manuscripts have been increasingly replaced by printed books and have thus been forgotten. This lack of interest has had a negative impact on many communities, in that they are now unable to read any Lanna texts (Veidlinger, 2007). Monks may also neglect manuscripts, as McDaniel (2008, p. 100) states: "[Manuscripts] sit locked up and dusty in monastic libraries and are more commonly read by local and foreign academics". Community members are often more interested in attaining merit by creating images of the Buddha and producing other items rather than generating manuscripts. Some Lanna scripts may be used simply as a kind of talisman, with the physical manuscripts often transformed into amulets (Veidlinger, 2007).

2.3.4 Summary

Lanna manuscripts lost their importance in the reign of King Rama V (1868 to 1910) because of the introduction of centralised education reforms, which meant that central Thai replaced Lanna script. Even though nowadays most local people cannot read or write LannaTham scripts and tend to ignore PLMs, a large number of PLMs still remain in temple depositories all over the Lanna region, waiting to be discovered and studied (Ongsakul, 2005). The most significant aspects of PLMs in Lanna are that they are considered as local knowledge transmitted in text form and show Lanna civilisation from the past through language and script. PLMs also have a unique form, with title indicators, wooden covers and woven wrappers, thus allowing for classification and preservation. An indication of the extent to which Lanna people paid attention to PLMs in the past is that the TanTham tradition was established then, as a local preservation process with community engagement.

2.4 Globalisation and sustainable development

This section of the review is divided into two sections. The first introduces the concept of globalisation and sustainable development. The second describes the connection between the globalisation process and nationhood, and the Lanna culture and sustainable development.

2.4.1 The concepts of globalisation and sustainable development

The concept of globalisation emerged in the mid-twentieth century (Griswold, 2013; Scrase *et al*., 2003). There is no exact definition of globalization; it can be seen from multiple points of view. This study presents two views of globalisation. One is as a form of colonial power; the other is simply as the influence of wider changes on local affairs. One perspective on globalisation is that people are influenced by Western countries through global economics, particularly in the form of products, goods and the media (Hawkins, 2014; Mostafavi, 1999; Scrase *et al*., 2003). Another view focuses more on the outcome of globalisation. Globalisation is a reductionist force, creating similar types of products, views, appearances, information, knowledge and culture in every society. However, there may also be benefits. For example, globalised communication and information technology can help manufactories increase their sales of goods (Hawkins, 2014; Ietto-Gillies, 2003).

The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) (1987), in a UN-sponsored report called "Our Common Future", defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". The concept of sustainable development now includes cultural diversity in addition to economic, environmental and social factors (WCED, 1987). Many global movements employing this concept aim to achieve cultural sustainable development. For example, United Cities and Local Governments (n.d.) proposed culture as a "Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development", where the four factors were social, cultural, environmental and economic. The reason for this emphasis is that it can offer greater insight into complex societies and communities. The most important aspect is to determine how culture can influence social values. An increasing number of communities, for example, are currently using cultural heritage in order to define sustainability strategies, their main aim being to formulate strategies which enhance economic development and sustain cultural heritage and natural resources.

In terms of the relationship between sustainable development and community culture, Duxbury and Jeannotte (2011) offer four ideas for culture and sustainability which relate to local development: 1) culture as capital; 2) culture as a process and a way of life; 3) culture as a vehicle for sustainable values; and 4) culture as creative expression. "Culture as capital" refers to how embodied or objectified notions of cultural capital must be embedded within a social context. In

terms of "culture as a process and a way of life", this is intertwined with the notion of cultural citizenship (Duxbury & Jeannotte, 2011). A set of capacities may provide the necessary support for civic participation and the activation of citizen's rights, which suggests that this concept may be useful in that it considers the relationship between community engagement in cultural events and strategies for sustainable development. "Culture as a vehicle for sustainable values" considers the processes of human adaptation to change (Duxbury & Jeannotte, 2011); it includes the context of personal and collective values. It is argued that these values may be fostered by local organisations such as museums. Finally, in terms of "culture as creative expression", this could provide a social platform for community empowerment.

2.4.2 Nation, globalisation, Lanna culture and sustainable development

Well before the modern era of globalisation, the Lanna region become prosperous around the fifteenth century but then declined. Lanna society and culture was then damaged by Burmese colonisation; the region was a tributary state for over two hundred years before becoming part of Thailand. During the nineteenth century, Lanna culture was also threatened by Western colonialism. Now, globalisation is bringing changes to structures and relations across communities in social, cultural, economic, environmental and technological terms. This perspective sees community, which can comprise various different cultures, as monolithic and homogenous (Robertson, 1992). The increasing economic dominance of the West has spread across Thailand, leaving indigenous knowledge and institutions eroded and depreciated (Scrase *et al.*, 2003). Another factor is that Western countries or colonial powers have influenced the concept of a Thai nation in a way which has resulted in Lanna culture being devalued and in danger of disappearing (Charoenmuang, 2011; Ongsakul, 2005; Scrase *et al.*, 2003).

The perception that the Thai nation focuses on elite people, which probably used to be the case, has shifted recently; since 1987 there has been greater focus on local wisdom (Sattayanurak, 2010), which has helped to revive Lanna culture as a form of sustainable development and the preservation of tradition. Sattayanurak (2010) explains that local people choose to adapt and adjust to the processes of national development and globalisation and suggests that the three skills local people will need to survive in the future are those of revival, restoration and selection. A local community should possess the concept of reviving the power of previous times, which means that community members then become the key element in restoring the community's authority and establishing community participation. Moreover, local people should select indigenous knowledge to memorise and preserve (Sattayanurak, 2010). To create sustainable development, telling stories forms relationships between people through the use of cultural phenomena. Consequently, it maintains the meaning of the relationships between social, cultural, economic and environmental elements (Sattayanurak, 2010*;* Duxbury & Jeannotte, 2011; WCED,

1987). Thus local communities are more likely to have a full understanding of their cultural collections and preserve them in a sustainable way.

2.4.3 Summary

Globalisation is a process by which large corporate businesses intervene in and commercialise cultures around the world. It takes over the packaging of culture and tends to promote a homogeneous culture, making all cultural practices and objects commodities and sources of profit. Globalisation and colonial powers deny local people autonomy over their own culture, resulting in their being less involved in governing their own culture and society. However, community members are now paying increasing attention to local Lanna culture and have achieved more sustainable development by seeing the relationship between society, culture, the economy and the environment from a holistic viewpoint, thus helping the culture to revive.

2.5 Indigenous people's knowledge

Much indigenous or local knowledge is contained in an oral tradition transmitted from ancestors to the next generation. The majority of this knowledge is not recorded in printed material or in any electronic version (Feather & Sturges, 1997), but is transmitted by storytelling, ceremonies, traditions, medicines, dances, and arts and crafts (Crowshoe Consulting, 2005). Since the end of colonialism and imperialism, many parts of the world have become connected through economic and political systems. Even after the era of cultural imperialism, culture and knowledge from the West has continued to have an impact on the developing world, through a supposedly "civilizing process", and later through the process of globalisation (Mackay, 2004). As a result of these processes, modern knowledge has been transferred to many societies around the world, with both positive and negative consequences. In many respects, Western, and especially US culture, has tended to dominate many aspects of global cultures. This impact can be seen at both national and local levels of society, for example through the emphasis on consumerism and market capitalism. It has been claimed that these trends have reduced many cultural differences in order to standardise markets in favour of Western products, and that they thus negatively affect local cultures and traditions (Mackay, 2004).

According to Battiste (2005, p.2) the Western approach to disseminating scientific, technological, business and financial information relies heavily on images, the media, and often complex and coherently structured documents. Battiste finds that, in contrast, traditional local knowledge is often considered "unsystematic and incapable of meeting the productivity needs of the modern world" (Battiste, 2005). It has been argued that such attitudes have resulted in a general decline in the public's appreciation of the uniqueness and value of many traditional local cultures, and that in some cases they have actually died out (Crowshoe Consulting, 2005). This tendency is

highlighted by Grenier (1998) and Soni (2007), who report that a communication gap often emerges between those who embrace modernism, progress and western values and those who seek to maintain traditional and local culture. In many instances, local knowledge is often forgotten (Antweiler, 2012). Such knowledge can include skills related to arts and crafts, knowledge of religious practices, the use of indigenous languages, and knowledge of the environment and local folk practices (Battiste, 2005). Other factors contributing to this decline may include rapid social and demographic change. As a result, children and adults now spend little time in their local communities, and oral transmission of local knowledge, handed down from ancestors, tends to be ignored and undervalued (Antweiler, 2012; Battiste, 2005; Soni, 2007). The next section explores two important areas of indigenous knowledge, namely indigenous knowledge held worldwide in LAMs, and present day Lanna culture.

2.5.1 Indigenous knowledge worldwide and LAMs

The recording of indigenous knowledge is a major issue in terms of maintaining identity and has recently been identified as an important research topic (Sen, 2005; Soni, 2007). Studies have covered traditional techniques in agriculture, medicine, natural resource management, arts and crafts, and language. Such forms of knowledge have become an area of interest through the efforts of academics, policymakers and indigenous people themselves (Younging, 2016). Not only is indigenous knowledge necessary for sustainable development but also for educational purposes (Soni, 2007). Many organisations, including governments and international organisations, seek to preserve traditional knowledge. For example, the World Bank, the International Labor Office, the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO), UNESCO and FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations) support the role of indigenous knowledge in sustainable development (Earthwise Centre, 2016; Golafshani, 2000). They have launched policies and programmes in many countries (Soni, 2007). The World Bank Group (2014a) has also invested in around 700 programmes, including indigenous peoples programmes, since 1992. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, the World Bank was involved with indigenous peoples in Latin America, Asia and Africa (Griffiths, 2005). In 2005, it launched an operational policy framework, OP4.10, providing programmes in six regions and establishing knowledge dependent on indigenous peoples' concerns (World Bank Group, 2014a). There have also been many efforts by organisations to try to press these concerns at international level. For example, the United Nations (2013) declared an International Decade of the World's Indigenous People between 1995 and 2004 and again between 2005 and 2014. The Inter-Institutional Consortium for Indigenous Knowledge (ICIK) (2012) is the outstanding part of the global network for indigenous knowledge resource centres, having over 20 indigenous resource centres in North and South America, Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceania. It appears that indigenous knowledge is of increasing interest worldwide.

Libraries, archives and museums have played an important part in protecting indigenous knowledge collections, responding to the trend to value traditional knowledge, creating knowledge centres, and transmitting indigenous knowledge (Callison *et al.*, 2016; Nakata & Langton, 2005). Information institutions are involved in issues of indigenous knowledge concerning intellectual property rights, traditional cultural expression, and cultural institutions, developing knowledge centres, and sharing and preserving knowledge through communication technology (Callison *et al.*, 2016; Nakata & Langton, 2005).

2.5.2 Present day Lanna culture

Lanna culture is an important and valuable heritage for the local community because it consists of art, culture, tradition, wisdom, and ways of life which reflect more than 700 years of Lanna existence (Ongsakul, 2005; Phanichphant, 2005). The simple Lanna way of life is transmitted orally and focuses on customs, traditions, religious beliefs, language, dress, accommodation, and work (Phanichphant, 2005). This local wisdom and valued knowledge is an important resource; it can be used in relation to the growing tourism industry (Chiang Mai Guide Association, 2012). There are also government institutions and NGOs which are aware of the value of Lanna culture and help support communities. They encourage local people, often via the media, to create and develop local collections of culturally significant artefacts (Chiang Mai TV News, 2012, June 21; RoiMueSangMuang, 2013, September 7). Another area of interest is the preservation and knowledge of traditional herbal medicine. Community members have established research centres and federations in order to preserve and disseminate information about such medicine (Lanna Thai Medical Federation, 2012; Manosé Research Center (MRC), 2014). At present, there are three ways in which Lanna culture is being used to enhance social and economic development: tourism investment, government and institutional support, and medical care. These are described in more detail below.

2.5.2.1 Tourism and business investment

Considerable research has shown that Lanna arts are fast becoming a "cultural asset", useful for restaurants, hotels and spas, and as consumer products and decorations, in the form of sculptures, handicrafts, ceramics, local garments, furniture and silverware. However, there are also risks involved in commercialising Lanna culture, as with other indigenous cultures, in that many aspects of the culture are often devalued due to the need to attract consumers and to profit from the situation. For example, people wearing cultural costumes and copying features of traditional life have been used as advertising props in retail outlets and shopping malls.

Access to "cultural assets" can benefit entrepreneurs and the government through the exploitation of local people and customs for commercial and financial gain. Lanna is considered a vital cultural

asset which can be used to develop all aspects of tourism. An example can be seen in the establishment of the Chiang Mai Guide Association (2012), which launched the Lanna Miracle Tourism forum for the development of tourism in northern Thailand. There are interesting activities, such as photo competitions with the winners published worldwide, which reward Lanna accommodation with globalisation and allow Lanna people to present an identity and become famous and admired internationally. The aim of creating a cultural asset can be seen in the branding of Chiang Mai as "the most splendid city of culture and creative handicraft", but a question remains as to how far local people are comfortable with such commercialism, and who benefits from such a process. Even though promoting tradition and culture as a cultural asset for the tourism industry seems to give many benefits to the local community, it also has a downside, as any adaption of a tradition or culture may distort its cultural values and practices (Khunkitti, 2006). Tourist attitudes, too, can be either negative or positive, depending on how people use or adapt to other cultures. For example, due to not knowing Lanna history or that of other ethnic groups, tourists often purchase attire in Lanna which combines features of the dress of different "Tai" ethnic groups, generally because the resulting style looks luxurious, different and beautiful. Tai ethnic groups are groups of people who speak Tai languages such as Tai Lue, Tai Yai and Tai Noi and are spread around Asia. Lanna and Thai people and tourists dress in this style and take photos as memories; it has become a fashion, but it means that these tourists then return to their home countries with a mistaken view of Lanna and share it with others (Charoenmuang, 2011; Phanichphant, 2005).

At present, Lanna culture is benefitting in significant ways from cultural tourism, through the building of learning centres and greater business investment. There are now a number of well-known Lanna learning centres in Chiang Mai, such as the Lanna Wisdoms School (Lanna Wisdoms School, 2011), the Paya Lanna wisdom preservation community (Phrommathep, 2000) and the Monfai cultural centre (Monfai, 2015), which provide local knowledge to tourists, visitors and students, enabling them to learn about various aspects of local culture, such as art, craft and performance (see Section 2.2.5 for more details). They are visited by groups of tourists who would like to learn and understand Lanna culture.

In terms of business investment, there is a trend for Lanna-style weddings, with Lanna performances during the ceremony. For example, there are four Lanna wedding locations in Chiang Mai that serve and facilitate such events: Monfai living museum, Khum Khantoke, Baan Singkham and HueunKhaJao (Baan Singkham Resort & Wedding, 2013; Happywedding, 2017; Khum Khantoke, 2015; Monfai, 2015). Besides providing wedding locations, these places also provide other services to tourists and customers. Some have established museums, as in Monfai and HueunKhaJao, and there are Lanna restaurants at Khum Khantoke and HueunKhaJao (Happywedding, 2017; Khum Khantoke, 2015; Monfai, 2015). Monfai is also a learning centre,

Khum Khantoke a conference venue, and Singkom a hotel (Baan Singkham Resort & Wedding, 2013; Khantoke, 2015; Monfai, 2015).

2.5.2.2 Government and institutional support

As noted in Section 2.4.2, in the context of Lanna culture it is important to recognise the role of governmental and institutional support in preserving and developing its heritage (Duxbury & Jeannotte, 2011). The key area of this support concerns how community members can be encouraged to create, establish and manage cultural collections by themselves. Another important issue concerns Lanna investors and business administrators, who have to understand the changes which can be effected by investment projects. They need to take into account a range of related factors, including the nature of local resources and infrastructure, rapidly changing market needs, the number of skilled and non-skilled workers required (covering both non-Thai legal and illegal labour), wage levels, and labour culture. Therefore, access to such information and expertise is important in exploiting investment opportunities (Charoenmuang, 2011).

In Thailand, there are two promotion initiatives. The main one is "*RoiMueSangMuang*" (2013), a television programme which presents community members who introduce their projects. They work together in order to develop and create their community story. The programme is supported by the Prime Minister's Office and is aimed at encouraging community members to participate in creative thinking. The rationale is that there is no one who can understand the needs of a community better than the community members themselves. For example, a group of Lanna silverware craftsmen, working in the Srisupan Temple in the WuaLai community, proposed to sell Lanna art to an international market. As there is a dearth of such craftsmen at present, they also hoped to train local craftsmen to produce more silverware (RoiMueSangMuang, 2013). The project is being supported by Chiang Mai municipality and people in the community. The objectives of the project are: 1) conservation, transmission, and economic boost; and 2) creating income for the community by adding value to cultural assets, not only by promoting Lanna cultural assets in a national context but also on an international scale. Lanna culture is thus being prepared to join the ASEAN community (RoiMueSangMuang, 2013).

Another initiative supported by the government in Chiang Mai (Chiang Mai TV News, 2012) is the launch of a "smart trader project" by the Office of Commercial Affairs to encourage traders to market their products at a "Made in Thailand" event and develop Lanna trade for ASEAN in 2016. This is expected to prepare Lanna traders to join ASEAN, to increase the opportunities for commercial and international trade, and to create a business network.

Especially in terms of local activity investment, it can be seen that the government is committed to preserving local cultural knowledge. Moreover, it aims to listen to the community voice

through media channels or institutions, in order to better understand the needs of local people. The above two examples of investment projects are supported by the Thai government and allow the Lanna community to become more aware of the importance of its culture and try to preserve its cultural material. When communities understand, protect and maintain their cultural resources with support from government, Lanna culture will become sustainable.

In this respect, since the value of PLMs is not financially significant, unlike that of certain other cultural objects or performances, PLMs tend to be of less interest to the public and receive lower budgets from government funding bodies as a result. Nevertheless, PLMs still survive, a state of affairs achieved by involving people and organisations in their management and promotion (Abhakorn, 1997, 2006). Normally, organisations such as monasteries and libraries which hold PLMs are the original affiliations and their task is to find or provide funding to look after the manuscripts (Abhakorn, 1997, 2006; Lagirarde, 2012). To facilitate the management of PLMs, monasteries can create their own projects (Lagirarde, 2012). In this case, funding is generated by communities which donate funds to the monasteries or to their municipal authorities (Lagirarde, 2012). Project founders and collaborating institutions thus fulfil an important role in that they help support the management of PLMs. Such institutions include, for example, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Henry Luce Foundation, the University of Pennsylvania, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the National Library of Laos, Chiang Mai University and Berlin State Library (Abhakorn, 1997, 2006; Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts, 2016; Lagirarde, 2012).

2.5.2.3 Health and medical care

Local and alternative medicine is increasingly receiving attention at present. Many organisations and interests in the medical and nursing professions are trying to use local knowledge of medicine to develop high potential remedies, such as the use of herbal treatments, massage, local food, and cosmetics. One relevant initiative is the Lanna Thai Medical Federation. It has stated that knowledge about local medicine in Lanna will be made available in printed form, gathered from the rare materials available, and will be of assistance to all village people. Furthermore, it intends to protect this knowledge from being exploited for purely commercial reasons (Lanna Thai Medical Federation, 2012). The federation has been organised by Lanna people who have received certification in traditional treatment from the Chiang Mai Public Health Office. It aims for the preservation, distribution and sharing of traditional medicine, marketing and research, and to be a centre of knowledge (Lanna Thai Medical Federation, 2012).

Many Lanna manuscripts written on palm leaves and mulberry paper serve as important sources for traditional medicine. Since 1997, two professors from the Faculty of Pharmacy at Chiang Mai University have developed a Thai medicinal plant recipe database called "MANOSROI III", with

data from northern, central, southern and north-eastern areas of Thailand (Manosé Research Center (MRC), 2014). After they retired, in 2014, they created the Manosé Research Center, a health and beauty research centre based on their database. The centre involves research and the commercialisation of drugs, cosmetics and food supplements. It also has a museum and herbal garden and now serves as an important information centre and tourist attraction site. Manosé Research Center includes 355 Lanna medicinal textbooks out of a total of 723. Lanna medicinal textbooks which were recorded as Lanna scripts have been gathered from seven provinces in the northern part of Thailand: Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Phayao, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae and Nan (MRC, 2014). Lanna palm leaf and mulberry paper manuscripts were collected by making copies of original versions from monasteries and individual holders (MRC, 2014).

Although Lanna health and medical treatments have been of interest recently, a number of critics have voiced concerns about intellectual property rights in an era of globalisation. Some natural resources and wisdom in Thailand have already been taken and registered by developed countries and oversea companies as their intellectual property (SoyTong, 2007), as mentioned later in Section 2.6.2 on authorship, ownership and access rights. The department responsible for the development of Thai traditional and alternative medicine, the Ministry of Public Health, announced the Protection and Promotion of Traditional Thai Medicine Wisdom Act B.E. 2542 (1999) to protect Thai medical knowledge (Ministry of Public Health, 2013). This protection covers knowledge that has been gathered by the Lanna Thai Medical Federation and means that people can gain free access and derive benefits from this resource without any commercial involvement (Ministry of Public Health, 2013). With regard to Manosé Health and Beauty Research Center, it now lists over 83,000 medical plant recipes. There are 27 patents, 23 of which are national patents and four international patents (MRC, 2014).

The previous sections have shown that, in a period of globalisation, PLMs in Lanna culture can be used for and adapted to cultural and knowledge-based tourism. However, there are potential disadvantages, in that tourism can devalue Lanna cultural knowledge, such as traditional dress, distorting its values and transforming them into commercial products without sufficient information about their meaning and significance. Moreover, in terms of public investment in herbal medicine, it is important to pay attention to rights protection, particularly in terms of cultural resources, conservation and expression. However, a power imbalance does exist between institutions and communities (Ministry of Public Health, 2013; SoyTong, 2007), which remains a concern for many practitioners.

2.5.3 Summary

In the last few decades, globalisation has changed the social and economic landscape, directly affecting the lives of the Lanna people, including their art, performance, and cultural and traditional life. Since this cultural heritage is invaluable and has become one the most important tourism resources, the government and related organisations need to stress the preservation of Lanna cultural heritage in terms of the ways of life of Lanna ancestors. The word "sustainable" was originally a term relating to the environment and the management of finite resources. However, it has recently been used by corporate business to simply mean "viable" or "profitable". For Lanna culture to develop sustainably, it requires a balance of social, economic and environmental objectives. Sustainable development in culture means not only the preservation of cultural artefacts but also recognition of the connection between culture and the environment so that they balance holistically. Seeing culture as a way of life, one which is integrated into the environment from the bottom up, is a sustainable way of transmitting culture. Sustainable development therefore includes cultural material, tourist investment, government administration, and health and medical care. This concept forms part of the background to this research, in that it relates to attempts to find an appropriate model for the sustainable preservation of indigenous cultures.

2.6 Management of indigenous knowledge

PLMs are ancient manuscripts with their own preservation requirements. Therefore, it is important to understand the specific context of PLMs in order to reach an appropriate form of management. Globalisation and nationalism in the Lanna region has resulted in adaptation, change and the erosion of Lanna culture. To preserve Lanna culture, it is necessary to investigate its cultural and social context and understand the issues surrounding PLMs, such as ownership, authorship, and access rights.

2.6.1 Social context and hierarchical circulation of knowledge

According to ALA Office for Information Technology Policy (2010), the social context for indigenous knowledge is created by the social structures and daily life of the culture within which it was created and sustained. It is formed by a community, not an individual, and tends to possess a traditional philosophy (ALA Office for Information Technology Policy, 2010). ALA Office for Information Technology Policy (2010, p.2) states that this social context includes "cultural history, spirituality, world views, artistic expression, respect for the land, and continuity of culture". However, it adapts over time, in changing circumstances, as can be seen in Lanna culture in terms of changes, for example, in gender participation (see Section 2.6.2.3 on access rights for more detail).

Given that the meaning of indigenous knowledge can only be understood in this wider context, it has been suggested that, when recording objects, professionals in information institutions should listen to the voices of community members and let them provide suitable descriptions so as to create contextual value for museum displays (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 95). Moreover, the scope of the information service and its objectives and context should be discussed by both service provider and community members, with a clear understanding realised between them.

Potential challenges exist when attempting to involve the community, when trying to find a suitable form of collaboration between professionals and community members. A case in point is the Northwest Coast Indian Collection in the Portland Museum of Art, USA. Here, a significant concern was that misunderstanding would occur between the curators and native people. For example, a Tlingit tribe member described an object in the museum differently, from his own point of view. To be understandable and to create accurate self-identification, there are two ways to improve archival arrangement and the efficiency of description: first, by giving authority to the community to create object descriptions; and, second, for a professional to capture the characteristics of record creators, such as their behaviour, beliefs, preferences and practices. Acting in this way links the new record and the original knowledge architecture of the particular community that created it (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 95).

2.6.2 Authorship, ownership and access rights

In library science and in the area of archives and museums, there have been increasing concerns about ensuring that local communities participate in creating and controlling information, and thus empower themselves. A number of the issues revolve around authorship, ownership and access rights.

2.6.2.1 Authorship

In the Western tradition, "author" generally refers to the person or corporation who created the material in question. In contrast, in the realm of indigenous knowledge, authors are often considered to be communities (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). ALA Office of Information Policy (2010) suggests that librarians have a responsibility to identify authorship and to recognise that local document collections belong to the original creators. Similarly, Mathiesen (2008) states that sometimes a group of people can be considered the author of a feature of culture or an artefact. Further, Shilton & Srinivasan (2007) indicate that, if researchers consider authorship to belong to cross-cultures or multiple communities, it could be affected by provenance, or the original area of the creator. For example, when the Tribal PEACE project created an online community hub, the authors were members of the Kumeyaay, Luiseno, Cupeno, and Cahilla tribes in San Diego County. In this case of a cross-cultural community, it was difficult to clarify who the author was

in the Western sense because they were all authors of the entire content, not of particular parts of it or as individuals.

Furthermore, identifying authorship is not only a challenge because of the need to choose the correct person or group of people, but because a lack of sufficient documents and evidence causes difficulty (Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002). In some cases, when considered from a cultural or traditional perspective, authorship seems to be relatively unimportant, particularly compared to what Feather and Sturges (1997) define as the series of histories, stories and contexts surrounding a culture and tradition. For example, a PLM generally includes on the last page or as a colophon the name of the inscriber or the host who donated money to reproduce it. The inscription and blessing statement are also found there, too (Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002).

In the West, an individual creates an art object and has the right to give or sell it to another. In other contexts, such as where a whole community is seen as a collective author, such material cannot be sold or given away, except by some appropriate process of joint agreement. The section below considers the ownership of PLM collections.

2.6.2.2 Ownership

Ownership is complex, whether private, collective or communal, in the case of indigenous knowledge (Maina, 2012). In Western professional librarianship practice the focus is on the private owner, whereas in the Lanna cultural context, PLM ownership could rest with society, with an individual, or with an organisation. It is difficult to clarify ownership as individual because local people have donated PLMs to monasteries and, therefore, the PLMs belong to the monasteries. Many of the manuscript inscriptions and copied PLMs are donated to monasteries in the Lanna region because Lanna people have a strong faith in Buddhism. They believe making their own inscriptions or hiring someone to inscribe the Buddha's teachings onto palm leaves and donating them to monasteries to be a powerful means of making merit, similar to the building of a statue of the Buddha (Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002). Thus it is difficult to manage traditional knowledge in libraries and archives, not only because of the problem of identifying the owner but also because there is an issue concerning gaining the permission of the owner in relation to storing and publishing traditional knowledge.

Moreover, intellectual property rights and copyright are significant issues in relation to an owner's ability to control and share traditional knowledge (Maina, 2012). There are many examples of indigenous people's concerns about this issue. Indian chiefs and 54 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) held a conference entitled "Traditional Resource Rights" in 2000 to protect indigenous knowledge at international level. The WIPO (World Intellectual

Property Organization) established an international committee on genetic resources, traditional knowledge and folklore in 2002 (Hafstein, 2004), stating that, even though intellectual property rights, which included copyright, patents and industrial design protection, provided significant protection, the owners of original and new products were being overlooked. Moreover, there is a significant problem of ownership in developing countries which have been invaded by developed countries. Hafstein (2004) also suggests that many owners in developing countries have their creations or collections but are not aware of their rights because they are illiterate, and so do not safeguard their intellectual property.

Another problem is that developed countries sometimes claim the creations of developing countries as their intellectual property in order to make profit for themselves. For example, Thailand, a developing country with plentiful natural resources and wisdom, has, according to SoyTong (2007), had many resources and much wisdom stolen by Japan and America. For example, jasmine rice, the most famous Thai rice, was appropriated in 1998 and then developed by American researchers; it was registered under the trade name "Jastima" and said to have been planted in Texas. Similarly, Mangosteen, the most exported fruit in the world, was patented through the method of extracting the juice for a beverage. Examples of a products stolen by Japan include: 1) Plaunoi (the Thai plant used to treat dermatitis and reduce gastric injury induced by ischaemia), which was registered with the WTO under the name "Plaunotol" and produced as a medicine called "Kelnac" in 1983; 2) KwaoKreu, a Thai herb used for cosmetic treatment, was patented through an extraction method in 2002; and 3) Rusidatton (Thai traditional exercise), the only form of such knowledge, can be traced back to Thailand (SoyTong, 2007).

As developing countries have lower levels of education and income, their intellectual property rights have been taken from them by more powerful countries using legal means. The products developed countries desire most involve plant genetics; trying to claim rights over plant genetics is called "bio-piracy". It has already been seen in many developing countries, including Thailand (SoyTong, 2007). The developed countries take seeds from developing countries, but then subject them to new technologies. They improve plant breeding and this becomes bio-piracy. This then places restrictions on the original owner-nations in terms of research and development of their own resources and also limits their ability to export such resources to other countries (SoyTong, 2007). PLMs contain much traditional knowledge about herbal medicine which could be valuable to pharmaceutical industries. In northern Thailand, some people have decided to protect their ancestors' herbal plant wisdom through patents calling PLMs the "Memory of the World". Over the past 30 years, 27 Thai medicinal plant recipes have been registered in both international and national patents by Professor Dr. Jiradej and Professor Dr. Aranya Manosroi (Manosé Research Center, 2014).

Communities should create their own policies to protect their cultural and intellectual property and traditional knowledge. In other words, they need to claim ownership of their cultural resources. Even though some communities have not yet created such policies, they still need to review the matter and make an agreement or sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with researchers and cultural institutions about what should be carried out regarding collection management during any research process (Maina, 2012). Anderson (2005) supports the benefits of such an agreement between researcher, institution and community which not only responds to community needs but also establishes a new relationship between all parties. For example, there was an effective collaboration between researchers and the Galiwin'ku people in Australia to ensure the intellectual property rights of the Australian Galiwin'ku Indigenous Knowledge Center.

2.6.2.3 Access rights

In terms of access rights, ALA Office for Information Technology Policy (2007) and Becvar and Srinivasan (2009) show how librarians enforce access controls: for example, a user cannot borrow a book without first paying to be a member of a university library. This concept derives from Western information institutions, which tend to ignore or are careless about respecting community beliefs regarding how collections should be managed and sometimes employ access restrictions or rules. Therefore, researchers and service providers should respect community beliefs and follow any restrictions regarding whether the community wants to distribute its assets to the public or keep them private, but this is not always the case (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009). According to the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (2016), the committees managing PLMs in Lanna use various different access levels to make manuscripts available to users, one of which is access through an online portal. Western committees agree to provide all PLM documents online, while northern Thai committees at Chiang Mai University Library limit access to herbal medicine content to prevent foreigners from taking advantage (Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts, 2016).

In traditional societies, it is common for there to be a hierarchical circulation of knowledge. This implies that access to cultural knowledge is restricted by gender, age, ancestry, clan, and status. People occupying different hierarchical levels gain different rights and access priorities (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009, p. 422). For example, among the Wamurungu Australian Aboriginal people, an ancestral song series can be accessed only by women (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009, p. 430). To uncover the reason behind this, an archivist needs to investigate specific cultural contexts, including traditions, beliefs and ancestral views. These might create restrictions on access to knowledge. However, in terms of transmitting local knowledge to futures generations, such knowledge could soon disappear because of gender restrictions, which then leads to an ethical dilemma between preserving the community's values and transmitting material cultural so that it

endures. This situation creates two possibilities for information service providers, with the first being to follow existing hierarchical community values and beliefs, and the second to show greater concern for a fading culture. This could be a serious dilemma, one that involves a conflict with contemporary values about gender. On the one hand, it is important to want to respect traditional beliefs and diversity; on the other hand, it is difficult to respect gender discrimination. Finding a solution is thus problematic. It seems better to give priority to the community to decide about indigenous culture because it involves an ethical decision, such as giving precedence to women while being open-minded about modernisation and maintaining significant characteristics of their culture.

Nakata *et al.* (2005, p.16) add that restricting access to certain knowledge also engages with "age, gender, initiate status, role, and specification restrictions." For example, in terms of cultural respect, during an interview in the Zuni project, Becvar and Srinivasan (2009) indicate that, when the discussion turned to mysterious religious topics or local gossip, issues which could be excluded from the research, the researcher put the pen down to show respect to cultural sensitivity and gain the trust of the community. A similar issue arises in in Lanna culture, in that some traditions are gender restricted. For example: 1) "*Klong Sabadchai*", the folk drum instrument which was used only by men to create a good omen for warriors in times of war and to celebrate past victories is, at present, performed to entertain people at festivals and in tourist places, as a cultural show; and 2) "*Fon Sao Mai*", a local dance for women involving delicate and graceful movements, is today performed by both men and women (Information Technology Service Center (ITSC), 2013; Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2017). Even though they will increase opportunities to transfer traditional culture to younger generations without gender differences or restrictions, the shows have to be carefully considered in term of appropriateness.

PLMs also face the appropriateness dilemma. In the past, men could touch PLMs and were allowed to learn and write LannaTham script. In contrast, women were restricted to weaving wrappers for PLMs and were not permitted to touch PLMs or to study LannaTham scripts for inscribing them onto palm leaves. However, although both genders had different roles, they had the same goal: to support Buddhism and gain merit. On the other hand, it is a positive sign that there is no gender limitation on access to PLMs at present. There is still, however, a debate about whether women should have equal opportunities to manage PLMs or whether gender restrictions preserve a key element of the tradition.

2.6.3 Summary

The management of indigenous knowledge in libraries, archives and museums involves three core elements: authorship, ownership and access rights. In the indigenous concept of authorship, it is difficult to identify an author because there is generally more than one author of the content, and

authorship is not seen as belonging to an individual. Moreover, the names of authors cannot often be clarified due to lack of evidence. These issues lead to another in relation to ownership, in terms of how an author can be considered the owner of the content and claim benefit from the product. Another concern is who the appropriate owner should be: a collection is usually thought to belong to the community. The need to protect indigenous knowledge by classifying it as intellectual property has emerged, due to the fact that Western countries have stolen local knowledge from developing countries. For example, the USA and Japan claimed Thai plants ("*Plaunoi*" and "*KwaoKreu*") and Thai traditional exercise ("*Rusidatton*") as their property by copyrighting them. In terms of access rights, indigenous people have their own belief in hierarchical access restrictions by gender, age, ancestry, clan and status, which local people have always respected and followed. Nowadays, hierarchical access is less prominent, due to recent cultural changes. This raises the issue as to whether it is better to adapt to wider cultural changes and be more flexible or to respect and retain traditional access restrictions. In terms of the management of indigenous knowledge, it is important to listen to the community voice and enable communities to deal with their own cultural collections, as far as possible.

2.7 Traditional structure of libraries, archives and museums (LAMs)

Cook (2012) considers archives to have a role in the creation of a national "imagined community", a term derived from Anderson (2006, p. 6), who refers to the nation as "an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign". This concept helps to clarify the role of other institutions, such as libraries, armies and newspapers, in creating a sense of nationhood among people who do not actually know each other. Thus, the nation is imagined in the sense that it is mediated through writing or joint experiences. For Anderson (2006), such institutions play an important role in creating a nation by telling a clear story about it, including its character and history. To do this they tend to exclude or downplay competing stories that might be equally valid starting points for a national identity for minority communities, which is often seen as dangerous.

According to Anderson (2006), nationalism was created in the mid-nineteenth century by colonial states. His analysis of three institutions of power – the census, the map, and the museum – is that, even if these three institutions existed before the mid-nineteenth century, the way they worked was changed by colonial states. The three instruments helped colonial states to build their own imagined version of empire (Anderson, 2006). Jory (2000, p. 352) sees the census and the map as allowing colonial administrations to illustrate and conceptualise their power and also to design policies based on the ethnic or racial identity of the colonised state, and the museum as an expression of the link between the modern colonial state and ancient civilisation. Libraries are also institutions that manage cultural collections from their own nations and colonies (Jory, 2000).

Thus library classification systems may organise material in ways that privilege a particular account of the history of a country. National libraries as institutions contribute to the development of narratives around a particular version of history.

Brown and Davis-Brown (1998) suggest that libraries, archives and museums are involved in a number of activities, including collection maintenance and development, cataloguing and classification, circulation and access, budgetary and financial issues, and preservation and conservation. Modern libraries, archives and museums often follow the Western tradition; they employ a top-down strategy whereby professionals take control of managing collections. For example, experts manage by making standardised classification decisions (Brown & Davis-Brown, 1998). In terms of repositories, libraries, archives and museums are similar memory institutions that keep cultural resources but achieve their goals in slightly different ways. According to Besser (2004) libraries are user-driven and permit users easy access to information while museums are curator-driven and limit such access. These points notwithstanding, some collections might be more accurately described as research-driven; they are accessible in specific circumstances, where archivists provide content to researchers. However, these institutional practices can overlap, at least to a degree. Libraries are institutions which store and manage printed books, which can be rare but are rarely unique. Unique written documents are generally held in archives. Finally, museums are locations for managing and preserving material objects, which are often rare, old, or represent different cultural periods (Besser, 2004).

In terms of preservation, all information institutions collect information and provide access to the public. Rare and valuable documents are usually held in archives, manuscript libraries or special collections. Cultural information is always included in these documents, and such information is considered worthy of preservation (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009, p. 423; Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 88). Such Western information institutions often use technology to support the conservation and preservation of cultural context and cultural heritage. They also provide access to local knowledge (ALA Office for Information Technology Policy, 2010; Srinivasan, 2012).

All memory institutions have similar targets in managing and preserving collections, even though different institutions oversee different types of material and also have differing professions managing them. Besser (2004) shows that museums, libraries and archives function as depository institutions but may use different methods of access, such as different classification systems. They may also exhibit differences in their respective roles, collections, procedures and levels of cataloguing. To a certain extent, their functions tend to overlap. However, in many cases they can still maintain their complementary roles and characteristics. This means that significant differences exist in terms of the professional cultures of librarians, archivists and curators, many

of whom have different languages and practices. The following section introduces three types of information institution: libraries, archives and museums.

2.7.1 LAMs in Thailand

In the past 100 years, Thailand has followed Western nation-building models and has developed from a Buddhist kingdom into a modern nation-state (Boonaree & Tuamsak, 2012; Jory, 2000). Although Thailand is a country that has never been colonised, it has been influenced by Western education and technology. Jory (2000) indicates that, around 1868-1910, King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) tried to integrate Thailand and its territories, in order to unify them, establishing Thai as the standard national language throughout the country. Furthermore, national education changed from a system influenced by Buddhist learning to one which followed a Western lead. It was intended to show that the nation's civilisation was equal to that of Western countries. The language policy rendered other local languages worthless, including the Lanna language in the upper northern region (Abhakorn, 1997; Jory, 2000).

Jory (2000) argues that the National Library in Thailand also represents an attempt to define Thai civilisation. A national library embodies a national culture, albeit one which often reflects the interests of elite groups, by shaping knowledge as the cultural identity of the nation, in this case Thailand, maintaining raw materials which form the national heritage, and playing a major role in collecting, classifying, preserving and reproducing them (Jory, 2000). The institution has an important role in collection, classification, and preservation. It establishes knowledge of the cultural heritage of the Thai nation (Jory, 2000), although its collection management procedures have also been influenced by Western countries. The collection policies derived from the West have effectively controlled how the Thai National Library defines national culture, influencing the concept of a library as a repository of books which increase knowledge (Jory, 2000).

The media and institutions that represent modern nations reflect the image of Western countries: clocks, novels, newspapers, censuses, maps, museums (Anderson, 2006). In Thailand, the National Library is a significant image of civilisation because it is the place which preserves knowledge of a literary heritage, especially in the form of primary sources such as PLMs, samut khoi manuscripts, stone inscriptions and bound printed volumes (Jory, 2000, p. 352). Jory states that certain groups use institutions like libraries and museums to define the nation and to describe what can be understood as relevant history. Other material is hidden or denigrated. It is a highly political process. In the Thai context, Thailand has long defined by the history of Siam, with Lanna subordinated. Lanna material may have been collected but it was marginalised in the narrative, in order to ensure that Thailand could say that it had a coherent national story, like a Western country. By revaluing Lanna history, including PLMs, it can be seen that there are

alternative histories, not solely the simple story about Thai history that the people who created the National Library wanted to tell.

In terms of LAMs and PLMs, PLMs do not fit neatly into Western systems used to define documents. For example, they are similar to printed books, as would be typically collected in Western libraries, in that there are multiple copies of the same content copied out many times. Yet they are also like material in archives, as they can be unique texts. They are also similar to museum artefacts, as they are often thought of as precious material objects. Given this, how existing theories of community participation might be applied to the management of such material is difficult to evaluate.

2.7.2 Summary

Traditional structures in information institutions such as libraries, archives and museums tend to be top-down vertical hierarchies. Anderson demonstrates the power of such institutions to control and influence the public through the concept of imagined communities. LAMs have the same objective in managing their collections, particularly in terms of preservation and access. In the past, in Thailand, LAMs followed Western practices by focusing on civilisation as nationhood and tended to devalue Lanna culture.

2.8 Community participation in LAMs

The World Health Organization (2002, p. 9) defines community participation as follows:

> *A process by which people are enabled to become actively and genuinely involved in defining the issues of concern to them, in making decisions about factors that affect their lives, in formulating and implementing policies, in planning, developing and delivering services and in taking action to achieve change.*

There is a trend towards community participation. Various fields emphasise community participation in terms of management by community members in the areas that concern them, in order to help each other solve problems collectively. For example, community participation can now be found in development planning (Bamberger, 1988), social development (Midgley, 1986), urban management (Abbott, 1996), road planning (United Nations Center for Human Settlements (Habitat), 1983), geographic information systems (Craig *et al*., 2002) and mental health (Ding *et al*., 2015).

48

Sustainable development employs different levels of community participation, where community members understand this and work to improve their level of engagement to reach sustainability (International Association for Public Participation (IAP2), 2007; World Health Organization, 2002). There are two examples of models for participation. The first was created by the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2) (2007); it is a model for a spectrum of public participation stages related to goals, responsibilities and techniques. It serves as a useful guideline for experts and communities working together as a group and for making decisions concerning the aims and scope of a public engagement project. It contains five levels of community involvement: inform, consult, involve, collaborate, and empower (IAP2, 2007) (Figure 2.9). The IAP2 (2007) model explains the five stages of participation involving collaboration between professionals and the community. At the first level, a professional tells the community what it should do and chooses information to share with the community. The second level allows the community's collective comments to be voiced. Experts provide feedback for the community. The third level is that of collaborative work and further community comments. The fourth level is professional and community work and the taking of decisions. The last level sees the professionals letting communities control and make decisions about projects by themselves. Another example of community participation levels has been provided for tourism development and heritage management (Tosun & Timothy, 2003). Tosun and Timothy (2003) identify three types of community participation in these fields: coercive participation, induced participation, and spontaneous participation. In coercive community participation, communities have no power or voice to make decisions. In induced community participation, they have a voice about the development of their lands, but lack the authority to control decisions. Spontaneous participation is the highest level of community participation, where communities have the power to make decisions and control the development process.

Of these two participation models, IAP2 (2007) can be applied to more areas than can the Tosun and Timothy (2003) model, as the focus of the latter is on business. Although both models feature community control as their ultimate level, the other levels show too many differences. The model offered by Tosun and Timothy (2003) does not engage the community or enable them to co-produce since its aim is to benefit investors rather than the community. IAP2 (2007) is thus a more developed, ethical and community-based model.

IAP Spectrum of Public Participation

Empower

Collaborate

Involve

Consult

Inform

Increasing level of public impact

Inform: Experts provide information to communities

Consult: Experts obtain feedback from communities

Involves: Experts work with communities and provide them with feedback

Collaborate: They work together in making decisions

Empower: Communities make decisions by themselves

Figure 2.9: IAP2 Spectrum of public participation

(Adapted from the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2), 2007)

As top-down processes are largely controlled by professionals, this often means that the collections held in traditional libraries, archives, and museums lack meaning. However, information institutions have become more interested in community participation in recent years. They have thus tended to shift their approach from a top-down model to a more community-based bottom-up system. This study recognises this trend and aims to apply it to PLMs, for each of the three types of information institution. Information institutions employ practitioners in areas such as library and information science, record and archive management, and museology. There are three community issues: respect, community participation, and the roles of experts and communities. With regard to respect, the ALA statement includes the need to respect indigenous cultural material in library collections and to recognise the important responsibilities involved for institutions which deal with indigenous cultural material. This indicates greater awareness of the need to account for community perspectives and practices (ALA Office for Information Technology Policy, 2010). For community participation, librarians and archivists have become very interested in having indigenous communities participate in all procedures, such as acquisition, classification, preservation and access, and working together more generally (ALA Office for Information Technology Policy, 2010). To clarify the change in focus, traditionally

LAMs have been restrictive, with unequal access for different members of the community. Moreover, librarians, archivists and curators have not listened to the community. However, LAMs are now becoming more concerned with inclusive access, organisation and regular access, and involving local people and taking their views into account. The relationship between experts and the community is the last issue concerning community participation. ALA Office for Information Technology Policy (2010) states that collection management as a whole requires initial clarification of the collaboration to take place between the professions and the community.

The following section considers community participation and collaboration in terms of the theoretical models supplied by Srinivasan *et al*., Flinn and Kreps. All these authors focus on community participation and developing collaborative management approaches, so that institutions become more responsive to the community (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009; Flinn, 2007; Kreps, 2003; Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). Srinivasan *et al*. (2007, 2009) propose "community-focused information services" (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009). Another model suggested is "participatory archiving" for archive collections (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). These models could potentially be applied to PLMs. Moreover, these authors have studied indigenous people and knowledge, a field similar to that of community-owners and the content of PLMs. Flinn (2007, 2010), an expert in records and archive management, is one of a number of authors who have written about the concept of "community archives". This is of interest, in that it has led the researcher to consider the role of communities in managing and controlling their own collections. Finally, "indigenous curation" is a term introduced by Kreps (2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2014) in the field of museology. This practice can be seen as similar to PLM management in terms of taking care of cultural objects and their social relations. Thus, this research attempts to identify which approaches developed in the above studies might be applicable to a PLM context. The models which have emerged are also relevant to the issues prompted by globalisation and sustainable development. The study also explores the community participation models in information services that have been used to organise indigenous people's knowledge in other regions of the world. It looks at how people have conceptualised these issues in order to guide possible results in the Lanna case. The following section explains each approach and then compares and contrasts them. The first application of participatory theory below relates to librarianship, and is followed by an exploration of how community participation might be applied to it. A further section considers the same theory in terms of museology; and, finally, it is considered in relation to different models for the management of indigenous cultural material.

2.8.1 Participatory theory in librarianship

Sinclair-Sparvier and Mangan (2008) launched the International Indigenous Librarians' Forum (IILF) in 1999. The IILF created a global community to exchange ideas on best practice in libraries, museums, archives and educational institutions. This forum met several times between 1999 and 2011 to develop the community concept and to reach its main goals: the improvement of indigenous information, better collection management, and improved services for indigenous clients. Although various organisations appear to protect indigenous knowledge, they fail to acknowledge fully the significance of how indigenous people can be involved in every part of the work. As a result, in librarianship, there needs to be greater focus on collaboration in library and information services for indigenous people (Becvar & Srivanasan, 2009).

In particular, there are two factors that should be emphasised in relation to well-organised information. First, Drabinski (2013) and Knowlton (2005) state that librarians have traditionally been trained in logical and systematic ways, and have tried to adopt theoretical knowledge and practical experience into their work to create well-organised information, as can be seen through Library of Congress Classification (LCC), Library of Congress Subject Headings (LCSH), and Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC). However, Berman (1971) shows how such systems were founded on questionable structures involving prejudices in relation to religion, gender, race, and social stratification. For example, DDC classified Christianity as a major religion while Buddhism, Islam and Hinduism were classified as minor. Moreover, "homosexuality" was treated as a sub-division of "sexual deviance". Another aspect was the requirement for communities to arrange their knowledge in a particular way.

The greater the trust in community, the more holistic the knowledge that emerges. To stress that indigenous knowledge should be comprehended and more widely understood, the ALA Office for Information Technology Policy (2010) launched a policy called "Librarianship and traditional cultural expressions: nurturing understanding and respect". This was intended to build knowledge of the holistic cycle in cultural values and beliefs.

2.8.1.1 Community-focused information services in Becvar and Srinivasan (2009)

Srinivasan has challenged librarianship and archival theory by calling for institutions to engage indigenous people in every area of the management of collections relating to their heritage (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009; Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). This means that cultural heritage should be managed from the bottom up. Librarians and archivists have to trust the community, and in practice this means an inclusive approach to the community, whereby people of different ages, genders and backgrounds have the opportunity to engage in the way their community collections are managed (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009; Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007).

Recently, library science has shown an interest in community-focused information services which offer people from the community the opportunity to meet local needs. The community-focused information services model involves collaboration between librarians and indigenous people to reduce the effect of cultural insensitivity and create well-organised information (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009; Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). The main purposes of the community-focused information services model are as follows: 1) preserving and promoting a cultural and ethnic heritage; and 2) serving marginalised communities to enable cultural revitalisation (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009).

As librarians play an important role in helping an indigenous community to preserve and share its culture and knowledge, including responding to the actual needs of the community, librarians need to encourage the communities involved to create and share meaning. However, Becvar and Srinivasan (2009) suggest that the key problem with collaboration between researchers and professional practice in librarianship is that it has failed to bring out the important aspect of cultural difference in terms of how information flows inside communities. For example, researchers have collaborated with communities in the following ways: 1) NorthStarNet, linking Chicago's sprawling suburbs; 2) Artention San Miguel, a community newsletter for San Miguel de Allende in Mexico; and 3) The Bethlehem, a digital history project in Pennsylvania (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009). From these examples, it can be seen that the authors are promoting community-focused information services, providing a resource for service users as a community through the use of technology. The community can take then part in creating and sharing its own information. However, the methods that libraries employ, such as community-focused information service resources, still offer limited access, often due to hierarchies of social status (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009). For example, in the Warumungu community in Tennant Creek, Australia, community members are allowed access by means of their family networks and ancestor regions. Gender also restricts access to information in that the ancestral song series can only be sung by women. Moreover, librarians have not always provided procedures to ensure that staff recognise the importance of cultural differences when sharing and exchanging information, such as at the PictureAnnArbor project in Michigan, which shares images and documents; at SkokieNet, a public library; and, especially, at the Afya project in Illinois, USA, which uses action-based methods. These projects do, nevertheless, use local people's stories and language in presenting their cultural material (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009). (See Section 6.5.2 for further discussion.)

To create information access systems to capture the cultural diversity of knowledge resources and ensure effective retrieval, Boast *et al.* (2007) propose the Emergent Database, Emergent Diversity (ED^2) concept for improving digital resources and making them available, in collaboration with many local communities from different geographical areas.

Becvar and Srinivasan (2009) judge that successful collaboration requires the researcher to pay attention to appropriate rights and ethics, and to be sensitive about access, such as by respecting the confidentiality of certain cultural information. In addition, another key to success rests in trusting local researchers to collect data and control the outcome of research projects involving technological systems and publications. These factors mean that research outcomes will be responsive, relevant and attentive to the needs of the community. Becvar and Srinivasan (2009) also find successful examples of community-focused information services (CIS) in collaborative projects, particularly one involving participation by the Zuni Native American Tribe. This project saw the creation of an online catalogue called "Recontextualizing Digital Objects". Other examples are a project between the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and the Heritage Centre of Zuni in New Mexico, the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, England, and the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009).

According to Becvar and Srinivasan (2009), there are ten main concepts within community-focused information service practices. Four of these are basic concepts founded on theories of community: appraisal, in that a community acts as the selector and collector of its own records; provenance, in the sense that a community is the author of its records; description, as a community provides its own governance; and community participation, in which the emphasis is on a community being involved at every level of the management of its information. These four basic elements are similar to those offered within other theories on the same subject. In terms of general concepts underpinning this theory, four elements are employed. The first is provenance, in the sense that a community always owns its cultural heritage. The next is collection, in which experts and communities tend to create and collect data through oral transmission. The third is storage, where published works are generally housed in information institutions. The last is preservation and continuity, with the project, often temporary, being created by the community, where local people can be supported by experts in using technology to promote preservation and conservation. Across these significant concepts, there are important practices covering three different issues. The first concerns types of material, with the theory usually focusing on published works. The second relates to appropriateness, where experts and outsiders who are involved with communities should be made aware of and respect restrictions based on hierarchy, identity, power and preservation when accessing indigenous knowledge. This suggests that experts should respect traditional access restrictions established by local people. The last important concept within this theory is access, which covers the making available of records; access for users is the priority target in disseminating local knowledge. One area of concern in allowing greater community access is the relationship between experts and the community. This requires time so that trust might be built within a community when outsiders seek access to community property (Table 2.1).

Community-focused information services		
1	Appraisal	Community-led
2	Provenance	Community-authored
		Community-owned
3	Description	Community-provided description
4	Community governance and community participation	Involved at every level
5	Collection	Create collection from oral tradition
6	Aim	Access
7	Storage location	Housed within an information institution
8	Preservation and continuity	New initiative
		Project-based & time-bound
		Use technology for conservation & preservation
9	Appropriate access	Respect traditional access restrictions
10	Types of material	Published works

Table 2.1: Community-focused information services model

2.8.2 Participatory theory in archives

Cook (2012) tracks the evolution of archival practice over the last 150 years, dividing it into four phases. The first was based on bodies of evidence. Archivists fulfilled the role of guardians or "passive curators". The second phase concerned archival sources of historical memory in modern times. The third phase was that of post-modernity, which saw a greater focus on identity by "social mediators". The fourth stage, the contemporary period, places stronger emphasis on the community. In this era, the archivist is seen as a "community facilitator". As such, the archivist facilitates a process where the community decides what to collect (Cook, 2012). A more recent role of the archivist is that of a mentor, facilitator and trainer working together with the community (Cook, 2012). These new types of archivist can manage collections through "a participatory process" in appraising and describing material, and in preserving long-lasting values. This is because community-based archiving can reflect the many traditions and cultures which archivists can acquire and interpret from indigenous people (Cook, 2012). It is argued that, in the digital age, communities can engage and communicate in a more democratic and holistic process. Archivists, on the other hand, can increasingly listen to and respect the voices of indigenous people. Community-based archiving can thus create more holistic archives by expanding the concepts of evidence and memory and enhancing the archivist's role and identity. A new pattern for maintaining collections in the community can be developed, whereby a collection becomes the property of the authorised community. The community is thus considered a more suitable cultural repository, as it can take care of its own collections (Cook, 2012).

Huvila (2015) suggests that enthusiasm in participation might produce more effective results but that there are three issues that might decrease productive outcomes. The first is time: limitations

could create problems in the case of different people having different focuses. Aligned to this is the second issue, that of focus: there could be various matters that people choose to people focus on. Lastly, expressions of enthusiasm could be affected by how people interpret and value them.

Two practices within participatory theory for archives have thus been selected for further examination due to their similarity with issues arising in PLM management: participatory archiving as developed by Shilton and Srinivasan (2007), and community archives as described in a number of works by Flinn (2007, 2010).

2.8.2.1 Participatory archiving in Shilton and Srinivasan (2007)

Srinivasan shows that not only should librarianship be centred on community-focused information services and understand cultural difference and sensitivity, but also that archival practices, such as participatory archiving and community archiving, have begun to underline the contextual value in cultural records (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). All these trends promote creativity, enhance cultural diversity and preserve cultural heritage (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). Both librarianship and archival practices have developed collaborative frameworks to preserve and promote cultural heritage. These are the culturally sensitive model and the participatory archiving model. According to Shilton and Srinivasan (2007), the participatory archiving model offers many benefits to both the researcher and the community, and it also allows communities to communicate with the public in their own voice, rather than simply have someone speak for them.

The most essential management factor in archival theory is one designed to preserve contextual value in cultural records stored in archives, manuscript libraries, and special collections. Thus the participatory archiving model was created to facilitate community involvement during the appraisal, arrangement, and description phases of establishing an archival record (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). The participatory archiving model comprises three steps: appraisal, provenance, and ordering (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). According to Shilton and Srinivasan (2007), in terms of appraisal, archivists encourage communities to select from their valued collections which records they would like to preserve. For provenance, in terms of authorship and creation, archivists inspire community members to choose how authorship of the record should be recorded. Finally, in terms of ordering, archivists ask community participants to explain their relationship with the collection and how contextual knowledge might be shared with the public. This model could be used for record management and has a similar aspect to the community-focused information services model, which also gives priority to the community (Figure 2.10).
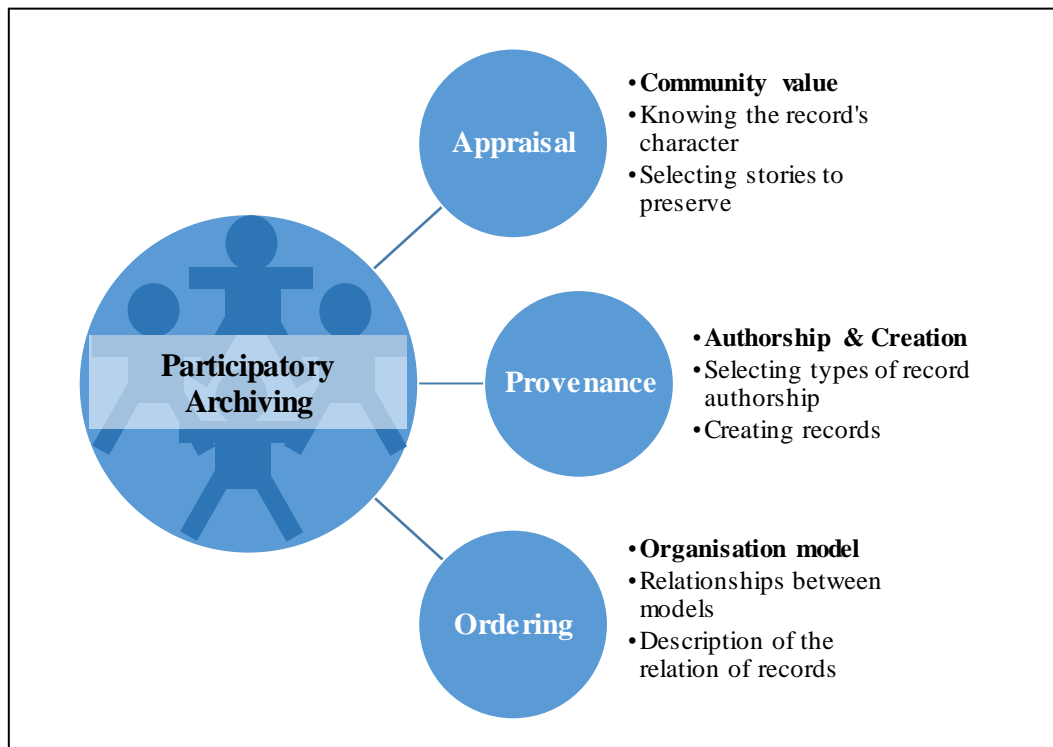
Figure 2.10 Participatory archiving model

(Adapted from Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007, p. 98)

So that the overall participatory archiving model might be simplified, there are ten concepts which should be assessed. The four basic elements – appraisal, provenance, description, and community governance and community participation – are similar to those in the theory described previously. Then, the four general concepts are collection, aim, storage location, and preservation and continuity. The crucial concept here is that this model targets the preservation of documents. The other three concepts have already been mentioned and are similar to those within the theory of community-focused information services. With regard to the most significant ideas, two issues emerge. The first important element is the type of material, in that this model often stresses the collection of unique documents and also depends on the attitudes of those community members who decide which material should be collected, whether objects or books. Another vital concept, that of embeddedness, is addressed here as the description of documents within their social relations (Table 2.2).

Participatory archiving		
1	Appraisal	Community-led
2	Provenance	Community-authored
3	Description	Community-provided description
4	Community governance and community participation	Involved at every level
5	Collection	Create collection from oral tradition
6	Aim	Preservation
7	Embeddedness	Embedded locally within social context
8	Storage location	Housed within information institution
9	Preservation and continuity	New initiative
		Project-based & time-bound
		Use technology for conservation & preservation
10	Types of material	Unique documents

Table 2.2: Participatory archiving model

2.8.2.2 Community archives in Flinn (2007) and others

Related to the participatory archiving model, the concept of community archives was conceived by Flinn (2007) and others, who identified it as a social trend and then advocated community-based control over local material. Flinn found community members in the UK to be increasingly creating their own collections. Other authors have looked at similar developments in other countries (for example, Dearstyne, 2000; National Library of New Zealand; 2005; New York State Archives, 1988). Gilliland's (2012) VIA framework captures the main aspects of such projects in terms of motivation, community characteristics, material collected, and policy. The practices of community archiving include creation, collection, ownership, storage, preservation, access, dissemination, and community and expert engagement (Flinn, 2007; Stevens *et al*., 2010). The practice of community archiving happens typically because government and other state-supported archives, especially those managed by local governments, have failed to collect important material relating to community members' interests and concerns, so community members start to choose and create collections by themselves (Flinn, 2007). The common term used to describe this neglect of content selection and minority groups is "symbolic annihilation" (Caswell *et al*., 2016). In contrast, the expression "representational belonging" is used to denote participants' preferences; it articulates a positive result for communities who drive projects (Caswell *et al*., 2016; Caswell *et al*., 2017).

Community archives, focus on community participation and demonstrate a concern for community needs and cultural respect. While collections in formal archives are collected and looked after by archivists, community archives tend to be created by marginalised groups such as

LGBT people and black people who have found that formal archives and formal institutions often overlook the context and history of their lives (Gilliland & Flinn, 2013).

To offer further explanation of the features and characteristics of community archives, collections, form, and aims and objectives should be addressed (Gilliland & Flinn, 2013). Community archives create and gather together various different forms of collection because such collections are made by the communities themselves. Therefore, they can contain anything believed to be important and can range across many formats: for example, books, documents, photographs, newspapers, CDs, and music. In this respect, such collections are different from formal archives, which tend to focus on documents and manuscripts. In terms of the form of community archives, as the name itself suggests, they can actually consist of anything based on community participation. Community archives tend to begin from a project based around a few people and collect both physical and digital formats. Community archives are "living archives" in that they are concerned with 'now' and making change in society now. They are often celebrations of community activists and movements. Moreover, community archives can be seen as forms of cultural liberation, as looking for content that has been forgotten or distorted, and concerned with local issues and based in the community. They look to redescribe the past and often focus on content which is culturally sensitive. They aim to supply motivation to communities by involving them in controlling their history or documents. Furthermore, community archives generally seek to play a role in achieving social change; they function as centres of activism and participate in social or political movements. As a consequence of this, the physical buildings in which community archives are often significant in terms of offering safe spaces for the commuity.

Flinn (2007, p.153) states that "Community histories or community archives are the grassroots activities of documenting, recording and exploring community heritage in which community participation in and control and ownership of the project are essential." For example, there is "rukus!", the black cultural archive in London, where people select objects from their own collections. Another community archive is Eastside Community Heritage in Ilford, London, where people manage the collection locally by keeping it in digital form and transferring original documents to the archives of the local borough (Flinn, 2010). Communities tend to create community archives because state and official archives often fail to collect and store what the community considers to be of most value and importance. Therefore, communities often establish their own projects in order to create and collect content they feel represents their experience. They thus often create local collections, including documents, oral histories and a wide variety of artefacts (Flinn, 2007, 2010). To summarise Flinn's work on community archives, there are four main concepts: community archives always collect unique documents as their type of material;

they focus on access to information; they house collections locally; and the community takes part in creation, control and consultation (Table 2.3).

Community archives		
1	Appraisal	Community-led
2	Provenance	Community-authored
		Community-owned
3	Description	Community-provided description
4	Community governance and community participation	Community control, decision-making and rule-setting
		Involved at every level
		Community consulted
5	Collection	Create collection from oral tradition
6	Aim	Access
7	Storage location	Housed locally
8	Preservation and continuity	New initiative
		Project-based & time-bound
9	Types of material	Unique documents

Table 2.3: Community archives model

To clarify Flinn's (2007 & 2010) ideas regarding the practices of community archives, six factors are worth considering: aim, collection, classification, storage, preservation, and community participation. In terms of aim, communities focus on sharing, access, protection and preservation of their collections. They also use technology such as digitisation for preservation. According to Flinn, for collection and classification, community archives are new creations which often contain content related to political beliefs, activism and social movements. A community stores its collection in its own area. For preservation, Flinn sees these new initiatives as typically project-based and time-bound, so they may be temporary, which means that this model could be seen as unsustainable. However, even with this limitation in mind, even impermanent projects could still stimulate people to become aware of the importance of unique documents. According to Flinn (2007, 2010), community archives are managed by community members who control their collections with their expertise and knowledge. Should they feel they need advice in a specific area, such as preservation or technology, they can ask experts to provide specialist information. In general, trained archivists are not usually in control of community archives. Sometimes the community will draw on their support, but not always. This represents a shift in archival thinking, as archivists begin to recognise the profound value of community knowledge. At the same time, archivists are increasingly coming to understand the importance of community expertise; they now often invite community members to be consultants for their archives, as is the case with the National Archives (Flinn, 2007 & 2010).

There are four roles for community participation in collections in the UK: custody, collection, curation and dissemination, and training and consultancy. Custody refers to ways in which community members assume the right to take care of their collections. This can be seen, for example, at Eastside Community Heritage, where community members have chosen to keep their collection in digital form and return the physical documents to the borough archives (Stevens *et al.*, 2010). The second role involves collection, where community members gather the material of their choice, and sometimes work with local LAMs to maintain it. For instance, Northamptonshire Black History delivered its collection to the Northamptonshire Record Office (Stevens *et al.*, 2010). The third role is that of curation and dissemination. For example, rukus! engaged with a museum in London to create an exhibition. Community members picked out material from their collection, while the curator supported the technological work and the meeting of community needs (Steven *et al.*, 2010). The last role is training and consultancy, whereby community archivists can both request training from experts and offer to act as mentors to archivists over specific knowledge. For example, Lambeth local government archivists support rukus! through training, workshops, lectures and seminars, and direct engagement with volunteers (Stevens *et al.*, 2010). Moreover, rukus! helps the Lambeth archive to display the collection and increase visitor numbers. Other projects with community participation are the Bengali Coral History project and Moroccan Memories, where communities have engaged with archivists to create their own collections (Stevens *et al.*, 2010). There are more examples in the United States of America of community-based initiatives in archives. The SAADA project, for instance, is the South Asian American Digital Archive project, a community-created tool accessed through a website (Caswell *et al.*, 2016; Gilliland & Flinn, 2013).

2.8.3 Participatory theory in museology

The practice of new museology relates to management of Lanna cultural material, which is similarly concerned with participation in the community and its heritage collection. Even though this study is not focused on museums, museum theory is relevant here because some of it concerns the ways that material can be collected and organised by a community. Similar cultural materials, such as PLMs and mulberry paper documents, have likewise been collected by museums, libraries and archives (Jory, 2005). Therefore, practices in libraries, archives and museums can be quite similar. The current movement in ideas relating to community participation in museums parallels ideas about libraries and archives, which increasingly emphasise the relations between communities and collections. A discussion of this topic is provided below, particularly in terms of the change from museology to new museology, and the features of indigenous curation. Following this, the politics of culture and control are discussed. Finally, the relationship between museums and source communities is detailed.

In the past 40 years, many important changes have been seen in museology theory, especially the move away from professional knowledge and authority to the concept of community-based museums. In this sense, source communities are now very much welcome to work alongside museum staff (Peers & Brown, 2003; Simpson, 2001). Peers and Brown (2003) define a source community as the community from which an artefact was taken or collected in the past; it could also be the descendent community. The term "originating community" might also be used. Source communities are coming increasingly to have a more active role in the artefact presentation process. Museums and source communities work together on an equal footing, sharing skills and knowledge, and displaying objects appropriately, with cultural sensitivity and concern (Kelly & Gordon, 2002; Peers & Brown, 2003; Simpson, 2001). This feature can be referred to as co-management, involving collaborative and community-based research. Sometimes museum staff and community members can negotiate and facilitate suitable schemes, such as storing and displaying cultural material in an appropriate manner (Peers and Brown, 2003; Simpson, 2001). The relationship between a museum and a source community builds trust and returns heritage to the source community (Peers & Brown, 2003), raising pride in cultural identity. Similar changes in philosophy are now occurring in libraries and archives.

According to Peers and Brown (2003), the relationship between museums and source communities is a key issue that both must address. The topics of most concern are power and authority, commitment, control, and learning. Moreover, building trust in each other is the most important part of the overall process. A strong relationship supports the administrative work and innovation will result. A relationship of this kind promotes learning and progress. Museum staff can learn from community members and thus gain an alternative perspective on their work (Peers & Brown, 2003).

2.8.3.4 Indigenous curation in Kreps (1998, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008 & 2010)

In characterising the collaboration between museum and source communities, Kreps (2008, p. 26) defines the term "appropriate museology", an equivalent to "indigenous curation", as "an approach to museum development and training that adapts museum practices and strategies for cultural heritage preservation to local cultural contexts and socioeconomic conditions. Ideally, it is a bottom-up, community-based approach that combines local knowledge and resources with those of professional museum work to better meet the needs and interests of a particular museum and its community". Indigenous people engage in such activities through the co-curation of collections (Kreps, 1998). This approach appeared after the post-colonial critique of Western museums and museology; it emphasises the relationship between museums and cultural and human rights (Kreps, 2010). Indigenous curation has thus developed to preserve and share cultural

heritage sensitively, to take care of ethnic issues, and to raise pride in ethnic identity (Kreps, 2010; Simpson, 2001).

A more recent concept of curatorship is that proposed by Kreps (2003), who refers to indigenous curation as a non-Western museum model for use in curatorial methods and aspects of cultural heritage. The concept covers value, collection, interpretation, representation, preservation, storage and display. The emphasis here is on establishing relationships among local communities, their own objects, and their position and function in society. Kreps's idea focuses on community-based management of cultural collections, and engagement with academic museum staff to support community needs (Kreps, 2008).

Kreps (1998, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008 & 2010) explains that, rather than putting objects in museums, it should be possible to see how things are already used and preserved within the social practices in which they were created. Respecting existing social practices ties the objects to their real contexts of use in a far superior way. In Western museology, material is often taken out of context and put in a glass case for public viewing. This produces a particular and artificial type of viewing and relationship between "the visitor" and "the material".

Whereas traditional Lanna cultural objects, such as those in shrines, retain their uses, access to them may be limited. There are indigenous views on curation, though they may not be exactly in line with formal, scientific models (Kreps, 2006). Kreps (2006 & 2014) has studied cultural collections in South-east Asia, including Indonesia and Thailand, finding that different cultures have their own ways of looking after treasured objects. These practices should be understood and valued. When she looked at Thai monastery museums, which express ancient traditions, she understood how important it was to respect sacred artefacts in museums. This could be an issue, one linked to a religion's spiritual values (Kreps, 2014); it might pose problems for Western museums, but in Thailand there has long been a tradition of storing, preserving and collecting Buddhist objects. Temple museums are less secular institutions. Such objects have a direct link to the present day through ceremonies and events. They are thus regularly used in community religious festivals and ceremonies (Kreps, 2014). Kreps's ideas match the view that PLMs as cultural collections should be preserved in community locations, such as monasteries. Moreover, social relations are connected to objects. For example, PLMs are touchable, as are their woven wrappers and other compositional elements; monks or custodians tell stories about their PLMs; and PLMs can be reproduced as part of the preservation process. Although Kreps's earliest study focuses on Indonesia, she shows that the Indonesian and Thai contexts are similar (Kreps, 1998), and her subsequent studies are more general (Kreps, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010) and so have wider applicability.

While there are eleven aspects used to describe the overall practices of indigenous curation, seven are most significant: aim, type of material, collection, embeddedness, storage location, preservation and continuity, and dissemination (Kreps, 2006, 2014). In terms of aim, type of material and collection, the goal of indigenous curation is to preserve material objects which already exist as items of cultural heritage. For embeddedness, communities attach meanings in social contexts to objects and phenomena, particularly in a religious sense, with spiritual power and making merit at the forefront. With regard to storage location, cultural collections tend to be kept in shrines and temples, which means that the community houses its collection locally (Kreps, 1998, 2006, 2014). In terms of preservation and continuity, there is often a local culture of preservation, where community members preserve artefacts by restoring and refreshing such material. Sometimes they renew the collection by replacing older artefacts with a newer collection or by repainting the original objects. Finally, for dissemination, communities exhibit their cultural collections within living traditions. They tend to display objects intended for everyday use (Kreps, 2006, 2014) (Table 2.4).

Indigenous curation	
1 Appraisal	Community-led
2 Provenance	Community-authored
3 Description	Community-provided description
4 Community governance and community participation	Involved at every level
5 Collection	Exists as cultural object
6 Aim	Preservation
7 Embeddedness	Embedded locally within social context
8 Storage location	Housed locally
9 Preservation and continuity	Ritual ceremony
	Renew/ reproduce
10 Dissemination	Exhibition in living tradition
11 Types of material	Material objects

Table 2.4: Indigenous curation in Buddhist cultures model

2.8.4 Protocols for libraries and archives and indigenous people for best practice to adopt the participatory concept

Many information institutions, the libraries, archives and museums which manage indigenous collections and cultural heritage, have created protocols for best practice of community respect and involvement which are intended to guide librarians, archives and curators. They supply guidelines about the management of cultural collections and how indigenous people might be engaged to play a role in collaborative management. The protocols have been developed based on the need to hear the voices of indigenous communities, for use as best indigenous practice for libraries and archives to participate with communities in order to create collaborative and positive relationships as well as to manage collections in cultural sensitive ways (First Archivists Circle, n.d.; Thorpe, 2013; Underhill, 2006). Several examples of such protocols can be found in the United States of America and Australia: Native American Archival Materials, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Library Resource Network (ATSILIRN), State Records New South Wales (SRNSW) and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Data Archive (ATSDA) (Thorpe, 2013). Such protocols typically pursue the same three aims. The first is to increase awareness of the needs of indigenous people and diverse communities. The second is to fill gaps in their histories that have so far been disconnected. The third is to educate and train library and archive staff members to understand cross-cultural issues (First Archivists Circle, n.d.; Thorpe, 2013; Underhill, 2006).

The protocol for Native American Archival Materials (First Archivists Circle, n.d.; Underhill, 2006) provides ten principles: building relationships of mutual respect; striving for balance in content and perspective; accessibility and use; culturally sensitive materials; providing context; Native American intellectual property issues; copying and repatriation of records to Native American communities; Native American research protocols; reciprocal education and training; and awareness of Native American communities and issues. ATSILIRN, in turn, has twelve procedures; governance and management, content and perspectives; intellectual property; accessibility and use; description and classification; secret, sensitive or sacred materials; issues of offence; staffing; developing professional practice; awareness of aboriginal and Torres Strait islander issues; copying and repatriation of records to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities; and the digital environment (ATSILIRN, 2012; Thorpe, 2013). For SRNSW, there are five main aspects: respect, cultural diversity, communication and consultation, accessibility, and preservation. With regard to ATSDA, there are three procedures to manage research data archives for aboriginal and Torres Strait islanders. The first principle is respect; this concerns indigenous people and their culture, engaging indigenous people to manage collections and play a role in decision-making, and the rights and interests of indigenous people. The second principle is trust, about trust in the data preserved, creating a powerful relationship between indigenous

people and information institutions, and the right of authorship. The third principle is engagement, which focuses on returning indigenous knowledge to the community (Thorpe, 2013).

There are nine main examples of protocols which show how to manage indigenous collections: participation, respect, ownership, material description, content, secret and sacred, copyright, awareness and access. In the sense of participation, all three protocols emphasise having indigenous people engaged in managing documents, collections and services to ensure that collections in information institutions are managed in appropriate and culturally sensitive ways. In more detail, ATSILIRN protocols stress collaboration between information professionals and aboriginal and Torres Strait people as consultants. Information institutions should have a high awareness of indigenous people and their issues. This sense of participation within ATSILIRN is similar to the ATSIDA, SRNSW and Native America Archival Material protocols which emphasise the engagement of indigenous people in management and their involvement in decision-making (Thorpe, 2013). SRNSW requires that indigenous people are involved in decisions concerning sacred or secret, offensive or sensitive material. Indigenous people should also take part in decisions designed to make services better. An effective example of listening to the voices of indigenous people is the 'In Living Memory Exhibition and NSW Tour' (SRNSW, 2013b). This form of engagement and collaborative participation can help to create a sustainable relationship (Thorpe, 2013).

In terms of respect, the protocols address the issue that respect for indigenous people is crucial. As an example, the Native American Archival Materials protocol stresses the creation of a balanced relationship, one which allows trust with the Native American community to develop. The protocols also suggest that librarians and archivists should consider communication, negotiation and patience issues (First Archivists Circle, n.d.; Underhill, 2006). ATSIDA further highlights that, to protect people and culture, indigenous people should be involved in decision-making, and that the rights and interests of indigenous people are the matters to which librarians and archivists should pay attention (Thorpe, 2013).

Ownership is another issue covered. For example, ATSILRN reminds librarians and archivists that they should realise that indigenous people are the rightful owners of the collections (ATSILIRN, 2012; Thorpe, 2013).

With regard to material description, ATSILRN states that authority should be given to indigenous people to provide such descriptions. The protocol also suggests applying national thesauri to describe material, documents and collections. It would better to have an agreed standard for description tools and metadata in areas of indexing terminology, subject headings and classification systems (ATSILIRN, 2012; Thorpe, 2013).

In terms of content issues, ATSILRN (2012) states that information institutions should consult appropriate indigenous people about collections in order to achieve balanced content. The

protocol also focuses on promoting the existence and availability of collections. Moreover, protocols for Native American Archival Materials suggest that the content may contain offensive meanings and terms; preparation should be made for this by providing culturally sensitivity statements and terms (First Archivists Circle, n.d.; Underhill, 2006).

For secret and sacred materials, ATSILRN (2012) requires limits to access because some material might contain sensitive or confidential matters. The protocol suggests that efforts should be made to discover which content within the material could be secret or sacred.

For the issue of copyright, the protocols provide guidance to protect indigenous traditional knowledge and cultural heritage. Protocols for Native American Archival Materials state that information services should provide and prepare assistance over matters that US copyright overlooks; they should focus on issues such as communal ownership, culturally sensitive documents, historical work, and oral work. Also, they should offer protection in digital formats (Underhill, 2006). ATSILRN (2012) aims to raise awareness about cultural documents and strengthen moral rights around indigenous culture.

For issues surrounding awareness, the protocols seek to promote the importance of traditional knowledge to aid others to understand more about indigenous peoples and cultures (ATSILRN, 2012). In terms of this process, the protocols for both Native American Archival Materials and ATSILRN seek to stimulate general interest by letting librarians and archivists take a proactive role in being educators, to increase the value of and knowledge about indigenous people, culture and issues (ATSILRN, 2012; First Archivists Circle, n.d.; Underhill, 2006). The issues here concern collection, ownership, preservation, management, access and use (First Archivists Circle, n.d.; Underhill, 2006). Moreover, several protocols, including ATSILRN, SRNSW and Native American Archival Materials, suggest promoting the importance of indigenous people and formal institutions by activities such as tours, exhibitions, websites, teaching, classes, workshops, storytelling, publications and celebrations (ATSILRN, 2012; First Archivists Circle, n.d.; Thorpe, 2013; Underhill, 2006).

The last main concern is access. ATSILRN (2012) offers a strong example of best practice for librarians and archivists by providing a friendly environment to help indigenous people feel more comfortable to use and find information in institutions. This serves to engage indigenous people to in the creation and design processes. In more detail, information services could improve their resources and services to meet indigenous people's needs by consulting and working with indigenous people.

2.8.5 Similarities among libraries, archives and museology

Information institutions such as libraries, archives and museums provide various forms of collaborative management with indigenous people, such as frameworks, models, and protocols. From the above participatory theories, there are many common aspects employed by libraries, archives and museums that have adopted collaborative management with community members or community-based management, particularly in the sense that they offer a range of similar activities along a shared spectrum. All such institutions seek ways to work with indigenous people or community members around sensitive culturally material in an appropriate manner. The key concerns are to respect traditional knowledge (cultural diversity) and culturally sensitive material (secret, sacred, appropriateness), to listen to the voice of community, and to be aware of indigenous knowledge. Thus all the thinking in this area can be seen as having a strong sense of similarity, with some variations along a spectrum. While the concept of community participation has taken root to some extent in information institutions, community archives are created by communities themselves to collect and control the material that has so far been misrepresented. Moreover, community archives tend to be project-based and not as sustainable as formal institutions. While community archives have slightly different origins, they are concerned with the same issues as other information institutions (Flinn, 2007; 2010; Gilliland & Flinn, 2013). All of them provide procedures to manage cultural collections: authorship, ownership, classification, preservation (library, archival, and indigenous curation (museology) involves continuity with long-standing traditions as part of its renewal/reproduction process and stresses the social context of collections, for example rituals, ceremonies and making merit. They also use technologies such as digitisation in preservation), access (respect restrictions on access, according to factors such as hierarchy, gender, age, ethnicity and the occupations of community members), promotion (indigenous curation and archiving emphasise exhibitions of material within a living tradition), and community participation (There are also similarities surrounding other features: whether the service is community-led or community-authored, whether there is a community-provided description, and whether community members are involved at every level) (ATSILIRN, 2012, Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009; First Archivists Circle. (n.d.), Gilliland, 2012; Kreps, 2005; Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007; Thorpe, 2013; Underhill; 2006).

While there is much common ground across thinking around participation, there are a few areas of difference along a spectrum. Two important areas are: a) the nature of collections involved b) the extent of participation. Sometimes collections reflect classic western distinctions between libraries, archives and museums in terms of what is collected. Sometimes the collections do not make these discriminations. The second is the degree of participation and governance. In some models it is simply a library/archive consulting a particular community about existing holdings. In other cases, such as in many community archives, it is a community empowered through it

creating, managing and governing a collection by themselves, perhaps without any professional involvement. This also raises the issue of who might be suitable community members to work with information organisations.

2.8.6 Summary

Recently, traditional LAM structures, which have tended to emphasise nationalism and hierarchy, and have focused on professional skills and control rather than community empowerment, have shifted their focus. There is now a much greater interest in being more participatory. LAMs have thus become more interested in community participation, at least according to the authors discussed here. The goal is to ensure that all such institutions move towards making communities more robust and sustainable entities (Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), 2007). All the different forms of information institution focus on community participation in terms of issues around responding to indigenous people's needs, respecting sensitive matters arising from documents, including secret and sacred topics, raising awareness of the value of indigenous culture and knowledge, developing access to collections, and over collections, ownership, preservation, management, access, use, dissemination and training.

2.9 Conclusion

LAMs have similar functions in managing their collections in terms of acquisition, classification, preservation, access, service and dissemination. To achieve greater social benefit requires cooperation and participation from indigenous people. In addition, information institutions need to make sure that indigenous knowledge is presented to the public in the form and manner that indigenous communities require, which should reduce levels of public misinterpretation or misunderstanding. Frameworks and protocols from many parts of the world, such as the United States of America, Australia and the United Kingdom, have been launched by formal information institutions such as libraries, archives and museums, and also by communities themselves, the latter called community archives. Srinivasan (2007 & 2009), Flinn (2007 & 2010) and Kreps (1998, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008 & 2010) have created models which aim to raise awareness of indigenous peoples' voices among librarians, archivists and curators. Best practices have also been provided as protocols to give guidance to librarians, archivists and curators of how to work with indigenous people, cultures and knowledge, as well as suitable roles for indigenous people to engage in management procedures to improve resources, services and descriptions in order to make collections available to others and themselves. Unfortunately, there is no predetermined model which fits every local community in terms of the creation of information services; this depends on an individual community's cultural characteristics, so researchers need to develop suitable guidelines and respond to the real needs of each community. In the case of PLMs,

research is needed to identify how well these models fit local requirements. Participation by indigenous people will lead to a better understanding of PLM culture and to the adoption of Lanna knowledge in a globalised context so as to manage PLMs more properly. The terms "authorship" and "ownership" require clarification, with a formal agreement needing to be made at the very beginning of the project. Indigenous knowledge should also be paid due attention, and community culture, traditions and beliefs, which may involve restrictions on access rights to indigenous knowledge, should be respected. This study explores the place of PLMs in Lanna culture and aims to determine the most effective way to manage PLMs, based on community needs and preferences. The views of community members and experts need to be determined, in order to ascertain the similarities and differences between three main factors: 1) the perceived value of PLMs; 2) how PLMs should be managed in terms of authorship, ownership, classification and cataloguing, preservation, access and community participation; and 3) how the Lanna community should participate in PLM management. A community-based model underpins this study, which aims to ensure the creation of an effective and inclusive system for PLM management.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains and justifies the research methodology, research design, data collection and data analysis methods used in the study. Firstly, the philosophical assumptions, those underpinning the research, namely ontology and epistemology, are explained. The research philosophy directs the research approach and research design. The study could be described as interview-based qualitative research. Following this, the research design and data collection techniques employed are explained. The research is spilt into two phases, a pilot and the main study, the latter using semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and a photo inventory. Next, the data analysis method and the ethics of conducting the research are explained. The final part discusses research quality criteria for producing valuable research.

3.2 Research philosophy and approach

3.2.1 Research philosophies: ontology and epistemology

Saunders *et al*. (2009, p. 600) define research philosophy as an "overarching term relating to the development of knowledge and the nature of that knowledge in relation to research". Philosophical assumptions are part of the whole research process and underpin both research design and the selection of research methods and data collection procedures. Different research philosophies emphasise different methods and techniques used for conducting empirical research and collecting and processing data. This reflects how researchers understand the whole nature of research and their research questions, and what a suitable method (methodology) entails (Creswell, 2003; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

There are two reasons for conducting this research. The first is to describe and understand phenomena in the social world and their meanings in a social context, using an interpretivist approach. The second is to empower people to change their social conditions, a critical assumption (Cecez-Kecmanovic & Kennan, 2013). Related to these assumptions are three themes which will be discussed next: ontology, epistemology, and methodology (Cecez-Kecmanovic & Kennan, 2013, p. 123).

Ontology refers to the perspective of the researcher concerning what they believe to be the nature of phenomena or of social reality (Mason, 2002, p. 14). The current research adopts an interpretive paradigm, believing that social reality is socially constructed and influenced by individual and

community experiences (Cecez-Kecmanovic & Kennan, 2013). Another perspective that researchers need to consider is the epistemological position of the research. Epistemology defines the nature of knowledge and the way in which it can be constructed. In other words, it concerns the evidence behind knowledge and how it is known (Mason, 2002, p. 16). Research methodology thus focuses on ontology and epistemology (Mingers & Walsham, 2010; Morrow & Brown, 1994; Ritzer, 1992).

In response to the above ontology, an epistemology emerges to provide relevant questions about how community members and experts perceive the value of PLMs, their views on how PLMs should be managed, how community members should participate in PLM management, and what a collaborative model between community members and experts should comprise. A suitable qualitative study can then be constructed to capture data about the participants' values and emotions, one which includes the cultural context of the study setting.

This research aims to explore and understand the management of PLMs. An interpretive approach fits this objective because it is based on subjectivist and relativist assumptions. Social reality is socially constructed and includes human action. Weber (1947, p. 88 cited in Bryman, 2012) explains that sociology is a scientific process which reveals the cause and effect of social actions by using interpretive understanding. This study seeks to understand the context of PLM management in the community by exposure to that environment in order to reveal the tacit and explicit ideas of community members. Thus a qualitative approach is applied.

Another influence is the critical paradigm, which is seen here to involve a humanist perspective. A critical approach aims to offer understanding, explanation and description. According to Cecez-Kecmanovic & Kennan (2013, p. 123), the intention of a critical paradigm is to gain insights, to expose "hidden forms of control, dominance and oppression". It can stimulate social change and help reconstruct social order through political and social reform. This approach emphasises moral and ethical issues which are hidden, often behind controlling mecanisms, and which could benefit from particular information and knowledge management systems (Cecez-Kecmanovic & Kennan, 2013). Although the interpretive and critical approaches seem to share an objective, that of generating an understanding of social phenomena, the latter also provides solutions and might empower people to change their existing conditions (Cecez-Kecmanovic & Kennan, 2013, p. 123).

In this study, both interpretive and critical epistemological positions are adopted. In the interpretive approach, epistemology tends to construct knowledge based on evidence generated through the research process, observations of experiences, and the researcher's interpretation of social phenomena (Cecez-Kecmanovic & Kennan, 2013).

3.2.2 Research approach

Another factor which needs to be taken into account is the relationship between empirical research and theory, such as differentiating between inductive and deductive frameworks of analysis. These are the two main approaches based on scientific logic and empirical inquiry (Bryman, 2012; Nueman, 2006; Patton, 2002). In this study, an inductive approach is used, one which begins with observation and ends with theory because no existing theory exists for the type of context explored, although there are useful starting points. This approach avoids the dangers involved in a deductive approach, where the researcher may make assumptions or include biases when studying complex phenomena. The inductive approach used here means that the researcher can use the phenomena studied to help build a theoretical model more likely to apply to the circumstances described in this thesis. As Neuman (2006, p. 49) states, "an inductive approach begins with detailed observations of the world and moves toward more abstract generalizations and ideas". This research will begin by collecting data from semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and a photographic inventory. Based on the findings and the literature review, the data will then be analysed and discussed. As a result, a better understanding of the nature of PLM management will be produced, one which includes a comparison of the views of community members and experts regarding their expectations for a suitable type of PLM management. The development of guidelines for a collaborative model of PLM development may also be suggested.

To sum up, the research philosophy underlying this research reflects the position of the researcher and the aims of conducting the research. To develop an understanding of the place of PLMs in Lanna culture, this knowledge is dependent on and influenced by individual and community perspectives. Moreover, there are several hidden issues, such as ownership and commercial interests, which need to be investigated. Thus, a combination of the interpretive and critical paradigms has been chosen. By positioning this research under these paradigms, it becomes clear how the data collection and knowledge generation will be undertaken and interpretations constructed, as discussed in the next section.

3.3 Research methodology and research design: interview-based qualitative research

A qualitative research approach was used in this study. Interviews were the primary means of data collection, alongside observation and a photo inventory (Bryman, 2012). A qualitative approach involves producing rich and convincing accounts of participants' world views; it is driven by the data and appropriately interpreted by the researcher. The researcher attempts to construct what people think, based on what they say. Inevitably, there is interpretation, but the hope is that it will be data-driven (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This means that, as a researcher

holding specific beliefs, one cannot help influencing the kinds of data produced in interactions with participants. Thus, differing data may well reflect the different processes in the way reality is constructed (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The aim is to uncover the meaning of the data concerning people's memories and viewpoints. In the interviews in this study, both the interviewer and the interviewees participated in constructing data. Thus, their relationship was a form of two-way communication, also known as active interviewing, one employed in order to reveal the most exact points and to capture the most reliable content (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, 1997). Interviewing seeks to answer what the researcher wants to know. In contrast, the positivist method has the researcher abstracted from the data, as if part of an uninfluenced experiment.

Bryman (2012) states that interviewing is the most commonly used form of data collection in qualitative research. There are two types of qualitative interview: unstructured interviews and semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2012). This research applies a semi-structured approach, which is the more appropriate to the study because interview-based qualitative research aims to understand the world of the interviewees, here the world of PLMs and the participants' values, beliefs, and formal and informal roles (Kvale, 1996). Semi-structured interviews are in-depth interviews but which allow flexibility and grant an opportunity to seek the worldview of the participants. They are less structured and have an interview guide to help in the conducting of questions (Bryman, 2012). The approach is adjustable during the interviews themselves. Interviews are conducted in a conversational manner, although they are directly related to the research questions, and the researcher should not judge the data during the interviews because doing so will distort the findings (Kvale, 1996). In this type of research, pilot interviews are often considered to be worth conducting before undertaking the main study, in order to explore and confirm the direction of the research. Therefore, this researcher conducted pilot interviews to explore the latent possibilities of the subject and to identify a suitable cultural collection to study. Moreover, the pilot study confirmed the validity of the primary data collection technique used, which was then applied in the main study (Bryman, 2012).

This study focused on interviews, with participant observation and photography used to gain a richer understanding of the social and cultural context, values and emotions. The researcher listened to community and expert views in the interviews, and then became involved in the community to gain a better understanding of community members' attitudes by using participant observation and discussion.

This research was exploratory; it used participant observation rather than conducting an experiment or some form of survey. Glesne and Peshkin (1992, p. 40) indicate that "the more you participate, the greater your opportunity to learn", and Pickard (2013) states that "the more involved you are, the more insight you may be able to bring the analysis". Therefore, the researcher adopted the role of an insider-researcher in order to gather knowledge from participants

and gain an in-depth understanding of the community. This was to allow a better understanding of the nature of PLMs and an exploration of the community's beliefs about its culture.

A field study refers to research that is undertaken in the real world (Persaud, 2010). Persaud (2010, p. 489) indicates that a field study involves a "non-experimental design" and might include the following: a case study, an in-depth observation of the specific aspects of one organisation, individual or animal, where the observation is also naturalistic, requiring the observer to avoid interfering with any variables; a participant observation study, with observations made through the researcher's submergence into the group under study; and phenomenology, which is observation derived from the researcher's personal experience. The two aims of a field study are exploratory research and hypothesis testing. Exploratory research aims to permit better insights into the research environment. This research included participant observation only, in events and workshops, because the objective was to capture knowledge (Persaud, 2010).

In this research, participant observation was conducted to help determine various issues, including community beliefs about Lanna culture; the expectations held by community members and professionals about the management of cultural materials; and the efficiency of organisations. The information gathered from the fieldwork was followed by analysis and clarification of correlations between variables. The results from the fieldwork helped to limit the scope of the study, and assisted the researcher in selecting those cultural objects suitable for study, the subject of the next section.

3.4 Data collection

This section aims to establish the specific details of the research design. The study as a whole uses qualitative data collection techniques to achieve its objectives. The project was separated into two phases: a pilot and a main study. The pilot study involved exploratory semi-structured interviews with a small sample of experts and librarians. The purpose of this stage was to build an understanding of the interviewees' thoughts and feelings about the broad topic area and to help the researcher to determine the direction of the research. Three questions were asked, about Lanna collection management, current social norms, and the cultural meanings of Lanna resources. After this, the final scope of the study was determined. At the conclusion of the pilot study, the researcher outlined a number of potential research questions, but also expected these to evolve through the later research. The research questions continued to change until close to the end of the project, by which time they used the wording set out in the introductory chapter.

Data collection was divided into five sections. In the following sections the sampling is explained in the way it was used in the research. Then the more specific data collection techniques detailed above are explained: semi-structured interviews, participant observation and the photographic

inventory. In answering the four research questions, the above three techniques were used in all cases. Finally, the data collection timeline is presented.

3.4.1 Sampling: purposive and snowball

Both purposive and snowball sampling approaches were used in this study. Purposive sampling, maximum variation sampling and similar members sampling were used to select samples to verify results. Snowball sampling was used to select a suitable key informant group. The pilot study used purposive sampling to gain in-depth and accurate data from people experienced in Lanna culture. The main study used both purposive and snowball sampling to identify appropriate participants. In the participant observation, snowball sampling was applied. A description of the two sampling methods used, and the reasons for the choices made, is given below.

3.4.1.1 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling involves selecting a case as the sample. In contrast, in random sampling, any sample can be selected from the population with equal likelihood. Another name for purposive sampling is "judgmental sampling", which means the selected cases are seen as being informative for the purposes of the study. Patton (2002, p. 169) explains that, to succeed with an in-depth study through purposive sampling, the key is to select information-rich cases where the participants understand the objectives of the research. This research used both similar members and maximum variation sampling when focusing on key themes and in-depth information among librarians and experts in Lanna culture. Member sampling – "a purposive sampling method which focuses on selecting cases from one particular sub-group in which all the members are similar" – and maximum variation sampling - "a purposive sampling method which focuses on obtaining the maximum variation in the cases selected" - are types of purposive sampling which can be used to compare and verify the results of triangulation (Saunders *et al*., 2008).

Purposive sampling requires sampling a small number of individuals in depth. Here, a maximum variation sample was selected from various expert fields in the pilot study, such as library science, ancient languages and anthropology. In addition, two types of cultural material within the community, namely PLMs in monasteries and woven textiles in villages, were selected. In the main study, ancient language, history and library science were the purposive fields of the experts sampled. Different genders, ages and community roles of members were the purposive characteristics of the community member sample.

A sample in qualitative research is a sub-group of a larger population, while much larger numbers are required in quantitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994). A purposive sample is more common than a random sample in qualitative research (Kuzel, 1992; Morse, 1989). Miles and Huberman (1994) explain the importance of mapping an outline to link the research questions

and to determine the issues related to the study and the time limits and methods which are to be used. If the aim is to understand a community through a maximum variation sample group, 12 interviewees should be sufficient (Guest *et al*., 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). If the study is concerned with a similar type of sample, 12 would be insufficient (Guest *et al*., 2006). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest a sample size of around 20 interviews, while Creswell (2007) believes between 25 and 30 interviews to be sufficient. The sample size is determined by the researcher, but truly there is no exact size in qualitative research, unlike in quantitative research. Patton (2002) clarifies that sample size for qualitative research is vague because it involves non-probability, so there is no principle. Most important is how the selection technique relates to the objective of the research, meaning that sample size depends on the research questions and objectives rather than any other factor. Furthermore, Manson (2010) argues that sample size can be omitted when theoretical saturation has been reached, meaning that no new content or aspects will be revealed by further research.

3.4.1.2 Snowball sampling

Snowball sampling involves a key informant advising the researcher on the sample to be selected from a relevant field, where the researcher knows little about that field and cannot specify the appropriate sample. It is used when a particular case is difficult to select (Saunders *et al*., 2008). The research begins with a person or key informant being asked to give guidance or contact a new sample within a similar field (Mason, 2010). An appropriate sample is then chosen after the key informant provides sample names (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002). There is some concern, however, about the quality of the outcomes of sampling from a key informant. Lee (1993) remarks that key informants tend to recommend new samples with backgrounds similar to their own, which can produce a homogenous sample from which the quality of the data is then likely to be insufficient.

3.4.2 Interviews

According to Kvale (1996), a research interview is a conversation between two people where knowledge is constructed through discussion. The purpose of interviewing is to access and understand interviewees' views, beliefs, knowledge and feelings, which may vary between individuals (Patton, 2002; Pickard, 2013). It is important to understand without prejudice the views of the people who are interviewed both before and during the interviews. This means that the researcher should record uninterpreted descriptions of the interviews, and only later interpret the raw data (Bryman, 2012, Kvale, 1996). Patton (2002) explains that gathering interviewees' stories draws out high quality information. Employing "the art of hearing" and being open-minded are crucial techniques for revealing and understanding interviewee perceptions (Patton, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Interviews should allow interviewees to answer questions from

their own point of view and in their own verbal style. Also, the interviewer can seek clarification of any issue at hand, and share an understanding from the past and use it to support a particular situation, including predicting the future (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005; Pickard, 2013).

There are three types of interview: a structured or standardised open-ended interview; a semi-structured or general interview; and an unstructured or informal conversational interview (Gall *et al*., 2003). A structured interview offers limited flexibility for respondents to express information and ideas (Patton, 2002). On the other hand, the approach makes it easy to compare information and reduces interviewer bias or influence because the questions are prearranged (Patton, 2002).

3.4.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

The main characteristic of semi-structured interviews is flexibility, allowing the researcher to rearrange, reorder or paraphrase the questions to suit each interview context, situation or individual (Bryman, 2012; Pickard, 2013). A semi-structured interview requires the researcher to create a list of predefined open-ended questions on the topic of interest, while at the same time new issues can arise during the interviews (Kvale, 1996). Pickard (2013) points out that a semi-structured interview is also useful for evoking information or facts about the topic. Moreover, it permits researchers to investigate or explore new, relevant ideas that may be raised during the interview. In an unstructured interview, there are usually a number of issues listed in an "interview guide", one used to help the interviewer remain on topic. Such an interview is essentially an informal conversation (Bryman, 2012). Patton (2002) indicates that different answers from different perspectives always create difficulties in comparison and analysis but that this happens more often in unstructured interviews due to the increasingly varied nature of the questions which occur then. However, unstructured interviews require an experienced interviewer because not all interviewees answer the same questions. This can make information less reliable and also difficult to compare with other data. Therefore, in this research, semi-structured interviews were used in the pilot and main studies.

There were two phases to the semi-structured interviews in this research. Semi-structured interviews using purposive and snowball sampling were used in both the pilot and main studies. A small sample of five academic librarians and experts in Lanna culture was selected for the pilot study, and 23 individuals were chosen for the main study.

In this research, one snowball sample created by a language expert from the pilot study was included as part of the purposive sampling method. Snowball sampling was often used in the main study. Three experts provided snowball samples and further experts in computer science, language, philosophy and religious were recommended. Five samples recommended by

community member were also chosen, with the proviso that the researcher ensure gender, age and role diversity.

A list of key informants was compiled by identifying relevant organisations who were then invited to participate by email/phone. They were provided with information about the purpose and benefits of the study, particularly in terms of the creation of a potential collaborative model for the management of PLMs. The following sections present the data collection techniques used in order to achieve reliability.

3.4.2.2 Interviews in the pilot study

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in April 2014, the purpose being to build an understanding of the interviewees' ideas and feelings about the broad topic of Lanna culture and various key cultural practices, such as weaving villages and PLMs. This method allowed data to be collected about social norms and the cultural meaning of Lanna resources. The interview topics were sent ahead of the interviews so that the interviewees could prepare their ideas and opinions. The interviews were conducted in Thai as this was the inteviewees' native language. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with five interviewees holding three different roles. The study sample interviewees were librarians, anthropologists and language experts, people involved in Lanna culture and Lanna collection management. First, librarians were selected as being experienced in Lanna collection management. Two university libraries in Chiang Mai were chosen as they managed Lanna cultural material and provided relevant services. Second, a professor of anthropology at Chiang Mai University was chosen in order to gain a fuller picture of Lanna culture as a whole. Lanna language experts were also selected as representative of community members and persons interested in Lanna culture.

The interviews were undertaken in order to answer the following three research questions:

1. How are Lanna culture and people defined?
2. What is the value of Lanna culture?
3. How can Lanna collections be managed in culturally sensitive ways?

The last question was mainly relevant to the librarians. Similar to curators and archivists, librarians do preserve and maintain cultural artefacts, but they also interact more with community members and the public (as presented in Table 3.1).

These questions were formulated in order to increase the researcher's understanding of Lanna culture and community from an expert perspective. This phase developed the researcher's understanding of the field of study. Moreover, the pilot study stage revealed the importance of PLMs in Lanna culture and determined the direction of the main study.

No.	Interviewees	Place	Province	Duration	Date Year 2014
1	Senior librarian	Chiang Mai University Library	Chiang Mai	4 hrs	11st April
2	Senior librarian	Payap University Library	Chiang Mai	2 hrs 30 mins	11st April
3	Lanna language expert	Wat Nongngerk	Lamphun	2 hr 35 mins	12nd April
4	Lanna language expert				
5	Professor of anthropology	Social Science Faculty, Chiang Mai University	Chiang Mai	1 hr 40 mins	18th April

Table 3.1: Academic librarians and experts in Lanna culture and local information management in semi-structured interviews in pilot study

3.4.2.3 Interviews in the main study

For the main study, semi-structured interviews with experts and community members were conducted in order to collect participants' beliefs and feelings about PLMs and enhance the researcher's understanding of PLM management. Furthermore, open-ended questions raised some degree of debate among the experts and community members, which helped the researcher to explore each group's expectations. This phase was relevant to three of the research questions: 1) the perceived value of PLMs; 2) how such material should be managed; and 3) how the community should engage in PLM management. To investigate these issues, semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions and unrestricted lists of answers were conducted. All the information gathered from the interviews would lead to the creation of a collaborative model for PLM management.

Two groups of interviewees, specifically community members and experts, were chosen, in order to identify the similarities and differences within views on PLMs and PLM management, and to gain a better understanding of the context of PLMs. To explore community members' views, a variety of ages, genders, roles and locations were used as criteria in recruitment. The main focus in choosing community members was their knowledge of and experience in communities that stored PLMs in monasteries. These factors helped to bring out a wider range of views about PLMs. In this part of the study 23 interviews were conducted, following Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Creswell (2007). During the interviews some documents were collected from participants, specifically the data record sheets used to describe PLMs. These documents were used as supplementary material to illustrate the expert findings (see Section 5.5 and Appendix 8).

In the main study, the key informants were community members and experts involved in PLM management in the Lanna region, and some experts from north-eastern Thailand. With regard to the different provinces where the interviews were conducted, some community members were selected due to their understanding of the significance of PLM storage places, as suggested by the interviewees in the pilot study. Expert interviewees were selected because their workplace

locations or occupations related to PLMs. Data were collected in January and February 2015 (as presented in Tables 3.2 and 3.3).

The semi-structured interviews lasted between 40 minutes and 3 hours 20 minutes, with an average duration of 1 hour 20 minutes. The interviews were conducted either in Thai or a mixture of Thai and Lanna, apart from one interview with an English expert, which was conducted in English. During the interviews, summary notes were taken and conversations were audio recorded. After the interviews, the content was transcribed within six months.

It should be noted here that most of the community members spoke in Lanna during the interviews. The researcher was born in Chiang Mai but raised in a Thai speaking family; as such she is not able to converse completely fluently in Lanna but possesses enough knowledge of the language to be able to understand it in general terms. This presented only a small problem for the researcher in the sense that, while she understood most of the interview content, some words had to be explained more fully by the interviewees and then again by a Lanna speking friend in order to provide necessary clarification.

There were two stages to the process of producing English language interview transcripts. As some of the initial interview transcripts were in Lanna, these had first to be translated into Thai. The researcher did most of this work herself, with, as previously stated, clarification of the meaning of difficult words and expressions provided by a Lanna speaking friend.

For the second stage, the most meaningful, interesting and important excerpts from the Thai transcripts were selected to be translated into English. This the researcher did by herself. However, there were still words and expressions in Thai which had no direct equivalents in English. Examples of such are "merit", "angel" and "Himmapan creatures". Thses terms carry a complex cultural context and are explained in some detail in the findings section of this thesis. The research supervisor was keen to ensure that these words were defined correctly. As a result, the researcher consulted Lanna language experts and academics working in the fields of philosophy and religion in order to do so. In terms of those words which were more problematic to translate into English, decisions had to be made. In these cases, the researcher checked the meaning of the words with six of the expert interviewees. As an example, it became clear that ศักด์ สิทธิ์ (Saksit) had actually been misunderstood as "sacred" when "respect" would have been a more appropriate term. When this process failed to offer satisfactoty clarification of a very small number of phrases, the researcher contacted one further expert interviewee and two academics specialising in Lanna language and PLMs. They provided final definitions of terms such as "bundle" and "Lanna script".

No.	Age Group	Gender	Role Group	Role/ Gender/ Age of participant	Community Area	Province	Duration hr	min	Date Year 2015
1	80s	M	CM	Custodian	Wat Sungmen	Phrae	1	10	3rd January
2	70s	F	CM	Local female	Wat Sungmen	Phrae	1	14	3rd January
3	50s	M	CL	Vice abbot	Wat Sungmen	Phrae	1	12	3rd January
4	60s	M	CL	Mayor of sub-district municipality	Wat Sungmen	Phrae	1	25	4th January
5	80s	F	CM	Local female	Wat Laihin	Lampang		36	8th January
6	50s	M	CM	Custodian	Wat Laihin	Lampang	2	00	9th January
7	60s	M	CE	Buddhism, museum and social studies lecturer	Wat Pongsanok	Lampang	1	00	9th January
8	40s	M	CE	Design lecturer	Rajamangala University of Technology Lanna (RMUTLU)	Chiang Mai		48	10th January
9	50s	M	CE	Lanna language teacher	Lanna Wisdoms School	Chiang Mai	1	35	11th February
10	20s	M	CM	University student	Chiang Mai Rajabhat University (CMRU)	Chiang Mai		40	24th February
11	20s	M	CM	University student	Chiang Mai Rajabhat University (CMRU)	Chiang Mai		40	24th February
Terms: CM: community members; CL: community leaders; and CE: community educators									

Table 3.2: Demographic data of community member interviewees

No.	Age Group	Gender	Nationality	Role Group	Role/ field of expert	Community Area	Province, (Region) Country	Duration hr	min	Date Year 2015
1	50s	M	Thai	ELL	• Researcher • LannaTham Language expert	Palm Leaf Scripture Studies Center, Institute of Lanna Studies, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University	Chiang Mai, northern Thailand	2	52	7th January
2	40s	F	Thai	ELS	Librarian	Ratchamangkhalapisek National Library of Chiang Mai	Chiang Mai, northern Thailand	1	41	10th January
3	70s	M	Thai	EAL	Ancient language expert	National Library of Thailand	Bangkok, central Thailand	1	28	26th January
4	70s	M	Thai	EHI	• Administrator • Historian	SEAMEO Regional Centre for Archaeology and Fine Arts: SEAMEO SPAFA	Bangkok, central Thailand	1	54	26th January
5	70s	F	Thai	EAL	• Associate professor • Ancient language expert	Palm Leaf Conservation Project, Northeastern Arts and Cultural Research Institute, Mahasarakham University	Mahasarakham, north-eastern Thailand	1	30	21st January
6	50s	M	Thai	EAL	• Ancient language expert	Palm Leaf Conservation Project, Northeastern Arts and Cultural Research Institute, Mahasarakham University	Mahasarakham, north-eastern Thailand	1	30	21st January
7	50s	M	English	EAL	• Ancient language expert • Researcher	National Library of Laos	Vientiane, central Laos	3	20	28th January

8	80s	M	German	ELL	• Professor emeritus • LannaTham literature and language expert	National Library of Laos	Vientiane, central Laos	2		30th January
9	60s	M	Thai	ELL	• Assistant professor • Northern Thai religious studies lecturer	Department of Philosophy and Religions, Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University	Chiang Mai, northern Thailand	1	33	12th February
10	40s	F	Thai	ELL	LannaTham language expert	Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University	Chiang Mai, northern Thailand	2	30	12th February
11	50s	M	Thai	ECS	• Associate professor • Computer science lecturer	Computer Science Department, Chiang Mai University	Chiang Mai, northern Thailand	1	25	10th January
12	40s	M	Thai	ELL	LannaTham language expert	Ecole de Française d'Extrême-Orient	Chiang Mai, northern Thailand	2	27	12th February

Terms: ELL: expert in Lanna language; EAL: expert in ancient language; EHI: expert in history; ELS: expert in library science; and ECS: expert in computer science

Table 3.3: Demographic data of scholar interviewees

3.4.3 Participant observation

Observation is a technique employed to generate data which reveal aspects of people's behaviour in particular situations (Pickard, 2013). The researcher observes and seeks to understand observable behaviour and activities in the field. These include social actions, behaviour, interactions, situations and feelings (Coffey, 1999). Jorgensen (1989) explains how participant observation can be utilised in a case study relating to culture, society, community and organisation, by looking at phenomena such as beliefs. He suggests that exploratory studies are intended to produce theoretical interpretations from suitable participation observations. Observation techniques are used to investigate actions and behaviour by watching what participants do, recording data in printed or digital form, and then describing, analysing and interpreting what has been observed (Robson, 1997).

The level of involvement of the researcher with the participants or community being observed defines different types of observation (Pickard, 2013). As well as participant observation, there are also semi-participant and non-participant forms of observation (Pinke, 1954). As stated above, when researchers are directly involved with the group or activity being researched, they are engaged in participant observation, and can be referred to as "insider-researchers". If they have no involvement, but observe from a detached point, this is non-participant observation, known as "outsider-research" (Pickard, 2013). Pickard explains that semi-observation involves the researcher observing the participants watched and asking questions of them, but without interrupting them.

The form of participant observation employed in this study borrows from ideas used in ethnographic research (Mason, 2002). It may thus be helpful here to discuss the nature of ethnography. However, there appears to be no clear, commonly held definition of the term. The reason for this may be due to the various patterns utilised to conduct ethnographic research across different institutions (Stewart, 1998; Boyle, 1994). Nevertheless, Creswell (1998) and Stewart (1998) provide useful examples with which to approach a fuller understanding of ethnography. Creswell (1998) positions ethnography as a form of qualitative research that focuses on description and interpretation of community behaviour, social systems and culture, where the researcher aims to understand the patterns of social behaviour, culture, tradition and the community's way of life by using various data collection techniques, with the main technique being that of participant observation. This technique requires the researcher to engage in the field or stay with the community for a long period of time; the researcher, effectively, becomes the data collection tool. Another explanation of ethnographic research is supplied by Stewart (1998). This account avoids offering a definition but instead focuses on the most important processes within the research. It concentrates on the use of participant observation as the data collection method, on the emphasis placed on an holistic approach, on giving importance to the context of what is being studied, and on producing analysis that stresses culture and social factors as the crucial variables.

It seems, then, that an appreciation of what the ethnographer actually does might provide the most helpful sense of the nature of ethnography. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p.3) state:

> *ethnography usually involves the researcher participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions through informal and formal interviews, collecting documents and artefacts – in fact, gathering whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the emerging focus of inquiry. Generally speaking, ethnographers draw on a range of sources of data, though they may sometimes rely on one.*

This study adopts, at least to a certain extent, in the sense that it borrows from the discipline of ethnography instead of being fully bound by it, an ethnographic perspective, one which follows "a more focused approach to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a social group. Central to an ethnographic perspective is the use of theories of culture and inquiry practices derived from anthropology or sociology to guide the research*"* (Green & Bloome, 1997, p. 183). It works along similar lines to the research conducted by Ata (2014), who, in creating *An exploration of higher education teaching in a virtual world in the context of blended learning*, borrowed from ethnography by using a case study. and granting it an 'ethnographic texture'. While 'texture' might imply a more superficial engagement with ethnography than that achieved

by a 'perspective', in this study the terms 'ethnographic texture' and 'ethnographic perspective' are used synonymously; they both relate to a focus on the study of specific features of traditional and customary practices in the community.

For a variety of reasons, largely concerning a lack of practical connections to both PLMs and community members, this researcher was restricted in terms of the number of activities and events involving PLMs available to her. Thus she was unable to engage in field work for a prolonged period of time. As a result, as explained by Greene and Bloom (1997, p.4), "by adopting an ethnographic perspective … it is possible to take a more focused approach (i.e., do less than a comprehensive ethnography) to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a social group". Ata (2014, p.80) confirms the validity of this position, stating that it is acceptable for part of methodology to possess "an ethnographic texture instead of being a full ethnography". This study took an ethnographic perspective to look at specific features of the community and its relationship to PLMs: its culture, its behaviour, and how it values PLMs during certain specific events and festivals. In this sense, this study has an ethnographic texture rather than being purely ethnographic.

The term "participant observation" can be described in other terms, such as fieldwork, qualitative observation, direct observation, and field research (Denzin, 1978; Lofland, 1971; Schwandt, 2001). The holistic nature of this type of study permits the employing of a variety of techniques, such as observation, interviews and documentation, to generate data (Denzin, 1978; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Schwandt, 2001). Each technique has its benefits and limits, but when combined they can strengthen data and increase validity (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). Participant observation has particular advantages in that a researcher can gain a better understanding of social settings and cultural phenomena (Patton, 1990; Spradley, 1979). On the other hand, there are several problems. The researcher can become too involved in a situation and be influenced by the community, which can lead to bias (Pickard, 2013). In a dynamic fieldwork setting, a major concern, according to Maykut and Marehouse (1994), is the balance that a researcher maintains between being an observer and being a participant, in order to comprehend the situation as an insider yet explain it as an outsider.

For the main study, village representatives were sampled, using semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation and participant observation. Non-direct observation was the initial method used for the fieldwork, but this was followed by participant observation, together with audio-recorded semi-structured interviews during and after the period of observation.

In this research, non-direct observation and participant observation were used, along with semi-structured interviews. The researcher joined the community, became part of the community with the members' permission, gathered information and attempted to understand behaviour from the

community's viewpoint (Pickard, 2013). Jorgensen (1989) stresses that researchers have to maintain relationships with people in the field once they are established. Human interaction is an essential element in this methodology because it is a key factor in allowing the researcher to gather accurate and reliable information.

An observation framework was used as a guide as it was easy to memorise and review while observing and engaging in community activities (Lofland, 1971). This tool reminded the researcher to focus on the perceived value of PLMs, the management of PLMs, and community participation. In the main study, the observation sheet was prepared before entering the field in order to remind the researcher of the key issues while making observations. Four main features were listed there: organisation, access, participation, and Lanna culture. More precisely, in terms of organisation, the researcher noted quantity of PLMs, chests and cabinets, the way PLMs were organised, and existing classification and preservation practices. With regard to access, location and the times when material was available to be seen were described. For participants, the researcher observed and noted their activities involving PLMs, their relationships, those between people and objects, and people and people, and the roles they played in using PLMs. Lastly, under the heading of Lanna culture, notes were made about the ways in which PLMs fitted into the community and its culture. Three events, observed over nine days in Chiang Mai and Phrae provinces, were observed. The first was the "TakTham Festival: Unseen Thailand, Unseen World", which lasted for three days. The second was the "Five Lanna Tai Ethnic Groups" event, which was observed over two days. The last was the "Inscribing Lanna Scripts, Making Styluses and Wooden Titles" workshop which lasted for four days. (See Section 3.4.3.2 for more detail and Appendix 6 for the observation sheet.).

3.4.3.1 Sampling for participation observation in pilot study

There were two main areas that the researcher was interested in exploring in the pilot study, in terms of the relationships between local people, their concept of community and their cultural material. The first was PLMs and monasteries, the original PLM storage locations; the second was Pha Teen Jok weaving and weavers in communities and their unique weaving patterns.

There were two possible sites, both suitable cultural locations in which to conduct the research. The pilot study allowed the researcher to select the preferred study site based on the types of material available in the two locations, namely PLMs and weaving.

i)   PLMs in library monasteries

For the libraries in Buddhist temples, three monasteries from three provinces (Phrae, Lampang, and Lamphun) in the Lanna region were chosen as locations in which to study the importance given to PLMs. Wat Nongngerk in Lamphun province was a university dedicated to LannaTham

script in the past, and now stores PLMs; it is also the main source of Lanna language experts. Wat Sungmen is where the largest number of PLMs are stored. The fieldwork was conducted between the 12th and 17th of April 2014. The criteria for selection were size and age (as presented in Table 3.4).

No.	Monasteries	Province	A combination of observation and informal interviews		Date of survey Year 2014	Number of PLMs
			Informants	Duration		
1	Wat Nongngerk	Lamphun	Two middle-aged local people with expertise in Lanna language	20 mins	12nd April	4,500
2	Wat Sapungluang	Lamphun	Abbot (able to read Lanna language)	35 mins	14th April	1,524
3	Wat Sungmen	Phrae	Old villager (able to read Pali language)	1 hr 20 mins	15th April	9,835
4	Wat Pongsanok	Lampang	Middle-aged villager	2 hrs 40 mins	16th April	7,000
5	Wat Laihin	Lampang	Temple committee member	3 hrs	16th-17th April	3,335

Table 3.4: Lists of monasteries where PLMs were stored in Lanna areas in fieldwork

ii) Pha Teen Jok weaving communities

In northern Thailand, many ethnic groups have a long history in textiles. This is especially true of Tai groups, who believe that the Thai people of today moved from southern China and settled in the area which is now north Thailand over a period of hundreds of years. Their unique weaving patterns were developed in the region (Davison, n.d.).

The weaving community is similar to the wider community in terms of its context but different in size. Pha Teen Jok weaving is an intangible cultural heritage developed by the Tai ethnic group; it reflects the culture and beliefs of the community. At present, this traditional form of culture is gradually disappearing or changing, largely due to increased internationalism among younger generations. The weaving culture is still present, however, despite these changes, and thus preservation of the unique Lanna culture, passed down by ancestors, is essential for a new generation's understanding of its own identity and background.

The pilot study explored the reproduction of patterns, from weaving to graphic design, and considered the ways in which they were collected in the library. The pilot aimed to assess the preservation of these designs in a systematic way. A library provides information services for users to access. This research looked into the question of how effective libraries are in preserving and presenting these indigenous elements of both the past and the present. Then, wisdom and knowledge that has been transferred from weaving to design can be studied by the younger generation.

Given the far-flung locations of the Pha Teen Jok weaving communities, three communities in Chiang Mai and Phrae provinces were selected because of their use of weaving in arts and crafts.

This enabled a comparison to be made between different cases in terms of size of community, collection management and user needs, as presented in Table 3.5.

No.	Location	Province	Survey and conversation			Date of survey Year 2014
			Informants	Duration		
				Visit	Commute	
1	The Foundation for the Promotion of Supplementary Occupations and Related Techniques of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit of Thailand	Phrae	-	20 mins	8hrs	15th April
2	Home of weaver	MaeJam, Chiang Mai	Weaver	40 mins	2hr	22nd April
3	HomKramFaiPurkMai Learning Centre, supported by Fai Gaem Mai, Thailand Institute of Scientific and Technological Research, Chiang Mai University	MaeJam, Chiang Mai	-	1 hr	2hr	22nd April

Table 3.5: Weaving communities and community members in Chiang Mai and Phrae

3.4.3.2 Sampling for participation observation in the main study

In the main study, purposive sampling was used to select relevant places and events to observe. Three events were observed: 1) "The TakTham Festival: Unseen Thailand, Unseen World", Sungmen Temple; 2) "Five Lanna Tai Ethnic Groups", Chiang Mai University, and 3) "The Inscribing of Lanna Scripts, Making Styluses and Wooden Titles", Chiang Mai Rajabhat University (Table 3.6).

The TakTham festival at Wat Sungmen, Phare province, was the main event which determined timescale preparation in terms of data collection because this event is run by community members and held only once a year, every January. The event aims to preserve PLMs and laud the invaluable work of the previous abbot, the man who created this preservation tradition. The abbot played an important role in preserving PLMs because he was an author, editor and collector, and was responsible for the copying of a huge number of the PLMs held in the monastery. This event has revitalised local community engagement; it is organised by community members and has occurred every year since 2007. Therefore, it is an important event to observe in terms of community participation and the preservation of PLMs.

After this, across January and February, there were two other events which involved PLMs. Thus the "Five Lanna Tai Ethnic Groups" event and the "Inscribing Lanna Scripts, Making Styluses and Wooden Titles" activity were selected for further data collection through participant observation. Both events were led by experts from universities. The first event invited local people as they are an important source of wisdom and can demonstrate skills such as pottery, local cooking, martial arts and inscribing Lanna script. This event promoted all five Lanna Tai ethnic groups: the Tai Lue, Tai Yaun, Tai Yai, Tai Yong and Tai Kheun. Lanna knowledge was also shared with visitors through art, craft and skills sessions. However, this event was selected

only so that activities involving PLMs – the inscribing of Lanna script onto palm leaves – could be observed. In the last event, experts held a workshop about the writing of Lanna script and the making of the items needed to do this, which made attendees aware of the basic elements of PLMs. This workshop allowed each participant to create a stylus and a wooden title as the beginning of the PLM process.

No.	Events and activities	Location	Organisers	Date Year 2015
1	TakTham Festival Unseen Thailand, Unseen World • TakTham tradition • TanTham tradition • Writing PLMs • PLM exhibition • Demonstration of how to prepare palm leaves for inscription	Wat Sungmen, Phare	Community members	2nd-4th January
2	Five Lanna Tai Ethnic Groups • Inscription of LannaTham script on to dried palm leaves • Martial arts show • Lanna traditional children's games • Cooking traditional food • Making pottery	Chiang Mai University	Experts	6th-7th February
3	Inscribing Lanna Script, Making Styluses and Wooden Titles • Writing LannaTham script on mulberry paper and inscription of LannaTham script on dried palm leaves • Making styluses and wood titles	Chiang Mai Rajabhat University	Experts	10th ,11th ,14th and 21st February

Table 3.6: Events for participation observation

3.4.4 Photographic inventory

A photographic inventory is a visual method used in social science, especially in ethnographic and qualitative research (Pink, 2001). Many details are embedded in a photograph that can help explain certain situations better than can written text (Bryman, 2012). Plummer (2001) explains that a photo inventory involves the researcher taking photographs during activities and using them for the purposes of confirmation and documentation. A researcher can analyse a photographic inventory in an orderly way to capture social and cultural aspects of a community. An inventory contains patterns of visual images as symbols of particular phenomena (Hockings, 2003). In this study, it was used to record evidence such as woven wrappers, storage items and storage locations. Moreover, it helped the researcher to explain social relations, the cultural context of the community, such as activities involving PLMs. This section briefly surveys a number of arguments in the literature concerning the strengths and limitations of using photography as part of the research process. It will then explain how the researcher intends to use photography in this study.

89

In terms of the benefits of this approach, Bryman (2012) states that photography can be used in research for various purposes. It helps retain information from fieldwork and is a visual image source that belongs to the researcher by law. Moreover, it can be used for discussion and exploration. Photographs can be taken by the researcher, by participants, and by members of the community. Pink (2004) suggests that images show the participants' or community's vision of their culture. There are four strategies to using images to reveal participants' reactions and opinions. First, the researcher can present images and asks participants for their views. Second, the researcher can ask participants to bring their own images (a photo voice). The third approach is where the researcher might ask participants to take photographs and discuss them afterwards. The final method involves the researcher taking photographs to use as evidence in coming interviews (Plummer, 2001). Where photos are used during interviews the technique is called photo-elicitation.

According to Pink (2001), a visual image has a dual status, being both "realistic" and "reflexive". It is realistic in the factual way it captures an object or event and the area in which it is located, and in the way it allows interpretation in the form of data. However, it is also reflexive in the way it has an effect on the researcher's "awareness of sensibility". The duality thus gained can help the researcher achieve a better understanding of the context in question and its social relation.

However, the use of photography in research is not without its problems. Mason (2012) has concerns that photography can consume a large amount of time and sometimes offers no relevant meaning. Moreover, it has also been noted that it can project a distorted view, due to the existence of editing technology (Bryman, 2012). On the other hand, using photography during interviews and observations increases multi-dimensionality and captures essential elements, such as sensory memories. This approach not only generates rich data but also helps interviewees to recall what they may have forgotten, for example by showing photographs of the storage of PLMs.

In this study, documentary photography was used in the pilot and main studies, during the interviews and participant observation. A photographic inventory was used in the main study. The researcher produced a "photo-shooting guide" as a framework to confirm what kinds of situation, place and collection should be captured (Table 3.5). The memories captured in the photos helped the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the value of PLMs, PLM management and community participation.

3.4.4.1 Process of choosing photos in the main study

This research used visual data in the form of photographs to reflect the fieldwork, which is a typical ethnographic approach (Thomson, 2012). Photographs were used as part of the research analysis and as illustrations (Collier & Collier, 1986). To ensure a systematic means of selecting

documentary photographs, the researcher used a shooting guide as a guideline (Table 3.7) and maintained a record of the field areas (Collier & Collier 1986; Suchar, 1997). The photographs show informative items and represent the culture of community events. Two concentric zones were used – zoom in and zoom out – which permitted focus on a specific object and sites of activity, respectively. Lee (2003) sets the pattern for a centre target in an information environment across three stages: immediate, adjacent and outside. He arranges the space from closer to distant. The immediate space in a room or office shows stored collections, such as books and computers, while adjacent space refers to buildings such as university libraries, and outside concerns external spaces near to them. Lee (2003) also determines three types of space, namely "whole building" when discussing access and security, "inside building" when focusing on objects, and "public place" for community activities.

Whole building (Access):
    1.   How can people access material?
    2.   What is the security level of the building?
    3.   Are they advertised/promoted in any way? e.g. library poster or information

Inside building: room/ collection /objects (Organisation):
    1.   How are manuscripts stored?
    2.   How are items organised?
    3.   Is there a classification system?
    4.   How are items preserved?

Public place (Participation):
    1.   Are there any activities which involve community members with items?

Table 3.7: Shooting guide based on research questions to produce a photographic inventory of PLMs

688 photographs were collected from 12 locations across the pilot and main studies. Photographs were classified into two main categories with eight sub-categories, using filenames. The two main categories were access and organisation, while the eight sub-categories were label and material, security, promotion, storage, item organised, classification, preservation and participation. Three folders were named, based on groupings of interviewees and events organised to include community participation: community (Table 3.8), experts (Table 3.9), and events led by experts (Table 3.10). By the end of the process, 169 photographs had been selected for illustrative purposes and 54 for analysis (see Section 3.5.2 for more detail). Almost all the photos used in this research were taken by the researcher. The only exceptions are the three photographs showing the digitisation process (in Chapter 4), which were taken by the custodian.

Code	Category/Place	Wat Laihin (Phase 1 & 2)	Wat Sungmen (Phase 1 & 2) including event	Wat Pongsanok (Phase 1 & 2)	Wat Nongngerk (Phase 1)	Wat Sapungluang (Phase 1)
Code	Category	File: WatLaihin	File:WatSungmen	File:WatPSN	File: WatNN	File: WatSPL
Access						
A1	Label & material	6	8	2	9	1
A2	Security	7	15	4	1	0
A3	Promotion	0	39	0	0	0
Organisation						
O1	Storage	5	36	10	19	4
O2	Item organised	15	33	0	1	8
O3	Classification	0	1	0	0	0
Pre1	Preservation	8	3	6	2	0
Par1	Participation	0	134	0	0	0
	Total	41	269	22	32	13
			377			

Table 3.8: Named files and number of images from community

Code	Category/Place	National Library, Thailand	Wat Suthat Thepwararam (NLT)	Ratchamankhalapisek National Library of Chiang Mai	Wat Tonyangluang (Social Research Institute, CMU)	North Eastern Arts and Cultural Research Institute, Mahasarakham University
Code	Category	File: NLT	File: NLT_Wat Suthat	File: NLCM	File: SRI_WatTYL	File: MSU
Access						
A1	Label & material	3	0	1	0	1
A2	Security	8	0	4	1	4
A3	Promotion	3	0	0	0	8
Organisation						
O1	Storage	16	0	10	0	8
O2	Item organised	11	12	19	18	6
O3	Classification	0	0	0	0	0
Pre1	Preservation	0	12	23	3	10
Par1	Participation	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	41	24	57	22	37
			181			

Table 3.9: Named files and number of expert images

Code	Category/Place	Five Lanna Tai Ethnic Groups (Social Research Institute, CMU)	Palm Leaf Scripture Studies Centre, Institute of Lanna Studies, CMRU (Chiang Mai Rajabhat university)
Code	Category	File: SRI_5LEG	File: CMRU
Access			
A1	Label & material	4	2
A2	Security	2	5
A3	Promotion	6	9
Organisation			
O1	Storage	0	4
O2	Item organised	16	7
O3	Classification	0	0
Pre1	Preservation	0	0
Par1	Participation	33	42
	Total	61	69
			130

Table 3.10: Named files and number of expert-organised community participation event images

92

3.4.5 The researcher's position within participation observation

By participating in events and activities, the researcher hoped to gain a deeper understanding of the values, beliefs and motivations held by community members with regard to PLMs. Doing so, it was felt, would allow the researcher fuller access to the community on both intellectual and emotional levels. To this end, the researcher participated in the TakTham ceremony by wearing the same clothes, a white dress, as those worn by local people in the parade. She also joined the line of participants and carried a white flower, just as they did. For the TanTham ceremony, she again wore a white dress, but this time sat with the local people, holding a PLM and praying to it, as they did, in order to make merit, both for herself and for the owner and author of the manuscript. In the other events, the researcher took part in all the activities as a visitor. She joined the academic workshops, for example, to learn how to make a stylus or write Lanna script. The sense of being an insider within such activities allowed the researcher to connect more effectively to the overall context of the events, to the spirituality surrounding the PLMs.

It was important to gain the trust of the community members who agreed to be interviewed for this research. Thus, initially, the researcher introduced herself simply as a visitor who was interested in PLMs. She was also accompanied by her mother to help approach participants, feeling that the presence of an older woman would create a friendlier atmosphere. Indeed, her mother was extremely helpful in breaking the ice with participants by starting conversations with them about such general topics as the types of fabric on display in the temples. Then the researcher was able to ask about PLMs and the interviewees felt able to speak more freely. At this point the researcher reintroduced herself as a PhD student and began to create a slightly more formal interview setting. However, in collecting data, the researcher was careful to maintain a friendly setting, adapting the questions so that they felt more like a conversation than an intrusion. As a result, most participants were willing to share their experiences and ideas about PLMs. The approach was so successful that some interviewees even insisted on taking lunch together with the researcher and her mother after the interviews had been completed. Further to this, the effectiveness of the researcher's position as an insider participant was almost certainly enhanced by the fact that the researcher tried as far as possible to speak with a local accent and to become involved in festival activities by doing exactly what community members were doing.

Of course, the researcher had to remember at all times that she was present at events not only to participate but also to record observations for the study. This meant, for example, realising when a special moment was occurring and then capturing it in a photograph. At such a time, the researcher, acknowledging that an important event was taking place, had to remove herself from the role of insider-participant and become an outsider, to move further away from the scene and take photos without the subjects noticing. The researcher's position at such moments was far enough away from the subjects so as not to disturb them but not so far as to compromise the

quality of the shots. For example, during the TakTham ceremony, after the procession, when the participants were queuing to return the PLMs to the monastery, the researcher noticed a woman holding one of the manuscripts. The woman closed her eyes and held the PLM in front of her face; her face was a picture of emotion, respect and prayer, a powerful symbol of the intensity of the event, the type of symbol that Fetterman (2010, p.28) believes "provide[s] the ethnographer with insight into a culture and a tool with which to further probe various cultural beliefs and practices". This was a special moment. Permission to capture the images was obtained in advance from the monks in charge of the events. Only once was this method not followed; at the academic workshops, the organisers and other participants were aware of the researcher's status. A photo shooting guide (see Appendix 7) helped greatly in this respect; covering such themes as access, organisation, preservation and participation, it reminded the researcher to capture images of whole buildings, particular rooms and spaces, collections and individual objects. In terms of making notes, this was difficult to achieve when participating in events, so they were made each evening, just after the event had finished but when it was still fresh in the memory. At this time, an observation sheet (see Appendix 6) was completed to describe the forms of PLM management just witnessed. This is one of the techniques that Fetterman (2010, p.55) suggests can "stimulate the interviewer's recall and help organize the data". Each sheet covered a range of areas: organisation, access, participation and Lanna culture. It also included a reflection section where the researcher could note her own thoughts and emotions. The completed field notes were later analysed in the third set of analysis, following the interview transcripts from the community members and experts.

This method of field research, that of becoming a participant-observer of festivals and events involving PLMs, enabled the researcher to achieve a much deeper understanding of certain aspects of Lanna culture than might otherwise have been possible. Immersion into the events allowed the researcher to become part of the mass of PLMs celebrants, to see what they saw, hear what they heard, and feel what they felt. In adding to the ethnographic texture of the study, this approach was largely successful. However, it should also be noted that the approach did create certain problems, foremost of which was the difficulty encountered in taking a step back from proceedings when necessary. It might be that the researcher, caught up in the emotion of an event, did not always recognise every opportunity to disengage and make notes or take a photograph. It might also be the case that, in attempting to understand Lanna PLM culture from an insider perspective, the researcher found it difficult at times to achieve a sufficiently dispassionate viewpoint, being swept along, for example, by the power of the procession and prayers of the TakTham ceremony, which perhaps resulted in a failure to acknowledge how proceedings could have been conducted differently or ideas and values rearranged. On balance, then, the researcher's position within the research did create many opportunities for a rich understanding of PLM culture, but the limitations of this approach should not be overlooked.

3.4.6 Data collection timeline

Pilot study   (April 2014)

Librarians: Semi-structured interviews (2 interviewees)
   • 2 Academic librarians
Experts: Semi-structured interviews (3 interviewees)
   • 1 Professor of anthropology and Lanna community
   • 2 Lanna language experts
Places: Field work: **s**urvey, conversation, photographic inventory (8 sites)
   • Weaving community, MaeJam, Chiang Mai (2 sites)
   • Weaving community, Long, Phrae
   • PLMs in Wat Nongngerk, Lamphun
   • PLMs in Wat Sapungluang, Lamphun
   • PLMs in Wat Pongsanok, Lampang
   • PLMs in Wat Laihin, Lampang
   • PLMs in Wat Sungmen, Phrae
	Aims:
	
	o To explore issues related to Lanna collection management
	o To explore issues related to Lanna culture

Main study

(January – February 2015)

Community: Semi-structured interviews (11 interviewees)
   • 2 Community leaders
   • 3 Community educators
   • 6 Community members
 	
Expert: Semi-structured interviews (12 interviewees)
   • 4 northern Thai language experts
   • 4 ancient language experts
   • 2 northern Thai history, philosophy and religious experts
   • 1 library science expert
   • 1 Computer science expert
	Aims:
	
	o To explore expectations about how such material is best managed
	o To explore issues around cultural politics e.g. ownership, authorship, management, globalisation, etc.
	o To explore responses to a collaborative model

Places: Participation observation and photographic inventory (3 sites)
   • Wat Sung Men, Phrae
   • Palm Leaf Scripture Studies Centre, Institute of Lanna Studies, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University
   • Social Research Institute, CMU
 	
Organisations: Photographic inventory (5 sites)
   • National Library, Bangkok
   • Wat Suthat Thepwararam (NLT), Bangkok
   • Ratchamankhalapisek National Library of Chiang Mai
   • Wat TonYangLuang (Social Research Institute, CMU), Chiang Mai
   • North Eastern Arts and Cultural Research Institute, Mahasarakham, Mahasarakham University
	Aims:
	
	o To explore community beliefs about their culture
	o To explore community members' library needs
	o To explore attitudes to cooperation between the community and the library

Compare & contrast

3.5 Data analysis

The challenge within qualitative analysis is to be able to extract the most significant information from a huge amount of raw data (Miles & Huberman, 1984). This means investigating and highlighting the important patterns in the raw data and deciding how to present the information thus revealed. Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest that analysis in this form both constructs and verifies the conclusions of the research. Analysts have a responsibility to use accurate analytical procedures and processes. In addition, during the data analysis stage, they should monitor their own processes. The analytical process employed must itself be analysed and reported as part of the actual findings (Patton, 2002).

Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusions and verification, the three coexisting components of data analysis, should by applied during and after data collection. Their reasons are as follows: 1) data reduction can be shortened and the collected data converted through selecting, focusing, simplifying and summarising or paraphrasing; 2) data display, a part of the analysis consisting of various types of matrices, graphs, charts and networks, is an organised, summarised collection of information that enables outcomes and actions to be determined; and 3) conclusions are drawn and verified which conform with the data. Morse (1997, p. 26) presents four strategies of qualitative analysis: 1) comprehending the phenomenon under study; 2) synthesising a portrait of the phenomenon that accounts for relations and links within its aspects; 3) theorising about how and why these relations appear as they do; and 4) recontextualising, or putting the new knowledge about the phenomenon and its relations back into a context in which others have articulated ideas about the evolving knowledge.

Qualitative analysis transforms data into findings. While there is no specific principle or technique for this transformation, this research utilised a "consensus and difference" concept with the community members and experts in order to articulate "similarities and differences… and pattern of processes involving connections in time and space within a bounded context" (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This research employed thematic analysis, noting patterns and themes, plausibility and clustering. Pattern finding can be very productive when data overload is severe. The patterns constructed from mixed methods can be synthesised into a small number of key themes. It reveals contrasts and comparisons and helps to develops theory grounded in the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Thematic analysis looks for codes to draw out more similarities and differences, and reflects on these findings. In this research, after the data collection was complete, the interviews recorded, and the observation process finished, the first stage of analysis began. Braun and Clarke (2006) describe the six steps involved in carrying out thematic analysis, as followed in this study, thus: 1) becoming familiar with the data; 2) generating initial codes; 3) searching for themes; 4) reviewing themes; 5) defining and naming themes; and 6) producing the report.

For this research, field notes, the data from the participation observation process, were collected on observation sheets. In addition, transcripts of the interviews were produced. This took place in the six-month period between April and September 2015. Data analysis was then conducted over the following three months, from October to December 2015. It should be noted here that the field notes were analysed separately from the interview data. In total, three sets of thematic analysis were conducted. First, the data from the interviews with the community members were analysed through Nvivo in October; second, the expert interview data were assessed in November; and, third, analysis of the field notes from participant observation and photographic evidence was conducted in November and December, but this time by hand. However, while the three sets of analysis took place separately, all were conducted in line with the steps that Braun and Clarke (2006) recommend for thematic analysis. During the analysis, the researcher often returned to previous stages to review, add, combine and delete codes and themes. Finally, there were, in total, 190 codes from three forms of data, 16 of which were generated from participant observation (see Table 3.13), and further codes from the same source which were merged with existing codes from the interviews, including preventing harm, and gate and padlock protection. The researcher began to write the findings report in January 2016 and finished in April 2016 (findings from community members: January-March 2016; from experts: March-April 2016). The whole analysis process lasted approximately seven months.

3.5.1 Anonymity of participants

For both the pilot and main studies, even though interviewees were given the opportunity to allow their personal details to be included in the thesis, it was decided ultimately that no names should be used. This was done in order to make absolutely certain that participants would be protected from any possible repercussions that might occur as a result of their waiving anonymity.

Another area of ethical concern involved the use of images of individuals, given that it was unfeasible for the researcher to obtain permission for the use of such photographs from every person pictured. As a result, the researcher decided to blur out facial images. Nevertheless, most of the images have been retained since the researcher does not believe that they compromise the individuals concerned, but instead capture important data for the study. For example, the image of women at prayer was used because it captures the feelings of those involved in this part of the ceremony, but does not embarrass those pictured. This is because, in Thai society, religion is much more open, while Western religion tends generally to be seen as very private.

Codes were created in both studies through the use of abbreviations to signify interviewee roles. In the main study, a few extra code creation steps were added, with the first letter of mission/gender/age becoming the second element in community member codes, and a number

was used for both community members and experts to represent the order in which the interviews occurred.

Of the 11 community members interviewed, five served the community in public sites across a range of roles. The other participants were ordinary local people of different ages and genders. Community members were classified in three groups (Table 3.11).

- Community leaders (2): prior (CLP); and administrator (CLA);
- Community educators (3): Lanna language teacher (CEL); design lecturer (CED); and lecturer in Buddhism and museum and cultural studies (CEB);
- Community members (6): two older females (CMOF1 and 2); two young men (CMYM1 and 2); one middle-aged man (CMMM); and one older male (CMOM)

Identifiers	Abbreviation	First letter of mission/gender/age	Order of interview
CED	CE: Community educator	D: Design lecturer	
CLP	CL: Community leader	P: Prior	
CMMM	CM: Community member	MM: Middle-aged man	
CMOF2	CM: Community member	OF: Older female	2nd interview
CMYM1	CM: Community member	YM: Younger man	1st interview

Table 3.11: Identifiers

Grouping by role, age and gender enabled a comparison to be made of individual perspectives and capacity to engage with the community. This study uses abbreviations as an identification system: the first two letters represent the group heading, followed by another letter to distinguish role or gender and age group. For example, community leader (CL) and prior (P) was coded as (CLP). In the case of community members of the same gender and age, the order in which the interviews were held was added. For instance, the older female (OF) community member (CM) who was interviewed first (1) was coded as (CMOF1).

The 12 experts were coded by expertise and classified in five groups:

- Experts in Lanna language (ELL): five people
- Experts in ancient language (EAL): four people
- Expert in history (EHI): one person
- Expert in library science (ELS): one person
- Expert in computer science (ECS): one person

In the findings, there are two important, interrelated issues: indicating the type of interviewee, and including numbers. In the community views chapter, each speaker is identified. It was decided to do this so as to allow comparisons to be made between different types of people who sometimes

held different views, for example the abbot, the younger people and the older female. However, the researcher did not differentiate in this way what the experts said. As the majority of experts were language experts, most of them tended to agree on most issues. When a divergence of opinion occurred it could have been due to geographical location, whether the experts were situated in Bangkok or elsewhere. However, the main point here is that if only a couple of people mentioned a particular issue this could have down to the nature of their individual expertise.

The other issue concerns the quoting of numbers. In the expert findings, numbers were supplied, but it was decided not to do this for the community views findings. The reason was because the experts made up a group of similar individuals, whereas an abbot is very different from a young person. Therefore, it seemed more appropriate to exclude the numbering and report the community members in terms of type.

3.5.2 Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting pattern (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). In qualitative research, thematic analysis is one of the most suitable approaches for analysing data (Alhojailan, 2012; Bryman, 2012). Thematic analysis was applied to the interview transcriptions, to the notes from the participant observations, and to the photographs. For the participation observations of the three events, field notes were made to record details relevant to the first three research questions, together with reflective notes on what the researcher thought and felt at the time. The study followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) steps for thematic analysis: to code, analyse, present data, and generate findings.

In this research, data from the interviews, participant observations and visual images were coded separately but using similar procedures. The reason for this was that the interview data were used as the main source for generating key codes and themes. The field notes and visual images from the participant observations were then analysed to support the interview data and to confirm the validity of the data. The photographs were used initially as illustrations within the text to allow more understanding of material or events, but many of them were analysed later both to support existing codes from the interviews and the fieldwork data and to look for new codes. To ensure a systematic approach, analysis of the photographic inventory followed largely the thematic analysis approach proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006).

3.5.2.1 Stage 1: Familiarisation with the data

The first step in this stage was to become familiar with the data. In terms of the interview analysis, participant observation and photographic data, the process began with the researcher absorbing the information and becoming fully familiar with it (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For example, careful listening to the recordings and repeated reading of the field notes increased familiarisation with

the data. Next, research into the existing literature introduced a range of key concepts. Then the researcher transcribed the interview texts in Thai, except for the one interview in English, and recorded a number of analytic observations. Further reading of the transcripts was required to discover potential patterns. Finally, English comments and descriptions were gathered and labelled with keywords so as to permit initial codes to emerge and develop.

3.5.2.2 Stage 2: Generating initial codes

The second step was the generation of initial codes, which involved identifying and categorising semantic and conceptual data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The final part of this stage was to arrange and link related codes. The process consisted of writing a descriptive narrative and generating initial codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Suchar, 1997). To analyse data and generate codes, Nvivo was used (Figure 3.1). Data from the community member interviews were assessed first, in line with the main focus of this study, followed by the expert interview data, the field notes and then the photographs (Figure 3.2). Three community member interviews were analysed, which created 292 initial codes (Table 3.12). Then the codes were redefined and revised, which left a total of 160 second codes. Any similarities were merged or deleted. Moreover, in this stage, new codes were generated when new concepts were found within the field notes and photographs. There were some overlaps across certain codes, which meant that the researcher had to decide whether to retain or separate a number of them.
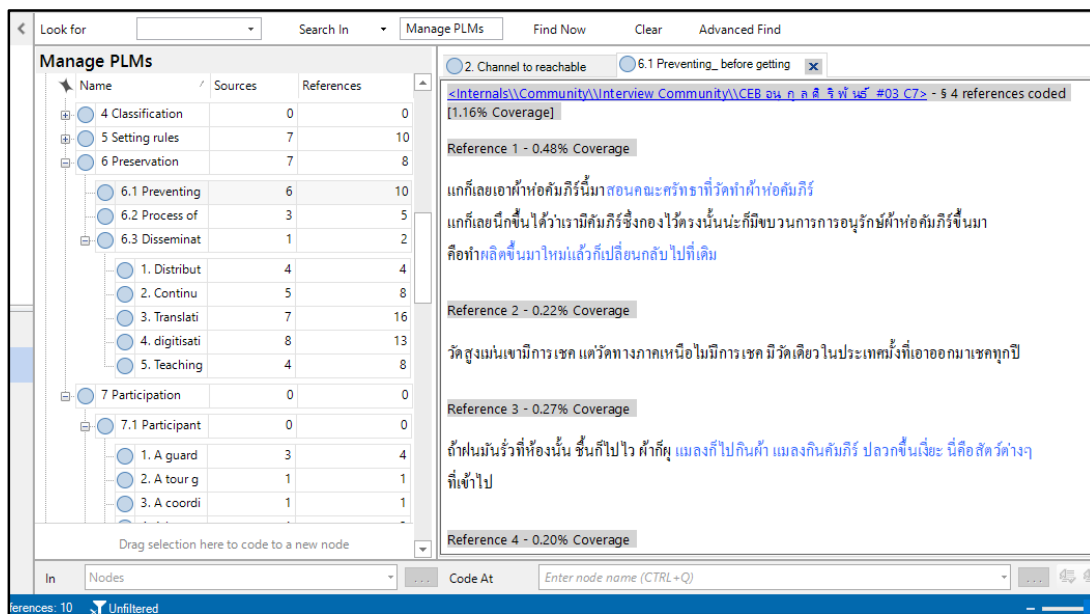
Figure 3.1: Initial coding from interviews in Nvivo
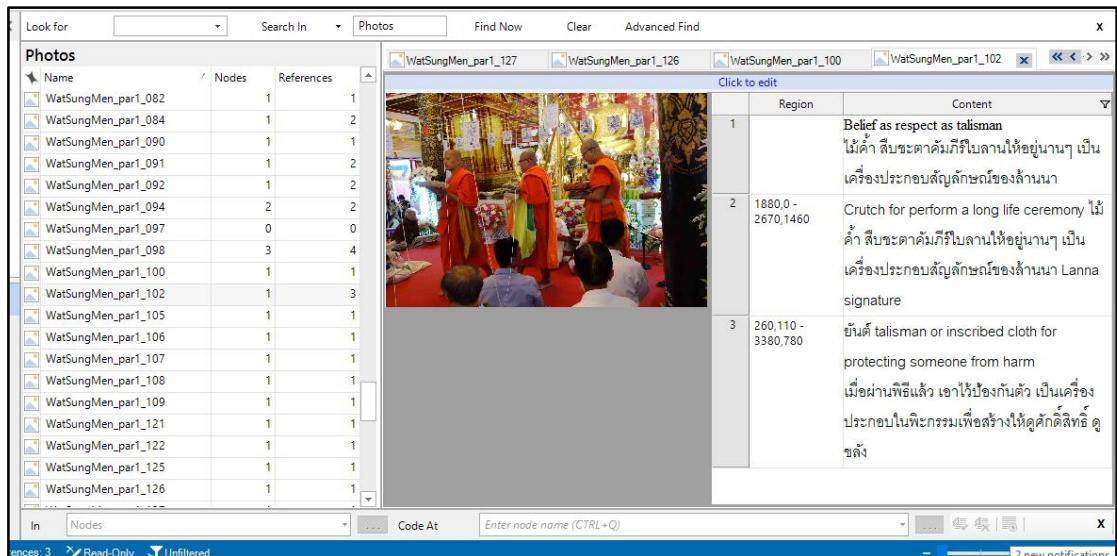
Figure 3.2: Initial coding from photographs in Nvivo

No.	Initial codes
1	Knowledge
2	Wisdom
3	Promote and support
4	Monks as author
5	Angel protection
6	Respectful
7	Sacred object
8	Material for record
9	Historical reference
10	Ancient document
11	Primary source
12	Art object
13	Ancient object
14	Commercial

Table 3.12: Example of initial codes

In terms of photographic analysis, the research questions prompted the creation of an initial shooting script, which was then used to select the most suitable photographs (Suchar, 1997). 199 of the 377 photographs of the community and 65 of the 311 photographs of the experts were chosen in this way. To achieve familiarity with the data, the researcher then considered the photographs carefully (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This process deselected photographs featuring similar content. 142 photographs of the community were chosen, and 27 of the experts. In total, then, 169 photos were used for illustrative and analysis purposes. More importantly, the photographs were used as a source of data, together with the field notes.

For photographic and field note analysis, selecting or grouping photographs and supplying descriptions were vital elements in the process, as was rethinking the research questions when new codes appeared as a result of certain photographs revealing further data. The researcher first

viewed the photographs and field notes through the existing codes, in a top-down process. At this point, sixteen new codes emerged from 85 images. 36 images were used to support interview and field note data for the five existing codes (Table 3.13).

Codes from photographic inventory				
No.	Merging existed codes from supporting interview and participant observation data	No. of images	New codes with participant observation data support	No. of images
1	Monks as authors	3	Paying respect	3
2	Traditional label	2	Holy thread and inscribed cloth as talismans	6
3	Tag label	6	Suai Dok (cone flowers) as worship items	3
4	Community adaptation process	1	Altar table	1
5	Item storage	24	Himmapan creature protection	3
6			Buddhism angel protection	2
7			Second floor of protection	2
8			Technological protection	1
9			Promotional activities managed by community members	-
10			Establishing processions as PLM events	14
11			Writing LannaTham script	5
12			Academic Seminar	2
13			Merit and belief activities	7
14			Providing an exhibition	3
15			Demonstration of cutting and boiling palm leaves	6
16			Teaching projects	27
	Total	36	Total	85

Table 3.13: Photographic inventory codes

3.5.2.3 Stage 3: Searching for themes

The next step was to search for themes. Themes from the interview data were identified which connected to the research questions, thus integrating the coded data with the relevant themes. The integration of this data with the themes from the interviews, the field notes from the participant observations and a number of the photographs added significantly to what had already been established, and revealed new aspects of objects, people and events. At this stage, the relationship between the themes became important. Five initial core themes emerged from the existing codes. These core themes were:

1. Value
2. Authorship
3. Ownership
4. Organisation: classification and cataloguing; storage, preservation and access
5. Participation

At this stage, sub-themes were developed under each core theme. Mind-maps (Figure 3.1) and tables (Table 3.14) were used as visuals to help find distinctive codes. These assisted the researcher in discovering the relationship between codes, sub-themes and core themes (Braun &

Clarke, 2006). At this point, codes, sub-codes, themes and sub-themes could still change their positions.
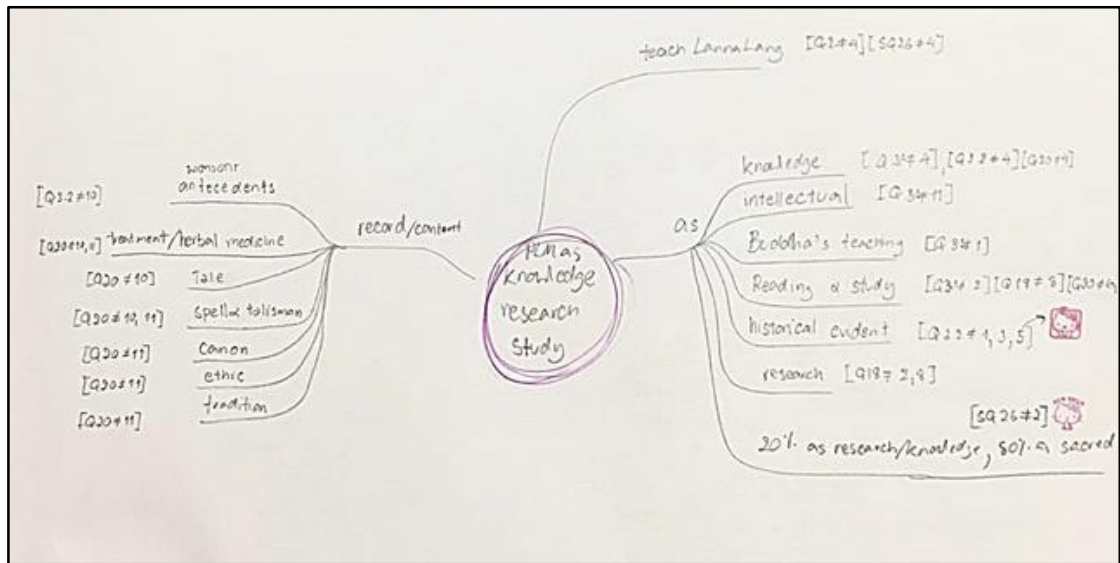
Figure 3.3: Example of initial sub-themes in a mind-map

Themes	Sub-themes	Codes	Sub-codes
Perceived value of PLMs	Knowledge	Buddhism	Sermon
			Folktales
			Lifestyle
		History	
		Lanna language and font	
		Herbal medicine	
		Study and research	
		Wisdom	
	Material	Sacred object	Monks as author
		Sacred object of merit	Paying respect
			Buddhism and angel repect
			Holy thread
			Inscribed cloth as talisman
			Cone flowers as worship items
			Set of altar table
		Ancient object	
		Recorded historical document and primary source	
		Art object	
		Showing respect to high value of PLMs	
		Signifying and representing notions of merit	

Table 3.14: Example of initial sub-themes in a table

3.5.2.4 Stage 4: Reviewing themes

A theme review was the fourth step, where the themes from the interview data together with the field notes were reviewed and refined in order to ensure that their meanings were clear and

effectively organised. Photographs were then reviewed, refined and coded for main themes and sub-themes; some were even deleted. As a result, one of the five initial core themes was refined and one was separated. The first theme, "Value", was refined to become "Perceived value of PLMs". The fourth theme, "Organisation", was separated into four core themes, "Classification and cataloguing", "Storage", "Preservation", and "Access", so as to be more specific. The themes changed again during a supervisory meeting. Eventually, eight core themes were secured:

1. Perceived value of PLMs
2. Authorship
3. Ownership
4. Classification and cataloguing
5. Storage
6. Preservation
7. Access
8. Community participation

3.5.2.5 Stage 5: Defining and naming themes

It was important to define and name themes in a way that fitted the overall subject: this was the fifth step. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that this stage should see themes defined and refined; it should also supply connections between the themes and specific features of the data.

The first theme was the perceived value of PLMs from the points of view of community members and experts. The data were divided into two sets to describe attitudes and feelings about the value of PLMs as knowledge vessels and material objects.

The second theme was authorship, the concept of who should be seen as the authors of PLMs. The data presented three main sets of possible authors: monks, people who knew Lanna script, and people who had left the Buddhist monkhood.

The third theme was about ownership, about who PLMs belonged to and how ownership might be protected in law. The data offered three concepts: physical material ownership, digital ownership, and intellectual property.

The fourth theme was classification and cataloguing. Here the data showed the ways in which experts classified the content of PLMs and presented the existence of overlapping categories. Also demonstrated were the methods by which community members adapted these classification syatems. Furthermore, this theme was enhanced by data about cataloguing by registration record, by tag label, and by process adaptation.

The fifth theme was storage. Here the data supplied three main factors: individual types of storage; storage space and storage locations to show where existing PLMs are kept; and the storage preferences of community members and experts.

The sixth theme covered PLM preservation across various aspects: prevention of decay; digitisation; Western and Eastern forms of preservation; conservation; and possible guidelines for looking after physical material.

The seventh theme was access. This ranged across eleven aspects and covered existing ideas and suggestions about access to PLMs as provided by community members and experts. The data included various ways to access PLMs: dissemination and use; security levels; access status; reachable channels; borrowing and returning; and access suggestions.

The last theme focused on community participation. The data offered ideas about the role of community members, community expectations of members, and the establishment of participatory models.

3.5.2.6 Stage 6: Data reporting

The final stage was the writing of the report. This was undertaken by bringing the analytic description and data extracts together to create a consistent and convincing story. At this stage, data were often reviewed and reshaped to make certain that they were being reported in an orderly way. Finally, the findings were produced in Chapter 4, Community views on PLM management, and Chapter 5, Expert views on PLM management.

3.6 Ethics

Ethical issues are important when research involves human subjects. Cooper and Schindler (2008, p. 34) define ethics as the "norms or standards of behaviour that guide moral choices about our behaviour and our relationships with others". Diener and Crandall (1978) outline four principles related to ethics: "harm to participants", "informed consent", "invasion of privacy", and "deception".

To produce the highest quality research, this study follows the ethics policy of the University of Sheffield, which provides supporting guidance and material for research involving human participants and personal data. Informed consent is sought from participants in a common language, explaining the aims of the research, its methodology, and procedures relating to confidentiality and data protection. Burns (2000, p. 23) supports the view that participants should be clearly informed of their rights and the risks of participating in research, and that the researcher must demonstrate concern for participant welfare and respect individual privacy at all times.

Burns (2000, p. 23) also emphasises that the researcher must not deceive the participants in any way in order to enhance personal achievement. Schinke and Gilchrist (1993, p. 83) suggest that "all informed-consent procedures must meet three criteria: participants must be competent to give consent; sufficient information must be provided to allow for a reasoned decision; and consent must be voluntary and uncoerced".

For the pilot study, an ethics proposal and information consent form were submitted for approval on 14th February 2014 and resubmitted for review on 1st March 2014. Approval was given on 3rd March 2014. For the main study, the ethics proposal and information consent form were approved on 22nd December 2014.

This research involves sensitive topics, such as religious and spiritual or other beliefs, so there were significant concerns about participant confidentiality in relation to personal data. For potential participants in the pilot study, participation was confidential. The data were anonymised, so that participants were not identifiable. All participants were over the age of consent. No questions of a personal or overly sensitive nature were asked. The risk to participants was the same as in everyday life. Participants were given an information sheet about the study and asked to sign a consent form confirming their agreement to participate. All data were treated confidentially. Data (audio recordings and transcripts) were stored securely on a password-protected computer, backed up on the University of Sheffield drive, and shared only with the supervisory team. For the main study, participants were asked whether they wanted to disclose their real names or not. If participants were not willing to reveal their names, these names were kept on confidential lists in a secure location.

3.7 Research quality

The subject of quality in qualitative research has received much attention from academics, who have tried to develop best practice in this area (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Seale (1999) believes that "research is a craft skill"; for researchers to produce valuable research, they have to learn how to select criteria suitable to their research by looking at different cases and conducting them at different times. Tracy (2010) suggests that a researcher should combine various paths and crafts to suit each study and its context. This researcher looked at the research criteria of "validity" and "reliability", and considered the quality criteria for a field study approach.

3.7.1 Validity and reliability (credibility) in qualitative research

Schwandt (1997) defines validity as how accurately research reflects the reality of the social phenomena it studies and how acceptable it is to the groups it studies. Procedures to ensure

validity include strategies used by researchers to gain credibility for their studies and conclusions drawn from the gathered data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Tracy (2010) lists many criteria for research quality: catalytic validity (Lather, 1986); empathetic validity (Dadds, 2008); crystallisation (Richardson, 2000); tacit knowledge (Altheide & Johnson, 1994); and transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Several scholars have also created models of validity, such as Maxwell's five types (1992); Lather's four frames (1993); and Schwandt's four positions (1997) (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 124).

This research used the "Eight Big-Tent" criteria and "validity procedures within a qualitative lens and paradigm assumptions" to build research trustworthiness and enable investigation of correspondences between the research questions, literature, data collection procedures, and analysis (Morse *et al*., 2002). The reason for using these criteria was the need for a specific set of relevant quality criteria when using a particular paradigm (Tracy, 2010, p. 837). To emphasise validity procedures, Creswell and Miller (2000) stress "the lens the researchers choose to validate their studies" and how it illustrates the "researchers' paradigm assumptions". A two-dimensional framework makes it simpler for researchers to identify relevant criteria and evaluate what makes qualitative research effective in the sense of its validity.

3.7.2 Quality criteria

This research applied rich rigour and credibility, including thick description and triangulation methods adapted from Tracy (2010), who proposes eight criteria for high research quality. For "validity procedures within a qualitative lens and paradigm assumptions", Creswell and Miller (2000) suggest a number of validity procedures, three of which were appropriate to this study: triangulation, prolonged engagement, and thick or rich description.

3.7.3 Strategies to establish quality

Accuracy, credibility and trustworthiness were achieved in this research through archiving material, being rigorous, and using triangulation of methods; prolonged engagement in the field; and the use of thick, rich description (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Tracy, 2010). In terms of rigour, this research was rechecked for accuracy, relevance and level of detail. Triangulation, the use of different sources for data collections, theories and methods to ensure that they give the same conclusions (Denzin, 1978), was used to examine different views and therefore check the validity of the research. Another criterion, prolonged engagement in the field, was used to generate a better understanding of the cultural context by using participant observation and interviews. Finally, thick, rich description was used to generate abundant detail in order to explore, interpret and analyse the data in a way that served to answer the research questions as fully as possible.

3.7.3.1 Rich rigour

Quality is essential in qualitative research, and accuracy is central to quantitative research (Winter, 2000). Weick (2007, p. 16) defines "requisite variety" as the generation of sufficient richness of description and explanation in the research process in terms of abundance, sampling, and context. Rigour also supports richness in validity (Golafshani, 2003). To confirm the need for rigour in research, Tracy (2010, p. 841) raises four questions about the sufficiency of data: "Are there enough data to support significant claims?"; "Did the researcher spend enough time gathering interesting and significant data?; "Is the context or sample appropriate, given the goals of the study?"; and "Did the researcher use appropriate procedures in terms of field note style, interview practices, and analysis procedures?"

Richness is an important element for supporting the quality of the research but it does not necessarily involve abundant data, if data are rare or unique. Generating a small amount of data can be qualitatively valid in particular circumstances (Scarduzio & Geist-Martin, 2008). In this research, rigour was applied to data collection and analysis. In fieldwork, researchers should take notes, as far as is possible, and rigour is evaluated by the number of observations and pages of notes collected. It helps the researcher understand the participants. In the interviews, rigour was judged by the number and breadth of the questions. In the analytical process, the number of pages of transcription was considered in terms of the accuracy of detail.

3.7.3.2 Credibility

For credibility, there are three strategies (Tracy, 2010): triangulation; thick description; and prolonged engagement in the field.

i) Triangulation

Triangulation is used in qualitative research as a way of ensuring data reliability. In this research, different data collection techniques were used and revealed the same conclusions (Denzin, 1970; Creswell & Miller, 2000). The use of a triangulation process increases the validity of the data through cross-checking (Bloor, 1997).

ii) Thick description

This method establishes credibility by describing the setting, participants and themes of the study in rich detail (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Thick description involves rich cultural data which expand previously established meanings (Geertz, 1973). Complex data, including particular and surrounding data, should be provided (Geertz, 1973). This research achieved data complexity by providing enough detail about PLM value, management, and community participation to be able to draw a full set of conclusions. Moreover, the researcher encouraged interviewees to expand on

their responses by giving examples or referring to specific events to make the data more distinct and precise. These processes are called thick description (Geertz, 1973).

iii) Engagement in the field

The longer the observation period, the more likely it is that participants will trust the researcher. This creates reliability and establishes rapport, enabling the willing sharing of information (Creswell & Miller, 2000). To achieve credibility, normally a researcher will stay in the field for three to six months in order to gather sufficient rich information (Creswell & Miller, 2000). However, here, due to the specific context, one in which only three events involving PLMs took place, it was not appropriate to spend such a long period in the field, since little relevant data could be collected at other times. Although the time spent in the field was less than recommended for a typical study, the period spent collecting data during these events generated significant amounts of rich data in an intensive environment, which were recorded extensively (see Sections 3.4.2.2-3.4.2.3 & 3.4.3.1-3.4.3.2). Thus, although time in the field was limited, the strategies adopted for collecting and collating data give the study credibility in terms of the amount and quality of data collected.

3.8 Influence of the pilot study on the main study

This pilot study was designed to explore Lanna culture in order to determine the direction of the thesis and establish the final research questions for the main study. Five individuals – an anthropologist, language experts and librarians – were selected to provide an understanding of Lanna culture, including current social norms and the cultural meaning of Lanna resources. Semi-structured interviews were used as the primary data collection technique.

One of the objectives of the pilot study was to choose a specific focus. A number of potential cultural practices of interest were explored, such as PLMs, weaving and wisdom classrooms. The pilot study helped the researcher to choose PLMs because they represent valuable cultural material. At the same time, the findings helped the researcher to omit weaving from the study, a decision made due to the time constraints involved in identifying participants from among an entire community, and the limited amount of data likely to be generated from such interviewees. The researcher found that it was difficult to access the weaving community to collect data through participant observation because it was not the best time to be in the field. Weavers start weaving only after they finish harvesting, their main job. They also weave when they have orders from customers; this happens occasionally, not regularly. Moreover, there were few weavers in the communities, which is why the number of key informants for interviews was insufficient. Also, although wisdom classrooms would have been a good subject for observation, given that they might have offered first-hand experience of members of the community learning Lanna, it was

decided at this stage that it would be too time-consuming to analyse them, in that the researcher had only a relatively short time in the field in which to collect the data. On the other hand, PLMs had more interesting features and close connections with information and library science services. It was also found that large numbers of PLMs remained in monasteries, waiting for interested people to discover them, manage them and make them accessible to the public. Therefore, this researcher selected PLMs as the case through which to study cultural artefact management by exploring the views of community members and experts about their historical and contemporary significance.

The pilot study also showed that most community members believed PLMs to be the most significant part of their culture. This reinforced the idea that PLMs needed to be prioritised in the main study. A third insight gathered from the pilot study was the importance of identifying specific events for observation and particular tools for data collection and interviews, which would help generate the richest data. When conducting interviews in the temple, the researcher also realised that participant observation would be an appropriate approach in the main study because it was clear that sharing in community activities would provide many insights into people's views and experiences. Moreover, it was realised that using a photographic inventory would show the evidence, objects and social contexts of events and collections, in a way which verbal description could not achieve by itself.

The findings of the pilot study also showed certain weaknesses in the initial four research questions. Thus it became necessary to rephrase these questions. In terms of the first research question – 1) How are Lanna and its people defined? – it became apparent that this question was too broad. Thus, this research question was reworded to become: 1) What is the place of PLMs in Lanna culture? The next research question – 2) What is the value of Lanna culture? – was also reworded to it clearer. It became: 2) Where do palm leaf manuscripts or wisdom culture fit into Lanna culture? The third and fourth research questions were adjusted and made more specific. Originally they were: 3) How can Lanna collections be managed in culturally sensitive ways, to respect indigenous beliefs and practices of ownership, organisation, categorisation, access and other services, storage, preservation, and promotion? and 4) Are professional libraries equipped to manage Lanna collections in culturally sensitive ways? These research questions were revised: 3) How do stakeholders believe Lanna collections should be managed, in terms of authorship, ownership, organisation and access? And 4) How do stakeholders (the community, community leaders, experts on Lanna culture and librarians) think they should be managed? Following that, a new research question was created in order to connect more fully with the aim of this study. This became the fifth research question: 5) What would a collaborative model of collection development be like?

After this initial revision of the research questions from the pilot study, the research questions were changed again later and produced as a final list. Research Question 1 was deleted due to its having emerged in the literature review. The research questions were revised and reworded to be clearer and more consistent, which would allow similarities and differences in the views expressed by community members and experts to be identified. The third and fourth research questions were combined and adjusted to become clearer; these research questions were merged and became Research Question 2. In addition, it was decided to place more focus on community participation in Research Question 3: What similarities and differences are there in the ways community members and experts think the community should participate in the management of PLMs? (Table 3.15.)

Initial RQs	Revised RQs	Finalised RQs
1. How are Lanna and its people defined?	1. What is the place of PLMs in Lanna culture?	1. What similarities and differences are there in how community members and experts perceive the value of PLMs?
2. What is the value of Lanna culture?	2. Where do PLMs fit into Lanna culture?	2. What similarities and differences are there in how community members and experts think PLMs should be managed in terms of authorship, ownership, classification and cataloguing, preservation, access and community participation?
3. How can Lanna collections be managed in culturally sensitive ways, to respect indigenous beliefs and practices of authorship, ownership, organisation and access?	3. How do stakeholders believe Lanna collections should be managed, in terms of authorship, ownership, organisation and access?	
4. Are professional libraries equipped to manage Lanna collections in culturally sensitive ways?	4. How do stakeholders (the community, community leaders, experts on Lanna culture and librarians) think PLMs should be managed?	3. What similarities and differences are there in the ways community members and experts think the community should participate in the management of PLM?
	5. What would a collaborative model of collection development be like?	4. What should be the characteristics of a collaborative model for the management of PLMs?

Table 3.15: Developing the research questions

Finally, the importance of identifying a suitable group of interviewees was recognised. One concern raised by the pilot study was the need to include community members as interviewees, in order to compare their views to those of experts.

In relation to PLMs specifically, the pilot study helped the researcher to familiarise herself with the meaning of Lanna culture, its values, characteristics and people, in order to gain more understanding of the culture and community members' perceptions of it. Key issues, such as ownership, management, access and participation were identified. It became clear that the perceived value of PLMs, Lanna collection management and community participation were also very important themes. The pilot study further indicated the significant impact that globalisation is having on the culture and people observed in this research.

As stated, PLMs were chosen as the objects to be studied in relation to management and community participation issues. The status and role of PLMs in Buddhist temple museums was one aspect of the study which also related to the role of libraries as places for the storage of printed material and rare resources in special collections. A PLM is an ancient document used to record the Buddha's teaching, and is seen as a very sacred text. The preservation of these holy scriptures by ancient people is seen to bring eternal merit, so many Buddhists have adopted the manuscripts as an important tradition. In addition, PLMs have another value: the precious and artistic tracery of their covers and rim decorations.

3.9 Conclusion

This study takes the worldview of an interpretive approach and some aspects of a critical paradigm to understand PLM management in terms of the value of a collaborative model of collection management based on community participation in northern Thailand. Interview-based qualitative research was undertaken in two phases, a pilot study and a main study. Community members and experts were the two main types of participant in this research. The main issues which arose were: perceptions of the value of PLMs; expectations regarding the management of PLMs; community participation in PLM management; and an appropriate collaborative model for community-based PLM management. Thematic analysis and coding was selected for the data analysis. To achieve research quality, rich rigour, credibility-triangulation, thick, rich description, and prolonged engagement in the field were used in this study.

Chapter 4 - Community views on PLM management

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the study findings about community views on PLMs and how manuscripts should be managed. It is divided into four sections: community-held beliefs about PLM authorship, ownership, organisation and participation. Each theme is assessed in order to determine what the community feels to be the most appropriate form of PLM management.

4.2 Perceived value of PLMs

In this section, there are four sub-sections, each of which relates to a different theme emerging from the data about the value the community interviewees attached to PLMs. The sub-sections focus on knowledge, material, personal interest, and affective values. These themes are then discussed to consider the value of Lanna PLMs from a community perspective.

4.2.1 Intrinsic value of knowledge contained in PLMs

The main perceived value of PLMs, according to community members, related to knowledge. As one community educator stated:

> *I don't care if the document is damaged but at the least the knowledge it contains has to be disseminated… As I said, my idea is not to see importance in the material but in the knowledge inside… We have to admit that a palm leaf is only the material used to record knowledge. It is just like paper, which is not important. However, the most important thing I always emphasise is the knowledge inside… I don't conserve palm leaves but the knowledge in them. If all knowledge is translated, I don't care if the physical objects are burnt or thrown away.* (CEL)

Many community members expressed the idea that knowledge represented the core value of PLMs. Most saw Buddhism as the most essential value. In more specific terms, the community as a whole believed PLMs to contain five elements of knowledge, which were, in order of importance: Buddhism, history, the Lanna language and writing, medical treatment, and older sources of wisdom.

4.2.1.1 Community views on Buddhist knowledge

Among the communities in this region, Buddhism has long been considered the highest form of knowledge. One community leader explained:

It is the Buddha's teaching. The way to prolong Buddhist teaching is to maintain the age of Buddhism. The people who wrote Lanna Tham script on palm leaves intended to continue teaching Buddhism for 5,000 years because they believed that the reign of the Buddha Kotama would last that long. (CLP)

This view is based on the local legend about maintaining the current Lord Buddha Kotama for 5,000 years before Phra Sri Ariya Mettrai gains enlightenment and becomes the next Lord Buddha. The most significant Buddhist value of PLMs is contained in their religious discourse. The Buddha's teachings are used and applied to laypeople's lives; through these teachings the community is taught to be good and to behave in morally correct ways, particularly through the use of sermons, folktales and lifestyle.

i)   Value of sermons in Buddhist knowledge

Some community members saw sermons as especially representative of the ways in which PLMs are used for religious instruction or exhortation regarding how people should behave. On particular occasions, such as on every monk's day, a monk delivers a lecture about morals, retribution for bad behaviour and fables that illustrate such principles. In this sense, sermons were felt by the community to be an extremely important aspect of PLM use, dating from the time when these beliefs were very strongly held.

ii)   Value of folktales in Buddhist knowledge

Some people in the community recognised the tales inscribed on PLMs to include the life values people adopt because they believe in Buddhist doctrine. One teenage community member illustrated the benefit of the tales:

There are many ancient tales in the temple, such as "Ma Khon Kham" ["The Golden-haired Dog"] *and "Seing Meing"* [a tale about a boy called Seing Meing]. *They are contained in the PLMs. The monks use this content in order to teach children. I also refer to the tales when I am in a conversation group.* (CMMM)

Another teenager explained that:

The more the "Lanthong" tales were published, the more they sold out. Right now, they are in their fourth edition. There are around ten short stories in the tales. They were translated from PLMs… and are meant as a guideline for life practices. They also include some humorous remarks and ideas. (CMYM2)

These study participants thus suggested that the stories in PLMs should be understood as morality tales. The first story, a folktale from Lampang province, is called "*Ma Khon Kham*" and is about a golden-haired female dog which had two daughters. One had a prosperous life because of her

gratefulness, while the other was eaten by a giant because of her ungratefulness. The second story is "*Seing Meing*", a well-known folktale in the northern and north-eastern parts of Thailand, which tells of an intelligent but cunning boy who is finally punished because of his personality flaws. Other stories of interest are collected in "Lanthong", folktales that have been gathered together and published in the Lanna language.

As there has been no international publication, collecting these old folktales, all of which offer moral lessons, is almost impossible. The origins of the tales are unclear; some occur only in ancient Lanna documents written in LannaTham script. Moreover, it can be difficult for contemporary people to read or understand the stories, since the languages used are not taught in the modern educational system.

Both the participants above also noted that children and adults could learn how to behave from these ancient tales. Furthermore, according to the teenagers, the material was important not only in terms of the provision of knowledge but also in the sense of supplying humour and amusement.

    iii) Value of Buddhist knowledge as a guide to living one's life

Many community members shared the opinion that a prime form of knowledge contained in the manuscripts concerned how to live one's life. As one explained, *"There are traditions, practices, moral precepts, and Dharma* [the principles or teaching of the Buddha] *which relate to how to live"* (CMYM2). Within the manuscripts, Buddhist content represents not only abstract concepts but also invaluable guidelines to using Dharma and moral themes to encourage good behaviour in the community. For example, in Dharma, there are five moral precepts that are used as training principles for everyday behaviour: 1) not harming other living beings; 2) not taking what is not given; 3) abstaining from sexual misconduct; 4) abstaining from falsity; and 5) abstaining from intoxicants. These five tenets, then, can be seen as influencing people and encouraging them to behave correctly in order to achieve peace, happiness and virtue within the community.

As mentioned above, the Buddha's teachings, for example in the form of Dharma, are employed not only by monks but also by laypeople. Buddhism teaches moral principles covering how to live as parents, children, teachers, students and good citizens. In daily life, listening to sermons by monks and reading folktales are seen as appropriate ways for everyone to learn the Buddha's lessons.

4.2.1.2 Value of historical knowledge

Other community members stated that another significant form of knowledge contained in PLMs was historical. One member elaborated on this idea: *"The content that we translated is the whole of Lanna history, including the history of the cities of Chiang Saen, Chiang Khong, Phikulchai,*

Nuntaburi, Nan, Haen and Tak, as well as the history of the routes of rivers" (CLA). In essence, this type of history is a localised study of the past which allows people to learn where they came from and who they have become.

One community member emphasised the importance of the translation of historical knowledge:

> *People who cannot read see an ancient object only as something which cannot harm them. In fact, there is historical value to a physical object… but for me, the knowledge is more important than the object.* (CEL)

This particular participant thus felt the importance of PLMs to be located in their historical knowledge, more so than in the idea that the manuscripts might be holy objects.

4.2.1.3 Lanna script and font knowledge

Many community members regarded Lanna script to be another crucial aspect of PLMs. One community educator said:

> *What I have is language. What I want is to teach Lanna script to Lanna people. I would like them to be able to read Lanna script… The Lanna script should be the language of the Lanna or local people. Therefore, I think local people should read Lanna texts first. Everything we have talked about, hoped for and dreamt would come true if Lanna people could read Lanna scripts. But in real life it is impossible because Lanna people still cannot read Lanna script. When they cannot read the manuscripts, they can't understand their value. They don't know what they are and they don't know what it is. So, what we're dreaming about is still far away.* (CEL)

This participant believed the most vital solution to all issues relating to PLMs to be the Lanna script. He argued that the more people there were who knew and could use Lanna script, the more accessible and meaningful PLMs would be.

While most community members emphasised the Lanna language, another community educator focused on Lanna script as a font to develop and then apply in product design. He said that, *"Being a product designer myself, I never see the younger generation of designers applying the Lanna font in their designs"*. Although only this educator identified the style of the Lanna font as being significant, all interviewees focused on the local language as meaningful in PLMs.

4.2.1.4 Medical knowledge in PLMs

One of the essential forms of knowledge in PLMs, according to people in the community, was medical treatments. They stated that there were formulas, local treatments and herbal medicines

within PLM content. One female community member told a story about her great grandfather, a folk doctor, who read PLMs in his free time to gain ideas about herbal remedies and recipes for medicines. She saw him create his own herbal remedies in the garden after he had read these PLMs. He planted numerous herbs, brought them into the sunlight, then sliced and pounded them, and used them to heal patients. He also inscribed his own herbal recipes onto PLMs. Indeed, local medical treatment was often based on such wisdom (CMOF1).

4.2.1.5 Study and research

A slightly different value invested in PLMs, although still within the branch involving sources of knowledge, concerns how study and research might further education in Buddhism, history, language, and herbal remedies and recipes. Community people talked about how study and research were important elements in the preservation and durability of the manuscripts. One community member said:

> In my personal view, I consider study to be important. I love studying and reading. I have studied from antique books. Even though I cannot read LannaTham, I feel that a PLM is a book and it should be conserved and maintained. (CMMM)

This interviewee insisted that, no matter where and how he learnt, study brought knowledge and new perceptions. Both he and a female participant also felt that work on PLMs would be interesting for students and researchers.

To summarise, a key value contained within PLMs is that of knowledge, which the participants in this study saw as the most valuable aspect of PLMs. As forms of knowledge and wisdom are founded on community experiences, relations and perceptions, the communities here placed much emphasis on the knowledge found within Buddhism, as presented in the form of sermons about the Buddha's teachings. The Lanna language also enables literacy. Another value is study and research in further and higher education. Thus, according to community members, the knowledge contained in the manuscripts includes the Buddha's moral teachings, historical information, information about the Lanna language, medical treatment, and study material.

4.2.2 Value of PLMs as material objects

Another significant issue surrounding the manuscripts was the way in which the community expressed a degree of ambivalence about their material nature, with both positive and negative viewpoints expressed in relation to the subject. The four positive opinions held PLMs as ancient objects, sacred objects, information resources, or art objects. The two negative attitudes related to objections to Buddhist wisdom being transformed into amulets and exploited for commercial purposes.

4.2.2.1 Ancient objects

The local community saw PLMs as ancient objects. The female community members shared this opinion and said this was why the manuscripts had to be kept in monasteries. A teenage community member pointed out that people valued PLMs as ancient artefacts, with local people maintaining and protecting them by controlling access to them. One community educator stated that PLMs were ancient objects containing important knowledge, while another valued the recording of ancient material. He said:

> *I think they were one of the materials in that period which were used to record the events that happened to us. They are very important as ancient objects. Whatever we used, stones or other leaves, to record events, it is important. And palm leaves were just one of the types of material used.* (CED)

It is significant that, although all the participants valued PLMs for their ancient nature, they attached a variety of concepts and values to them.

4.2.2.2 Sacred objects

In this study, PLMs were considered as cultural objects, both ancient and sacred artefacts, and possessed a value still revered by the community. However, one female community member remarked that the degree to which people valued the manuscripts as sacred objects depended on their particular attitudes:

> *PLMs are seen as sacred objects by a specific group. Grandma says that if people think and believe in a sacred way, they will understand PLMs that way. However, when some people don't think in that sacred way, they will not understand and will not be interested in asking. For example, for people who come to visit the temple, they just look at the PLMs for a while and then they leave.* (CMOF2)

Thus, only certain people held PLMs to be sacred objects. This participant was keen to highlight the need for people to respect PLMs. Most of the participants in this study, however, valued PLMs as sacred objects through personal experience and background. Underpinning this view was the fact that monks were seen as the authors of the manuscripts and holy figures of merit.

i)   Monks as authors: sacred object factor

Community members mentioned that they respected two specific monks who wrote a large number of PLMs: Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein and Kruba Mahapa Kesarapanyo. One participant explained that PLMs were regarded as sacred objects because they belonged to monks who had gained the respect of local people. Another community member agreed that most local people saw PLMs as sacred objects:

80% of local people, especially old people, see PLMs as sacred objects because they belonged to the previous abbot (Kruba Mahapa Kesarapanyo) who was respected among local people. The other 20%, mostly students, middle-aged people and teachers, see PLMs as knowledge. Possibly, in the future, the academic-related viewpoint might increase to 50% and be equal to the sacred view. (CMMM)

This interviewee stated that a specific group considered the manuscripts to be sacred objects, which connects to this suggestion from one of the community educators:

Before experts touch or hold the PLMs, they have to show respect to them in three ways: 1) honouring the PLMs; 2) honouring the monks; and 3) honouring the spirits and angels who protect the PLMs. (CEB)

The field observations and photographs show that local people respected monks who inscribed LannaTham script in the PLMs. The statue of Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein holding PLMs was created in order to pay respect. In addition, there is a painting of the same monk on the wall of the shrine at Wat Sungmen (Figure 4.1). Similarly, after Kruba Mahapa Kesarapanyo made his own actual size image, local people began to come to pay their respects to him at Wat Laihin (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.1: Statue and wall painting of Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein, Wat Sungmen, Phrae

Figure 4.2: Statue of Kruba Mahapa Kesarapanyo, Wat Laihin, Lampang

ii) PLMs as holy objects of merit

One participant explained how she respected PLMs by donating them to the monastery. She said, *"PLMs belong to the temple. I was born and grew up here. I had to come to this temple. I respect this temple. I could not keep them at home. I brought them to this temple to make merit"* (CMOF2). The evidence for PLMs as holy objects of merit is presented here through observation and photos; they show how PLMs reflect five religious elements: 1) paying respect; 2) paying the Buddhist angels respect; 3) the use of holy thread and inscribed cloth as talismans; 4) and the placing of Suai Dok (cone flowers) as worship elements on 5) the altar table.

a) *Paying respect*

PLMs represent merit, an important strand of Buddhism. For example, wearing a white dress means that an individual is striving to achieve pure consciousness, both inwardly and outwardly. Moreover, holding PLMs allows the gaining of merit. Community people normally act humbly towards PLMs by putting their palms together to worship and hold the manuscripts as holy objects (Figure 4.3). Some bow their heads to show more respect and close their eyes to meditate, seeking merit for another's soul or to make a good wish (Figure 4.4). Many people hold PLMs and perform a triple circumambulation in the TanTham tradition, which symbolises a deep regard for the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. Walking barefoot or in socks without shoes also shows respect to PLMs, as is clearly seen in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.3: Paying respect to the Buddha (putting palm together to worship)

Figure 4.4: Paying respect to the Buddha (bowing head and putting palms together to worship)

Figure 4.5: Triple circumambulation, without shoes, performed by local people and visitors of all ages and genders, to respect the Buddha

b) Respect for Buddhist angels

One community educator said the reason people should respect PLMs as sacred objects was that they would be protected by an angel if they did:

> *First of all, local people believe that all PLMs and temples are protected by an angel. Therefore, we have to ask the angel to do this. As local people believe that PLMs are protected by the angel, accessing them is not just like taking an ordinary book from the library. The best thing to do with PLMs, before using or reading them, is to bring a pedestal and ask permission to read them to honour the writer who wrote them and the angel who protects them. We never mention this point of the original tradition. For scholars, PLMs are for reading only and are never respected for their high value. If we could bring back this idea about beliefs and respect, academic people would understand and honour the PLMs and abbots: for example, they would ask permission to use them. (CEB)*

This individual wanted people to follow the old tradition. He stressed that a sacred object with high value, such as a PLM, was protected by an angel. Furthermore, before touching, holding or reading PLMs, users should ask permission and pay respect to the writer and the angel. This finding thus provides an account of the value of PLMs as sacred objects in Lanna culture.

c) *Holy thread and inscribed cloth as talismans*

Holy thread, made from oakum (Figure 4.6), is used in ceremonies to connect the Buddha, Dharma and monks. It is also used to link the offered object with local people in order to renew their lives. In addition, holy thread, the way that it is arranged in the monastery, helps to create a sense of shared possession of PLMs. Observation and photos confirm the use of nine lines of holy thread to form such connections. Nine is believed to be stand for progress in Thailand because its sound in the Thai language, "*Kao*", is a homophone of "*KaoNa*", which means progress and aligns with the principles of Buddhism. The photograph shows PLMs accorded respect as Dharma; they have been placed on the highest level of the altar table (Figure 4.7). Then holy thread has been spread to create a wall netting, each square outlined in holy thread (Figure 4.8). In this TanTham ceremony, participants untie the holy thread from the wall netting and wrap it around their heads and on the PLMs (Figures 4.9 and 4.10).

Another talisman is inscribed cloth, used to protect someone from harm. It is also attached to the holy thread wall netting, as can be seen in Figure 4.8. After worship, participants take the holy thread with them to use it as a talisman.

Figure 4.6: Palm leaf manuscripts tied with holy thread

Figure 4.7: Holy thread around participants' heads

d) Suai Dok in worship

Another means of demonstrating that PLMs are holy objects is through the use of cone flowers ("*Suai Dok*"). These are made of rolled banana leaves in the shape of cones which are filled with flowers, fire sticks, and candles. The meaning of this transformation is to be found in the delicacy of their appearance and the fact that it makes them easy to use in worship; putting Suai Dok on objects is a show of respect. Flowers are symbols of worship in every ritual. Lanna people believe that Suai Dok should be celebrated because they are used in worship.

Therefore, placing Suai Dok on PLMs indicates faithfulness to Dharma, the sign of the soul, and gratefulness. To verify PLM use in this sense, the researcher observed the TakTham ceremony and took photos during the event. Suai Dok were used in worship here: they were held by monks and other participants during the triple circumambulation. As the ceremony progressed through the placing of the manuscripts in the sunlight, participants laid PLMs around the pagoda and also placed Suai Dok above the PLMs, as shown in Figure 4.11.

Figure 4.8: Holy thread

Figure 4.10: Wall netting of holy thread with inscribed cloth
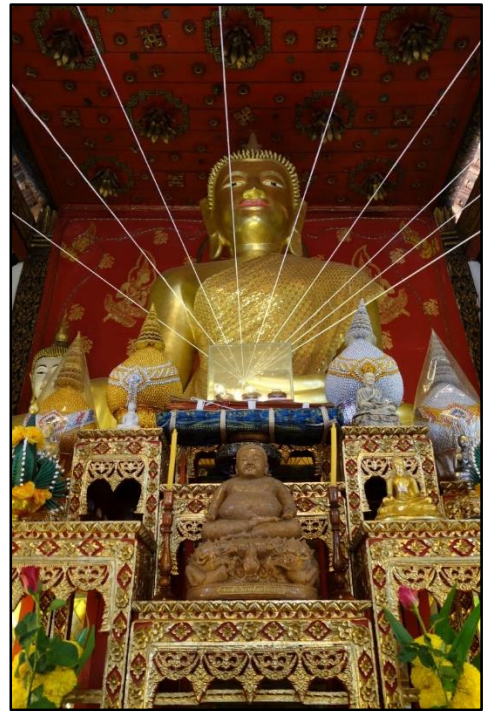
Figure 4.9: Palm leaf manuscripts laid on altar table in front of principal Buddha image with nine lines of holy thread

(a) Lanna Suai Dok laid on PLMs during triple circumambulation in TakTham ceremony

(b) Lanna Suai Dok in baskets and silver bowls with a bottle for pouring ceremonial water

(c) Lanna Suai Dok laid on PLMs in TakTham process

Figure 4.11: Lanna Suai Dok

e) *Altar table*

The final element shows the value of PLMs as holy objects on the altar table. In general, the altar table holds an image of the Buddha and is worshipped with offerings. The placing of PLMs on the altar table means they are seen as holy. The community then reveres their holiness and offers its respect, as the participant quotation and Figure 4.12 below demonstrate.

Community people recognise PLMs as respected and sacred objects from their experience. One female community member connected them with an ancestor: *"When I was young, I saw great-grandfather place a palm leaf manuscript in a tray of gifts on the Buddhist altar"* (CMOF1).

Figure 4.12: Palm leaf manuscripts placed on altar table

Many quotations from community members and data from the observations indicate that PLMs are considered as sacred objects. Lanna people are devoted to monks who are seen as the authors of PLMs and offer respect to them. They are also faithful to enlightened beings. Their sacred quality originates from the monks who inscribed them and is reinforced through use and association with other symbolic holy objects. In this sense, such property is respected through its utilisation as talismans, through its worship, and through being placed on the altar table. Thus, it can be seen that PLMs are sacred objects of merit from a community perspective.

4.2.2.3 Material records

Community members also perceived PLMs to be important as material records of the ancient past. One stated that, in the past, palm leaves were used to record information for future study and that this material might also be considered as historical evidence or as a primary source.

i) Primary sources

Some community members believed PLMs to be important as primary sources of a historical record. One community leader said:

> *The content we translated contains the whole Lanna history, including about the cities of Chiang Saen, Chiang Chong, Phi Kul Chai, Nantaburi, Nan, Haen and Tak … The evidence in the PLMs is a primary source of useful information. Now we are so happy that we know about the history as well as the origin of each city in Lanna, east and west. We found the design of the temples in each tradition and city to be similar.* (CLA)

This finding indicates the use of PLMs as material records of historical evidence, as primary sources for study and research.

4.2.2.4 Art objects

Community members pointed out that, in the present day, PLMs were valued as objects of art and stated that collectors of antiquities respected them as such. One participant even said that PLMs did not serve Buddhism but were artistic artefacts because they were handmade. She added that foreign collectors who saw their importance held them in museums, showing that they realised how important they were. One person gave an example in financial terms, citing ancient woven coverings which can cost as much as £2,000. Thus, many participants saw PLMs as ancient art objects.

4.2.2.5 Transformation into amulets

PLMs possess value as ancient, respected and sacred art, and as a material record. On the other hand, a specific group of participants recognised this value but felt that PLMs were being used in negative ways, particularly through their commercialisation, which upset the local community. Certain participants described how PLMs were ground into powder and used as amulets. A number of community members saw this action as a threat, although one saw it as evidence of localised conservation in the sense that there was a tradition that, after PLMs were donated to a monastery, they might be ground down and made into amulets, which could be viewed as a conservation practice:

> In the community, local people are interested in PLMs when there are activities related to them. Local people are well aware of the importance of PLMs once we stimulate and create activities related to such manuscripts. But they are not mentioned in everyday life because people don't care about them. This means that donating PLMs to the temple is the end of their involvement. The process of looking after them is a step further, following a donation. This is the tradition of local people making merit, where they pour ceremonial water to commemorate ancestors or other people, and the PLMs then belong to the temple. We have only started to use the term "conservation" in our generation. Here we have some support, but it's not much, unlike in Wat Sungmen, where the PLMs are brought out into the sun and carried out during the ceremony. Then they are taken back and kept in the monastery library, which is different from Wat Pongsanok, where they are revitalised by being rewritten in small numbers... In the local tradition, when PLMs are damaged, people mash them and make small images of the Buddha, used as amulets, and this is their conservation procedure. On the other hand, the conservation process employed by the Fine Arts department involves each part of the palm leaf and connects them by gluing them together and then wrapping them with paper and stone.

These strategies are too complicated to teach to locals, who burn PLMs when they are damaged and rewrite new ones. (CEB)

This participant felt that local people did not possess a conservation process to preserve the original material. Nevertheless, others saw grinding them down as a form of conservation, one carried out when the manuscripts were damaged. In other words, some participants believed that transforming the palm leaves into amulets was a threat while others thought that locals were preserving PLM traditions.

4.2.2.6 Commercial opportunities

One local suggested that PLMs could be seen as both Buddhist objects and commercial opportunities. He complained that a group of people had come to the monastery and asked to digitise all the PLMs, offering approximately £60,000. In other words, a financial incentive could be used to enhance the value of PLMs. Thus, some groups of people make use of cultural objects for profit.

As stated above, the findings in this study show that participants saw the value of PLMs in terms of their physical existence as objects. Discovering how PLMs originated was a strong factor in determining their value, according to the monk and local people. Therefore, the community generally valued PLMs as ancient, respected and sacred art objects and as material records. However, another group of people saw the value of these manuscripts in their financial worth. In short, then, some ideas were based on a belief in the sacred or magical power of PLMs, while others were based on their monetary value.

4.2.3. Personal feelings and emotional responses

Personal interest is another consideration to be taken into account when assessing the value of PLMs. This theme is divided into individual interest and organisational interest.

4.2.3.1 Individual interest

Some community members said that the extent to which people valued PLMs depended on their attitudes to understanding the importance of these cultural objects. Providing an example, one member of the community explained that Princess Sirindhorn (a Thai princess) was interested in PLMs:

Princess Sirindhorn visited Wat Sungmen to look at PLMs. Her Majesty viewed them and walked among them for an hour. I came to greet Her Majesty the Princess and I feel that Her Majesty was very interested in them. (CMOF2)

In addition, another participant mentioned that the Minister of Tourism and Sport placed a high value on securing the future of PLM culture:

> *Right now, the government has begun to be aware of the importance of PLMs because the Minister of Tourism and Sport, the Director General of the Department of Tourism and the President of the Tourist Board believe that Wat Sungmen has quite high cultural capital.* (CLA)

Here, the factor determining the value of PLMs is individual interest. If the interested party belongs to the royal family or occupies a position of authority, PLMs might be better supported and better care taken of.

4.2.3.2 Organisational interest

One member of the community indicated that, even though few public and private organisations realised how crucial PLMs were, there might be specific public or private organisations which saw the importance of PLMs for study purposes and to preserve knowledge. Another participant elaborated on the aim of the Department of Tourism to help persuade local people to engage with PLMs:

> *They will sponsor the budget to translate the manuscripts and make wrappers but local people have to participate in these activities as well as finding their own way to promote them because these activities and collaborations between local people will eventually become the local path of life, as the Minister of Tourism and Sport wants it to be, and this will create cohesion in the community. They've also identified the fact that the manuscripts can be treated as a cultural route for tourism and attracting visitors. This will bring income from foreigners, which will help disseminate the goodness of Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein.* (CLA)

This finding shows that the Department of Tourism is supporting manuscripts by preserving their culture and promoting tourism. It is also making a budget available and planning activities to maintain PLMs.

The primary point here is that whenever a person or organisation sees the value of PLMs, the support offered can help to ensure that PLMs have their own maintained space in the community and society.

4.2.4. Affective values

Affective values can be understood across two categories: faith and pride, and love and passion.

4.2.4.1 Faith and pride

Participants believed that, where PLMs still existed and belonged to the monastery within their locality, the community would be proud of these cultural objects. One local person said that a particular reason for such pride was that the community could see evidence of its own culture in the monastery. Another reason given was the faith and respect accorded monks who wrote LannaTham script in the PLMs. This finding highlights community pride in these valuable objects when local people realise that they hold PLMs in their monastery.

4.2.4.2 Love and passion

There was one study participant who said that he was interested in PLMs because he loved them. In other words, his affective value became his motivation to maintain PLMs.

The fundamental point is that, when people attach a value to an object such as a PLM, an affective emotion occurs, in the same way that community members' passion for PLMs means that they are faithful to, proud of and love the objects of their culture.

4.2.5 Summary

The knowledge contained in PLMs was considered to be of prime importance by members of the community. There were various aspects to this knowledge, such as Buddhist context, history, the Lanna language and font, herbal medicine, and study and research material. Another significant value of PLMs, according to community members, was in their physical appearance or material. Nevertheless, different emphases were offered in this respect by different community members. All stressed that the value of the manuscripts was in their material form, but there were different perspectives. While the design lecturer highlighted how PLMs were information resources inscribed at specific points in time, an older female believed that the value of PLMs was in their being ancient objects; she had felt this way since she first encountered PLMs as a child. Moreover, the design lecturer emphasised how Lanna script could be used in product design as a symbolic font. The community gave a positive value to PLMs as ancient art, as material records and as sacred objects.

Usage was also seen as another value of PLMs, resulting from experiences in the past and present, albeit with gender restrictions involved here in the religious fulfilment of making merit. Moreover, PLM worth was a product of individual interest and organisations which recognised

the value of these cultural objects. When people felt personally interested, they supported the preservation of PLMs for the good of society. Finally, the value of PLMs was demonstrated in community sentiment. The scope of affective value included faithfulness to, pride in and love of PLMs. It has thus been shown that PLMs are valued as knowledge containers and material objects by the community. The next section considers how community members believed PLMs should be managed in terms of authorship, ownership, classification and cataloguing, storage, preservation, access, and community participation, themes which respond to the second and third research questions.

4.3 Authorship

In order to discover how the community perceived the creation of PLMs in terms of their authorship, monks and community members who knew LannaTham script were recruited from within the local community. These participants stated that both monks and those familiar with LannaTham script might be recognised as authors of PLMs. However, they reported that, compared to the general public, monks were much more likely to be acquainted with LannaTham script.

4.3.1 Monks as authors

The community members believed strongly that monks in monasteries were the creators of PLMs. One participant in Wat Laihin stated that "Mom and dad said that Kruba Mahapa Kesarapanyo wrote scriptures in a cave called Wat Tonkham in Hang Mountain. He wrote a large number of LannaTham scripts on palm leaves" (CMOF2). She added that other monks also wrote scripture on PLMs: "In the past my uncle was a monk. My uncle and another monk helped Kruba Mahapa Kesarapanyo write PLMs" (CMOF2). According to her, Kruba Mahapa Kesarapanyo motivated other monks to write LannaTham scripture. Another participant explained that:

> *From what I learned from an elder, Kruba Mahapa Kesarapanyo walked to Hang Mountain* [a small mountain about five kilometres from Wat Laihin] *to write PLMs. When he had finished writing some stories, he brought them back to Wat Laihin. After he passed away, the local community moved the PLMs and chests from Hang Mountain to Wat Laihin. The story was told that he wrote a lot of palm leaf manuscripts. We found a large number of metal styluses… They also said that the remaining PLMs were only half of the original number, which meant that there would have been a huge number of PLMs in the past.* (CMMM)

According to both the participants and surviving records about PLMs, in approximately 1650 Kruba Mahapa Kesarapanyo worked as an author and copyist. Later, between 1822 and 1866, as

recorded in the official brochure from Wat Sungmen, another monk laboured as an author, copyist, editor and collector. A different participant from Wat Sungmen said:

> *I think Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein was the person who created or wrote PLMs because there was a historical record of his route through Wat Phra Singh, Chiang Mai and Laos. Some local communities followed the route to see and experience his travels. There was a record of his journey to the monasteries or mountains to collect and make copies of PLMs. He then brought them back to Wat Sungmen by cart.* (CMOF1)

The historical evidence shows clearly that present day PLMs are descendants of original versions that have been copied multiple times. Monks occupy various status levels across PLM creation, being considered authors, copyists, editors and collectors. The purpose of writing the scripts for the monks at both Wat Laihin and Wat Sungmen was to maintain knowledge for study and dissemination. In addition, as both editor and collector, the monk in Wat Sungmen focused on engaging monks and other people in writing LannaTham script. In order to be able to inscribe on palm leaves, they had to know LannaTham. In the distant past, monks tended to behave differently, having their own approach to recording PLMs. However, they achieved the same result, that of preserving knowledge. For instance, the abbot from Wat Laihin had to become detached from everyday life to write, so, around 1650, he spent time alone in a cave, whereas the abbot from Wat Sungmen travelled widely to collect, write and make copies from other places, such as Chiang Mai and Laos, between 1822 and 1866.

It may now be helpful to supply more information, aside from that provided by the interviewees, about the background to PLMs. Before PLMs came into existence, the Buddha's teachings were disseminated orally, a tradition used to teach the monks of that period. After five hundred years, Buddhist monks started to record these teachings on palm leaves. PLMs thus first appeared many centuries ago, with a broad period of history covering the monks who created PLMs. PLMs are considered as part of a written tradition. The majority of authors copied existing manuscripts to distribute the Buddha's teachings, while certain of them collected stories from other extant works; few presented original ideas through PLMs. In more recent times, authors wrote on mulberry paper and signed their work, inscribing a personal message, a "colophon", at the end, identifying thus the date and time when they finished an inscription, an address, a blessing message, a dedication, supporter acknowledgements, accounts of interesting events of that period, and sometime complaints. As mentioned above, however, the author remained anonymous. In terms of different types of author, content relating to Buddhism was reproduced by Buddhist monks who were considered copyists or collectors, while other content was reproduced by laypeople who were seen as collectors, original authors and copyists.

4.3.2 People who know LannaTham script

In the interviews, community members strongly believed that a PLM author could be anybody familiar with LannaTham, whether the material was new or copied, whether the content was religious or not. However, there was an interesting comment from one community member who stated that:

> *In the past, the temple was where we could learn LannaTham, and, of course, it was taught by monks. I think monks, who had local knowledge and knew the LannaTham language, were the writers of PLMs. With regard to the local community, all people could learn, except women.* (CMYM2)

This shows that in the past gender restrictions forbade women from learning LannaTham script. To demonstrate this limitation further, one female community member described her experience, and that of her sisters, of being forbidden from being directly involved with PLMs: touching them, writing them, or even studying the language. She also stated that the existing patriarchy also deprived females of access to the monastery library. LannaTham scripts were considered to be sacred texts and it was considered suitable only for males, and particularly monks, to learn about them. This restriction is similar to those found in certain Lanna performance arts, such as "*Klong Sabadchai*", which was restricted to men in the past (Information Technology Service Center, 2013). Such gender restrictions were and are found generally in indigenous local communities, such as with Wamurungu Australian Aborigines, where only women were allowed to access the ancestral song series (Becvar & Sirinivasan, 2009).

In conclusion, from the accounts supplied by older informants and their experiences of life in the community, these participants still retained a strong connection to and relationship with monasteries. In the past, monasteries were the main places devoted to teaching skills and imparting knowledge to the public, with people who knew LannaTham script accepted as authors of PLMs, although this was prohibited for women. Thus it is now possible, from a community perspective, to see that the meaning of authorship does not involve merely authors but also copyists, editors and collectors.

4.4 Ownership

In terms of the possible ownership of PLMs, the participants all had similar responses. This section is divided into two sections: ownership and copyright. There were five different community views about who owned the PLMs: monastery and community; place or people holding manuscripts; villagers; interested people; and everybody.

4.4.1 Possession of PLMs

When considering who owned PLMs and who should own them, community members gave various responses. Some participants said that monasteries and communities were the owners of PLMs. One commented: *"Both the community and the temple are the owners of PLMs because this is the natural, ancient way of tradition"* (CLA). This suggests that PLMs belong to a specific location and that the local people who care for them should work together.

PLMs, therefore, in the words of some community members, belonged to a place or to the people holding the manuscripts at a specific site. Looking in more detail at ownership, some participants believed that the monastery was the PLM owner. In line with this view of place as owner, one person explained that *"The temple is the owner, not individuals. The villager who creates a palm leaf manuscript then dedicates it to the temple, so the owner is the temple. This person is not the owner but a consecrator"* (CEB). Giving a broader view, one community member commented that it was important not only to focus on the monastery but also on any place where PLMs were located. He gave the example of a library holding PLMs; hence PLMs can belong to libraries as well as to monasteries (CMYM2). Another person said that PLMs were the property of the people who owned them: *"To recognise who was the author or creator is difficult because PLMs do not mention authors or editors, like books. If a person holds PLMs in their hand, they have the proprietary right to own them"* (CMYM1). However, many community members believed that PLMs belonged to the monks who had inscribed and collected them in the past (see Section 4.2.2.2(i) for more detail).

Other community members held that PLMs belonged to villages. One explained that *"the owner of PLMs is the community. They think they are the owners but in the present day, in their daily lives, they never get involved with or experience PLMs at all"* (CMMM). Thus, while there was a perception that villagers should have rights of ownership, there was also an acknowledgement that they often had little knowledge or experience of PLMs. Nevertheless, PLMs were counted as a community resource made by humans, a form of cultural material which had faced a fight for survival, and one that, without proper management, would have disappeared. Therefore, people saw villagers as the main means of maintaining this cultural resource and viewed the village as its owner. Since PLMs, to the participants, represented a beneficial source of learning, it should be villagers who took responsibility for them, particularly as it was villagers who had the ability to access and adjust such resources to suit the community context. The community, it was felt, had the right to do this.

Another perspective offered by some community members was that an interested party should be the owner of the manuscripts, as such people paid more attention to looking after PLMs than did the ordinary community. One person elaborated on this:

All those under the blanket [those who are interested] *are the owners. For people who are not interested, we cannot force them to take responsibility for PLMs. It is impossible; it is not right. They do not know PLMs. If you come to Wat Tonkhwen and ask what PLMs are, nobody knows.* (CED)

Another person said:

I think mainly it should be people who are interested. In the community, maybe there are ten people who are interested, so it means these people own the PLMs and will share them with the community later, I guess. (CMYM2)

A teenage participant suggested giving ownership to deserving people, to *"well-intentioned people who want to study from what we have. I think we should give PLMs to people who are interested in them and they will translate them for us, bringing us useful information"* (CMYM2). This reveals the view held by some that PLMs should be transferred to people who realise the importance of the manuscripts and the benefits that they offer.

Finally, another interviewee said that everybody owned the PLMs, not just the Lanna people but also all Thai citizens. Further, he thought that everybody in the world had ownership of the Lanna wisdom contained in PLMs. Since they would become part of world heritage, their wisdom was universal, according to this individual (CEL).

In short, there are two main concepts of ownership, one stressing ownership by organisations and the other by people. Most community members stated that monasteries owned PLMs. For each community, however, location of ownership depended on size of population. It is thus quite difficult to define ownership of the manuscripts as there were different viewpoints, depending on the status and awareness of respondents. One person argued that the owner should be the person holding the PLMs, while some felt that ownership should belong to people interested in them. These points address some parts of the third research question, particularly in terms of community views.

4.4.2 Intellectual property

Copyright is used to protect the work of a creator. It provides the legal right to ownership of the work created. With regard to protecting PLMs, across both physical manuscripts and digital images, copyright law was mentioned by only two community members. In terms of physical PLMs, one participant stated that he proposed that PLMs be included in the Memory of the World Register for Thailand in 2014.

He said that there were four significant points to be made concerning the possible insertion of PLMs into this register of documentary heritage. First, that this was the largest ever collection of Lanna PLMs, those gathered together by the Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein and held in Wat Sungmen for the duration of a grand council held by Buddhists for the purpose of revising the Tripitaka in 1477. Second, that it was the largest repository of PLMs in Thailand, consisting of 9,835 parts of stories, or 1,074 stories. Third, that the evidence indicated good political relations between territories under Buddhism, such as Chiang Mai, Chiang Saen, Lam Phun, Lam Pang, Phrae, Nan, Burma and Laos. Last, that some ancient manuscripts have existed for 500 years and have not yet been translated (CLP).

Two people stated that they favoured copyright protection for PLMs and PLMs as digital images so that they belonged to the monastery. One emphasised the need for protection: he said he would copyright digital images and suggested PLMs as a type of national heritage:

> *What we are doing now is creating a digital system and then we will place a copyright on the digital images because we propose that they should be part of the national heritage… The copyright will belong to the temple, Wat Sungmen. The process we are still working on is identifying the different types of cover. When we finish, PLMs will be registered as a national heritage… Now, we are creating a digital format and we will make the copyright… because we are afraid of someone translating the content without asking permission… having a legal permit on behalf of the national heritage will make them safe. If someone wants to borrow them, they will receive the digital format. The resulting project will belong to the temple. We'll set the rule that borrowers have to return their results in file format to the temple. Our temple will set this rule in order to protect PLM content.* (CLP)

Being part of the national heritage will preserve the value of PLMs. PLMs will legally belong to the community through means of copyright protection. Even though this interviewee focused only on the digital file format, the manuscripts themselves would also be protected.

Another person suggested copyrighting the herbal medicine content in PLMs:

> *The manuscripts are considered to be copyrighted. Consequently, foreign users can only study the manuscripts but they cannot take advantage of the content in PLMs, such as by stealing herbal remedies or medical recipes for commercial purposes.* (CLA)

To put this more simply, he planned to create a copyright under Thai law, which reflects international law in this field, to avoid foreigners taking advantage of Lanna wisdom such as herbal remedies and recipes. However, one community member wanted to set actual protection and limitations on sharing by passing a protective law. He favoured strengthening the current rules in a way that encouraged academic research which benefited the monasteries.

To conclude, this section has considered issues concerning ownership and copyright. The idea held by community members was that ownership should belong to the organisations with which PLMs are stored. Monasteries should thus be the main owners of PLMs, according to community members. However, interestingly, a majority of community members also believed that villagers were the owners. Some respondents (the design product lecturer, the local female and the teenager) reported specifically that people who were interested in PLMs should be granted ownership of them. Over copyright, two community members favoured introducing a law to protect PLMs under Thai jurisdiction, to prevent people from taking advantage by infringing copyright. The other participants had no opinion or could not respond to the idea of using legal means such as copyright law to protect intellectual property. This lack of awareness of ways of protecting PLMs is also present in Hafstein (2004), who reports that people in developing countries who own cultural collections are unaware of their legal rights, generally because they are illiterate (Hafstein, 2014). It can thus be seen that there is a degree of tension between ownership and copyright. Participants in this study believed that PLMs belonged to the community because the community took care of them, which might imply that anyone who is interested can take ownership of PLMs.

4.5 Organisation of PLMs

The attitudes of community members emphasised the belief that valuable PLMs should be stored in monasteries. Local people considered PLMs to be sacred objects which had to be conserved and maintained in a traditional way. Thus PLMs were kept in the local monastery. Their condition and conservation often depended on the attitudes of the particular abbots who were in authority during each historical period. For example, if an abbot was aware of the importance of the PLMs, they were often well looked after. If their value was not appreciated, many of the PLMs were ignored, misused or simply disappeared. In the present study, field observation showed that third party organisations involved in managing PLMs tended to be well received by monasteries. According to the interview data, however, several informants stated that not all monasteries were positive or enthusiastic about involving outside organisations in the management and preservation of their PLMs. Nevertheless, the majority of monasteries welcomed the presence of scholars and researchers. The monks and abbots led busy daily lives: they had a range of daily tasks to fulfil and were therefore happy to receive outsiders who could help to manage, survey and conserve the manuscripts. In short, doing so reduced their workload.

From the data collection, four main areas were identified concerning community views on the organisation of material: classification and cataloguing, storage, preservation, and access. These are examined in detail below.

4.5.1 Classification and cataloguing

In the interviews, most community members seemed not to think of classification and cataloguing as being matters of importance; few of them said anything about the issues. However, it may be beneficial to introduce here information about certain classification systems. Given the large number of PLMs and the various content types, it could be important to develop a consistent and effective system of classification. Such a system might be organised by classifying objects by type, for example by having separate categories for PLMs and other ancient objects, such as ceramics, furniture, and other religious artefacts. In this section, two organisational systems are described.

4.5.1.1 Classification

Classification is divided by type of object, in this case PLMs and ancient objects.

i)   Classification of PLMs

This section is separated into two parts: classification by outside organisations; and community adaptation. Some community members were aware that PLMs were classified by content by external organisations. For example, there are 21 categories of Wat Sungmen PLMs, as set by the Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture (CPAC) within Chiang Mai University (CMU). At Wat Laihin, the manuscripts were classified by the National Library and are separated into 13 categories (from the field notes) (Table 4.1). This shows how different organisations have their own ideas about classification.

	Classification	
No.	CPAC	National Library
1	Discipline	Law
2	Discourse	Archives
3	Higher Doctrine	Schedules
4	Pali Canon	Antecedents
5	Chanting	Treatises
6	Result of Merit	Legends
7	Jataka	Royal Ceremonies
8	Buddhist Teaching	Buddhism
9	Customs & Ceremonies	Language
10	General Teachings	History
11	Buddhist Novels	Mathematics
12	Local Tales	Literature
13	Buddhist Legends	Inscriptions
14	Royal Legends	
15	Law	
16	Arts and Literature	
17	Poetry	
18	Astrology	
19	Herbal Medicine	
20	Variety	
21	Other	

Table 4.1: Classifications used by the Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture (CPAC) within Chiang Mai University, and the National Library of Thailand

At Wat Sungmen, the classification process used for the manuscripts was adapted from and based on the external organisation's existing system, but it was subject to local adaptation. One community leader adapted categories which would allow ease of access by adding colour to represent script group or classification format. He derived this idea from a primary school library, employing the main categories of the Dewey Decimal Classification Systems as colour codes and using this set of library guidelines in order to create a classification system for palm leaves (Figure 4.13). The approach facilitated user access and searches (CLP). In the interviews and field study it was found that the communities welcomed scholars, as they helped them manage PLMs. They also assisted in adapting new management and classification methods to make them more suited to their needs: for instance, they added more detail about the condition of PLMs to the registration record. One community member confirmed this view in part by commenting that the creation of *"a system by experts also depends on the attitudes of the temple committee"* (CMOF1).

Field observation supplied evidence of community members applying their own modifications to make PLMs easier to access. A good example of the way in which they adjusted a classification system to match their own circumstances was in their use of colour codes to represent the content of PLMs on classification charts across 21 categories. In addition, 12 categories of storage cabinet were identified by colour-coded stickers with a name for each category; the codes were attached to orange tag labels hung from the PLMs, as in Figure 4.14. Even though community members had not officially classified the content, they were able to manage the system based on what they thought the classifications should be.

Figure 4.13: Board of classification with colour codes, Wat Sungmen

Figure 4.14: Classification with colour codes on wooden glass cabinet, Wat Sungmen

ii) Classification of ancient objects

The custodian at Wat Laihin indicated that community members categorised ancient cultural collections in the monastery museum by themselves. The concept behind displaying a collection

was to divide the artefacts by social class usage into three groups: local people, monks, and Kruba Mahapa Kesarapanyo, a specific monk who inscribed many PLMs. The collection in the museum was then divided into these three sections (CMMM). The finding thus demonstrates the community to be capable of organising cultural objects by employing its own methods.

4.5.1.2 Cataloguing

In this section two types of cultural object are examined: PLMs, which are generally classified by experts, and cultural artefacts, which the community classifies largely by itself. While both are kept in monasteries, PLMs are mainly held in monastery libraries and cultural objects in monastery museums. As detailed in the interviews, experts played a key role in registering PLMs, although the community already had traditional ways of describing PLMs and adapted the process based on expert input. For cultural objects, the community had its own way of detailing, recording and presenting them.

   i)   Cataloguing of PLMs by community members and experts

       a)   *Traditional labels made by community members*

A wooden title indicator is the traditional place to write the title and list of contents of a PLM. Such title indicators are created by local people. From observation and photos, it can be seen that often these title indicators are works of art and faith. They appear in two styles: wooden and bamboo strips. The procedure for making them begins with carving wood to the desired shape, mostly with a floral decoration. After this, the most popular technique is lacquering, in red or black, and covering them with gold leaf, although this part of the process is optional. Finally, text, in LannaTham script, is incised onto a wooden surface, as seen in Figure 4.15. It is clear from this overall process that the community has been able to develop a suitable cataloguing method to identify PLM content.

(a) Wooden title indicator covered with red lacquer decorated with gold leaf, and text incised in LannaTham script, Wat Nongngerk, Lamphun

(b) Bamboo title indicator with text incised in LannaTham script, Wat Sapungluang, Lamphun

Figure 4.15: Wooden title indicators

This section explains the process by which outside organisations classify material and is followed by the adapted process used by the community.

At Wat Sungmen, the process prior to final registration was to survey the number and condition of the PLMs. First, it was necessary to classify the manuscripts into the 21 groups of the classification system. Second, the stories and names of the scripts were noted and the number of parts of stories counted. Next, the names of the markers and writers, and the dates and places of writing were taken. Fourth, used threads, blankets and dirty scripts were restored or changed. Fifth, the manuscripts were bound. Finally, the code number of each missing script, as discovered through a survey of the primary table of contents, was filled in. The survey process was conducted by the Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture (CPAC) (Wat Sungmen, n.d.) after details had been recorded in the registration book (CMOM).

A different process was undertaken at Wat Laihin in that the National Library began to register the PLMs by first classifying the condition of the manuscripts in terms of their number of pages and damage by insects. Next, incomplete PLMs were separated out and ordered by title. Finally, the abbots made booklists (CMMM). At Wat Pongsanok, scholars from Original House ("*Akharn Reuan Derm*") surveyed and classified the PLMs by size (number of lines: 4, 5 or 8, as drawn in lines on each palm leaf) and content (CEB). As such, each organisation had its own system for organising PLMs, but each aimed for ease of access and effective presentation.

c) Registration records created by experts

People at Wat Laihin and Wat Sungmen confirmed that PLMs were registered by coding them with numbers and acronyms (CMOF1, CLA, & CMMM).

From the field notes and photo inventory at Wat Sungmen, a book register was found which contained PLM titles and stories or sections of narrative, including accounts of the Thai Minor Era and the Buddhist Era, as well the places the PLMs were produced and the names of their creators and inscribers. This showed interesting evidence of the movement of PLMs, indicating that they were created not only in the provinces of the Lanna region but also in Luang Prabang and Laos, and flowed from one culture to another, from country to country. Moreover, in terms of creators and inscribers, the details differed across the records presented on the PLMs. Some PLMs clearly identified both creator and inscriber, their names being supplied. Some of the manuscripts recorded only the creator or inscriber, or none (see Figure 4.16). With regard to the coding system, the four parts (for example 00-00-000-00) referred to the monastery-category-order of the stories, as detailed in Figure 4.17. Explanations could be found in the register of PLMs. It is likely that the details in the book register emerged because community members

attached to the PLMs small light yellow labels detailing the number and name of each classification, as seen in Figure 4.18.

Code		Title		Story / part of story		Thai Minor Era		Buddhist Era		Place created		Creator / inscriber

Category 01 Discipline

หมวด 01 พระวินัย

รหัส	ชื่อเรื่อง	เล่ม/ผูก	จ.ศ.ที่จาร	พ.ศ.ที่จาร	สถานที่จาร	ผู้สร้าง/ผู้จาร
01-01-001-00	สัมคุรุประเทศ	8	1198	2379	หลวงพระบาง	ครูบากัญจนอรัญวาสี,เจ้าเมืองแพร่,เจ้าราชวงศ์หลวงพระบาง
01-01-002-00	สัพพมันตปาสาทิกา	8	1198	2379	หลวงพระบาง	ครูบากัญจนอรัญวาสี,เจ้าเมืองแพร่,เจ้าราชวงศ์หลวงพระบาง
01-01-003-00	สัพกังขาเวตศรณี	14	1198	2379	หลวงพระบาง	ครูบากัญจนอรัญวาสี,เจ้าเมืองแพร่,เจ้าราชวงศ์หลวงพระบาง
01-01-004-00	สัพลิกขาปทวินิจไนยเภทจินดา	10	1198	2379	หลวงพระบาง	ครูบากัญจนอรัญวาสี,เจ้าเมืองแพร่,เจ้าราชวงศ์หลวงพระบาง
01-01-005-00	สัพสมันปาสาทิก	12	1198	2379	หลวงพระบาง	ครูบากัญจนอรัญวาสี,เจ้าเมืองแพร่,เจ้าราชวงศ์หลวงพระบาง
01-01-006-00	นามสัพปาจิตตีย์	14	1201	2382	เมืองเถิน	ปู่หน่อขันทะ - สร้าง, ขนานอุตตะมะ - จาร
01-01-007-00	สัพสมันตปาสาทิกามัดต้น	9	1198	2379	หลวงพระบาง	ครูบากัญจนอรัญวาสี,เจ้าเมืองแพร่,เจ้าราชวงศ์หลวงพระบาง
01-01-008-00	สัพกังขาเวตศรณี	10	1198	2379	หลวงพระบาง	ครูบากัญจนอรัญวาสี,เจ้าเมืองแพร่,เจ้าราชวงศ์หลวงพระบาง
01-01-009-00	โวหารมหาวัควินัย	9	1205	2385	เมืองแพร่	เจ้าเมืองสอง - สร้าง, หนานอภิยะ - จาร
01-01-010-00	โวหารมหาวัคค	10	1204	2385	เมืองแพร่	ธัมมเสน – จาร
01-01-011-00	กังขาวิตระณี	10	1127	1308	• ไม่ปรากฏ•	• ไม่ปรากฏ•
01-01-012-00	บาลีกังขาวิตรณี	10	1194	2365	เชียงใหม่	เจ้าจันทรังสีสิหราม, เกสรภิกขุ วัดพันจ๋ม – จาร
01-01-013-00	นิสัยสมันตะปาสาทิกะ	16	1202	2383	เมืองแพร่	หนานหยะกัมภิรยา – สร้าง, ขนานปัญญา – จาร
01-01-014-00	วินัยวินิจฉัย	16	1205	2386	เมืองแพร่	แสนเวียงข้อสงคราม – สร้าง
01-01-015-01	ปาฏิโมกข์	1	1185	2366	เมืองแพร่(วัดศรีชุม)	สามเณรชัยวุฒิ วัดสูงเม่น – จาร
01-01-015-02	วินัยปาจิตตีย์	2	1185	2366	เมืองแพร่	นันทรัสสภิกขุ วัดสูงเม่น –จาร, เมื่อปฏิบัติดิครูบากัญจนวัดสูงเม่น
01-01-015-03	จุลวัคค	1	1185	2366	เมืองแพร่	เกสรรัสสภิกขุ วัดสูงเม่น– จาร, เมื่อปฏิบัติครูบากัญจนวัดสูงเม่น
01-01-016-00	โวหารมหาวัคควินัย	9	1195	2376	เมืองน่าน	ครูบากัญจนอรัญวาสี,เจ้าเมืองแพร่,เจ้าเมืองน่าน,นักศิลนักบุญ
01-01-017-00	สัพพมหาวัคค	24	1185	2366	เมืองแพร่	ปู่หมื่นวัด ศรัทธาธัมม ตู้เจ้ากัญจน วัดสูงเม่น

Figure 4.16: Register book classifying PLMs by category

Temple - Category - Order - Number of number

Code

วัด หมวด มัด เรื่องที่
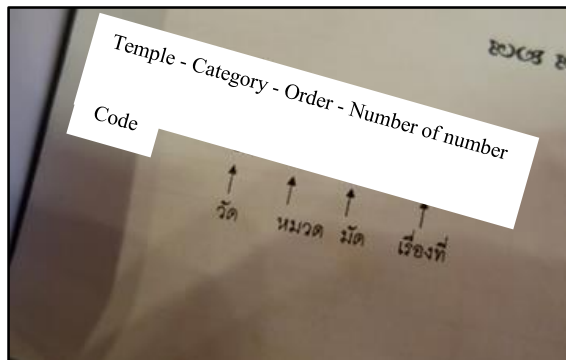
Figure 4.17: Registration code
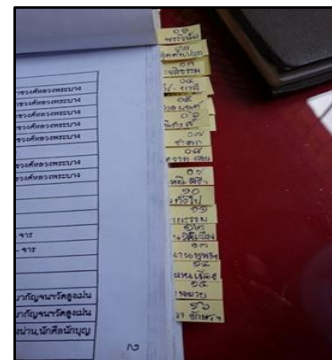
Figure 4.18: Category labels by content

d) Tag labels attached by experts

The registration codes in the register book were used to make tag labels at both Wat Sungmen and Wat Laihin. The same codes were employed, with acronyms to denote the province added at the beginning. The expert teams used similar-sized labels, so that a title fitted each label (Figures 4.19 and 4.22). In comparison, PLM labels at Wat Sungmen were more detailed than those at Wat Laihin. From the field notes, the reverse side of each tag label at Wat Sungmen held the title,

number of parts in the story, and Thai Minor Era, all colour coded (Figure 4.20), whereas blank spaces were found more often at Wat Laihin. Moreover, all the tag labels at Wat Laihin were white (Figure 4.22), while at Wat Sungmen they were orange and white. Orange tag labels meant that the PLMs were microfilmed (Figures 4.19 and 4.20) and white tag labels that they were not (CLP) (Figure 4.21). In these cases, tag labels were generally attached to PLMs, with design of each label perhaps depending on the attitude of the designer (Figures 4.19 and 4.22).
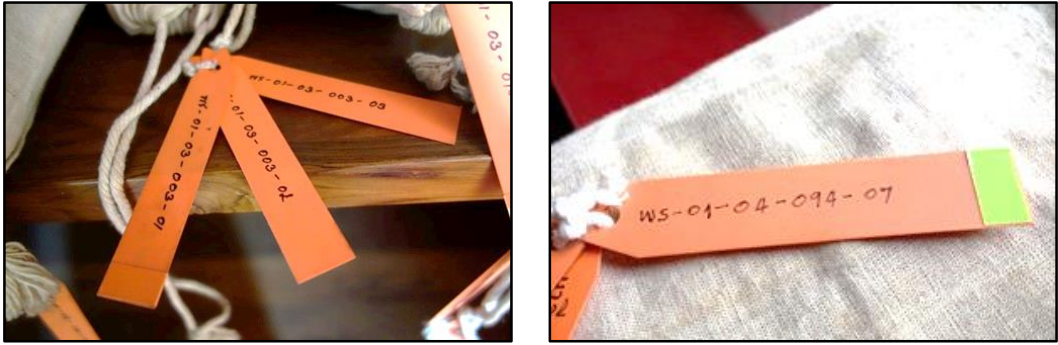
Figure 4.19: Front side of orange labels with registration code and colour-coded classification sticker, Wat Sungmen

Figure 4.20: Reverse side of orange tag labels with colour-coded title, number of story part and Thai Minor Era, Wat Sungmen

Figure 4.21: White and orange tag label with registration code, Wat Sungmen
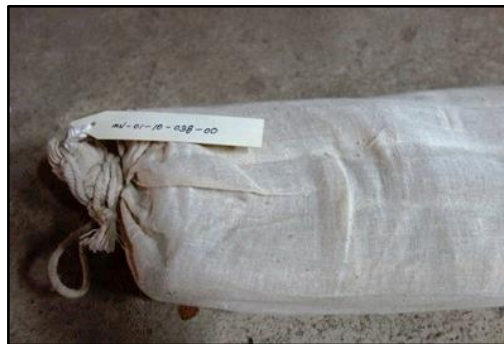
Figure 4.22: White tag label with registration code, Wat Laihin

e) *Community adaptation process*

After this system had been created by scholars, community members adjusted it to allow for the locating of objects through colour coding. At Wat Laihin, one person followed the National Library system by ordering PLMs in the cabinets by title. To make the registration sheets more complete, he added details about the condition and location of PLMs, thus making access easier. For example, he wrote the location on the white cotton covering bag and identified the part number of the story, the storage cabinet, and the floor on which it could be found (Figure 4.23) (CMMM). This photograph captures the text as designed by the custodian; it is written in Thai numeric style number, which gives it a unique and ancient Thai style.

Another form of community adaptation was the addition of colour codes to tag labels at Wat Sungmen. One community leader selected 21 colour classification codes and attached small coloured pieces to the end of the tag labels. These colours helped users and the custodian to find and store the manuscripts easily (Figures 4.19 and 4.20) (CLP). Identifying the locations of objects and adding colour codes fits the theoretical framework of community-centric methods as it is an example of people creating their own strategies to keep valuable objects as their own shared property. This form of adaptation is also connected to community participation, in the sense that responsibility is taken by the community to protect the manuscripts. These adaptation processes revealed what communities believed to be the most effective ways of managing PLMs.

Figure 4.23: Location identifiers on white cotton covering bags, Wat Laihin

ii) Recording and presentation of PLMs and cultural artefacts as ancient objects

PLMs stored in monastery libraries also require management. In this study, community members often managed their cultural heritage by displaying PLMs as ancient objects. To them, PLMs were cultural objects stored in a monastery museum and managed by the community itself. To understand how the community managed its resources, the treatment of other cultural objects, such as appliances and Buddhist statues, should be assessed. In addition to PLMs, other valuable ancient objects were kept at Wat Laihin. Ancient objects were displayed with a small PVC board attached at the front of each one (Figure 4.24). The Wat Laihin custodian designed the recording

and presentation of these artefacts to provide information about each object, its measurements, its donation list and detailed history, and to show how to use the object (Figure 4.24 (a)). For example, an ancient food carrier ("*Pinto*") was recorded as being about 200 years old (age), made from woven bamboo (material), featuring lacquer work (art skill), and used in the past by local people, but generally not by monks, to bring food to the farm (usage) (CMMM). Another example of such explanations on labels can be seen in Figure 4.24 (b) in the detail about an ancient chest, which states its physical size and purpose. In this case, the description stated that the size of such an object depended on the carpenter's design or on user needs. The outstanding characteristic of the chest was that its base had not to be too close to the floor, in order to avoid humidity. The findings thus indicate that ancient objects used in daily life centuries ago were organised by local people from generation to generation. It can be seen, then, that community members have the capacity to know how objects should be managed.

| (a) Description label for cultural object, an ancient chest | (b) Description label for ancient chest | (c) Description label for ancient chair |

Figure 4.24: Ancient object description labels with pictures and details on PVC boards laid on old wooden chest and chair in monastery museum, Wat Laihin, Lampang

4.5.2 Storage

To keep PLMs in a monastery, there must be a container and a suitable place to store them. This part examines three factors related to storage: individual item storage, storage of collections of items, and building storage.

4.5.2.1 Individual item storage

Research for this study found that PLMs were often protected by being wrapped in material such as cloth or wood; this was to prevent damage from the outside by natural processes. Two community members preserved the woven wrappers by making coverings to prevent them from being eaten by insects, and applied thread bindings to make the wrappers tidy and well-formed,

thus also recovering previously hidden traditional wisdom. They were teaching others how to weave and bind PLMs (CEL & CEB). Another aspect of storage was the making of white cotton bags to cover PLMs (CMOF2). Thus one interviewee described two active uses for PLM wrappers. The first was the use of bags for protection, and the second the passing of weaving skills to the next generation. The other interviewee revealed that weaving wrappers or making bags was seen as a duty for women. Although only two types of covering are discussed above, the observation and photos give more detail about PLM protection.

From the field notes and photo inventory of the wrapper coverings and thread binding, seven styles of wrapper were identified. Differences between them depended on the capabilities of the maker, the budget, and motivation. The first style was neat, had a beautiful pattern and was colourful. The second and third were thread wrappers containing bamboo and cotton. The fourth and fifth styles were simple and white, a sign of pureness. Two of these had cloth wrappers and long cotton bags. The sixth was a wooden case, the strongest storage cabinet for protecting PLMs. The last style was a wooden cover that helped to prevent damage. All can be seen in Table 4.2. Thread was used to bind the wrappers, making a blanket to hold the PLMs together in an orderly manner.

Types of wrapper or cover	Photograph	Description and Place
1 **Woven wrappers**		Hand-woven shawl wrappers with thread binding and wooden title indicator Wat Sungmen, Phrae
2 **Bamboo, cotton and thread wrappers**		Custom-made wrappers with interwoven thin layers of bamboo strips with cotton. The bamboo strips provide durability for palm leaf manuscripts Wat Pongsanok, Lampang
3 **Woven thread and bamboo strip wrappers**		Custom-made wrappers interwoven with thread and bamboo strips, either on the inside or outside Wat Nongngerk, Lamphun

4 Cloth wrappers		White pieces of cotton Wat Sungmen, Phrae
5 Long cotton bag		Long white cotton bag bound with white rope Wat Laihin, Lampang
6 Wooden cases		Gold leaf on black lacquered wooden cases Wat Sungmen, Phrae
7 Wooden covers		Gold leaf on red lacquered wooden covers Wat Nongngerk, Lamphun
		Wooden covers, no decoration Wat Sapungluang

Table 4.2: Types of wrapper or cover for palm leaf manuscripts

4.5.2.2 Storage for collections of items

PLMs are kept in traditional chests and cabinets designed using local wisdom to protect the manuscripts from harm. For example, having a pedestal on which to stand a chest, or long legs on a cabinet, helps protect PLMs from flooding. Igunma and Ginsburg (2015a) agree that having thick layers of lacquer on chests and cabinets helps prevent damage from humidity and insects. In the observation and photos, the same four general aspects of traditional artwork and local wisdom are visible. First, the cabinets are made of Tek wood, which can prevent moth damage. Second, the chest and cabinet are raised above ground level (Figure 4.25). Third, gold leaf is used on black or red lacquer, which can generally be seen around northern Thailand and Laos, as well as in the Shan tradition (Igunma & Ginsburg, 2015a) (Figures 4.25 and 4.27). The last is the angel and floral design painted or moulded on the surfaces of chests and cabinets (Figure 4.27).

Nowadays, there are many options for storing PLMs. Most community members said they would like to retain the tradition styles, although some wanted to adapt or change the design in order to ensure easier access. The factors that the community mentioned included issues concerning storage in containers and buildings. At present, there are four characteristics of storage: keeping manuscripts in traditional chests and cabinets; keeping them in practical and accessible storage units; displaying and storing them in glass cabinets; and displaying empty ancient storage chests and cabinets.

i) Storage in traditional chests and cabinets

Most participants agreed with the retention of traditional chests, cabinets and buildings. These are often raised above ground level in order to avoid humidity and insects. Most participants shared this view, but observation and the photos show different evidence. The interviewees said they preferred traditional storage but Figure 4.25 (a) shows there to be only one traditional cabinet; it was surrounded by modern glass cabinets in the monastery library. Thus, other styles of storage were also used, including glass cabinets and plastic boxes (Figure 4.26).

147

(a) **S**torage in ancient cabinets, showing black lacquer work and gold leaf with angel protection pattern, Wat Sungmen, Phare, and Wat Nongngerk, Lamphun

(b) Storage in new cabinets with ancient-style designs

(c) Storage in ancient chests, Wat Sapungluang, Lamphun

Figure 4.25: Storage in traditional chests and cabinets

ii) Practical changes in storage

Another point of view expressed by community members was that they would like to reorganise the storage arrangements and storage areas in order to gain better access. One of the community educators thought that it would be better to move away from old wooden chests and instead store PLMs on shelves in order to avoid bending them, as happens with manuscripts held in chests. He also recommended using transparent containers as they would make it easier to see the condition of all the PLMs. It would also make it possible to detect any intrusions by insects or other pests (CEL). The idea behind glass cabinets is shown in Figure 4.26 (a-b). As seen through observation and the photos, new and unique glass cabinets have been designed by the custodian; a PLM can be put in each block, as seen in Figure 4.26 (b). Keeping manuscripts in big plastic boxes is another new style of storage. The monk who took care of these manuscripts explained that this system was adopted because it made it easier to move the PLMs and look after them (Figure 4.26 (c)).

In terms of possible changes of location, one community member recommended moving PLMs to the Arts Center to ensure access for everybody. In this way, the manuscripts would be available to a wider audience (CMYM1). A minority of community people were concerned that PLMs should be usable, and so wanted a new method of storage and location in order for them to be more accessible.

(a) Storage in ancient glass cabinets at Wat Nongngerk, Lamphun

(b) Storage in a new glass cabinet separated into blocks for each palm leaf manuscript title, with A4 title page attached to the glass for search ease, designed by custodian, Wat Laihin, Lampang

(c) Storage in plastic boxes, Wat Pongsanok, Lampang

Figure 4.26: Practical storage methods

iii) Displaying items in glass cabinets

Observation revealed that storage was not only about keeping PLMs but also about showing them. Beautiful PLM wrappers and glass cabinets were selected for display purposes in the monastery museum (Figure 4.27). The prior had adopted a strategy to connect the religious community with the people by focusing on laypeople being able to make merit and have access to monks (the authors and owners of the manuscripts). He provided PLMs for visitors to hold and encouraged them to take part in the triple circumambulation. In general, people often picked up manuscripts from the table. For important visitors, monks and the custodian chose manuscripts from the glass cabinets for them.

Figure 4.27: Ancient (left) and new (right) glass cabinets for displaying palm leaf manuscripts in Wat Sungmen, Phrae

iv) Displaying empty ancient storage chests and cabinets

Most monasteries, from observation, separated ancient chests and cabinets from PLMs, treating these storage items as exhibits in their own right by presenting them in a particular room. Some monasteries displayed empty chests and cabinets in their libraries (Figure 4.28). Another monastery had built a new building to display its empty storage vessels (Figure 4.28 (a-right)). Empty ancient chests and cabinets held much artwork representing local Lanna wisdom. Gold leaf on black or red lacquer with a floral or angel design is shown in Figure 4.28 (c-e).

(a) Rooms for ancient chest display, Wat Laihin and Wat Pongsanok, Lampang

(b) Rooms for ancient cabinet and chest display, Wat Nongngerk, Lamphun

(c) Ancient wooden chests with gold leaf on red lacquer painting and protective angel design pattern, Wat Pongsanok, Lampang

(d) Ancient wooden stuccowork chest with gold leaf on red lacquer and protective angel design pattern, Wat Pongsanok

(e) Ancient wooden chests with gold leaf on red and black lacquer work and floral design Wat Pongsanok, Lampang, and Wat Nongngerk, Lamphun

Figure 4.28: Display of empty ancient chests and cabinets

To conclude, the style of storage depended on the attitudes of community members such as monks and custodians. Nevertheless, whether the preference was to keep PLMs in traditional or glass cabinets, Buddhist monastery libraries, from observation, maintained traditional chests and cabinets. Thus, it can be seen that most community members wanted PLMs to be held in traditional storage or in traditional storage units within monasteries, although some believed that PLMs should be stored in practical, modern units. However, one of the monastery libraries demonstrated the connection between storage and belief, with images of the Buddha on the altar table and respect being paid to them. There have also been changes to PLM storage, from past to present. In the picture (Figure 4.29), the altar table is in the middle, with a volunteer custodian kneeling before the statues. On the left-hand side, PLM storage in modern glass cabinets is visible. There are A4 lists of PLMs on the glass. On the right-hand side, empty ancient chests where PLMs used to be stored can be seen. This Buddhist library monastery reflects the whole story of storage, including the respect paid to the containers, as well as to the objects, the custodians and the Buddha.

Figure 4.29: Combination of storage in glass cabinets and in ancient chests in one room, Wat Laihin, Lampang

4.5.2.3 Buildings for storage

When considering the monastery library, many participants thought that using higher floor levels was more suitable for creating a protective environment for PLMs. One person commented, "*We built the floor high above the ground with cement to avoid humidity, which is the underlying reason behind termite infestation*" (CMMM). Another confirmed the preference for a high floor level: "*I think what we are doing right now is appropriate because we built a high floor to protect*

the PLMs" (CMOF1) (Figure 4.30). Another interviewee mentioned the double-layer walls in the building:

> *When we built the temple library, we had two layers of wall to keep the temperature*
> *stable. All water pipes and electric wires were put underground in order to protect the*
> *PLMs from insects. Kruba Mahatein (the previous abbot) recorded all these details about*
> *PLMs (CLA).*

Moreover, one person said that a monastery library should be surrounded by water to avoid damage by insects (CLP). Two others agreed, saying that this design used ancient wisdom to prevent insect infestation (CLA & CMOM), as in Figure 4.31.

This indicates that a majority of community members respected the wisdom of traditional building design and thought it suitable to keep manuscripts in older-style buildings.

Figure 4.30: Monastery library built high above the ground, decorated by angels and Himmapan creatures to protect palm leaf manuscripts, Wat Sungmen, Phare
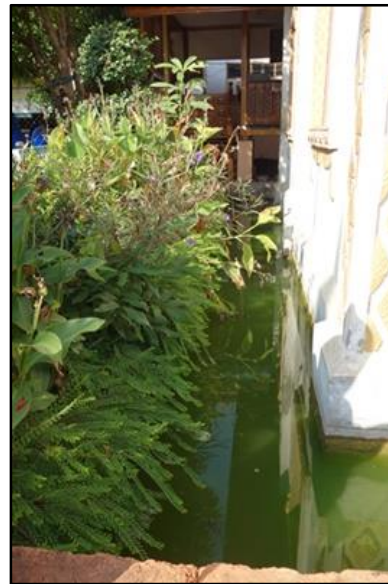
Figure 4.31: Water surrounding the Palm Leaf Scriptures Library, Wat Sungmen

Most importantly, storage and building styles are inspired by local wisdom. Although almost all community members agreed with maintaining PLMs in old wooden chests and cabinets in a traditional way, some community members focused on how to make it easier to access PLM knowledge in a practical way. One community educator wanted storage to be transparent. Such a point of view, however, is a sensitive issue, as it could be seen to be disrespectful to traditional wisdom.

To sum up, both the wrappers and the chests or cabinets in which PLMs are stored help to preserve the manuscripts, as they are held in suitable places and used carefully as a result. To keep PLMs, appropriate storage has to be created and over-use avoided. However, many community members wanted suitable storage in individual styles, including woven wrappers, bags bound with thread, wooden cases, wooden covers, and chests and cabinets. All of these storage methods are valuable and protective, created from religious beliefs and wisdom to ensure that PLMs are regarded as holy objects. Today, there is some degree of modern adaptation of past methods because PLMs are not used in everyday life. Some monasteries still store PLMs in ancient chests or cabinets, while others use or make new glass cabinets for practical use and display PLMs as cultural collections. The method of adaptation depends on community attitudes.

Creativity and faithfulness are reflected in these handmade storage methods. Faithfulness to Buddhist teachings can be seen in the woven wrappers produced by women. For men, it is achieved through building and maintaining chests and cabinets. Nevertheless, for community members, the meaning of conservation and preservation, as well as that of the adoption of new methods of preserving and showing PLMs, is not understood as maintaining the manuscripts in the same physical condition but through practising their Buddhist beliefs.

This section has thus addressed one part of the second research question, that concerning how community members think PLMs should be stored.

4.5.3 Preservation

This section discusses community suggestions about how to preserve PLMs. PLMs are not less than 100 years old (CLP & CMOF1); they are normally around 300 years old (CLA & CLP), and the oldest that still exist date back almost 700 years (CLP). The natural material used to make them has, of course, suffered environmental deterioration. In this study, the lecturer, the museum expert, and members of the community said that insects constituted the main risk to PLMs (CEB, CMOM & CMOF2). The participants believed that cultural material had to be preserved to maintain tradition and knowledge. These findings discuss the prevention of damage, taking care of PLMs today, and maintaining digitised and printed versions.

4.5.3.1 Preventing harm

There were four approaches given about protecting PLMs; they were supplied as examples of local wisdom. Some were from the interviews and some from the field notes, with the photo inventory supporting the findings. Two methods to protect PLMs from insects were suggested by community members. The first was the placing of mothballs near the PLMs (CMOM), and the second involved sprinkling pepper seeds close to them (CMMM) (Figure 4.32).

One community member clarified that:

> *Nowadays we use 20-30 pepper seeds covered with white cotton. We lay each bundle in a different place in the cabinets or lockers where PLMs are stored. The pepper seeds put off termites and bookworms. We change the white cotton covering the pepper seeds every five to six months.* (CMMM)

From observation, white pepper seeds were wrapped in white cotton penetrable cloth, similar to a mosquito net, like a compress, and then placed in a corner of the cabinet. This lets the pepper aroma out, which helps to discourage insects from harming the manuscripts.

Figure 4.32: White cotton covering pepper seeds, Wat Laihin, Lampang

The other approaches were discovered through observation. The third was to employ a wooden cover to prevent palm leaves from shifting or sliding out. This also stopped PLMs from bending in dry weather. The fourth method was to use woven wrappers to protect PLMs from dust and harsh light. (See Table 4.2.)

4.5.3.2 Taking care: present action

At present the community looks after PLMs by checking their status, cleaning them and exposing them to the morning sunlight. First, one person said it was important to check regularly for insects (CEB). This is the basic process, yet it has proven to be an effective strategy. A second action agreed by community members was that cleaning helped preservation (CEB, CEL & CMMM). After cleaning, PLMs were returned to their cabinets or chests. One person highlighted how PLMs were taken, in their wrappers, into the morning sunlight in order to maintain their condition (CEB). This was done in order to air them and to avoid the effects of humidity which might follow if PLMs were stored indoors permanently. They were only put out in the morning so as to avoid strong sunlight, which would also be likely to damage them (Figure 4.33).

Over three days of participant observation during TakTham, some PLMs were used as ceremonial symbols. Not all the processes of preservation took place at this time. However, the monastery laid a number of PLMs in the morning sunlight. After the triple circumambulation, they were brought out of the sun and placed under pagodas (Figure 4.33) for approximately 30 minutes.

To preserve PLMs, local people regularly look after them throughout the year, although visitors and tourists do not see these activities; they are present at worship only. Visitors can, however, take part in the process of making PLMs, such as cutting and boiling palm leaves and writing LannaTham script, thus raising awareness of the importance of PLMs. Established PLM traditions relating to Buddhism connect villagers, visitors and tourists, and enhance not only their concept of preservation but also their sense of connection to this cultural collection.

Figure 4.33: Palm leaf manuscripts brought out into the sun, Wat Sungmen, Phrae

4.5.3.3 Maintaining collections through digitisation and printing

The process of transferring PLMs into digital files, or digitisation, was accepted by all community members (Figure 4.34). One community leader hoped to publish a PLM e-Book (CLA), while a community educator said he would like to see a print version produced, for easier access (CEL). All agreed that digitisation of PLMs would make access easier and avoid damage.

(a) Cleaning process: a monk cleaning palm leaves

(b) Preparing photographic equipment

(c) Preparing each palm leaf in order to take photos

Figure 4.34: Process of digitisation, Wat Laihin (photograph by Songsak Keawmul)

Prevention is the best form of preservation, as stated in the TakTham tradition in Wat Sungmen. Community members explained this tradition, which included checking the condition of PLMs and then repairing them (CLP & CMOM). It was clear that, when people had experience with PLMs and had lived in the community for a long time, they knew how to create preservation strategies.

To preserve PLMs for the long term, one community leader mentioned a strategy that he had created. He called it "jurisprudence"; it included being faithful, adopting the canon, meditating, being merciful, and nurturing the intellect. These are long-standing beliefs in Wat Sungmen that relate to Buddhism.

One community leader clarified this:

> *What we do in the present day is called the "jurisprudence strategy", which involves five approaches. First, we let people who have faith, support the temple and are aware of the importance of PLMs take care of them. Nowadays, people are more interested in PLMs. We launched the temple tourism day to promote PLMs, their art and beauty, by persuading tourists to visit the temple. We also talk to local people and others who are*

interested in and come to visit or study PLMs in our temple during the daily events of the canon. For example, we announced that there was a PhD student from England who had come to study our PLMs. This made the community proud of their PLMs. Second is regulation: when the community has faith, we create the rules for visiting, borrowing and administration. The community plays an important part in this. The third is meditation, emphasising that the community should pay more attention to the importance of PLMs, using the TakTham tradition as the strategy for community participation. The fourth is mercy. The last is intellect: we are establishing knowledge of PLMs by encouraging people to come to study. We help other temples make exhibitions to promote and build up motivation involving PLMs. We also invite community members to create connections and launch temple contests about PLMs with rewards. (CLP)

In conclusion, all participants agreed with the digitisation of PLMs and most believed that distribution, translation and publication were necessary. While making copies and teaching and training were not considered by the majority of community members, they do represent long-term processes to make more people aware of the importance of PLMs.

Community members put forward different ways to prevent harm to PLMs from the environment and insects. While only a minority, however, were involved in the present process of caring for PLMs, most supported digitisation, distribution, translation and publication.

4.5.4 Access

Access allows people to reach PLMs, both as cultural objects and digital files. In this part, six issues – dissemination, security levels, status of access, reachable channels, borrowing and returning, and access to PLMs – are discussed from the community viewpoint.

4.5.4.1 Dissemination

Four community members believed that preservation equated to distribution (CLP, CED, CMOF1 & CMYM2). It is clear from the data, however, that all participants agreed with the greater diffusion of PLMs. Three areas are relevant here: making copies or reproducing material; translation and publication; and teaching and training.

    i)   Copying and reproducing

Most community members recommended PLM reproduction by reinscription or copying, aprocess which has been in operation for hundreds of years. When an original deteriorates, a copy is made in written form in order to preserve the cultural object and its knowledge. It was agreed in the interviews that PLMs should continue to be reproduced in this way.

One community member explained:

> *Basically, what I manage is rewriting PLMs and dedicating them to the temple. Then the monk will use them in sermons… Local conservation is rewriting or copying… If there is a strategy to support the tradition, one which might be difficult but where we can get the community to help, the culture of PLMs will be back. For example, woven wrappers as coverings will return to become part of daily life, as in the past.* (CEB)

Another person said:

> *I would like to borrow PLMs to study them but I do not know whether I can make copies… PLMs will deteriorate over time regardless of how well we keep them. If we do not make copies, one day scriptures on palm leaves could fade away. Palm leaves are hard to treat, no matter how well we maintain them. One day, they will disappear.* (CMYM2)

One community member wanted to make copies to reinstate the traditional use of PLMs for sermons. On the other hand, another wanted to make copies for study purposes. Whatever the aim behind making copies, all suggested the importance of maintaining and reproducing PLMs.

ii) Translation and publication

Different approaches to maintaining local knowledge – translation, publication, digitisation and publication as story books – are considered in this section. LannaTham writing and the Pali script inscribed on Lanna PLMs do not exist as language used in daily life. The majority of community members were afraid that knowledge about PLMs would die out due to the unreadable nature of ancient scripts. Therefore, they supported the idea of language experts translating as much of the information as possible. In this sense, most people agreed with using translation to preserve local knowledge.

Publishing information on the internet was one approach suggested by the community. Another step proposed was to publish storybooks. One interviewee told of his experience in this field: *"When we translated PLMs, we made handmade books and gave them to students"* (CMMM).

The same person also gave examples of storybooks:

> *There are two points of view, where the first group focuses on keeping PLMs and not allowing people to touch them. The second group agrees with translating the content from PLMs to educate students or bring stories forward for people to discuss. We have translated ancient tales with proverbs from PLMs, such as "Ma Khon Kham" and "Seing Meing".* (CMMM)

One of the local people said he was proud to be a proofreader when the Lanna Wisdom School made a "*Lantong*" tale available to the public in a Thai language version and it sold out (CMYM2). This certainly involved translating stories from PLMs into Thai.

iii) Teaching and training

Some community members said that they provided teaching and training courses for local people in order to raise awareness about PLMs. One said, *"I invited old people to a training session to discuss what was going on and taught them how to open, keep and bind PLMs"* (CMMM). Teaching and training form one approach which aims to persuade community members to support the preservation of PLMs; they represent another suggestion from community members regarding how PLMs might be accessed.

4.5.4.2 Security levels

Monasteries have been the main depositories for PLMs since they first appeared in Lanna. PLMs are considered as holy objects connected to Buddhism in the form of making merit. To protect PLMs from thieves, the spiritual power of the community is employed to ensure that the manuscripts will be looked after by holy spirits, as based on community belief rather than fact. In addition, community protection is concerned more with retaining the value of PLMs. Lastly, technology is used to help protect PLMs from natural disasters.

i) Belief protection

Before the majority of Lanna people became Buddhist, they used to respect spirits and Hindu deities, as can be seen in pre-Buddhist cultures and religion. Spiritual beings and mythology were then interwoven in Buddhist beliefs among native Thai people. Therefore, Buddhist angels and Himmapan creatures adorn the monastery walls.

a) Buddhist angel protection

It is normal for a monastery's walls and gate to be decorated with spiritual beings ("*Devas*") (Figure 4.30). This shows that people's beliefs include angels and mythology. Looking at the forms of spiritual protection in the monastery library, one community leader highlighted the angel patterns (CLA). He explained the number of angels, the Himmapan creatures, and the places where they were situated:

> *16 angel sculptures stand around the temple library. We followed the pattern used at Wat Phrasingha as a model. The 16 angel sculptures represent protectors of PLMs and the 76 Himmapan creatures are situated at the lower layer of the wall in order to represent the guardians of PLMs.* (CLA)

This community leader demonstrated the order of protection, with the Himmapan creatures the first level of protection up from the ground floor (Figure 4.37) and the Buddhist angels enshrined on a higher floor (4.35). From observation and photos, the spiritual forms on the monastery wall are Buddhist angels, which reflect the community belief in invisible enlightened beings which can protect valuable PLMs. As illustrated in Figure 4.35, four Buddhist angels adorn the monastery wall in stucco, and in red lacquer and gold leaf on the monastery gate. The degree of beauty and the meticulousness of the art work are based on belief. Similarly, in the monastery library, Buddhist angels and Naga, mythical creatures, are spread around the walls, as seen in Figure 4.36.

Figure 4.35: Buddhist monastery library with angel protection in stuccowork, Wat Sungmen, Phare
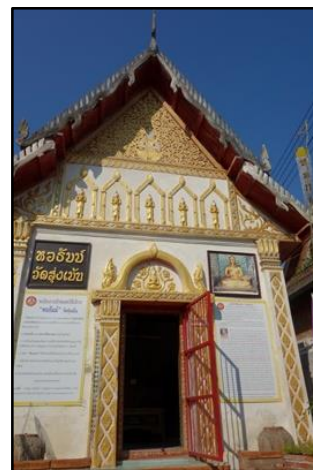
Figure 4.36: Buddhist monastery library with angel and Naga protection in stuccowork, Wat Sungmen, Phare

b) *Himmapan creature protection*

Himmapan creatures are mythical creatures with many different kinds of mixed-animal features, such as fish-Naga, lion-ox and monkey-fish. Himmapan creatures originate in the Himmapan Forest, and guard valuable objects such as PLMs. The most popular mythical creatures are the Naga and Magara (Hera). The Naga is the king of snakes, a serpent-like creature with a beard and pointed crown. The Magara is a hybrid-animal, somewhere between a crocodile and a Naga. In Lanna, both are represented in the style of Lanna art, and a Naga and Magara are often found together on chapel and shrine ladders, with the Magara spitting out the Naga. Pradidpong (2011) indicates that this art work shows a symbolic form of release from 200 years of Burmese rule. The Naga represents local people from northern Thailand and the Magara represents the Burmese.

The findings from the interviews and photographic inventory confirm community beliefs that PLMs are protected by Buddhist angels and Himmapan creatures (Figure 4.37).

Figure 4.37: Stuccowork of Himmapan creatures, or hybrid-animals, who dwell in the legendary
Himmapan Forest located below Buddhist heaven and are thought to protect PLMs

ii) Community protection

Another security activity is protection by the community. PLMs were in the past generally stored
in wrappers or wooden boxes in chests or cabinets situated in the monastery library and secured
with padlocks. However, the level of protection now tends to depend on the abbot's attitude to
PLMs. Incidents where PLMs have been stolen have brought enhanced protection methods; for
instance, adding iron security doors and locating PLMs on the second floor are seen by the
community as more effective ways of securing them.

a) Gate and padlock protection

Some monasteries over-cherish their valuable objects and do not like to disseminate them. One
person said that most PLMs were usually kept in a secure chest or cabinet (CMYM2). Others
stated that the PLMs were held under padlock in strong, safe rooms (CMMM & CED). The
findings show that the PLMs in this study were kept in secure rooms and cabinets, although the
degree of security depended on the stewardship afforded by the monks and community members.

One participant told of a childhood experience:

> I saw the place where the temple kept PLMs when I was young. PLMs were held in a
> room like a prison, made with iron, with a chain lock. Monks brought ancient chests that
> contained valuable objects, including PLMs, and stored them there. (CED)

As this description relates, when the community came to understand the importance and value of
PLMs were, they were seen as treasured objects. Consequently, this very secure method was their
way of protecting their precious items. To support this view, Figure 4.38 shows PLMs stored in

163

glass cabinets with two layers of iron caging. The interviews and photos demonstrate similar ideas about prison-like storage. Another storage method, as noted through observation in the monastery museum, was a cabinet nailed shut with wood and then padlocked; this is shown in Figure 4.39. The findings thus suggest that community members want to keep PLMs forever and never use them again.

Observation and the photos reveal the common materials used for gates to be wood, iron and glass. One single-layer gate was made of wood and had a chain lock (Figure 4.40). Other gates, however, had double security protective layers made of various materials: a double-layer wooden gate and a padlock (Figure 4.41), a double-layer wood and iron gate with a padlock (Figure 4.42), and a double-layer glass and iron gate with a padlock (Figure 4.43).

Figure 4.38: Ancient objects stored in a double-layer iron cage with padlocks, monastery museum, Wat Laihin

Figure 4.39: Palm leaf manuscripts stored in a nailed wooden cabinet with a padlock, monastery museum, Wat Laihin

Figure 4.40: Single-layer secured wooden gate and chain lock, monastery library, Wat Sungmen, Phrae

Figure 4.41: Double-layer secured wooden gate with padlock, Library of Palm Leaf Scriptures, Wat Sungmen, Phare

Figure 4.42: Double-layer secured wooden and iron gate with padlock, monastery museum, Wat Laihin, Lampang

Figure 4.43: Double-layer secured iron and glass gate with padlock, Palm Leaf Manuscripts Museum, Wat Sungmen, Phrae

The field notes show that most monastery library keys were kept by the abbots or monks, those who were in charge of the PLMs at Wat Pongsanook, Wat Sapungluang, Wat Laihin and Wat Sungmen. Some monasteries also gave authority to guardians, usually old men, who were allowed to become keyholders. For example, there were two places in Wat Laihin which contained PLMs: the monastery library and the museum. The keys for the monastery library were held by the monks. Each day, two male volunteer committee members from the Laihin community came to look after the monastery and took the keys to the museum. Volunteers from the committee took turns to keep the keys (Figure 4.42). This community action of switching keyholders provided a locally-based way of looking after precious artefacts.

The situation was similar at Wat Sungmen, where PLMs were stored in three places, those being the two monastery libraries (old and new) and the museum. Here, the abbot permitted the local language expert to hold the keys to the old monastery library ("the Library of Palm Leaf Scriptures"). The latter thus had the authority to make decisions regarding public access and was the only local male trusted by the abbot to hold the keys (Figures 4.40 & 4.41). Generally, then, keys which granted access to PLMs were kept with the abbot, monk or custodian. With regard to buildings, PLMs were normally stored in the monastery library, with others kept in the monastery museum. These locations were approved by community members in terms of their providing adequate protection for PLMs.

c) Second floor protection

Observation and photos showed the movable ladder in the monastery library at Wat Nongngerk to be a very interesting design, one not seen in other monastery libraries. The library had two floors, the upper one being accessed by the ladder, albeit not a very strong ladder. It was intended to prevent theft (Figure 4.44), thus clearly illustrating that PLMs are seen as objects of great value.

Figure 4.44: Monastery library with movable but rather flimsy ladder, Wat Nongngerk, Lamphun

From the evidence, it can be seen that gates, padlocks and designated key holders were common ways that community members chose to protect PLMs. This goes some way toward answering the third research question, that about how PLMs should be managed.

iii) Technological protection

The last security method observed was closed circuit television (CCTV), which was employed to help monitor areas of risk in the monastery, particularly those susceptible to natural or human disaster. This technology was applied to help look after PLMs during periods of time when the monastery was closed. As can be seen in Figure 4.45, the CCTV covered four areas around the monastery. The two upper shots monitored the road outside the monastery and the lower two focused on the PLMs in the monastery museum.

Figure 4.45: Closed circuit television (CCTV)

The overall picture was thus one of a combination of security features, from a community-held belief in enlightened beings and mythical creatures to modern technology being applied to help look after PLMs. These two very different forms of protection were merged together by Lanna community members to form a unique security approach.

4.5.4.3 Access status

For anyone wishing to visit a PLM collection, being allowed access by the keyholder, usually a steward or monk at the monastery, is essential. One community member stated that he held the key for the Palm Leaf Scriptures Library at Wat Sungmen and had the authority to grant permission to enter (CMOM). This, however, depended on his availability. While some monasteries allowed ready access, others offered hardly any access to visitors.

When the researcher was collecting data at Wat Laihin, the difficulty faced in accessing the PLMs showed the scale of the problem. On the first occasion, during the pilot study, the researcher could only enter the monastery library on the second day; the keyholder did not arrive on the first day

that the research was due to begin. The second time was in the main study, when the keyholder had changed and the researcher missed the opportunity to access the monastery library (Figure 4.46) because the monk who held the key had gone to another province. Thus, visitors have to rely on the presence of the keyholder in each monastery, which demonstrates that the possibility of accessing PLMs is heavily dependent on this human factor.

Figure 4.46: Wooden gate with padlock, Wat Laihin, Lampang

All the teenagers interviewed said that PLMs were too heavily secured and not accessible. One described PLMs in the monastery thus: "*My point is that they are over-protected. No one is able to take care of them and access them. No information is given about the content and what they have in the Thai language. I cannot borrow or copy them*" (CMYM1). This suggests that access depends on the degree of open-mindedness displayed by individual custodians.

4.5.4.4 Reachable channels

This part offers an assessment of the different versions of PLMs and the ways in which they might be accessed. One community member said that people who wanted to study the knowledge in PLMs should use copies, not the original versions (CLA). It could thus be argued that access to a copy should be the priority in order to protect the primary source. There are two ways to reach PLMs: by walk-in and through digital access. Community members wanted to be able to walk into the monastery and experience PLMs. Even though the manuscripts seemed to be available to everyone, there were issues about the different levels of access offered to different people. Local people pointed out that the community was only allowed to see and touch PLMs as cultural objects but that scholars were permitted to spend time studying the real documents. The findings suggest that a walk-in approach was the one that allowed everyone to access PLMs but that the opportunity to do this and the duration of the experience depended on the user's position in the hierarchy.

The same participant quoted above stated:

> *There are two groups of people who are intent on accessing PLMs. The community can*
> *access PLMs with difficulty but experts are able to gain access more easily.* (CEL)

Besides walk-in access, a digital format available on the internet was seen as a suitable channel to access PLMs. People said that PLMs should be available online. Thus, another way for all community members to view PLMs could be in digital form.

Some participants gave examples of the four types of channel they wanted to see. First, all community leaders wanted a searchable online database. Second, one community educator said PLMs should be downloadable. Third, he also suggested that organisations which provide online services should prepare free printed versions of PLMs for people who would like to study them. Last, one of the community leaders wanted to make contact with people on social media so that more people could follow, learn, and use technology for their benefit. He wanted to sign up to Facebook to let people know about PLMs. He also had a vision for a mobile application called "Wat Sungmen" to connect people more readily. Thus, the community wanted images of and information about PLMs to be available in a digital format with a database retrieval function, to be downloadable, printable, and available on social media.

The same participant explained that he had included a list of PLM titles in an Excel file which was downloadable from the Wat Sungmen website (CLP). However, a rather different view was also heard, that if PLMs were to be available on the internet, there should be limited access only (CMYM1).

4.5.4.5 Borrowing and returning

PLMs have for centuries been stored in monasteries. Many community members who realise the importance of PLMs have tried to establish procedures to maintain these valuable objects. Various kinds of management have been employed to protect PLMs from disappearing, including borrowing and returning procedures.

i) Borrowing and access

Since the first survey was conducted by the Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture (CPAC) of Chiang Mai University (CMU) in 1987, people have borrowed PLMs from monasteries and monasteries have borrowed them from each other. The community leaders commented on such borrowing services, saying that, unfortunately, when people or organisations borrowed PLMs, they did not return always them to the monastery. As a result, many PLMs had disappeared (CLP & CLA). Most monasteries, however, are now very strict in regard to accessing manuscripts. To

prevent the disappearance of the artefacts today, most community members maintained that interested parties should first ask permission.

One community leader stated:

> *Now we set rules for people who would like to see PLMs. If they just want to visit, we provide a volunteer as a tour guide. If they want to borrow or studyPLMs, they have to bring a letter of request and apply using the form to identify what organisation they belong to, their aim and what they will do with the PLMs, such as translate them. Then we bring the issue to the committee or abbot to ask for permission.* (CMP)

Another community member supported the idea of PLMs not being lent out by monasteries (CMYM1). However, both community members held the same opinion in regard to providing knowledge: people should be allowed to take photographs instead (CMOM & CMYM1). Even though past experience had led to a decline in borrowing as a result of the non-return of PLMs, it seemed that the community understood how to prevent the loss of PLMs while maintaining public access to them at the same time.

ii) Returning PLMs and research results to monasteries

One community member discussed two different solutions to problems caused by organisations borrowing PLMs; he suggested keeping PLMs in both digitised and manuscript versions. He confirmed there was often a basic problem when items were lent out: they were not returned. As he explained, "*In the present day, when scholars came to study PLMs and microfilm them, they keep them in the library and other places. They don't bring them back to the community itself"* (CEB). Another participant, one who looked after PLMs, argued that it was necessary to make the resulting projects available to the monasteries after people had finished studying the manuscripts (CMMM). From the participants' experience, there were two issues concerning PLM returns. The first was that the manuscripts were not returned at all, and the other was that study results were neither returned nor saved in digitised versions.

The same participant elaborated on his experiences and raised the digitisation issue:

> *I would like to propose bringing back the results of studies or projects to the community. The staff of Chiang Mai University came to microfilm manuscripts in 1992 and now they keep the microfilm at the university. They should make copies and let the temple keep one, too. We have a right to keep it, right? We don't have the budget to do this by ourselves. So, between 2013 and 2014, reserachers from Wat Phra Dhammakaya came to digitise the PLMs and, we asked them to bring the digital files back when they had finished. The representative of Wat Phra Dhammakaya said that it was their aim to bring back the results, and that they would transfer all the information to a JPEG format with translations in Thai and English on the external hard drive, taking up 1TB.*

This is the way it has to be because in the next 20 to 30 or 100 years, people from other places or students will want to study the PLMs, and they will be able to study from digital files and so avoid damaging the originals. (CMMM)

This participant raised a more complex issue than borrowing. He not only required the original manuscript back but also demanded a copy of the digital version. It is conceivable that, in our life time, resulting projects, if they are returned to the monasteries, will be used for future generations to continue studying.

To summarise, many useful and interesting measures were proposed by community members. The main problem was one of borrowers not returning PLMs, so monasteries and communities have set strict rules, not allowing manuscripts to be taken out, a conservative attitude to borrowing. The community might, however, think more about disseminating PLM knowledge and culture. The concept of a community voice to connect with more people through technological channels could bring this about. Everyone agreed that it should be necessary to ask permission before using PLMs. The solution they proposed to protect PLMs was for borrowers to give whatever they produced to the monastery in a digitised format or as a publication.

4.5.4.6 Access suggestions

A number of suggestions regarding access to PLMs were offered by different participants. Some community members were in favour of the display and study of the manuscripts and wanted to facilitate access to them. Four main issues emerged covering community participation and wider access: access strategies, the people involved, authority, and the creation of knowledge centres.

i) Access strategies

Most community members agreed that everybody should have access to PLMs. However, one suggested that PLMs should not be allowed to be taken away from the monastery. In the case of people who did not have the time to study in the monastery, he proposed that PLMs could be photographed (CLP). Further to this, another participant said that PLMs should be brought out from storage and shown to visitors in order to let them see and realise the value of these ancient objects (CEL).

ii) Activities of involved people

Many community members proposed that it was better to have local people involved in guidance, libraries and stewardship. A majority of interviewees agreed that there should be community participation in monasteries, and that local people could advise visitors or act as tour guides, providing introductions to basic knowledge about PLMs. In terms of library work and stewardship, one person suggested that librarians should allow PLMs to be touchable and that

stewards should make PLMs accessible (CEL). According to him it was vital to set a clear policy for everybody so that all users could access the manuscripts, that community involvement was required, and that the perceptions held by librarians and stewards should be developed.

The same participant said:

> *For the idea of PLMs being accessible to everyone, we have to change the attitudes of important stakeholders. Although there is a policy of manuscript access, attitudes still have not changed. For instance, the manuscripts still cannot be seen or touched and are kept locked up... But we can change the attitudes of responsible people in the temple, the abbot, and the community. Let them understand what PLMs are, how important they are, and the more they are kept out of sight, the more they disappear. Tell them that termites will damage them if we don't look after them. But if you bring them out, everybody can see them and it will help increase tourism.* (CEL)

Lastly, one community member thought that responsibility and care for the PLMs should be managed by knowledgeable and interested people, suggesting that those who had the PLMs did not necessarily know how to read or make use of them. He wanted people in authority to use, keep, and disseminate PLMs in order to maintain knowledge in an academic way (CMYM2).

iii) Creating knowledge centres

One teenage participant suggested establishing a Lanna learning centre:

> *In my opinion, if there is to be a Lanna language centre, it should be a big centre that collects a massive number of PLMs. When users or people who are interested know where this Lanna language centre is, I think they will come to it as their first port of call. One point to make people feel more interested in PLMs is simply by having the centre. Then people will gather here. Individuals that are searching for some particular piece of information might not find it here but this centre will guide researchers and provide rich information to other institutions in order for people to further their studies.* (CMYM2)

To summarise, addressing problems related to PLM access is the starting point from which to understand the community perspective. Community members in this study were willing to let everybody have access – by taking photos, for instance – but did not want to see PLMs leave the monasteries. Ultimately, it is essential that community members and librarians engage with each other. Having guides give introductions could help visitors to understand the importance of PLMs. Changing the attitudes of librarians and stewards could be a challenge, but doing so would enhance the service. Finally, the vision supplied by the teenage participant, the suggestion that PLMs should be transferred to suitable people and a Lanna learning centre established, is a challenge for the future.

4.5.5 Summary

In this organisation section it has been noted that monasteries are traditional centres for religious and spiritual activities. Monks and laypeople can attain merit through prayer, meditation and worship. Within this spiritual environment, there are monastery libraries containing collections of PLMs. These are considered sacred and holy objects which describe the Buddha's teachings. Scholars and researchers share the workload with the local monks. They also assist communities, effectively managing the manuscripts by overseeing outsourcing, acquisitions, classification, the setting of rules, the provision of appropriate storage, preservation and participation. In terms of outsourcing, acquisitions and classification, each organisation has its own procedures. Each monastery then has to depend on the relevant organisations to establish systems of acquisition and classification. This does help monasteries to manage, organise and preserve their PLMs. The problem is that the monasteries use slightly different classifications and labels because the community participants do not employ a uniform, standardised system. Consequently, there is already a confusing array of different coloured tags and labels. If a regional network cannot be created in the near future, it will be difficult to synthesise and integrate the different systems of classification.

In terms of setting rules to prevent the disappearance of cultural objects, of implementing increasingly strict guidelines for PLM borrowing and access, this could be inconvenient when users want to study the manuscripts. PLM access and management used to be dependent solely on the attitude of the abbot in the past, but nowadays the community is also engaged. Finally, significant challenges currently facing PLM management include storage, access, preservation, digitisation, distribution, translation and publication.

This part has thus addressed some elements of the third research question, those regarding how community members think PLMs should be managed. The next part will consider the fourth research question, that which asks how the community should participate in the management of PLMs.

4.6 Community participation

Perceptions of community participation emerged across a number of different issues: the goals that participants set; their values, beliefs, culture and traditions; notions of attachment and levels of motivation, opportunity, capability and encouragement. The basic reasons underpinning community participation are a sense of values, tradition and attachment. The motivation to engage in community participation seems to stem from an individual's desire to join in an activity which can enhance his/her lifestyle and enable a sense of achievement. The factors influencing levels of community participation are: 1) individual characteristics, including age and gender; 2) social and economic factors such as education, career and income; and 3) access to information and communicating through mass media. In addition, there are six main areas of participation: outsourcing; community participation in monasteries; community expectations of members; establishing a participatory model; avoiding conflict; and engaging in effective collaboration.

4.6.1 Outsourcing

As noted above, in monasteries where PLMs are stored, Buddhist monks have to worship as well as attend to the maintenance and running of the monastery. They have to continue the Buddha's teachings and thus do not have much time left to look after the PLMs in their monastery libraries.

Nowadays, monasteries are the main depositories for storing PLMs. Apart from the monasteries, however, there are certain other organisations which hold PLMs, such as national libraries and the Palm Leaf Studies Centre (PLSC) within Chiang Mai Rajabhat University (CMRU). These institutions also survey PLMs in monasteries. One study participant stated that some institutions had been asked to help in the management and conservation of manuscripts. They had become involved in the indexing, numbering, cataloguing, classifying and restoration of manuscripts. One community member at Wat Laihin said that he had sent a letter of request to the Department of Fine Arts, Ministry of Culture of Thailand, and that a member of staff had been dispatched from the National Library to the monastery to organise the PLMs over a seven-day period (CMMM). At another monastery in Wat Pongsanok, the Department of Fine Arts had begun to survey some parts of the PLM collection, and staff from Original House, Humanities Faculty, Chiang Mai University (CMU), had come to record the manuscripts (CEB). Lastly, at Wat Sungmen, people said that the Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture (CPAC) at CMU came to manage their PLMs in 1987 (CMOM; CLA; Wat Sungmen, n.d.). Nowadays there is a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the PLSC to help organise PLM management. Community members said that Wat Sungmen was also supported by the Sungmen sub-district municipality.

The data clearly suggest that all the monasteries in this study, at Wat Laihin, Wat Pongsanok and Wat Sungmen, have used outside organisations to help them to manage their PLMs. The

differences between them exist in the approaches used to organise PLMs. The letter sent from Wat Laihin shows a proactive approach by the temple, when it was requested that the National Library manage the collection. The offer made by the Fine Arts Department and Original House to survey and record material at Wat Pongsanok, as well as that made by CPAC, Chiang Mai University Library (CMUL) and PLSC to survey and manage the PLMs at Wat Sungmen, seems to signify a new approach. It might be even said that if members of some communities do not have sufficient knowledge to classify or begin to manage their PLMs, they do have the sense to take charge of their collections, for example by requesting that outside institutions help them. This suggests that the existence of good relations between the community and experts is likely to produce collaborative agreement in the long run.

4.6.2 Community roles for participants at monasteries

Community members said that they wanted to take care of PLMs by creating a guardian system and forming a committee. They also expressed a desire to act as tour guides, coordinators and facilitators. In addition, they wanted to hire experts to translate and reproduce the manuscripts.

4.6.2.1 Guards and committees

One person at Wat Sungmen stated that the community created committees to administer PLMs by section. For example, they surveyed the PLMs every month, having grouped them into categories in order to check their condition easily (CLP). Another example was that, at Wat Laihin, community members agreed that they had a responsibility and desire to look after these cultural objects (CMMM & CMOF2).

One community member at Wat Laihin stated:

> *Two committees come to guard the temple every day and go inside the PLM library to wipe away the cobwebs and survey things, to see whether any repairs are needed.* (CMMM)

Another interviewee described the normal routine for guardians: *"They tend to look after the objects from outside unless a visitor asks them to let them look inside: then they will decide whether to open the library or not. Normally, they tend to avoid opening the PLM libraries"* (CMOF2). The reason committees only guarded outside was because PLMs were not used for sermons anymore, she said.

One participant stated that the majority of local people did not have a role in PLM protection or management because nothing in their daily lives related to these cultural objects. However, if a committee and the monastery held an event, then they would engage with the PLMs (CMMM).

An appropriate way for community members to begin to engage would be to volunteer to take care of the monastery and its artefacts. How they treat cultural objects seems to depend on their attitudes, which might also be reflected in how they serve visitors. If a guardian felt very possessive about PLMs, he would probably not want to open the monastery library to the public. Such a situation was found in observation in the pilot study, when the researcher visited a monastery without an appointment and was refused access to the monastery library at Wat Laihin because the keyholder was not there and it was required that visitors ask permission in advance. However, general visitors or communities can join PLM events when they hear about such activities, and then the monastery will open the library to visitors.

4.6.2.2 Tour guides

Another role community members can take on is that of tour guide. One participant explained that Wat Sungmen employed laypeople as tour guides to tell the story of the monastery and its PLMs (CMOF1). This approach created a welcoming feeling for visitors and made the volunteers proud.

4.6.2.3 Coordinators

A different community role is that of coordinator. One participant said that he performed this function when there were events in the monastery, and that he brought local people together to launch the events. Of particular significance was a willingness to help the community stay in touch with each other and to ensure such events ran smoothly.

He said:

> *I am a coordinator who gathers people to engage in planned events. I am also a facilitator in food, accommodation and other things for people who come to help and participate.* (CEB)

4.6.2.4 Bag makers

In the past, local females were not involved in all areas of PLM management because of the gender issue. However, one of the female interviewees provided an example of recent changes in this respect. When Wat Phra Dharmakaya staff came to digitise the PLMs at Wat Laihin, they were able to ask local women to make the white cotton bags in which the PLMs were to be placed (CMOF2). It is worth remembering that gender restrictions were enforced in the past in many parts of the world. Now, however, gender restrictions in the management of PLMs have been relaxed. Women do enjoy more opportunities to engage with PLMs, for example by making the protective cotton bags. Engagement now largely depends on interest and skill rather than gender.

4.6.2.5 Donations to support translation and reproduction

The final community role involves the translation and reproduction of PLMs. For community members who cannot read or write LannaTham or be installed in the management structure, they could support the budget for manuscript translation and reproduction by donating money to hire local people to write LannaTham script on palm leaves (CLP). In terms of the whole process of PLM reproduction, one person said that local people who supported the process were considered to be making merit. To be more precise, the community can underwrite the way PLMs serve the Buddha's teachings by making donations in order to safeguard these artistic and religious objects. In this way, writers and copyists have the backing to continue creating such items and earn a living at the same time (CEB).

The same participant stated:

> *Individuals experienced in PLMs know how to make them. For us, we cannot connect to the holy objects, so I sponsor local people who are able to write LannaTham script, engrave wood covers and weave coverings. After they're finished, I take them to the monk for his sermon and then I donate them to the temple to make merit.* (CEB)

To sum up, there are many roles the community can play in the management and preservation of PLMs, providing guardians and committee members, tour guides, coordinators, facilitators, hosts, or supporters of translation and reproduction. Community members understand this, and then help and support each other. In the following section, the skills community members might develop in order to continue and further these roles are discussed, but the findings in this section have shown that community members are able to create and take on suitable roles in relation to PLM management and preservation.

4.6.3 Communities' expectations of themselves

As mentioned above, the community does act to preserve and promote PLMs. However, many people still do not know about PLMs and their importance because the manuscripts seem remote from everyday experience. For this reason, participants explained the need to stimulate a more thorough and wider perception of PLMs. Taking the importance of PLMs into account and learning LannaTham script were also seen as basic requirements by community members who wanted to raise awareness about PLMs and their ancient wisdom.

4.6.3.1 Awareness of importance of PLMs

Community members perceived that creating understanding, assessing the roles of different institutions, and offering community members the opportunity to make merit were possible

pathways to realising the value of PLMs and sharing this with others. One community member focused on the different missions of the different institutions involved in this project:

> *Everybody should participate but they don't because they don't have the chance to cultivate their knowledge in educational and community institutions. Therefore, nobody cares about PLMs. What I want is for everybody to have their own role. For example, local people, communities, schools and temples have basic knowledge about PLMs. School can teach something related to PLMs and launch activities. Government sectors can take the role of bringing them together, and presenting them to the public.* (CEL)

The crucial point here is that each institution has its own role in relation to PLMs, yet all should raise awareness in the community about the importance of PLMs. Another person emphasised worship as a continuing process to reinforce the importance of PLMs:

> *Actually, making PLMs is not about participatory activities but about individual practice. For instance, when we write each story from the PLMs, there is only one writer of the whole script. They do not come together as a group to help each other write. It's simple to say participation is easy but in fact it is difficult... Making people aware of the importance of PLMs and letting them make merit is how they can participate in PLMs... You can begin with which temple you are faithful to and who you would like to make merit for. Then you can hire people to create PLMs. You do not have to do this by yourself from the beginning by making palm leaves. Your duty is consecration as worship.* (CEB)

Community members thus hoped to bring out and reinforce the value of PLMs. They were trying to find the roles which best suited them in order to integrate every member of the society in PLM management. Some also encouraged the worship of PLMs to maintain long-term spiritual beliefs.

4.6.3.2 Learning LannaTham script through copyists

One idea from the community was that academics were expected to be knowledgeable and to open LannaTham script classes. One community member described a class on LannaTham script and Buddhism at Wat Sungmen on Sundays. Teenagers came there to study. He pointed out how the community operated: *"Normally, there is self-management in the temple. The municipality takes a permanent but minor supporting role, partly in relation to budget, personnel and coordination"* (CLA). Another interviewee at Wat Sungmen highlighted the developing situation:

> *Previously, we taught the Lanna language at Wat Sungmen but there were few people who studied with us. Worse still, after finishing their learning, they didn't have any occasion to use the language regularly. So we created activities which bought income to learners after they had learned the Lanna language, as translators. This is the way we bring local people into participating in PLMs. For retired people, they can join the*

administration and checking groups because they have time. For the younger generation,
they can write and be in the typing group. All groups have an income. (CLP)

All these activities involved limitations or problems. The positive factor here is in the way local people encountered difficulties and so developed an understanding of the issues, and found solutions to them, which in this case was to address the cost of living. Realising the essential value of PLMs and learning the Lanna script are community expectations, with a view to motivating greater community participation in the PLM environment.

4.6.4 Establishing participatory models

Some community members believed that the value of PLMs should be recognised and their place in the community understood. The monk Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein, who was a writer, editor and collector of PLMs, created the TakTham tradition (CLP) to encourage recognition of the importance of PLMs and cooperation in the community (CLP, CLA, CMOM & CMOF1). This tradition includes preservation and making merit in order that the community continue to take care of PLMs. Promotional activities are a new approach recently added to the tradition by literate people. A monk at Wat Sungmen has opened the monastery as part of a growing industry which researchers have termed the "Tak Tham tradition model" and the "monastery tourism model".

4.6.4.1 TakTham tradition model

An effective way of preserving PLMs is promotion through community participation. One person stated:

> *When PLMs in the small temple were borrowed by the bigger temple, sometimes they*
> *weren't returned, and they disappeared. Within the wisdom of the previous abbot was*
> *the TakTham tradition that integrated with local beliefs and allowed the community to*
> *become participants. He wanted all community members of every age and gender to know*
> *about PLMs.* (CLP)

The TakTham tradition ceased 300 years ago but has been resurrected in the last decade. In the past, before the recovery of the tradition, PLMs at Wat Sungmen were kept only in the monastery library, but when TakTham worship was revived, the condition of the PLMs was checked every month by bringing them out into the sunlight (CLP). One person stated that the idea of this tradition belonged to the previous abbot at Wat Sungmen. He said the origin of the TakTham tradition was as follows:

> *Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein believed that Sungmen people could conserve*
> *PLMs. He created a Ho Trai* [monastery library] *to store PLMs. He thought about*

conservation guidelines to protect against the disappearance of knowledge objects. He predicted that future abbots who held authority would harm PLMs. For example, a prelate who had a higher position than the abbot might borrow and not return them. Because of the small size of the temple, the abbot would not dare to reclaim them. As a result, some PLMs would be lost. Therefore, he had the idea that the more you keep, the more disappear. Dissemination to let people know as much as possible was the root of his thinking and then he linked this to the tradition and belief in letting local people participate. He created a tradition called TakTham, with the distinctive point being to have all ages and genders within the community as the core target. (CLP)

Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein did not trust individual abbots, largely as he felt it unwise to grant them the authority to look after PLMs because different people have different views and mores, so he created the TakTham tradition, with its main focus on the community, to help maintain and foster collaboration. Underlining this tradition, one participant supported the idea of community worship because when everybody experienced this then the other aims would be achieved, such as motivation, faith and empathy with PLMs, and community participation would automatically occur (CEB). The following section details TakTham ceremony promotional activities and how these are managed by community members and experts in the way of the tradition.

i) TakTham ceremony

One interviewee explained that TakTham worship was a process of preservation, with one of the activities in the ceremony involving the taking of PLMs into the sunlight (CLA) (see Section 4.5.3.2 for more detail). Another person outlined the objective of the worship as being to demonstrate how PLMs might be preserved for the community and to encourage community members to participate in taking care of PLMs (CLP).

One participant explained this in detail:

TakTham involves checking the condition of the returned PLMs, those borrowed by other monasteries, to see whether they have been damaged or not. If they are damaged, we rewrite or repair them. For other PLMs which have not been borrowed, they suffer from humidity in the rainy season, so monks and community members take them out into the sun and check the condition of each PLM. When they find one which is damaged due to age or insects, they repair, rewrite or reproduce it, and the new manuscript is brought to TanTham for worship. (CLP)

This finding delineates the PLM care process. It begins with their being taken out into the sunlight and their condition appraised. If damage is found, repair or reproduction of the affected PLMs is undertaken, which also allows community members to make merit.

A field note taken at Wat Sungmen during the TakTham event which took place between 2nd and 4th January 2015 illustrates how the tradition is maintained. The exhibition board demonstrates how the TakTham tradition operated 100 years ago at Lunag Prabang, Laos (Figure 4.58(a)). The original tradition started with checking the condition of the PLMs and selecting damaged ones for repair. After this, walking clockwise with the PLMs three times around the chapel ("*Ubosatha*"), a procedure called triple circumambulation, became common (Figure 4.49). Later, taking PLMs out into the morning sunlight also became part of the ritual (Figure 4.47). Then, offering the PLMs to the monastery and giving a sermon were incorporated into the practice (Figure 4.50). Finally, bringing the objects back to the monastery library became the last part of the ceremony (Figure 4.51).

Figure 4.47: Taking palm leaf manuscripts into the morning sunlight around a pagoda

ii) TanTham ceremony

TanTham is an important ceremony held at Wat Sungmen. In observation, the monks gave a sermon before the PLMs. One person explained that this was a ceremony to gain merit for the writers and creators of PLMs (CLA). Moreover, during the "TakTham Festival: Unseen Thailand, Unseen World" at Wat Sungmen, the ceremony was dedicated to the age of Buddhism, one that will continue for 5,000 years. From observation of the exhibition (Figure 4.58(b)), today the TanTham ceremony at Wat Sungmen has added more elements of worship by introducing a long-life ceremony. The belief is that the success of the ceremony will help individuals, their relatives and their hometowns to enjoy longevity, prosperity and unity. The ceremony uses holy threads to link the Buddha's statue to the monks and the people. While the monks pray, a holy thread is used to connect their goodness to the worshippers. Local people put ceremonial threads around their heads and on the PLMs (Figure 4.50), and pay attention to making merit with holy objects in the TanTham tradition. Monks praying over PLMs is a meaningful form of worship in the TanTham ceremony. There are three objectives: forgiveness before the ancient manuscripts; assigning merit to writers and creators; and granting merit to the souls of the holders or donors of PLMs.

TanTham is a traditional ceremony representing merit. All prayers relating to PLMs are linked to creating virtue. There are many ways for Buddhists to worship in the TanTham ceremony, including chanting, sermons, triple circumambulation and alms-giving. PLMs, merit and holiness are realised as one meaning, which is considered the central aspect of people's involvement. Worshippers believe that the manuscripts are holy objects which are symbols of the Buddha's teachings. Consequently, people involved in any action related to worshipping the manuscripts are considered to have gained merit. Therefore, community people are attracted to participate in every step of the ceremony and in all the activities. This point addresses the significant factor that merit motivates villagers interest in PLMs.

Figure 4.48: Hands pressed together across the chest as a sign of respect when holding palm leaf manuscripts and making a prayer before the triple circumambulation, Wat Sungmen, Phare

(a) Triple circumambulation led by abbot and monks

(b) Triple circumambulation followed by local people and visitors of all ages and genders, without shoes

Figure 4.49: Triple circumambulation led by monks, followed by people making their salutation to the triple gem ("*Ratanattaya Vandana*"), a term for the three holy gems, the Buddha Gem, Dharma Gem and Sangha Gem

Figure 4.50: TanTham ceremony, making merit by offering palm leaf manuscripts to the monastery and dedicating them to writers, ancestors and the Buddha, Wat Sungmen, Phare

Figure 4.51: Bringing palm leaf manuscripts back to the monastery library, Wat Sungmen, Phare

iii) Promotional activities managed by community members

Comparison of the original version of the TakTham tradition and the present tradition at Wat Sungmen, as shown by the exhibition boards (Figure 4.58(a) & (b)) and through participant observation, reveals the emergence of three activities which promote PLMs and encourage people to engage with them: the PLM procession (Figure 4.52), the writing of LannaTham script (Figure 4.53), and academic seminars (Figure 4.54). All have stimulated community members to realise the importance of PLMs and to seek to become literate in the Lanna language. These three practices mean that community members are now more likely to participate in events related to PLMs.

Observation and photography show that both men and women across almost all age groups participated in this event. Also, monks and novices joined in the parade, thus enhancing the value of PLMs (Figure 4.52(a) & (e)). Most held PLMs (Figure 4.52(a), (b) & (e)). Some, particularly the girls, held oblations containing popped rice, flowers, joss-sticks and candles to pay homage to the Buddha's teachings in the PLMs, and the boys carried holy Lanna decorations such as ancient fans (Figure 4.52(c)). Another group of children held a large PLM wrapper (Figure 4.52(d)). Animals also took part in the event: two elephants carried monks holding PLMs, and a horse had on its back a number of PLMs to show how the manuscripts were transported in the past (Figure 4.52(e)). There was not only a marching parade but also a performance. A group of local people did a folk dance and played folk music along the way to the monastery in order to entertain the participants (Figure 4.52(f)). At the end of the procession, there was Lanna traditional dancing ("*Fon Leb*") performed by women, and a "*Klong Sabadchai*" performance by men (Figure 4.52(g)). These performances, as shown below, were used to entertain visitors to the monastery festival, which has now become a famous cultural show. The TakTham festival is promoted by the community as a unique event entitled "Unseen Thailand, Unseen World".

(a) Novices holding PLMs

(b) Old and adult women in white costumes paying respect to PLMs

(c) Girls and boys in Lanna traditional dress

(d) Children holding a big wrapper (left) and PLMs (right)

(e) Elephants carrying monks with PLMs and a horse carrying PLMs

(f) Folk dance and folk musical

(g) Lanna dance (for women), and *Klong Sabadchai* performance (for men)

Figure 4.52: Procession involving PLMs in the TakTham tradition on January 2, 2015, Wat Sungmen, Phrae

b) *Writing LannaTham script*

Another promotional activity used by the community is the writing of LannaTham script. Monks at Wat Sungmen created the practice and asked Lanna language experts to provide knowledge and writing services for participants who were interested in learning about the language or writing their names in LannaTham script as a memorial. There were two activities. The first saw language experts writing the participants' names in LannaTham script on mulberry paper (Figure 4.53(a)). The other had people writing by themselves, inscribing their names on PLMs and then coating

them with carbon oil, which allowed the black colour to be absorbed. The process was completed with the removal of the stain from the carbon oil so that the script appeared (Figure 4.53(b)).

According to the language experts, monks were still responsible for preserving the LannaTham language, together with other men interested in it. As previously noted, LannaTham scriptures had gender restrictions attached to them, which allowed only men to access them, at least until recently. Today, however, women have the opportunity to learn and help to preserve this sacred text, as illustrated in Figure 4.53(a). The image also indicates that there are now few gender boundaries regarding the Lanna language and PLMs.

(a) Writing Lanna script service provided by Lanna language experts

(b) Inscribing Lanna script on palm leaves and painting carbon oil on them to let the text appear, done by community members themselves

Figure 4.53: Writing LannaTham script

c) Academic seminars

One of the other promotional activities that monastery committees want to use to educate people involves the scheduling of academic seminars. A seminar entitled "Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein, an important Lanna monk in the community" was given when the researcher was present. Experts in Lanna studies and monks were invited to give a talk. Many participants, from middle-aged people to students, attended (Figure 4.54).

Figure 4.54: Academic seminar

d) Merit and belief activities

The last promotional event included merit and belief activities, added to fulfil the criteria of tradition. These activities were held during the evening of the last day of the TakTham festival. The belief activity involved launching floating Lanna lanterns into the sky; this is considered to be a means of releasing negative elements from one's life, such as sadness and bad luck. In addition, it involves ancestor worship. The photos also show that this event is seen as a family activity which builds strong relationships between fathers and sons (Figure 4.56).

The two other events were part of the religious ceremony; monks preached a sermon, although only old women attended (Figure 4.55). However, more people participated in the last religious ceremony, a triple circumambulation which also included monks and men (Figure 4.57). At the end, candles were placed in front of the monastery library (Figure 4.57).

Figure 4.55: Monk delivering a sermon, Wat Sungmen, Phrae

Figure 4.56: A family releasing a lantern, Wat Sungmen, Phrae

Figure 4.57: Candle triple circumambulation, ending with candles set in front of the Library of Palm
Leaf Manuscripts, Wat Sungmen, Phrae

i) Promotional activities managed by academics

Most promotional activities are managed by community members, but two important activities involve experts: writing LannaTham script and delivering academic seminars. This section, however, describes two events created and launched by PLSC: an exhibition and a demonstration of the cutting and boiling of PLMs.

a) *Providing an exhibition*

Three example boards for the exhibition were created by academic experts from Chiang Mai Rajabhat University. They were composed carefully so that every detail was understandable. The first and second boards provided information about the local community and environment at Wat Sungmen. The first board also told the story of the origins of the TakTham tradition at Wat Sobsikkaram, Luang Prabang, Laos, while the second one held information about the TakTham tradition that inspired and was adapted at Wat Sungmen. The last board explained how PLMs

188

were created, illustrating the four steps in the process: cutting and boiling, plunging and compressing with wooden covers, inscribing, and decorating (Figure 4.58).

| (a) Exhibition board demonstrating TakTham tradition from 100 years ago at Wat Sobsikkaram, Luang Prabang | (b) Exhibition board demonstrating TakTham Tankaomai Hingfai Prajao traditions at Wat Sungmen | (c) Exhibition board demonstrating the creation of PLMs |

Figure 4.58: Exhibition boards at Wat Sungmen, Phrae

b) Demonstration of cutting and boiling of palm leaves

The last promotional activity was a demonstration of the cutting and boiling processes involved in creating PLMs (Figure 4.59), as led by academic experts from Chiang Mai Rajabhat University. The idea was to invite local people to act as demonstrators. Around five volunteers showed how to cut palm leaves and shared information about the process. They also prepared water in order to boil the palm leaves and looked after the boiling pan for a whole day. The reaction from people who participated in this event was one of delight. This event shows the potential level of community participation, and that academics still have an important role in PLM activities.

| (a) Demonstration of how to prepare palm leaves by selecting and cutting them to size before boiling them | (b) Demonstration of how to roll palm leaves and bind them with dried leaves |

(c) Demonstration of how to prepare water to boil palm leaves

(d) Boiling palm leaves

Figure 4.59: Cutting and boiling palm leaves, Wat Sungmen, Phare

It is significant that, whether activities were managed by the community or experts, both groups worked closely together. This can be seen as evidence that the community realised the important role played by experts and invited them to participate. At the same time, the experts who created the activities needed local volunteers to complete the demonstrations. Thus, when there is a strong community and community members have a shared, positive attitude, they can create and engage fully with PLMs because they understand what they are capable of.

A limitation of the 2015 event was that there were fewer participants than before because it was held during the New Year period. On the other hand, the researcher saw and engaged closely with participants who showed willingness, helpfulness and pride when passing knowledge on. For local members and visitors, the purpose of attending this event was to achieve merit.

4.6.4.2 Monastery tourism model

Another model which could motivate local people to participate in PLMs is monastery tourism. One community member at Wat Sungmen proposed this method of bringing income to local people. He aimed to open LannaTham script courses to prepare laypeople with knowledge of the Lanna language. After this, he planned to hire someone who could read LannaTham script to translate or reproduce manuscripts, and then arrange for people who had donated money to engage

190

with the newly literate. Young people would type up the material on computers for publication in the Thai language.

To summarise, both the TakTham tradition and the monastery tourism model are based on community participation, and focus on local people rather than tourists. The ancient model of the TakTham tradition represents a combination of reasons for preserving PLMs: the values and beliefs of Buddhism, tradition as a continuing practice, and attachment as a way of encouraging community participation. The new model of monastery tourism is a response to economic concerns about the community's way of life. Both models are examples of the way that the community can participate in the preservation and management of PLMs.

4.6.5 Avoiding conflict among community members

In terms of participation, this research shows that if there are cultural objects or PLMs in a monastery, the villagers who live in the community are the key people to take care of them. However, one local female drew attention to a particular problem in this respect:

> *Some time ago, only local people came to the TakTham parade but nowadays people from other villages come to hold PLMs in the parade, such as the Donkaew villagers. We rarely find Sungmen villagers involved with PLMs. I think there is a political issue in the local community. When we restarted the TakTham tradition, the local community split into two groups. Once the leader of one group was not selected, local people on his side resisted the other group. As a result, one group refused to engage in the TakTham tradition.* (CMOF1)

The finding here is that, when a community is divided, productive collaboration cannot occur. Another such conflict involved a set of people in Wat Laihin. One participant said that, although community members had a right to be PLM owners, they were not engaged in any real way with PLMs. To allow community engagement with PLMs, he suggested that creating projects such as exhibitions would encourage community members to participate more frequently (CMMM).

4.6.6 Engaging in effective collaborations

In the monastery community, one participant said that the way she and other people experienced and involved themselves with cultural objects depended on the example set by their predecessors and parents. Some wisdom transferred in this way does remain, such as the knowledge contained in PLMs and the TakTham tradition. However, while some practices have been retained, attention to PLMs has waned over time. For example, when PLMs were forgotten by society because they were not used in daily life, the community did not see their value and thus came not to care about them. While it is positive that there is a specific group attending to PLMs, the community often

has limited knowledge, a restricted budget and a busy lifestyle, so another group, such as scholars, is needed to help with the correct management of PLMs. One participant remarked that she welcomed the help of scholars but would want to evaluate whether what they did was appropriate or not.

Another interviewee commented:

> *In this monastery, we help each other, across the monks and the community, but it isn't enough, so we let experts come to help us because they know how to manage PLMs so as to maintain them for the next generation. We don't rely completely on experts and we investigate them, too. If we wonder whether something the experts do is appropriate or not, we will ask about it and discuss it together.* (CMOF1)

When a voluntary community group assists another, or they work together to achieve the same target, this is termed collaboration. For example, communities such as those at Sungmen, Laihin, Pongsanok and Nongngerk, all of which have PLMs in their monasteries, would like to maintain their cultural objects, and there are experts willing to help organise them toward this common goal. There are two groups that facilitate such collaboration, namely experts and librarians, but local people see the two as holding entirely different attitudes because experts are seen as actively involved in managing PLMs whereas librarians are rarely witnessed participating in the community.

The same participant also discussed her view of librarians:

> *I have a question in my mind: why don't librarians manage a huge pile of PLMs? Don't they know about the existence of PLMs? Librarians should have to engage and work with experts, like women and men have to stick together to balance an idea.* (CMOF1)

This participant saw these two groups (experts and librarians) as a perfect combination in terms of taking care of PLMs. Another local female also wanted librarians to participate in PLM management and preservation (CMOF2). Community expectations of experts and librarians were focused on competency and creation (Table 4.3). Librarians were considered to have document management skills, and it was believed that they would enhance the quality of PLM management by working together with experts.

Experts		Librarians	
Competency			
1.	Lanna language	1.	Context of PLMs
2.	Translation	2.	Lanna and global knowledge
3.	Lanna knowledge	3.	Dissemination
4.	Organisation: classification	4.	Organisation: preservation and search tools
Creation			
1.	Knowledge series connecting each monastery	1.	Knowledge series connecting each monastery
2.	Connections between PLMs by topic	2.	Connections between PLMs by topic
		3.	Community library
		4.	Lanna library science

Table 4.3: Community expectations of experts and librarians

4.6.6.1 Competency of experts and librarians: community expectations

Expertise in the LannaTham script was what the community members sought most, followed by translation and Lanna knowledge, and classification. In terms of the skills that librarians possess, one interviewee focused on the context of PLMs, while another expected librarians to understand Lanna and have an ability and willingness to connect Lanna knowledge with the global community as a successful form of local knowledge management. Lastly, one community member wanted librarians to disseminate knowledge by integrating the library, monastery, municipal district and community to promote PLMs to children and the elderly. Another pointed out that, to encourage such dissemination, librarians should provide knowledge about how to manage PLMs to the community in order to enable community self-management and participation in the long term.

It can be seen that the community had different requirements of experts and librarians. Experts were expected to relate deeply to PLMs, to give LannaTham script translations, to know Lanna culture well, and to use classifications. In contrast, it was felt that librarians ought to possess basic knowledge of PLMs and public relations, Lanna and global knowledge, management and dissemination skills to preserve PLMs, and the ability to make available search tools to access PLMs. The community did not have high expectations of librarians because members understood that it would take them a long time to develop the range of skills possessed by experts.

4.6.6.2 Creativity by experts and librarians: community expectations

There were four creative elements that the community expected of experts and librarians: 1) a knowledge series; 2) connections to be made between PLMs by content; 3) a community library; and 4) Lanna library science. There was a common expectation of both experts and librarians offered by one community member about creating a knowledge series among monasteries and mapping out connections between PLMs by topic.

The same participant explained that:

Experts and librarians can study storage knowledge in each place, Wat Laihin, Wat Pongsanok, Ratchaburi (west) and Khon Khen (north-east). They can create a knowledge series from the outstanding elements of each place and establish a topic map. (CMMM)

Other interviewees emphasised the creation of a community library and Lanna library science. The most frequent request from the community was for a community library. In terms of collections, one community member wanted, for study purposes, work that had already been translated. Some younger people wanted a search system for the community library. Another person believed that the library already had a good service and management system, while a different community member welcomed any plan which would improve the library. The most interesting opinion was about the concept of creating Lanna library science.

We should open a Lanna library science curriculum to manage Lanna knowledge. We could divide Lanna knowledge into literature, arts, handmade material, carpentry and music. We could also emphasise the linguistic and literary aspects of PLMs. Our current curriculum includes fine arts at Chiang Mai University and cultural studies at Chiang Mai Rajabhat University. These do not deeply engage with the Lanna language... At present, the local scene itself has developed in various ways. Academics and local government should set a level of competency by having Lanna knowledge, world knowledge and management combined past and present in one person. Nowadays, people know a lot about international stories but understand so little of their own local ones. (CEL)

Different groups in society have particular types of expertise and different perceptions of cultural objects. To allow for productive collaborations, the local community needs experts to be involved with PLMs; it also needs librarians to manage its PLMs. All community members – experts, librarians, monasteries, schools, government, and local people – need to be integrated to achieve a long-lasting and successful collaboration.

4.6.7 Summary

This chapter has described how community members thought that PLMs should be looked after in monasteries. It has also reported the view of local people that they should engage with monastery-stored PLMs, whether as committee members, guardians, tour guides, coordinators, facilitators, or hosts to translators. Community members thought that Lanna literacy levels should be raised to permit the community a sense of ownership and to create a shared awareness. A practical and effective solution to encourage people to participate in PLM practices is the TakTham tradition model. Some community members thus preserved PLMs through tradition, which represents a means of involving villagers in managing PLMs through merit-making. In TakTham, ceremonies are connected to faithfulness and activities stimulate people to realise the value of cultural objects. Although some degree of conflict between societal groups is inevitable, which in this case could lead to non-participation, an effective response to this might be to create collaborations by pointing out common benefits and agreeing to work together toward the same target.

4.7 Conclusion

In focusing on community participation, this chapter has explored all aspects of the perceived value of PLMs and their management. In terms of participation, volunteer community members took responsibility by taking particular roles in the preservation of PLMs. They also educated local people and supplied a sense of ownership and awareness through promoting the importance of PLMs to the local community and the wider world. The most effective model of community participation in PLM preservation is the TakTham tradition, even though this ancient tradition was revived only ten years prior to this research study. It connects community beliefs and faith with PLMs. A significant number of reasonable and practical recommendations by community members have been presented and discussed.

The majority of the Lanna community is Buddhist, and therefore local monasteries and communities are closely attached to each other. The monasteries are the focal point of the community and serve as natural places to store valuable collections. There can be, however, degrees of non-participation among community members, due to political and personal conflicts or differences in attitude. However, through mutual compromise and collaboration, it might be possible to arrive at positive and successful outcomes. To organise PLMs, the community and experts both have important roles in helping monasteries maintain their collections. Experts often come to manage the infrastructures of these collections, while community members serve as the core conservation and preservation personnel. In communities where monks and the public welcome the help offered by scholars, the local people also learn new skills, which allows them to organise, adapt and manage the manuscripts by themselves.

This chapter has also established a number of answers to the first, second and third research questions in terms of exploring how community members perceive the value of PLMs, their expectations about how PLMs should be managed, and how they might participate more in PLM management. The next chapter focuses on the role of experts in the preservation, promotion and management of PLMs, and compares and contrasts the perspectives of experts and communities.

Chapter 5 - Expert views on PLM management

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings about the viewpoints held by experts on issues concerning PLMs. Chapter 4 provided findings supplied by semi-structured interviews, a photo inventory and field notes from the study of community members. This chapter employs the same method but uses mainly semi-structured interviews in order to gain perspectives from experts across a number of fields, albeit with some use of the photo inventory and field notes to illustrate the different initiatives launched by experts. Thus this chapter provides an analysis of the data collected from interviews with various experts involved with PLMs, mostly those engaged in studies of Lanna and ancient languages, with some from the fields of history, library sciences and computer science. Some of their expertise is based on work conducted outside the Lanna region, for example in Thailand and in Laos. This chapter assigns numbers to the expert findings to supply a better overview of level of agreement within the group, one made up of 12 experts. Even though various professions were represented in the group, the experts seemed largely to have similar opinions, perhaps because a majority of them were language experts. This is different from the previous chapter, where the community members had differing views; that group included a wider range of roles, which meant that using the same numbering system as employed in this chapter was unnecessary.

Findings in this chapter are organised in eight main sections: the value of PLMs; authorship and ownership; classification and cataloguing; storage; preservation; access; roles played by experts and community members in PLM management; and the drivers and barriers involved in accomplishing a collaborative model. Of these, this first section concentrates largely on four of the topics: the value of PLMs, preservation, access, and the roles of experts and community members in PLM management. Examination of the value of PLMs is intended to generate an in-depth understanding of how the experts see worth in PLMs. Preservation is seen as the key element in maintaining PLMs. Access refers to the availability of manuscripts for public use. Finally, assessment of the roles taken by experts and community members in the management of PLMs supplies the core concept within this research. It is predicated on the identification of a community-based management approach to the large number of PLMs which remain in the community, one which includes the participation of the community and experts. The views offered by both community members and experts will be discussed in relation to culturally sensitive management in the next chapter, the discussion.

5.2 Perceived value of PLMs

In general, as revealed in the previous chapter, the knowledge supplied by PLMs covers many subjects, including not only Buddhism but also history, law, medicine, horoscopes, moral principles, and literature and folktales (EAL1, ELL1-4). One expert emphasised that PLMs could be considered sources of knowledge from ancient authors who wanted simply to present their manuscripts as cultural offerings to later generations. In this section, three prominent themes emerging from the data are addressed: the intrinsic value of knowledge, the categorisation of material objects, and the expression of personal feelings and emotional responses. The section also includes other views from experts about the perceived value of PLMs, and thus responds to the first research question.

5.2.1 Intrinsic value of knowledge contained in PLMs

In the following sub-sections, six aspects of the intrinsic value of the knowledge held in PLMs are identified, with the most important being the experts' views on Buddhism. Knowledge about herbal medicine was identified as another relevant aspect, based on the number of respondents who mentioned it. Other forms of the intrinsic value of PLM knowledge identified in the interviews were study and research, historical knowledge, and literature and notions of folk wisdom.

5.2.1.1 Expert views on Buddhist knowledge

Just as the community members did, a majority of the experts (7) agreed that Buddhism was the main value contained in PLMs. They allowed that other essential knowledge could be derived, particularly about traditional medicine, history, literature and wisdom, but they maintained that PLMs were especially important as recordings of the Buddha's teachings and for disseminating religious values. One expert stated that Buddhist knowledge was related many times in PLMs; another complicated the issue somewhat by arguing that such knowledge was subject to local interpretations, an idea which has now come to interest many scholars of Buddhism. A further expert confirmed the importance of Buddhist teachings in PLMs which employ the oral idiom of ancient people: "*Those who want to be cold should go to take a bath at Wang Hin* [a cave]*; those who want to be comfortable should work hard; those who want to be in heaven should be naked in the monastery"* (ELL5). The last sentence can be taken to mean that, before listening to a sermon, monks have to undress the PLMs by removing their woven coverings so that they can use the Dharma inside. Of particular interest in this data is that two experts saw value in PLM content which held the Buddha's teachings to be sacred.

5.2.1.2 Medical knowledge in PLMs

Half of the experts (6) viewed herbal medicine as the most interesting form of knowledge contained in PLMs. One discussed the importance of herbal medicine during the reign of King Rama V:

> *Herbal medicine was introduced a long time ago, when Western people came to the region during the reign of King Rama V, which then made Western medicine more popular. But this popularity made King Rama V realise the importance of herbal medicine. For this reason, he ordered folk doctors from every part of Thailand to attend a meeting and record their medicaments in a Khoi book* [a Thai long book made of pulp from trees of the Uricaceae family] *called "Medicine Texts Edition King Rama V". This reflected the value of Thai medicine. Although many Western medicines were influential in Thailand, traditional Thai medicine was still part of the way of life. Unfortunately, after this, in the period overseen by Kings Rama VII to Rama IX, there was a proliferation of Western medicine, leading to a discontinuation in the use of herbal medicine by the community.* (EAL2)

Four of the experts reported there to have been an awakening in the use of herbal medicine in the medical profession in recent years, particularly in the Ministry of Public Health (2) and Faculty of Pharmaceutical Science (2). One expert affirmed the usefulness of herbal medicine and said that herbal medicine had already been shown to be effective; people only needed to use it to further their knowledge. The four experts explained that folk doctors did not generally declare the exact ingredients used in their medications. They explained that there were two methods of recording traditional medicines, the first being the documenting of successful experiments conducted by folk doctors, and the second the repeated copying of herbal medicines.

5.2.1.3 Study and research

Four experts saw PLMs as being worthy of study for research purposes. One stated that people studied PLM content more than the application and use of the knowledge contained in the manuscripts, while another mentioned that, until recently, PLMs had not been preserved for their Buddhist teachings but for education. He elaborated on this by saying that the Ministry of Public Health had begun to use manuscripts for study and to make medical treatments. Another expert said that an increasing number of students at Master's and Doctoral levels had been studying PLMs in recent times (EAL4).

5.2.1.4 Value of historical knowledge

Three experts mentioned the recording of knowledge contained in PLMs in the form of local history, such as folk legends, myths, folklore and historical evidence (EHI, ELL1, ELL5 &

EAL2). A smaller number of experts (2) stated that history and legends about Chiang Mai province were included in PLMs. To them, the existence of such historical data on PLMs was what gave the manuscripts their value. Another expert explained that the legends contained on PLMs raised public interest in the past. He also described his interest in collecting historical data from PLMs:

> *I collected archived documents made from the end content of each PLM, that which records the year the evidence was created, the name of the inscriber, the aim of the inscription, such as celebrating Wat Phra That Doi Suthep* [a temple] *or remembering earthquakes by indicating the date and time. This information is interesting as a historical document, where small amounts of evidence can be collected from each PLM.* (ELL1)

He was interested in studying such content and evidence from the past, not only to know more about history but also to understand the mindsets of ancient people.

5.2.1.5 Literature

Three of the experts stated that PLMs possessed literary value. One clarified this value by saying that PLMs were written in idioms that were pleasant to read due to the way they described and reflected the uniqueness of local languages and diction (EAL2). A small minority of experts (2) stressed how the existence of a unique alphabet demonstrated the special nature of Lanna civilisation and its importance in creating a local identity and stability (ELL1 & ELL3).

5.2.1.6 Notions of folk wisdom

Finally, folk wisdom and knowledge were seen by three experts as another form of value. They saw such wisdom as supplying the meaning, for example, behind the number of thread bindings, with each binding referring to a different element of the Buddha's teachings. In this case, the use of five bindings demonstrates the five elements or attributes of corporeal being: 1) corporeality; 2) sensory experiences; 3) perception, enabling people to recognise or distinguish things; 4) mental formations; and 5) discrimination. In other terms, the five bindings also represent the five precepts of Buddhism (see Section 4.2.1.1 (iii)). Alternatively, four bindings show the four sublime states of the mind: 1) contemplations on love; 2) compassion; 3) sympathetic joy; and 4) equanimity (EAL3 & ELS). One expert explained the wisdom expressed in the use of bound cords which can be untied with a single violent pull.

On the whole, these expert views on knowledge were similar to the community views, in terms of the value inherent in PLMs about medical treatments, Buddhism, study and research, history, and literature. A majority of both experts and community members stressed the same high value

found in the Buddhist teachings that PLMs contained. Another important form of knowledge frequently emphasised by the experts was that of herbal treatments, especially traditional medicine.

5.2.2 Value of PLMs as material objects

This section discusses the categories supplied by the experts for material objects, and is sub-divided further into four different areas: material as historical records; material as ancient art objects; material to which respect must be shown; and material signifying and representing notions of merit.

5.2.2.1 Material as historical records

Four experts valued PLMs as a medium for recording important information such as stories, calendars and past events, content which has long been useful. Two of the experts praised PLMs as the most suitable material from which to learn about the past because palm leaves can be kept for a long time, are light in weight, and on which it is easy to record information. One expert stated that many procedures were followed in order to ready palm leaves for this function. He explained that the steps in the overall process might be considered examples of the wisdom passed on by ancient people:

> *Using palm leaves as the medium for creating records was not easy work. The process*
> *began with selecting suitable palm leaves (not too old or leafy), then boiling them, laying*
> *them out in the sun, and straightening them.* (ELL5)

5.2.2.2 PLMs as ancient art objects

According to the experts, PLMs were also ancient works of art. Several (3) regarded PLMs as ancient artefacts and one remarked that they could be up to 500 years old. Another stated that the value of such ancient objects lay in the way that they revealed past civilisations:

> *Ancient objects reflect civilisation. They prove that people in this country could invent*
> *their own scripts. Palm leaves and scripts represent the advancement of an ancient*
> *people who put their own signature on their country.* (EAL2)

This expert felt a sense of pride about ancient scripts and wanted other people to share it. However, another expert stated that when PLMs went unused they automatically became mere ancient objects.

A number of the experts (3) saw PLMs as works of art. One indicated that there were some beautiful PLMs in Burma and admitted that "*There is a lot more trade in Burmese manuscripts*

because they are more beautiful. Some have gold leaf, and they are very, very nice" (EAL1). Another expert added more detail, saying that PLMs, Khoi books and mulberry paper documents should be considered works of art, and that these ancient materials were often sold to foreigners.

5.2.2.3 Material as worthy of respect

Three experts stated that they believed PLMs to be worthy of respect. One stated that PLMs were material he must respect. Two other experts reported that, in the past, they used not to think of the manuscripts as sacred objects but that they had changed their minds. When using them now, both recognised the spiritual authorship of PLMs by using incense as a symbol of respect for the authors. This shows that they understood the religious importance of PLMs. One expert and her colleague believed they had sensed a spiritual presence (through having their hair stand on end) after a day of work. They felt like someone was near them when no one was physically present.

5.2.2.4 Material signifying and representing notions of merit

Two of the experts shared the same idea about merit. One said that when she engaged in PLM management on behalf of the community, she could see the world widen and this gave her the opportunity to dedicate herself to helping the monastery in order to receive merit. Another expert said that:

> *I read, transliterate, translate and write the content from PLMs by myself. I do not think about profiting from my work but about the merit I make when people read my work and follow the practice in my book.* (ELL5)

The last value of PLMs, that concerning the expression of personal feelings and emotional responses, is addressed next.

5.2.3 Personal feelings and emotional responses

The focus is this section is on the personal feelings and emotional responses expressed about PLMs, reactions that emerge as a particular value of PLMs according to experts, foreigners and Thai royalty. In this regard, one expert reported that many local people were keen to help experts organise PLMs, even though they lacked knowledge of LannaTham script. They were willing to engage in basic tasks such as cleaning manuscripts, recording their number, classifying their condition, and measuring their size.

5.2.3.1 Involvement and interest of experts, foreigners and Thai royalty

Among the experts, one had the job of taking care of PLMs, helping with their storage, and advising the next generation of academics about their value. Another expert argued that nowadays people followed modern knowledge without wanting to gain any understanding of their own past. She stated that she wished to see the Thai education system raise people's awareness of ancient knowledge. Another expert dedicated his translation of PLM script to the public because he loved the Buddhist religion. He stated that:

> *There were people who studied LannaTham script but it was not easy for them to dedicate their time to translation. We did not have enough time to do it and there was no reward or profit. For me, I translated this book from palm leaf manuscripts with self-funding and published it myself. It was an enjoyable experience for me to do it because of my love for Buddhism.* (ELL5)

Two experts said that the users who came most regularly to study the content on PLMs were Japanese and American tourists. One expert reported that there were foreign visitors from a German library who maintained the server for a manuscript database for Lanna PLMs because they were interested in them. Another expert explained that it was good that foreigners had come to be interested in PLMs:

> *Foreigners visited the abbot in the monastery and read LannaTham script on the PLMs. This made them aware of the importance of LannaTham; therefore, the abbot put on classes in Lanna script in the monastery to teach the monks and novices.* (ELL1)

Members of the Thai royal family have also shown a willingness to engage with PLMs. One expert stated that Her Royal Highness the Princess of Thailand was interested in PLMs. She had visited his PLM project in Vientiane in Laos, and looked at the digital library. She may be a key person in the promotion of such manuscripts in Thailand.

5.2.4 Summary

As stated above, for the experts the core value of PLMs was seen as the knowledge they held, in their existence as material objects, and in personal feelings and emotional responses they engendered. Buddhism was seen as the most important element, with herbal medicine also emerging as an important topic. The second most important value of PLMs was to be found in their materiality, and in the idea that merit might be achieved by respectful work with the manuscripts. The next section explores how the experts thought PLMs should be managed in terms of authorship, ownership, classification and cataloguing, storage, preservation and access.

5.3 Authorship

The experts supplied a number of views about the authorship of PLMs. It is particularly interesting, though, that they considered monks to be copiers rather than the real authors of the manuscripts.

5.3.1 Authors as copyists

Authorship in relation to PLMs is complex, according to the experts. One expert clarified that there were two roles involved, creator and copier (ELL1). He said that the Buddha was the first author, in this case by oral transmission. A small minority of experts (2) said that the authors of most PLMs were anonymous. In relative agreement, five experts suggested that most PLMs were the inherited versions of material passed down by ancestors:

> *There is often the name of the person who copied it on the manuscript. It's not the person who wrote it; it's the person who copied it. Most were done a long time ago too… We know who copied it but that's not the author… Most PLMs are just copied from generation to generation.* (EAL1)

Another expert explained that more than half of all PLMs had the same Buddhist content because they were copied. Various copied versions appear to include correctly transcribed information, although some examples of faulty writing, resulting from the copying of copies, can be found. In this context, it might then be considered that copyist is equivalent to author.

5.3.2 Monks as copyists

In clarifying who inscribed PLMs, a majority of the experts (8) stated that monks and people who had left the Buddhist monkhood were the copiers. A few experts (3) included laypeople who knew Lanna script in the number of those who inscribed PLMs.

To sum up, if authorship is seen in terms of who created the content, it can be said that the Buddha was the first author, through oral transmission. However, the experts said that while PLMs did not identify individual copyists, Lanna-literate monks in the monasteries where the PLMs tended to be kept should be seen as copyists and therefore authors.

5.4 Ownership

There were three issues relating to ownership, according to the experts. The first two, physical and digital ownership, could be seen as ways of indicating suitable people, those worthy of owning PLMs. The third theme within this area concerned intellectual property; the experts were keen to explain the legal intellectual rights thought suitable to protect PLMs.

5.4.1 Physical material ownership

This section reveals five themes, in order of the frequency with which they appear in the findings, about who might be considered suitable owners of physical PLMs. The potentially relevant groups were: custodians, anybody, monasteries, communities and individuals. All were considered rightful owners of PLMs by different participants, as will be discussed next.

5.4.1.1 Everyone as custodians or owners

A substantial minority of the experts (5) stated that PLMs belonged to everybody. Half maintained that wherever PLMs were, the people in that area became their custodians, but not their owners. This suggests that the experts were less concerned about who owned the PLMs than who looked after them. One expert said:

> *I prefer not to think in terms of ownership but more about stewardship or custodianship…*
> *Our duty is to take care of them, to preserve them, not to own them…. although I think it*
> *a very good idea that certain people are officially taking care of them.* (EAL1)

In this sense, people who reside in the places where PLMs are kept, such as monasteries or libraries, could be considered custodians. For example, when the experts stated that PLMs were kept in the monastery, this meant that the monastery was the owner, but, in practice, the right to take care of them rested with the abbot or monks. One expert from the National Library of Thailand gave another example, saying that he was a custodian looking after PLMs for all Thai people because they were the property of everyone. To illustrate the difficulty of the issue, half of the experts (6) did not address the concept of ownership in direct terms. One view was that everybody owned the PLMs, although a majority of the experts (7) thought that some person or group should claim ownership, as elucidated below.

5.4.1.2 Monastery, community and individual ownership

A majority of the experts (7) identified ownership as existing at monastery, community and individual levels. Four experts said that monasteries owned the PLMs because they were their property. One expert explained that, legally, each monastery was a corporation; hence, again, the

manuscripts belonged to the monasteries. Another implied that ownership was tied to Buddhism, saying that the religion was the owner because people offered PLMs to the Buddha.

Looking at a wider area, a few experts (3) said that the communities where PLMs were found were the owners. One expert specifically identified local communities as possessing ownership: *"It belongs to local people like the Lanna (northern) and Isan (north-eastern) people"* (ELL2).

Two experts stated that some PLMs belonged to local people and some to foreigners. One expert argued that the local people who kept PLMs in their houses were their owners. They did not offer these manuscripts to a monastery because the manuscript content was about social issues, including herbal remedies, astrology and literature. In contrast, foreign owners held PLMs for various purposes. One expert felt that the ownership of many ancient documents, including PLMs, had been transferred abroad; such manuscripts now belonged to foreigners, as collections or as material for study purposes.

5.4.2 Digital ownership

In terms of digital ownership, the same issues discussed in relation to physical manuscript ownership apply. This section addresses ownership in a digital format, where photos of physical manuscripts have been transformed into digital images. Considering digital files, one expert said that he had the rights to the digital images but not the physical manuscripts: *"On our part, we understand that our management of digital images means that we own these, but not the actual PLMs"* (ECS).

To sum up, the experts held that, when PLMs were considered public material, the custodian acted as a representative for everybody and looked after them, while the owner retained legal possession. Therefore, a monastery or library where PLMs are kept is a custodian, while, legally, the monastery is also the owner because it is the place where the manuscripts are stored. In terms of digital images of PLMs, the organisations that digitise the manuscripts can claim ownership of the digital files, according to the experts.

5.4.3 Intellectual property

Here, the results show that the issue of PLMs as intellectual property was rated by the experts as being noteworthy in three areas. The experts considered national heritage to be of utmost importance, followed by public knowledge. They also gave consideration to herbal medicine, its registration and patenting, and its value as a national treasure, one that should be protected. Finally, they felt it important to offer protection and fair use rights over digital copies, especially where copyright existed alongside Creative Commons licences.

5.4.3.1 National heritage and public knowledge

Three experts argued that copyright could not protect PLM rights in real-life situations; there were too many grey areas it was impractical to cover. In discussing how PLMs might be protected, a significant minority of experts (5) stated that the manuscripts were the property of the Thai nation, thus a form of national heritage. However, four experts said that they were public knowledge with no copyrights applicable. One stated: *"The manuscripts are almost 700-800 years old; you don't worry about the copyright anymore"* (EAL1). Another expert maintained that since the manuscripts were over a hundred years ago, they were not subject to copyright. Further, one expert explained that *"there is no copyright; whoever claims copyright is incorrect"* (ELL5). Four experts identified PLMs as public knowledge belonging to no one and that everybody could access it, while five stated that PLMs should be part of the Thai national heritage.

5.4.3.2 Registration, patents and national treasure

Three experts considered knowledge of herbal medicine valuable and worthy of protection. One mentioned that herbal medicine could be used to make personal profit, and thus should be protected. The first measure that this expert recommended after PLMs had been translated was the establishment of a committee to register herbal medicines. After that, patents should be registered for the herbal medicines developed. Another expert added that a committee at the Ministry of Public Health had been founded to collect herbal medicine recipes from doctors, which suggests that herbal medicine is seen as a national treasure.

5.4.3.3 Copyright with Creative Commons in a digital format

As reported by one expert, PLMs are not only physical materials but also exist as digitised images. He stated that there were digital PLM collections in places such as Chiang Mai University Library. This library holds the copyright on its collection and has decided that digital images will be freely available under a Creative Commons Attribution-non-Commercial 4.0 Unported (CC BY-NC 4.0) Licence. The library provides information to users for educational purposes but not for commercial exploitation, according to Lessig (2010).

5.4.4 Summary

In summary, the experts offered two significant perspectives about the protection of PLMs. First, most believed that the national heritage value attributed to PLMs meant they should be protected from misuse and use for personal benefit. However, some experts felt that PLMs should be publicly available to everyone, so that all could access the knowledge they contained. The experts were concerned to protect herbal medicine knowledge by establishing a register, thereby making it a national treasure. In contrast, others believed that digital image collections should be protected

by means of Creative Commons licences which allow people to access, copy and re-use the material for non-commercial purposes.

5.5 Organisation of PLMs

Previous sections have addressed suitable forms of management and ownership, and explored authorship. This section will now consider the experts' suggestions about organisation of PLMs, discussing them in four main categories: classification and cataloguing, storage, preservation, and access.

5.5.1 Classification and Cataloguing of PLMs

The following section contains three sub-sections on classification. They relate to themes emerging from the data, about classified content, overlapping classifications, and the cataloguing of PLMs.

5.5.1.1 Classified content

According to the findings from the interviews with the experts, the most appropriate way to classify PLMs is by content. These interviews, as well as those with local people and also official documents, revealed that seven organisations manage PLMs. Five of these have their own classification systems and the two others follow the classification code supplied in Tables 5.1 to 5.3. The Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture (CPAC), Chiang Mai University (CMU), has 21 content categories (Table 5.1). The Social Research Institute (SRI), CMU, has 11 categories, with 17 sub-headings (Table 5.1). The Palm Leaf Studies Centre and Institute of Lanna Studies (PLSC) uses the same system employed by the first two organisations. Chiang Mai Rajabhat University (CMRU) has 18 categories with 13 sub-headings and five sub-sub-headings (Table 5.1). The National Library of Thailand has the most categories among these organisations, with 13 categories and 36 sub-headings, including Buddhist Teaching and Poetry (Table 5.2). The last organisation, the École Française D'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) in Chiang Mai, has only one category, that of Legends, with eight sub-headings (Table 5.3). The Northeastern Leaf-Inscription Conservation Centre at Mahasarakham University follows the CPAC system; however, in the future, according to one expert, this establishment is aiming to connect PLM information between organisations, so the same classification system will be employed in order to make the collections compatible. Thus, it can be seen that there are different classification systems in use at different institutions.

Centre for the Promotion of Arts and Culture (CPAC), CMU		Social Research Institute (SRI), CMU		The Palm Leaf Studies Centre (PLSC), CMRU	
Code and Definition					
01	Discipline	01 Buddhism		A	Tripitaka
02	Discourse	01A	Buddha's Legendary History		1. Disciplinary Rules
03	Higher Doctrine	01B	Great Jataka Story		2. Suttanta Doctrine
04	Pali Canon	01C	Tan Jataka Stories		3. AbhiDharma Doctrine
05	Chanting	01D	General Jataka Stories		4. Tripitaka Digest
06	Result of Merit	01E	Suttanta Doctrine		5. Atthakatha, Tika, and the Pakaranavisesa
07	Jataka	01F	AbhiDharma Doctrine		6. Jataka
08	Buddhist Teaching	01G	Disciplinary Rules		7. Nipata Jataka
09	Custom-Ceremony	01H	Religious Teaching		8. Ten Jataka Stories
10	General Teaching	01I	Blessings		9. Great Jataka Story
11	Buddhist Novels	01J	Cosmological View		10. Pannasa Jataka
12	Local Tales	01K	History of Buddhism		11. Lanna Jataka
13	Buddhist Legends	01L	History of Sacred Objects		12. Religious Teaching
14	Royal Legends	01M	Famous Disciples	B	History
15	Law	01N	Prophecy	C	Legends
16	Arts and Literature	01O	Prayers and Rituals		1. Buddha Legends
17	Poetry	01P	Sangha Ceremonies		2. Disciple Legends
18	Astrology	01Q	Buddhist Myths		3. Sacred Place and Object Legends
19	Herbal Medicine	02 Folktales			4. Individual Legends
20	Various	03 Customary Law		D	Result of Merit
21	Other	04 Ethics		E	Ethics
		05 History		F	Folktales
		06 Astrology		G	Prophecy
		07 Poetry		H	Astrology
		08 Traditional Medicine		I	Cosmology
		09 Rites and Rituals		J	Magic
		10 Magic		K	Linguistics
		11 Miscellaneous		L	Law
				M	Medical Science
				N	Local Ceremonies
				O	Sangha Ceremonies
				P	Poetry
					1. General Poetry
					2. Foretell Poetry
				Q	Prayers
				R	Miscellaneous

Term definitions: Atthakatha – commentary on Tipitaka; Tika – commentary on Atthakatha; Pakaranavisesa – Buddhist scripture

Table 5.1: Classification systems at three institutions: CPAC, SRI and PLSC

(Adapted from Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002; Wat Sungmen, n.d.; Wichienkeeo, 2013)

National Library of Thailand	
1. Law	
2. Archives	
3. Programme Instruction	
4. Royal Annals	
5. Treatises/Textbooks	
5.1 Illustrated Texts	5.6 Magic
5.2 Zoology	5.7 Miscellaneous
5.3 Astrology	5.8 Alchemy
5.4 Astrological Calendars	5.9 Medical Science
5.5 Strategic	5.10 Astronomy
6. Legends	
7. Royal Ceremony	
8. Buddhist Teachings	
8.1 Pali Tipitaka	8.8 Pakaravisesa
8.2 Commentaries	8.9 Miscellaneous
8.3 Sub-commentaries	8.10 Chronicles
8.4 Sub-sub-commentaries	8.11 Legends-History
8.5 Navatika	8.12 Cosmogony
8.6 Yochana	8.13 Prayers
8.7 Khanti	8.14 Phonetic
9. Arts and Literature	
10. History	
11. Mathematics	
12. Poetry	
12.1 Dramatic Poetry	12.7 Thai Religious Verse
12.2 Thai Octametric Poems (read)	12.8 Thai Verse: "Rai"
12.3 Thai Octametric Poems (sung)	12.9 Thai Verse: "Lilit"
12.4 Proverb Poetry	12.10 Journey Poems
12.5 Stanza/Concrete Poetry	12.11 Extemporaneous Rhyme (Thai Folk)
12.6 Concrete Poetry	12.12 Prose
13. Inscriptions	

Table 5.2: Ancient document classification system at the National Library of Thailand

(Adapted from National Library of Thailand, 2005)

École Française D'Extrême-Orient, Chiang Mai
Tamnan (Traditional Chronicles or Histories)
1. Tamnan Phra That Takhong
2. Tamnan Phra Kaeo Don Tao
3. Phutta (Buddha) Tamnan
4. Tamnan Phraya Thammikarat
5. Tamnan Ho Mueang Wong
6. Tamnan Phra Chao Ha Phra Ong
7. Tamnan Phra That Doi Tung
8. Tamnan Phra That Cho Rae
9. Tamnan Ang Song Chiang Dao
10. Tamnan Phra Chao Ton Luang

Table 5.3: Classification system at École Française D'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Chiang Mai

(Adapted from Lagirarde, 2012)

The data here show that each institution has its own strategy to determine categories as based on its experience of the material and the existing system. Each institution believes that its classification is suitable for PLMs.

5.5.1.2 Items fitting more than one classification

According to three of the experts, while there are different classification systems, a common problem for many organisations is that of overlaps in categorisation. One expert supplied an example of Buddhist parables classified as folk tales and also as Dharma. He classified them as folk tales, but it was difficult for him to choose the correct category. To solve this problem, one expert suggested that a database might provide the option of selecting more than one category. This would facilitate and enhance searching for and retrieving information across many categories.

5.5.1.3 Cataloguing PLMs

As noted in the interviews and documents collected, each organisation has its own survey form to describe the physical details of PLMs. The most common items on each form are code, province, temple title, title, categories, scripts, language, type of document, date, part of story or full story, quality, status of document, conservation, microfilm, notes, date of survey, and more notes (Table 5.4). This general pattern can be found on the CPAC form (Table 5.5).

Three organisations have expanded these choices and added more detail to their description forms. The Northeastern Leaf-Inscription Conservation Centre at Mahasarakham University includes type of script, language, and type of document (Table 5.6). The Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, includes type of script, inscriber or copier, and creator (Table 5.7). The National Library of Thailand uses fewer details but includes type of covering and name of creator (Table 5.8). Interestingly, one expert showed that a local person had designed his own survey form and collected more details about PLMs.

Registration Details		
1. Code	6. Language	11. Status of document
2. Province	7. Type of document	12. Conservation
3. Temple title	8. Year of record	13. Microfilm
4. Category	9. Part of story or full story	14. Note
5. Script	10. Quality	15. Date of survey
		16. More notes

Table 5.4: General details of registration

Code	Province	Temple	Category	Order number	Number of story

1. Province
   ( ) Chiang Mai   ( ) Lamphun   ( ) Lampang   ( ) Chiang Rai
   ( ) Phayao   ( ) Nan   ( ) Phrae   ( ) Mae Hong Son
2. Temple…………………….....…Address………………………………………………………………………..
3. Title………..
4. Category
   ( ) 01 Discipline   ( ) 08 Buddhist Teaching   ( ) 15 Law
   ( ) 02 Discourse   ( ) 09 Custom-Ceremony   ( ) 16 Arts and Literature
   ( ) 03 Higher Doctrine   ( ) 10 General Teaching   ( ) 17 Poetry
   ( ) 04 Pali Canon   ( ) 11 Buddhist Novel   ( ) 18 Astrology
   ( ) 05 Chanting   ( ) 12 Local Tale   ( ) 19 Herbal Medicine
   ( ) 06 Result of Merit   ( ) 13 Buddhist Legend   ( ) 20 Various
   ( ) 07 Jataka   ( ) 14 Royal Legend   ( ) 21 Other

5. Script   ( ) Taiyuan   ( ) Other…………………………………..
6. Language   ( ) Taiyuan   ( ) Pali   ( ) Other…………..
7. Type of document ( ) Palm Leaves   ( ) Mulberry Paper   ( ) Other…………..
8. Year of record   ( ) Thai Minor Era   ( ) Buddhist Era   ( ) No date
9. Number of parts of story and stories………………parts of story/stories
10. Quality   ( ) Full set of stories ( ) Not full set of stories ( ) Not shown ( ) Separate set of stories
11. Status of document ( ) Very good   ( ) Good ( ) Some damage   ( ) Very damaged
12. Conservation   ( ) Repair binding thread ( ) Repair palm leaves or mulberry paper ( ) No repair
                   ( ) Make wooden covering ( ) Make cloth covering ( ) Clean   ( ) Other………
13. Microfilm   ( ) Microfilm   ( ) No microfilm
14. Notes………
15. Date of survey   Date…….Month…..………Year……………………………………………………....
16. Name of observers (1)……………………………...………… (2)……………………………………...…
17. More notes……………………………………………………………………………………………………

Table 5.5: Data record sheet for PLMs at the Centre for the Promotion of Arts and Culture (CPAC), CMU

(Adapted from Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture, n.d.)

The Northeastern Leaf-Inscription Conservation Center, Mahasarakham University				
Script	( ) Thai	( ) Tham-Isan	( ) Tai Noi	( ) Khmer ( ) Other……
Language	( ) Thai	( ) Thai-Isan	( ) Pali	( ) Other……
Type of document	( ) Long Palm Leaves	( ) Short Palm Leaves	( ) Khoi Book	( ) Other……

Table 5.6: Other categories at Northeastern Leaf-Inscription Conservation Center, Mahasarakham University

(Adapted from Palm Leaf Conservation Project at Northeastern, n.d.)

Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University
Language   □ LannaTham   □ Tai Lue   □ Other…………………………………………
Size (centimetres)   Width…………. Height…….. Number of Lines/Leaves……………………...…
Inscriber/Copier…………………………..   Creator………………………………………………

Table 5.7: Other Categories at Social Research Institute, CMU

(Adapted from Social Research Institute, n.d.)

Palm leaf manuscript registration
Number……………………………………………………………………………………………
Number of bundle………. Category …….. Title of palm leaf manuscript……………………
Title of cover……………………….……………….. Author…………………………..………
Creator……………….. Year of creation……. Number……… Parts of story…….. Lines…………..
Script………………………………. Language…………………….. Line……………………………..
Issue/Version/Edition………………..…. Size: Width……..…. Length……..…… Depth……..…….
Wooden Covering………………………. Size: Width……..…… Length…………. Depth……..……
History……………………………………………………………………..……………………………

Table 5.8: Data record sheet for palm leaf manuscripts at the National Library of Thailand

(Adapted from National Library of Thailand, n.d.)

5.5.1.4 Summary

As stated, there are many classification systems used by different organisations. However, there is a common problem of items that fit in multiple classes. For purposes of cataloguing, there are expert-created survey forms in order to record the physical details of PLMs. There seems to be no consensus among experts about how to classify PLMs. This section has thus shown the various classification systems that institutions already use and suggested that there is a need to record and organise PLMs in a systematic, unified and comprehensive way.

5.5.2 Storage of physical PLMs

This section introduces and discusses two of the main characteristics of storing PLMs, as seen from an expert perspective: easily accessible traditional storage spaces, and temple, library, museum and organisation storage locations.

5.5.2.1 PLM storage spaces

In terms of storage space, half of the experts (6) indicated that they preferred using easily accessible storage, the traditional storage method for PLMs. A few experts (3) explained the limitations of using storage containers, saying that when PLMs were kept in chests, they were piled on top of each other (ELL2, ELL5 & EAL2) and could only be removed one by one. In addition, they noted that ancient chests and cabinets were made of wood, which meant that the interior of the storage space could not be seen from the outside.

By extension, therefore, a small minority of experts (2) suggested keeping PLMs in drawers or in cabinets with small sections. In terms of the active storage methods the experts themselves used, one expert stated that he used shelves and glass cabinets, but another said the majority of his PLMs were still kept in wooden cabinets.

While more than half the experts (6) said that PLMs would be kept more effectively in accessible storage, three experts said they would prefer to retain the ancient chests and cabinets because they

had worked well enough in the past. One expert said the oldest PLM in northern Thailand was more than five hundred years old, proving that the traditional method worked, and two other experts kept ancient chests and cabinets as empty storage vessels so that they could study the artwork in their patterns.

5.5.2.2 PLM storage locations

In the interviews a significant number of experts (5) said that PLMs were normally held in monasteries. Because many monasteries could not maintain their PLMs, some experts suggested that libraries or other organisations could help the monasteries to manage their collections and later acquire them for preservation. Further, two experts suggested monastery and government museums as suitable places in which to store cultural collections, including PLMs. One expert offered an example of such a monastery museum in Wat Ket, Chiang Mai, and that of a museum database which included PLMs at the Princess Maka Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre.

5.5.2.3 Summary

In general, the experts said they would rather keep PLMs in easily accessible storage than hold them in ancient chests or cabinets. However, empty ancient storages could be maintained for preservation and study purposes. Of the storage sites, monasteries are the main repositories for PLMs, in addition to libraries and monastery museums. Museums and organisations are other locations where PLMs might be stored in the case of a monastery being unable to take care of them.

5.5.3 Preservation

Five issues emerged from the expert views on preservation: digitisation, Western and Eastern styles of preservation, the conservation process, on-going care, and guidelines for looking after manuscripts. Of these, digitisation was the issue that most of the experts stressed, with conservation that of least interest.

5.5.3.1 Digitisation of PLMs

A large majority of experts (10) placed great value in the digitisation of PLMs. One expert said that her microfilm reader was unusable or damaged, so she had decided to collect PLMs in a digital format. A few experts (3) stated that digitisation reduced the damage caused to original manuscripts resulting from their being touched. Three experts argued that it could prolong the life of PLMs, thus enabling future generations to study them. In terms of storage, one expert said that PLMs take up little space when stored on computers. Digitisation is not only about preservation, then, but clearly has wider relevance, particularly to issues of access. Two experts emphasised

access; they mentioned how digitisation could increase channels of access to PLMs through the use of another format. One said that this practice meant that ancient PLMs were now becoming more well-known and valuable. Responding to the possibility of digitisation, one expert explained that holding PLMs in digital form met usage needs and employed technology to keep the original manuscripts in the places they belonged, such as monasteries:

> *Regarding the palm leaf manuscript crisis, we have to fight time, negative reactions from society, and hazards such as fire. For example, if physical PLMs disappeared for any reason, knowledge would still be maintained in the digital files. We would not be devaluing them because they would still exist, but in different form.* (ELL1)

Adding more detail to the value of digitisation, another expert said that *"using digitisation in our workplace is a kind of demonstration for other people, and they also gain knowledge from this"* (EAL2). With regard to the limitations of digitisation, one expert was aware that the technology was not always reliable; he said he planned to print the files and keep them as hard copy versions (ELL1).

There are two types of digitisation: digitisation through microfilm, and digitisation to an electronic form of output. In terms of microfilm digitisation, one expert had encountered the problem of microfilm deterioration. Another stated that there was a problem with electronic digitisation, as there was no agreement over file format. However, no file format guarantees everlasting preservation.

As there is an awareness of the preservation advantages that digitisation offers, many organisations are digitising PLMs, with the current exception of the most important and biggest repository of around 100,000 manuscripts, the National Library of Thailand. One expert stated that more than 10,000 people had signed a petition to request that the library digitise its manuscripts. Thus, it can be stated that digitisation is the most popular expert suggestion about how to preserve PLMs.

5.5.3.2 Western and Eastern forms of preservation of physical formats

i) Western preservation and the adjustment process

A majority of the experts (9) said that they had tried to use Western preservation methods, with some adjustments made in different circumstances. Several experts (4) used alcohol to clean palm leaves, although two used only water, which they believed was the best way to clean PLMs. To avoid using chemicals on the palm leaves, one organisation used pencils instead of chemical pens to write on the leaves. Another organisation used erasable chemical pens. One expert who worked for this organisation said that he had to write numbers on PLMs for digitisation purposes. To do

this, he had to ask permission from the custodian or owner. For temperature and humidity control, as well as to prevent insect contamination, many organisations used air-conditioners, but their use was limited in the storage places, so adjustments had to be made. Limited budgets led to temperature control only at specific time periods during working hours. Moreover, financial restrictions and storage space shortages caused some organisations to keep PLMs in the workplace, that used by staff, at normal temperatures of 25-27°C during working hours.

ii) Eastern preservation culture and wisdom

There are many procedures employed in the West to preserve ancient documents, whereas in the East there seems to be less emphasis on the need to care for and protect manuscripts. Two experts felt that local people did not feel responsible for maintaining PLMs:

> *Local people have PLMs discarded as old cultural material and new ones created, since they can produce PLMs again and again. When local people see woven covers, they throw them away. Additionally, when fabric is torn, they use a needle to sew it.* (ELL1)

According to this expert, local people did not restore or maintain PLMs but created new ones. However, for a sermon, whether the manuscript was on an ancient palm leaf or in a paper version, there was no difference in its use. In fact, using a paper version often seemed better because it was easier to read, given that errors and misspellings, for example, were sometimes found on PLMs. The expert also elaborated on how local people used Western ways:

> *To follow the Western theory of preservation, we have to wear gloves, control the temperature and humidity, and avoid light and heat to prevent cloth from becoming worn. Conservationists separate ancient cloth wrappers from PLMs and bring new cloth to wrap them in. They also remove the thread binding from manuscripts to avoid compression. All these actions are making our spiritual culture disappear.* (ELL1)

Thus, the application of Western preservation techniques to PLMs could be undermining the rituals and practices essential to these objects. Another expert stated that palm leaves themselves had a special durability and were able to last for a long time. He provided details of local wisdom in preparing palm leaves:

> *Ancient people used varnish from lacquer trees to coat palm leaves, which helps to prevent insect infestation. Lacquer varnish also helps palm leaves to stretch and be sticky, which makes them more durable and results in the extended life of a palm leaf.* (EAL4)

In this section, the findings provide views about preservation from Western and Eastern traditions. The experts understood how local people looked after their cultural collections; however, most of the experts used Western preservation methods due to budget and storage limitations.

5.5.3.3 Conservation processes

Apart from prioritising preservation, which prolongs the life of material, both in physical and digital formats, protection of content is also of the utmost importance, according to the interviewees. The term "conservation" applies to physical objects such as manuscripts, rare books and works of art when it is conducted by conservation technicians (Darling, 1985; Harris & Schur, 2006). However, only two experts mentioned conservation; most emphasised preservation and digitisation. Moreover, the experts did not possess much background knowledge of conservation, which requires professional skills. One expert stated that there was a conservation section within the National Library of Thailand. His staff examined the condition of PLMs, and if they were very badly damaged, they would send them to this conservation section. Although such a conservation section does exist, it is still unable to repair PLMs in the way the community does. One expert said that when language experts who managed PLMs in monasteries found torn palm leaves, they used adhesive tape to mend them, resulting in their turning permanently yellow. Even the use of mulberry paper to close tears in palm leaves was impractical because the paper was white and thus unreadable. This expert also showed how local people repaired palm leaves that were spilt and caused more damage: *"From the beginning, when palm leaves were broken or split, they sewed them together"* (ELL3). It is evident, then, that this form of conservation is not suitable for cultural objects such as PLMs.

5.5.3.4 Continued management of PLMs

In the interviews, four of the experts stated that, after language experts began to manage PLMs and introduced classification, cataloguing and preservation to monasteries and organisations, PLM custodians then had to tend to the manuscripts in both physical and microfilm formats. One expert said that some custodians kept two copies of each microfilm version and that they took very good care of the original microfilms by keeping them in a securely shut iron case, never using them more than once. However, over time all were damaged by humidity and rotted. The second copies, on the other hand, were used regularly at the time, and were still relatively clear in comparison to the original versions; they were still in use. Three experts suggested that the best way to preserve PLMs was to monitor them regularly to check their condition. One stated that, as long as the digital system for searching and servicing was an unknown quantity in terms of PLM durability and stability, PLMs required appropriate management. She mentioned that the condition of PLMs had to be checked often by custodians, and that they needed to be cleaned

regularly and surveyed. Another expert said that custodians should ensure that no water drops touched the PLMs.

When considering how often PLMs should be surveyed to guarantee their preservation, two experts suggested annual checks, but another preferred twice yearly. He added that, *"with regular care, it prevents insects like termites and weevils from infesting the manuscripts and also enables you to control the temperature"* (ELL4). Two experts managed an annual ceremony for communities which stored manuscripts in monasteries. They took out all the PLMs, inspected them, cleaned them, prayed before them, used them in a procession and laid them out around the monastery in the morning sunlight. He said that there were two monasteries where this ceremony took place: Wat Sungmen and Wat Changkam. He added that another benefit of the ceremonies was that they functioned not only as a form of community-based preservation but also allowed other people to discover more about PLMs:

> *It is really a good thing for other people to see, as you know. It is not only for the local community but also for tourists. I think they really like to see that kind of thing. It is a beautiful thing to see.* (EAL1)

5.5.3.5 Guidelines to look after physical material

One expert mentioned that some temples took great care of their PLMs. So that their example might be followed, some experts felt that guidelines might be set for monasteries to maintain PLMs. One expert suggested that there should be a clear policy from the clergy describing how to look after PLMs and monitor them effectively. Another expert wanted guidelines created to establish responsible and appropriate methods of cleaning, chemical usage, and storage.

The main response in relation to monitoring PLMs was that the manuscripts should be regularly brought out for examination and cleaning. Holding a ceremony of this sort in a monastery would be an appropriate preservation strategy, one that enabled community engagement in care-taking and also allowed tourists to gain knowledge and awareness of valuable objects containing ancient wisdom. Thus, guidelines for monasteries regarding maintaining PLMs would be another efficient form of preservation.

5.5.3.6 Summary

On the whole, the experts suggested that PLMs should be preserved by digitisation. They enthused about Western preservation practices, albeit with adjustments made due to limitations of budget and storage space. In the past, people were not concerned about restoring PLMs because they could easily produce new manuscripts. Even today, the experts focused not on conservation to restore individual artefacts but on preservation, so that the existence of the content might be

extended in a digital format. In practice, frequent examination of manuscripts seems the most suitable way to take care of them. This becomes more realistic if centres adopt and apply national guidelines. Then the suggestions proposed by the experts might be suitable for PLM preservation. The next section looks at the issue of appropriate access to PLMs.

5.5.4 Access to PLMs

Issues of access involve the relationship between providers and users, where providers are the key people who have to meet the needs of users. This section presents seven issues around access, those that the experts believed to be of most importance in this area: dissemination and use, formats and search tools, services, status of access, factors affecting access, and returning physical material. The section also supplies a discussion of the results of studying PLMs.

5.5.4.1 Dissemination and use

In the view of seven of the experts, preservation equated to dissemination. As a result, the experts concentrated more on accessibility than on the process of prolonging the life of physical material, even in a digital format, for as long as possible. One expert said providing knowledge about PLMs to other people was part of Lanna history. She aimed to encourage people to follow a trend which did not follow Western ways but instead brought back ancient cultural practices. She decried Thai society's choice of Western or modern ways of spreading PLM content because, she said, this meant that people concentrated on developing modern approaches and ignored their own cultural roots. She hoped that Thai society would disseminate the content of PLMs and expose it to the rest of the world through existing cultural practices.

There are four aspects of dissemination assessed here: teaching projects; development projects; transliteration and translation; and publication, promotion and presentation in public media.

i) Teaching projects

It is clear that, in general, PLMs are important to scholars and communities as knowledge containers and sacred objects. Even though ancient documents like PLMs have been disconnected from daily life and the majority of people cannot read and write the local language or Lanna script, PLMs still have an inherent value. Therefore, many institutions continue to preserve these valuable manuscripts for educational purposes and to disseminate their knowledge for future generations. Most of the experts (10) said that they had launched teaching programmes and development projects for communities in order to raise awareness of the importance of PLMs and to expand the services relating to them.

According to half of the experts (6), language projects and inscription courses had already been established in the community. Two experts said that they had taught ancient languages to monks in the north-eastern region and, on a yearly basis and free of charge, to university students through educational programmes about traditional Thai medicine as found in ancient documents. Another expert mentioned that, in the north, especially in Chiang Mai, certain Lanna scripts were taught at a basic level at secondary school. Moreover, from observation, Lanna script courses are available in monasteries, delivered by groups of Lanna language teachers who are experts in "Raklanna" (the preservation of Lanna culture). One Lanna Wisdoms School provides Lanna language courses for everybody who is interested. However, Ratchamangkhlaphisek National Library used to have a Lanna script project but does not at present.

Besides teaching, there are also workshops in training, inscribing and making wooden titles and styluses. These are run for people who are interested and can be found at the Palm Leaf Studies Centre and Institute of Lanna Studies, and at Chiang Mai Rajabhat University. Participation observation and the field notes show that inscription training was held on February 7-8, 2015 (Figures 5.1 & 5.2), with workshops on making wooden titles and styluses on February 14-15 and 21-22, 2015 (Figures 5.3 to 5.6).

A group of people interested in the Lanna language attended the two-day inscription training event. This group covered a range of ages and genders; it comprised monks and adults (mostly men, but a few females were present). A number of university students also attended in order to conduct interviews and complete assignments. All communicated in the Lanna language. Most wore dark blue or brown cotton shirts (Figure 5.1). It took at least two hours to sit and practise inscription. Monks taught the attendees how to hold a stylus properly (Figure 5.2(a)), and a specific sitting posture was advised (Figure 5.2(b)). Manuscript racks or wooden stands were used to hold manuscripts and facilitate inscription (Figure 5.2(c)). The training involved copying original LannaTham scripts from PLMs onto new palm leaves (Figure 5.2(d)). The researcher spent around four hours inscribing four lines on one palm leaf. Lanna style furniture was set out, alongside red and white umbrellas with bamboo stands, red mats and bamboo tables. The event took place in an open space in a wooded outdoor area.

Figure 5.1: Participants at inscription training

(a) Monk shows how to use a stylus to inscribe text

(b) Specific sitting posture facilitating inscription

(c) Wooden stand

(d) Inscribing palm leaf manuscripts with styluses

Figure 5.2: Inscription training

The workshop on making wooden titles and styluses lasted for four days. There were fourteen participants in attendance, including novices, men from the monkhood, adults and teenagers, with most participants being men. This might be due to the culture surrounding PLMs in the past which related directly to the gender role played by men. Even though nowadays there are almost no gender restrictions, local females were not involved. Both the training inscription group and this group of participants had originally become interested in the Lanna language and had then expanded this interest into inscription and PLMs. The workshop focused on artwork, woodwork and handicrafts (Figure 5.3). There were two days for making wooden titles (Figure 5.4) and another two days for making styluses (Figure 5.5). The researcher learnt to use carpentry tools, such as a coping saw, a gouge and a graver, to engrave timber with the Thai language and beautiful patterns. The wood was painted gold and red (Figure 5.6). To produce the golden colour, real gold powder was used with clear lacquer; for the red colour, it was red lacquer. These two colours represent Lanna culture. From the workshop, the researcher gained not only craft and artwork skills, but also a sense of creative design and, especially, perseverance and concentration.

Many of the workshop participants came from very different social backgrounds, particularly in terms of age and gender. These differences often resulted in initial awkward collaborations. Surprisingly, however, the attendees had managed, by the time the event finished, to gather a full list of names and telephone numbers; they intended to continue their connection to develop similar activities in the future.

Figure 5.3: Carpentry work

Figure 5.4: Making wooden titles

Figure 5.5: Making styluses

Figure 5.6: Painting on wooden titles and styluses

However, two of the experts, while acknowledging that various people and institutes did deliver local language teaching courses, felt a level of dissatisfaction because a significant number of learners wishing to join such programmes could not be accommodated. These experts wanted the government to take the issue more seriously. One proposed that the government should provide local language classes as part of the curriculum at every level of education: primary, secondary and university (ELL4). Because of the lack of competent workers to manage ancient documents, another expert wanted to create a Bachelor's degree in Ancient Languages. The course, he suggested, should integrate three relevant disciplines: Ancient Languages, Computer Science, and Library Science and Archive and Record Management (EAL2). It could produce graduates to serve the requirements of ancient document management.

ii) Development projects by collaborating institutions

According to four of the experts, five development projects had already been launched to allow more accessibility. The first involved transliteration, where three experts were working to transliterate PLM script into Thai (ELL5, EAL2 & ELS). The second project was the

establishment of a database; three experts stated that some institutes were digitising PLMs and acquiring computer staff in order to ensure database availability. The third project used optical character recognition (OCR) to transfer digital images into text. The fourth project aimed at producing a database of 2,500 manuscripts, combining PLMs from CPAC, SRI and personal collections at Chiang Mai University, as overseen by Professor Udom Rungrueangsri. The last project was to classify the 4,275 manuscripts at the Digital Library of Northern Thailand and was being funded by foreign organisations (German Federal Foreign Office, Henry Luce Foundation, University of Pennsylvania, and Andrew W. Mellon Foundation) and collaborating institutions including the National Library of Laos, Chiang Mai University Library (CMUL) and Berlin State Library. This digital library was to be made available under a Creative Commons licence (EAL1, ELS & ECS).

For future development projects, one expert involved in the management of the Chiang Mai University PLM database collection wanted to expand the collection by adding more manuscripts from a wider catchment area, such as those in the Palm Leaf Studies Centre and Institute of Lanna Studies at Chaing Mai Rajabhat University and the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts.

iii) Transliteration, translation and publishing

As suggested by half of the experts, the techniques involved in transliteration, translation and publishing all require essential professional skills. Transliteration is the first step. It refers to text being transferred from one language to another, one which can be read and understood by the general public. In this study, transliteration was from Lanna script to the Thai alphabet. Before beginning the process, language experts selected particular PLM content, such as herbal medicine, astrology, astronomy or Buddhism. In the interviews, four experts said they had carried out transliteration and three indicated the content that they had worked on and were interested in, namely herbal medicine, history and literature.

Translation is the second stage. As mentioned earlier, ancient language experts rarely undertook translation because it was time-consuming and difficult. One expert said that the translation of one title took at least a year: *"For some idioms where we did not know the true meaning, we had to ask for professional experts to translate them. Even though professional experts worked on translating them for a year, they could only produce one title"* (ELL3). Another expert added that, because the Pali language is used in LannaTham scripts, non-specialists could not read or understand them.

Three experts wanted knowledge content to be published in both academic textbooks and storybooks. Another version might be cartoon animation. For example, one expert who could read LannaTham script spent a year translating content from PLMs and then published a book called

"Lanna Meditation". To conclude, the experts emphasised transliteration rather than translation, with the target of having material published in book form, in Thai, so that a majority of people could read it.

iv) Promotion and presentation in public media

Half of the experts (6) believed that promotion and presentation would create awareness of the value of PLMs. They suggested various methods. Five of them said that the supply of knowledge was the most important issue. Three experts were keen on displaying materials through exhibitions and demonstrations, with school and university students and community members the key target groups. Focusing on the community, four experts wanted local people to engage more with PLMs. One expert said that monks used merit to encourage the participation of local people. Another suggested a PLM procession ceremony for monks, in order that community members might see the importance and beauty of manuscripts and be proud of their valuable cultural objects.

As well as advocating the public display of PLMs, three experts were eager to see information disseminated via social media, news, and websites. One expert stated that he regularly publicised information about PLMs on Facebook. Another expert hoped to make a news broadcast from within his organisation. However, one expert had tried to publish PLM news on a website in order to raise awareness of the value of the manuscripts but the website had become out of date. Nevertheless, she still felt that, even though there were many tasks related to PLMs still to complete, the manuscripts did need to be publicised on public media, too.

Promotion and presentation were considered social services, meaning that sometimes the experts had to work out of hours. Four said they were sometimes exhausted and three felt discouraged. One expert was positive about having to work so hard, saying that when she saw the community response it had opened her world, and that she now dedicated herself to helping the public, benefitting the monastery, and gaining merit.

In general, transliteration, translation, publishing, and promotion and presentation through public media are means of increasing access to valuable material. Local language teaching projects serve many people, such as monks, students and those people interested in PLMs at a specific place. However, the programme is not wide enough to extend to everybody who wants to learn. Thus, some participants thought that the government should create a curriculum in ancient languages, in particular the Lanna language. In terms of development projects, many are being carried out by institutions, at both local and national levels. Some projects involve collaboration among institutions and others expanded collaboration at international level. Thus, it can be seen that

dissemination is at the core of suggestions as to how PLMs should be made more accessible to the public.

5.5.4.2 Format and search tools

Formatting and search tools are the topic in this section. Both physical and digital formats require search tools to enable efficient user access.

    i)   Physical format with name list

Physical PLMs are usually found in monasteries and some libraries. Two of the experts stated that, to access these manuscripts, users needed a permission letter or had to fill in a request form. Then, to find a specific title or content, a name list handbook was provided. They gave the example of SRI as a site where name lists are provided of ancient Lanna documents. In addition, they said that PLSC supplied name lists of PLMs (ELL1 & ELL5).

    ii)   Digital format with search engine

According to four of the experts, a digital format is the most popular channel for PLM access. This can be found in specific libraries, such as Chiang Mai University Library (CMUL) and the National Library of Laos, and organisations that are ready to provide it include PLSC at Chiang Mai Rajabhat University (EAL1, ECS, ELL1 & ELL2). Many organisations which keep PLMs in microfilm versions have digitised them, as has occurred at CPAC, CMUL, and the same has been done with personal collections at Chiang Mai University (EAL & ECS).

One expert stated that a particular limitation of the microfilm format was that it was difficult to expand the size of the script, with the result that some parts were unclear to readers. For this reason, organisations wanted to make PLMs available in digital format both by digitising from microfilm and by digitising directly. There are advantages to using a digital format. Four experts explained that having a digital file available online would enable user access anywhere, anytime, and for free. One expert said that in practice it was easy and comfortable to use files on computers to zoom in and out. Moreover, he could open digital files at the same time as using Microsoft Word for his translation. Conversely, another expert was concerned about the lifespan of digital files, even when they were backed up on a good quality CD-ROM.

An online database with a search engine organised by title and category could be a suitable channel for effective user access. Interviews and observation revealed that some organisations had their own databases. There are three main digital databases available in the Lanna region and one in Lanchang (Laos). The first database combines four PLM collections from Chiang Mai University: three digital collections from CPAC, CMUL, and a personal collection belonging to

Professor Udom Rungrueangsri, a renowned teacher and philosopher of Lanna language and literature. Another collection contains the PLM name lists held at SRI. There are also digital databases at PLSC, EFEO, and the National Library of Laos, which has a database in the Berlin State Library. As seen in the cases of these databases, collaborations are emerging between organisations to combine their PLM resources, across both digital versions and basic name lists, to establish central portal databases.

To sum up, according to the experts the most effective way of promoting access to PLMs is to digitise both microfilms and manuscripts. Moreover, using a digital format will prevent people from touching PLMs, thereby avoiding damage.

5.5.4.3 Actual services

The interviews showed that two organisations provided user services. One allowed users to print images from a digital file to hard copy, to transfer a digital file to CD-ROM, and to borrow palm leaves for study purposes. The reason that this organisation had launched free-of-charge services was that previously few people had been interested; it expected the new services to influence more people to become users. It had also found that there were many university students who wanted to buy small numbers of palm leaves but that they sold for around £24 in the market. Consequently, it had decided to share them with students for free. In contrast, a different organisation charged 50 pence per page. One expert explained that it was a small organisation without a grant and that the charge was for ink and other expenses. Other organisations, such as the National Library of Thailand and Ratchamangkhlaphisek National Library in Chiang Mai, do not offer such services.

5.5.4.4 Restricting access and protecting manuscripts

Half of the experts (6) believed that everyone should be able to access PLMs in monasteries and libraries. However, they also said that certain obstacles needed to be addressed. Two experts stated that monks were always the first people to be allowed access. One expert added more detail about the historical order of access: *"Right now, everybody can access PLMs, both men and women, whereas in the past, palm leaf manuscripts were considered holy objects, so that only holy people* [monks] *could access them, and women were not allowed to touch them"* (ELL5). Even nowadays, when PLMs are available to everybody, access restrictions still exist with regard to certain locations, online databases and personal collections.

i) Places with restricted access

Five experts reported encountering difficulties in accessing PLMs at several monasteries and the National Library. They indicated that these institutions were very protective of their manuscripts.

Such institutions often expressed an unwillingness to allow open access to manuscripts and thus restricted their availability to outsiders. Libraries and temples were the most significant places which had access limitations, according to five of the experts. In terms of library restrictions, three experts who worked for libraries mentioned the National Library of Thailand and Ratchamangkhlaphisek National Library in Chiang Mai as limiting PLM access (ELS, EAL1 & EAL4). Interestingly, two experts reported that their library collections were hard to access. One librarian described how users were not allowed direct access to manuscripts. A librarian or library officer brought them out for users and then returned them once they had finished with them. Another expert who worked in a library added that this library had very strict rules about the use of PLMs; it required a letter from a recognised institution and addressed to the Director General of the Fine Arts Department to ask for permission to use PLMs, to photocopy manuscripts, or to take them out of the library. Further, librarians as well as users were restricted in accessing PLMs. Ancient language scholars and officers at the library were not allowed even to walk past the PLMs without a request letter. The librarian offered a reason for this protective attitude:

> *All documents are rare items. We had a bad experience when some wooden coverings went missing in the past, so now the library has to be more rigid in its security. If documents like PLMs disappear, officers are punished and investigated. Since then, PLMs have not gone missing because they have never been allowed to be taken out.* (EAL4)

Two experts also said that, although it is supposed to offer services and access to information, the National Library of Thailand was not very open to users.

Three experts talked about community attitudes to PLM security. They claimed that the community wanted access to be restricted in this way, and that some monasteries and communities were very protective and did not allow public access. One expert explained that monasteries were proud and possessive of their own property. Another expert said that they were afraid of outsiders benefiting from easy access to these valued artefacts. Moreover, one expert participant stated that there had previously been unsatisfactory experiences with outsiders not returning items. In terms of building security, one expert stated that, in some monasteries, local people had designed the monastery library to be secure by making it necessary to access PLMs in an upper area reached by a lockable ladder.

ii) Online database restricted access

There are two issues concerning access limitations to online databases and content. Of the nine institutes that the experts in this study worked for, four did not provide PLMs in digital format: the National Library of Thailand, Ratchamangkhlaphisek National Library at Chiang Mai, the

Social Research Institute at Chiang Mai University, and the North-eastern Leaf-Inscription Conservation Centre at Mahasarakham University.

Although content limitations did exist in terms of the provision of online databases, particularly when set against the criteria spelled out by a substantial minority of the experts, three experts affirmed that a reasonable number of PLMs were available online. To be more specific about available online content, one expert offered the example that literary content had been made available, albeit with the exception of material about herbal medicines which might prove too attractive to foreigner collectors and antique sellers. However, two experts stated that they would limit database access to members only. Two other experts felt that only title lists should be available online, not digital images. With regard to the view of the community, one expert thought it proper to respect community attitudes by asking the permission of the abbot before making content available online.

iii) Personal literacy restricting access

Readability and source literacy are barriers faced by some users in accessing PLM knowledge. Most of the experts (10) were concerned that a majority of community members could not read or write Lanna script and thus suffered from an inability to understand the substance of the manuscripts. In terms of literacy, one expert stated that most users of PLMs in her institute were foreigners from Japan, America and Australia. There were also some Thai users but they tended not know which institutes held the information they needed. She gave the example of *"one PhD student* [who] *went to search in many institutes before he came to us and found what he wanted"* (ELL3).

Through examination of access restrictions and manuscript protection, it is now possible to see that there are significant barriers to visitor access, both where manuscripts are kept and in databases. Moreover, community members might have to be able to read and write Lanna Tham script to gain greater access to their PLMs.

5.5.4.5 Motivational factors in access to PLMs in monasteries

This part offers an assessment of the expert view about the different ways in which members and the community might gain access to PLMs stored in monasteries and the community. The experts identified two motivational factors: the importance of personal relationships in accessing manuscripts, and the building of trust among community members.

i) The role of personal connections in accessing manuscripts

Two interesting ideas found in the data about accessing PLMs are those of personal connections and trust between the community and experts. Being an outsider poses problems in gaining access to PLMs in the monastery and community. Four experts provided more detail about access through personal connections. One explained that it depended on local people's attitudes to the visitors and what they wanted to access. Some monasteries asked for a letter of permission to access their PLMs. Often, however, communities varied in their preferences; some liked an informal approach, others a more formal one. Addressing this issue, all four experts found that making an approach to an abbot or community with whom they already enjoyed a relationship, or at least knew, facilitated access a lot more easily. They could then search for whatever material they wanted in the monastery. One expert said that he had been able to borrow PLMs because he had a working relationship with the monks. A further benefit was that the result of an acquaintanceship with the abbot created a sense of familiarity between the experts and the community, which also led to greater community participation.

ii) Gaining the trust of community members

Trust seemed to be a stronger factor than personal connections. Through gaining the trust of the community, three experts had received the privilege of being able to access any information in the monastery. One expert stated that, when the community realised how well experts managed their PLMs, word of mouth spread the message from one community to another. This then generated more trust in experts and brought requests from other communities or abbots to help them take care of their PLMs or digitise them for their collections. This finding shows that, to gain greater access to PLMs, having a personal relationship with a custodian or abbot and gaining the trust of the community create more opportunities.

5.5.4.6 Returning physical material and the results of PLM studies

A significant problem in the past was that borrowed PLMs were not always returned to monasteries, according to three experts. One expert added that sometimes users did bring them back to the monastery but not to the person who took was in charge of them, and they were sometimes lost as a result. Another expert said out that users occasionally forgot to return PLMs. However, at present, there are positive signs from institutions which use PLMs. One expert clarified that, after he had digitised a number of PLMs, he transferred the digital images onto CD-ROMs and sent them to the monastery. Furthermore, after publishing books in translation, he also sent these to the monastery, which represents good practice.

On the whole, both physical and digital formats are available to users. At present, many institutes digitise PLMs as digital images to be made available online. However, some institutes are not ready to provide online accessibility, particularly the National Library of Thailand. Services offered to users depend on the attitude of the provider and the budget available. There are many limitations in place covering access to both physical locations and online databases, particularly because of the possessiveness of providers and the illiteracy of users. Personal relationships might be key in connecting PLMs with the community more easily. Familiarity with the abbot could also allow experts to encourage community engagement with PLMs. The return, by experts, of study results to the monastery could result in enhanced community satisfaction due to the benefits gained, which would lead to an increase in trust between the groups. Dissemination of such results was therefore the main suggestion from the experts to allow long-term access to PLMs. This point addresses the third research question, that which asks how experts think PLMs should be managed. The next section considers possible answers to the fourth research question, which concerns the experts' views on the proper forms of community participation.

5.6 Roles of experts and community members in PLM management

This section is divided into four parts and covers the experts' views on community participation, the role of institutes, the role of libraries, and collaborations between organisations.

5.6.1 Community participation in PLM management

As history shows, Lanna society, its structure and culture, has changed gradually over the past few decades, especially in terms of its hierarchy and gender roles, and particularly in the sense of who plays an important role in determining which people should be allowed access to PLMs. In the past, monks usually had priority, followed first by others associated with the monkhood, and then by men in general; women were largely excluded. In the interviews, ideas about the community were voiced. One expert stated that women were prohibited from entering the monastery library and touching PLMs. Despite this prohibition and a strong faith in traditional Buddhist notions about gender roles, however, local women were still involved with PLMs by adding strands of their hair to the threads used to bind PLMs and by weaving cloth wrappers to cover the manuscripts. Now, however, everybody can access and touch PLMs. This explains the adjustments to participation that were noted by the experts. In this section, the experts offered their perceptions and views about the role of the community and its participation with PLMs, including community needs and changes in attitude as well how the community engaged with the experts. Also covered were the experts' expectations and community feedback.

5.6.1.1 Needs of community members

Four of the experts stated that PLMs had not received much attention from the public, or even from monks, because few people could read them (ELL1, ELL2, ELL4 & EAL3). One expert suggested that this situation had created a dead culture, one which required community leaders and members to revitalise it (EAL3). Further, two experts mentioned that the existence of such a large number of PLMs exceeded the capacity of the monks to take care of the manuscripts (ELL1 & ELL3). Another reason given by one expert was that there was no particular responsible person appointed to maintain PLMs. It was therefore felt that the community needed a leader to provide guidance in order to manage its PLMs and that this required the broad participation of the entire community, especially in cleaning and digitising manuscripts.

5.6.1.2 Changing attitudes of community members

According to certain experts (3), outsiders sometimes came into the community monastery for prolonged periods and became particularly involved with the holy objects there. A feeling of distrust was what all three experts sensed among community members and some of the monks. To make this clear, one expert stated that community people came to observe experts in the monastery every day. One expert explained that it took a long time to adjust community attitudes when ancient language scholars were maintaining the manuscript collection within the monastery. However, the community had gradually become more trusting. The following statement from one of the experts shows how community people have changed their attitudes and behaviour:

> *On the first day at work in the monastery, we prepared our own meal. Then the next day*
> *the abbot told the community people to prepare a very good meal for us.* (EAL3)

The success achieved in building up the trust of the community and the monks was short-lived, however; the same difficulties were encountered by the experts when the abbot left and a new one took charge of monastery administration. They had to spend time all over again gaining the trust of the new abbot. Emphasising the abbot's attitude of distrust and possessiveness, another expert stated:

> *When we asked the abbot to let us help take care of the PLMs, he said that this temple*
> *had only a few of them. When we had finished cleaning and storing them properly, he*
> *revealed that he had more manuscripts and asked us to continue taking care of them.*
> (EAL2)

According to the experts who conducted fieldwork at a particular monastery, the community members there exhibited at first a rather closed-minded attitude and a mistrust of outsiders. The experts reported that it took a period of time to establish trust and create a good relationship.

Subsequently, the community became more trusting and positive. Community members listened to the scholars' advice and accepted their recommendations and instructions (Figure 5.67). One expert pointed out, however, that it was important for community members to avoid becoming too dependent on scholars. It was better that a balance be struck between giving instructions about what community members should do and giving them the opportunity to think for themselves. In other words, it was important to maintain the independence of the community members. From this finding, two important ideas should be stressed. The first is the importance of building trust between local community members (insiders) and experts (outsiders). This connection largely depends on community members' attitudes and past experiences with outsiders. As noted above, it also takes time to establish a positive connection between insiders and outsiders. Another important factor involves listening to the community voice and allowing community members to manage PLMs, albeit with appropriate participation by scholars. Thus, it can be seen that gaining the trust of community members is a basic requirement in engaging them in PLM management.

5.6.1.3 Community engagement in experts' work

When in the field, some experts (6) sought to engage community members in projects by allowing them to participate with cultural material, specifically PLMs, and invited them to perceive the value of the manuscripts, which often led them to continue taking care of the PLMs after the experts had finished their work. Furthermore, there was usually only a small group of experts in the field; therefore, engaging local people would help make the work faster and also facilitate smoothness. When the experts spent time on fieldwork, they encountered three levels of community participation: the first two levels involved people who could not read LannaTham script; the third involved people who could. The first level was one of encouragement; one expert stated that community members came to cheer them up, and another said that they brought food. The second level was basic work; some experts acknowledged that local people came to help clean the palm leaves. Additionally, four of the experts said that people who could read Lanna script came to help scholars translate the manuscripts. Two experts felt that local people were happy and proud when they translated Lanna text; it gave them a sense of importance. In terms of provision of translation assistance, one expert reported that the community members who could read LannaTham script helped to confirm that content was correct, such as the name of the previous abbot when it appeared in the manuscripts (ELL4). In contrast, another expert found that the manuscripts translated by local people were often riddled with misunderstandings and usually contained spelling mistakes which then produced more work for the ancient language scholars. Nevertheless, this finding shows that encouraging community members to become involved with PLM work at any stage, whether it be food provision, cleaning the manuscripts or translation, does create more community engagement.

5.6.1.4 Expert expectations and feedback from community members

Five of the experts reported that, after they had finished taking care of PLMs, they asked the community to maintain the manuscripts. However, only some communities could meet the experts' requirements, while others responded to the scholars' directions either by acting incorrectly or by not acting at all. The interviews with the experts and observations in the field demonstrated that a successful form of motivation for the community to continue maintaining PLMs would be an appeal to personal interest and dedication, one not directed at individuals but at a group of people with a shared goal. This would involve encouraging the group to see PLMs as high value objects and giving the community the power to support the management of the manuscripts. Moreover, a strong group faith in Buddhism and the gaining of merit were other influential factors in the community's desire to look after the manuscripts, the experts said. Those communities that cared for their PLMs were considered strongly bonded communities. However, some communities did not continue in their care, which might have been due to a lack of awareness of the importance of PLMs. The expert view was that this was probably because community members could not connect PLMs to everyday life and therefore did not think of them as interesting. Furthermore, they might not have had a leader to guide them in working together as a community.

There were four expectations in this respect from all five experts: provision of care, regular checks, access to knowledge, and investigation. First, three experts assessed community participation in looking after and preserving physical manuscripts. The feedback from different communities varied; some communities continued taking care of their manuscripts whereas others stopped. Second, one expert wanted communities to appraise the condition of their manuscripts regularly in order to monitor any damage and confirm their status. In case there were too many manuscripts for the experts to maintain and conserve, the experts wanted the communities to consider the possibility of setting up more regular ceremonies to exhibit the manuscripts outside the monastery. If this were to happen, more communities could help each other. Some communities responded well to the scholars' suggestions, while others set up only formal ceremonies aimed at making merit. The latter response failed to guarantee manuscript preservation in the sense of checking condition and cleaning. Third, two experts provided communities with understandable knowledge on possible ways to maintain their manuscripts. According to the feedback they had received, the experts stated that one community had asked the scholars to return and teach the LannaTham language (ELL4 & ELS). Finally, one expert recommended that communities regularly monitor and evaluate how manuscripts are managed by abbots and monasteries. This recommendation, however, was not clearly acknowledged or confirmed by community members. This may have been due to a lack of communication between the parties. It is possible to conclude, then, that as far as the experts were concerned, community

members managed PLMs most effectively by participating in looking after them, checking them regularly, and passing their knowledge about PLMs on to others.

5.6.1.5 Summary

Lanna culture has established a hierarchy and gender roles in order to arrange access to valuable objects, including PLMs. This was particularly important in previous times. Now, however, access to these precious objects is no longer limited only to certain groups of people. Nevertheless, the experts thought that communities did require leaders and knowledgeable people to assist them to take care of their manuscripts. To enter into communities and monasteries, experts need time to build up trust among the abbots and local people in order to gain their confidence and expertise. Community members might then be willing to support and engage in activities by offering encouragement and serving as labourers and colleagues. It seemed to the experts that community people often took pride in participating in PLM-related work. In terms of preservation work and whether it is continued or discontinued, it depends in the long term on the attitudes and values of the abbot and the local people.

5.6.2 Actual roles of institutions from north and north-eastern Thailand

There are various institutions which engage directly with PLMs, including SRI at Chiang Mai University, PLSC at Chiang Mai Rajabhat University, and the Northeastern Leaf-Inscription Conservation Center at Mahasarakham University. CPAC, the first institution to survey and manage PLMs in the northern region of Thailand, transferred its microfilm and digital collection to Chiang Mai University Library in order to arrange a suitable storage place with easy access for study purposes, with custodians looking after the collection.

Other institutions are connected to PLMs through staff personal interest, such as the Faculties of Computer Science and Architecture at Chiang Mai University and the Information Science Department within the Faculty of Informatics at Mahasarakham University. As a majority of experts (7) from these institutions acknowledged, they worked with PLMs in four main ways. The first two activities were specific to local communities: reproducing cultural collections for ceremonies, and providing information and advice to outsiders. The other two activities were assigned to general staff in technical departments.

5.6.2.1 Work projects to serve local people

The experts explained that one way of creating opportunities for community participation, of increasing the number of local people engaging with PLMs, was through the promotion of activities such as reproducing manuscripts, weaving wrappers, and holding ceremonies. One

expert had advised a community to produce new PLMs and cloth wrappers as offerings during ceremonies so that local people would learn to preserve manuscripts. He explained that, *"We were coordinators for local people who wanted to make merit. We provided inscribers to work on the PLMs. Local people selected the titles to inscribe and were sponsors"* (ELL1). Another activity suggested by a different expert was holding the TakTham ceremony or a PLM parade for the community. A second project, as one expert stated, involved offering education about the background of the manuscripts, the procedures used in making palm leaves, the method employed to inscribe the manuscripts, and PLM preservation. This would increase knowledge and awareness among local people.

5.6.2.2 Work projects to serve general people

According to two experts, another project involved transliteration and technical work. Transliteration makes PLM content readable in the Thai language. One expert noted, however, that this activity was difficult and time-consuming. The last project, as two experts suggested, required technical work conducted by scholars in the fields of computer science and information science. One expert mentioned that there was a PhD student studying the transformation of digital images from PLMs into text using a process called optical character recognition (OCR). Another activity was the creation of a PLM database for those institutes which collected manuscripts.

To conclude, the experts listed various organisations involved with and interested in PLMs. They took part in events in order to persuade local people to participate in transferring knowledge, in transliteration, and in doing computer-based technical work.

5.6.2.3 Collaboration between institutes at Chiang Mai University

As seen in the evidence above, each institute within CMU has its own database. Combining collections across institutions was an idea set out by two experts in order to effect successful collaborations (ECS & ELL1). According to four of the experts, the pertinent issues here are the possibility of conflict and the collaborative process itself. Two of the experts had successfully collated collections from different institutes into one database (ECS & ELL3), while another had encountered a situation (ELL3) where two colleagues had failed to collaborate (EELL1 & EAL1). There were other perspectives offered by two experts. One wanted to combine work on PLMs conducted at different institutes into one central location, but she was also aware of the difficulties involved in doing this, specifically those of cultural administration (ELL3). Another expert saw integrating work done by different institutes as worthless expenditure (ELL4).

i) Conflict between institutions

According to three of the experts, ego is the most common cause of conflict in collaborations between institutions. They stated that, in their experience, separate institutes were unwilling to adjust or adopt new tasks, that each institute believed it was the best; therefore, there was no collaboration and each institute created its own database. This attitude, as the experts saw it, then led to another form of conflict, that of disagreement. One expert insisted that there had been an agreement to use the classification system of a particular institute. However, a scholar at a different institute had not accepted the system because certain elements within it were seen as unnecessary (ELL3). Another form of conflict concerns human administration. One expert mentioned that although he had failed to come to an agreement with an important administrator, he had gradually been able to launch a collaboration between institutes. The administrator was replaced as a result of this difficulties encountered in this collaboration (ELL1).

ii) Process involved in collaboration between institutions

Three of the experts listed four processes through which collaboration, from their own experience, might be achieved. The first required coordination in the form of proactive communication with key administrators by sending regular letters to inform everyone involved about what was happening with PLMs (ECS). The second used a federal agency or clearing house to achieve agreement between institutes (ELL1). The third needed a clear Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between institutes in discussion, particularly concerning the meaning of the collaboration, levels of access, and restrictions to content (ECS). Finally, the fourth employed negotiation and a willingness to compromise in forming collaborative efforts (ELL3). As well as creating collaborations between institutions, these processes might equally apply to collaborative work between community groups and organisations, particularly in the use of an MOU.

In general, in work carried out collectively by different institutions, it is hard to avoid the effects of a sense of egotism on the part of each organisation. To reach any collaborative goal, compromise and negotiation are key in arriving at a point of agreement accepted by all institutes.

In summary, the roles played by communities, institutions and libraries are interdependent when the preservation of PLMs is the aim. When community members trust scholars seeking to preserve manuscripts in their local monastery, they tend to participate willingly in offering food, cleaning and translating. They feel pride when they are able to support work on manuscripts. Laypeople's attitudes and values are reflected in the decisions they make about whether to continue or stop looking after manuscripts. Scholars play an important role by establishing activities which invite laypeople to engage in the work, whether that be transferring knowledge, transliteration, or doing technical work on computers. Many institutes have established projects which focus on teaching

the local language and creating their own databases. Some institutes have collaborated to combine their databases into one overall collection database which will be available for users to access at their convenience. This collaborative project has been extended to international level.

5.6.3 Actual and potential roles of the National Library and Chiang Mai University Library

In line with the data collected from the experts, the following section is structured in four main parts. The first part focuses on library status and actual action; the second examines restrictions in library qualifications and vision; the third assesses expectations about the library's role; and the final part looks at possible solutions which might improve the role of the library.

5.6.3.1 Library status and actual action

In general, as based on the interviews and observation, university and national libraries are the locations which hold PLMs, manuscripts which have mainly been donated for study purposes. With regard to acquisitions, certain differences exist between the University Library and National Library; for example, in terms of ownership, a number of experts argued that nobody owned PLMs. However, one expert indicated that there could be individual ownership. In cases where individuals did own PLMs, three of the experts mentioned that such individuals might come to donate their personal collections to a library. One expert even indicated that a number of individuals had donated PLMs to CMUL for future study and better preservation (ELL1). Two experts reported the National Library in Chiang Mai to have preserved PLM collections because they could not be maintained in their original monasteries due to a lack of custodians and space (ELL1 & ELS). However, in terms of database provision, CMUL has a database available, whereas the National Library does not.

With regard to community engagement, the National Library has a direct influence on the role of the monasteries where PLMs are stored. The library employs an ancient language expert to work with ancient documents, including PLMs. Library staff survey the monasteries and communities where manuscripts are kept and help monasteries take care of their PLMs by cleaning and registering them. The library also educates communities about the preservation and conservation of these materials.

5.6.3.2 Three restrictions on library qualifications and vision

The key themes within this part, as discussed below, are illiteracy in reading and writing Lanna script, inconsistencies in library role and vision, and a lack of staff. These represent the three main limits in library qualifications and vision for taking a more active role in PLMs, according to the interviewees.

i) Illiteracy

According to a significant minority of experts (5), illiteracy in Lanna script is the main reason why libraries cannot always support work on ancient documents, especially PLMs; librarians themselves are generally unable to read or write LannaTham. One expert mentioned that it was impossible to have librarians manage PLMs if they could not read the text. Another expert, discussing the topic of librarian competency, said:

> *Having librarians as custodians of PLMs was a very good idea but the majority of them never learnt Lanna script, so it was useless. There was no plan to offer local language training to librarians. There was also no librarian job description that required competency in a local language.* (ELL2)

ii) Inconsistency

According to a few of the experts (5), in terms of the overall images used, there is an inconsistency in the library vision to serve modern printed materials such as books, journals and magazines rather than ancient documents such as manuscripts. One expert outlined the different natures of such materials, stating that:

> *The cultural context of the library and the cultural context of the manuscript in a temple are two different contexts. The way that people use a library and the way that they use manuscripts are totally different in terms of interaction and overlap.* (EAL1)

Another expert offered the opinion that libraries adhered to physical document patterns more than to context and content. He pointed out that library science was a new discipline which applied to books but not to other document forms such as Khoi books, PLMs and stone inscriptions. He further stated that:

> *Librarians never cared about content. They only cared about user needs, so they were not open-minded about the work they were doing. They only followed the job description. Considering the importance of knowledge and information management in the world today, whatever forms of knowledge and language there are, they are still important knowledge. Today we separate libraries, archives and museums but, in fact, all information institutions have the same knowledge. Still, they divide documents by material instead of content, so that palm leaf manuscripts, movies and tape recordings could actually be linked together if they had the same content.* (EHI)

He suggested how the issue might be addressed by different disciplines while maintaining the same content:

> *We need to have custodians look after different sets of document material. All custodians should know what they have and the reason to maintain what they have. But they should know whether what they hold could be linked to other content and see how content and physical format can be compatible with each other.* (EHI)

iii) Lack of staff

A lack of staff was noted as a problem by three experts. In particular, they said, libraries did not have sufficient staff who could read Lanna script, so donated PLMs could not be managed effectively in terms of transliteration and translation. This limited the function of the library to that of storage.

5.6.3.3 Expectations about the role of libraries

Despite their literacy limitations, as well as their staff shortages, libraries might still have a role to play in managing PLMs, according to the experts. Six thought that libraries could provide services for three groups of people: communities, users, and experts. In terms of the community, two experts stated that libraries should offer knowledge to the community about preservation and classification of content (ELL1 & EAL2). For users, two experts expected libraries to provide digital images of PLMs in their databases and thus ease search and accessibility problems (EAL1 & EHI). Four experts wanted libraries to disseminate knowledge and share their experiences of cataloguing, preservation and conservation (ELL1, ELL3, EAL2 & ELL5). Moreover, one expert suggested that database compatibility was essential, that libraries and other institutions with a PLM database should collaborate at a metadata level (EAL1).

5.6.3.4 Improving the role of libraries with manuscript collections

According to four of the experts, in order to enhance the role of libraries, two issues need to be addressed, those concerning specific sections and literacy. Two experts suggested the establishment of special sections in libraries, such as an "Ancient Document Section" or a "PLM Section" (EAL1 & EAL2). Moreover, one expert mentioned that, ideally, if the nation could afford it, there should be a special library for ancient documents. In terms of literacy, two experts said that hiring local language experts who had experience both in the Lanna language and in manuscript culture would be acceptable to monastery communities (EAL1 & EHI). This would encourage the continuation of work on PLMs. Another solution to the literacy problem, as suggested by two experts, was collaboration between librarians who could not read PLMs and experts or monks who could (ELL1 & EAL1). One other possibility would be to have librarians engage more fully with the manuscripts by working with other experts. One expert explained that it was difficult to find librarians who knew the Lanna script and that it was very rare to find manuscript experts who knew about libraries (ELL1). This response seemed beneficial in the way

that it employed scholars from both disciplines. A final solution to the literacy issue was provided by one expert who suggested increasing the competencies of librarians. However, this idea about the management of library PLMs seemed to require vast amounts of time being spent on the project (ELL1).

In summary, libraries where PLMs are held are often considered storage places for donations. Most libraries will find it difficult to continue working with manuscripts, according to the experts, because their librarians cannot read and write the local language. The ancient documents that are preserved in libraries are not thought to be in step with the vision of libraries, a vision which focuses now on newly printed material. However, libraries do still play a role in managing PLMs. Facing higher user expectations, libraries need to develop their capacity and competencies.

5.6.4 Existing trends, and barriers to achieving a collaborative model

Here, factors relevant to drivers and barriers toward changing PLM management are examined. Referring to social attitudes to PLMs, the experts stated the most important to be the trend for revitalisation, while, in terms of barriers to renewed interest in PLMs, they reported seven issues: Thai social integration in the past, and present Thai society; commercial opportunities; the non-use of PLMs in everyday life; the inability of Lanna people to understand Lanna script; the continued transformation of PLMs into amulets; environmentally-caused physical deterioration to manuscripts; and human-caused physical deterioration to manuscripts.

5.6.4.1 Social trends and PLMs

According to a substantial minority of experts (5), in recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in PLMs, particularly among academics and laypeople who want to gain knowledge about traditional medicine and cultural preservation. One expert had evidence about preservation and access: *"Right now, around two months ago, there was a trend for PLMs. Scholars and people who were interested in PLMs registered their names on a petition requesting the National Library of Thailand to create a PLM database"* (ELS). Another expert confirmed that interest in PLMs had returned. He mentioned that when he had presented his knowledge about PLMs over the past five or so years, local people had been more interested.

5.6.4.2 Barriers to PLM preservation

i)   Social barrier to Thai integration in the past and in present Thai society

According to interviewees, the most significant turning point in recent Thai history was one that resulted in changes to the way of life. Six of the experts expressed the idea that Thai integration came about as a result of this shift. They stated that Siam (as Thailand was previously called)

integrated many regions, including Lanna, to become a nation. When this happened, many unique languages in northern and north-eastern parts of the country were prohibited. Giving an example, one expert stated that central government commanded the burning of PLMs and offered jobs only to those people who used the Thai language. Another expert spoke of a different historical event that led to monks in all parts of the country speaking Thai:

> *In the late nineteenth century, King Rama V created the first Thai version of the Pali canon, or Tripitaka. The Thai language became very important then. The Thai clergy had to make local monks from the northern, north-eastern, and southern parts of the country use Thai as their language.* (ELL2)

More evidence collected from one expert concerned the central gathering of manuscripts:

> *There was the story, probably around the eighteenth century, that there were three boatloads of manuscripts from northern Thailand which were taken down to Bangkok.* (EAL1)

A majority of experts (8) agreed that societal institutions such as government and educational organisations, as well as ordinary citizens, did not at present realise the value of PLMs. One expert added that it was very easy for manuscripts to disappear because the situation was dependent on people who were unconcerned about them.

ii) Commercial opportunities

As reported by a large majority of experts (10), commercial opportunities are causing severe harm to PLMs. Verification of palm leaf manuscripts and their content, according to the experts, displays their remarkable value in terms of knowledge and art. This value, the cultural content of PLMs, then attracts researchers. One expert said, *"It is quite common for PLMs to be sold. Sometimes researchers are willing to really pay to get manuscripts for their research"* (EAL1). Two of the experts provided evidence that foreigners bought PLMs and took them out of Thailand (EAL2 & 4):

> *PLMs are threatened by local people who value the manuscripts in monetary terms; therefore they sell the manuscripts. There was a story that someone in Japan purchased all the manuscripts from one temple and hired a Lanna-literate person to translate them. While he was translating them in Japan, he was concerned about what he was doing, so he decided to return to Thailand.* (EAL2)

One type of demand has been created by the artistic value of PLMs. A small number of experts (4) had heard that local people traded ancient chests and cabinets as art objects. The last form of demand is for physical PLMs. Two experts mentioned that PLMs were often split into two parts

to be sold (ELL1 & EAL3). Another explained that, for local people who cannot use their content, PLMs were seen as holy objects, but that this also created value for antiquarians. Significantly, it was not only local people who sold PLMs but also the monks who looked after them. One expert revealed that there was a monk who sold both PLMs and chests: *"When the police were called, he ran away. He was from Myanmar and he went back there"* (EAL1). To sum up, one expert explained that there was an inherent contradiction. If people bought manuscripts, they supported trade in PLMs. However, if they did not purchase them, there would no accurate idea of where the PLMs were. To potential buyers, the appeal rested on the knowledge contained in PLMs, their value as art objects, and their physical appearance.

iii) Non-use of PLMs in everyday life

According to two of the experts, even when the Lanna language was forbidden, some local communities resisted the law by secretly continuing to learn the language in monasteries. Unfortunately, Thai integration still has an impact on the real lives of local people because Lanna script is no longer used. One expert said that the Lanna language was now too far removed from and too difficult to connect to daily life. For that reason, another expert mentioned that many local people did not know of the existence of PLMs. Even for those who were aware, they did not know how to manage them. Consequently, they often burnt PLMs with their bodies of their ancestors, the original owners.

iv) Lanna people are illiterate in the Lanna language

Another impact of Thai integration is the loss of the Lanna language. Nine experts stated that most Lanna people are illiterate in the language. A majority cannot read or write Lanna script. One expert revealed that useful information could be found in PLMs and used in daily life, for example traditions about whether or not it was a good or bad day to have a haircut. However, the expert said, local people could not read such information and, as a result, few people were interested in PLMs or used them for benefit. Another expert told of a merchant who failed to notice that he had taken inverted photos of PLMs to publish for sale; this was because of his illiteracy in the Lanna language.

v) Belief of community members that PLMs can be transformed into amulets

As mentioned earlier, even monks contribute to the damage suffered by PLMs. Six experts indicated that, due to a lack of knowledge about the value of the manuscripts, many local people transformed PLMs into amulets by grinding them into powder; this helped to protect against bad luck. Giving an example, two experts explained that, in 2006, there was a craze for Jatukam Ramathep amulets and that PLMs were destroyed in order to make the ingredients for these lucky charms.

vi) Environmental deterioration of physical manuscripts

There are two factors which help to explain the deterioration in the physical quality of PLMs: neglect and lack of recognition. As suggested by several experts (4), when manuscripts are abandoned, they can be damaged by rain, by termites, or by rats. Several experts stated that monks had little knowledge in this respect, even though they were the key people in preserving the condition of the manuscripts. One expert showed how some manuscripts had been placed in a chicken hatchery. Even if monks were aware of the importance of PLMs, they regularly misunderstood the physical management necessary, as another expert stated that one set of monks had moved all their PLMs out of their storage building and put them under a pagoda. This led to all the manuscripts being completely destroyed by the weather. In this sense, then, community ignorance constitutes a threat to PLMs.

vii) Human causes of physical deterioration to manuscripts

Accidental fire, intentional burning, donation and missed return are other factors which harm PLMs. Fire is a serious and constant threat. One expert said that when he visited a monastery and asked to see the manuscripts, the monks said that the parsonage where they used to keep them had burnt down and that all the manuscripts were gone. Further human acts which affect PLMs are burning and donation. Three experts suggested that since most laypeople and monks could not read Lanna script, they burnt the manuscripts with the bodies of their ancestors. In addition, a small minority of experts (2) said that holders of PLMs had donated them to other people, with the result that the manuscripts were now unaccounted for. The last act is missed return. Two of the experts stated that academics, mainly researchers and students, borrowed PLMs from monasteries but failed to return them.

The barriers listed here would seem to make the possibility of achieving a collaborative model somewhat remote, especially the point about most people not being able to read or write Lanna script, and that about how the existence of commercial opportunities and carelessness in maintaining manuscripts have led to damage being caused to PLMs. However, it is true to say that more attention has been paid to these issues in recent years.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented eight themes covered by the experts: 1) value; 2) authorship; 3) ownership; 4) classification and cataloguing; 5) storage; 6) preservation; 7) access; and 8) roles of experts and community members. Among the experts, knowledge was regarded as the main value of PLMs, especially that of herbal medicine. For the community, the core value was in

PLMs as sacred objects. Passion was the factor that inspired experts to work with PLMs. The next part looks at expert expectations about how PLMs should be managed.

In terms of authorship and ownership, the expert view was that the author was the person who copied the PLM, with most copyists being monks. Ownership was considered to belong to the custodians of the manuscripts. In terms of copyright for physical material, it seemed clear from the interviews that the experts thought that PLMs should be published as a national heritage. In relation to digital files, the experts thought, on the whole, that they should belong to the institute which digitises them and that they should be made available through a Creative Commons licence. In terms of classification and cataloguing, different classification systems exist in different institutions. When considering preservation, the experts tended to favour Western preservation techniques but saw the need to make certain adjustments in order to take account of the unique nature of PLMs and to recognise cultural differences. Checking manuscripts regularly was held to be the correct preservation process. Digitisation, according to the experts, is the core preservation technique. In terms of access, the experts believed dissemination to be the main method to ensure sustainable access; it should include teaching and development projects, publishing and promotion.

This chapter has also explored how projects, including classes and workshops, are being run in order to transmit knowledge and build awareness about the availability of digitised manuscripts online. These are efforts which seek to redress the marginalisation of Lanna culture. The conclusion here is that an effective way to access manuscripts in a monastery is to build trust between the abbot and the community. In terms of participation, the community, institutes and libraries have been shown to have important roles in taking care of PLMs: all need to build relationships with individuals so as to preserve manuscripts in a sustainable way. Trust from the community can make scholars' work easier, as can involving the community in events that scholars create. Libraries need to develop their capacity as dissemination centres rather than remain storage places. There should also be a collaborative project that combines the databases of different institutes.

This chapter has thus, through examination of the views of experts, addressed Research Questions 1, 2 and 3, just as Chapter 4 did by presenting ideas held by the community. It is important now to consider the similarities and differences between the opinions expressed. The next chapter supplies a comparison of the ideas of community members and experts about the perceived value of PLMs, about how PLMs should be managed, and about the ways in which the community should participate in PLM management.

Chapter 6 - Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study and compares the results with the participatory theories for indigenous libraries, archives and museums found in the previous literature. It focuses on how community members can be involved in collaborative management of PLMs. It is organised in five sections. In the first section, the main findings are summarised in terms of the similarities and differences between community and expert opinions regarding the value and management of PLMs. The second part is a historical reflection on how management has changed over time, and the third is an analysis of the values that shape expert and community member views on PLMs. The fourth section includes a comparison of the findings of this study with the literature, particularly Flinn's (2007, 2010) analysis of community archive practices; Srinivasan *et al.*'s (2007, 2009) participatory archiving model and their model for culturally sensitive collaborative collections; and Kreps's (2003, 2005, 2006, 2008 and 2014) non-Western models for museum curation. The final section offers a model for the management of PLMs.

6.2 Summary of findings

In the previous two chapters, data were analysed to produce findings based on community and expert views. This section integrates the findings from both. It presents similarities and differences in approaches to how PLMs are actually managed and also explores how PLMs might be organised. The different attitudes and approaches to managing PLMs often reflect past experience, education and folk culture or tradition. The main findings are summarised across nine main themes: 1) perceived value of PLMs; 2) authorship; 3) ownership; 4) classification and cataloguing; 5) storage; 6) preservation; 7) access; 8) participation in PLM management; and 9) drivers and barriers to caring for PLMs.

6.2.1 Perceived Value of PLMs

	✓✓✓	Most important
	✓✓	Very important
	✓	Relatively important
	-	Do not see as important

Perceived value of PLMs				Participants	
				Community members	Experts
Knowledge	Buddhism	Direct value		✓✓✓	✓✓✓
		Indirect value	Merit and sanctity	✓✓✓	✓
			Respect	✓	✓✓
	Herbal medicine			✓✓	✓✓✓
	History			✓✓	✓✓
	Lanna language and literature			✓✓	✓✓
	Study and research			✓	✓✓
Material	Material for recording historical documents			✓✓	✓✓
	Ancient object			✓✓	✓✓
	Art object			✓	✓

Note: Community members are local people in northern Thailand; experts are librarians or scholars with knowledge of Lanna culture

Table 6.1: Community and expert perspectives on the value of palm leaf manuscripts

Both groups valued PLMs for the knowledge they contained and also as material objects. Yet while both community members and experts valued PLMs highly, they had different ideas regarding their most valuable aspects. In the knowledge category, common ideas were expressed about the value of PLMs in terms of understanding Buddhism, interpreting Lanna history, learning Lanna language and literature, using traditional herbal medicine, and pursuing academic study and research. There were, however, certain differences of opinion. For example, although both groups ranked the teaching of Buddhist values as the most important aspect, community members saw the value of physical PLMs as primarily sacred. They considered PLMs to be sacred objects connected to tradition across three dimensions: spirituality, belief and culture. All three are strongly linked to notions of earning merit through the use of PLMs. In contrast, the experts saw PLMs as valuable for the knowledge they contained but less valuable as religious objects. They valued Buddhism as knowledge in the sense that they respected the content of the religion. The experts also placed more emphasis than did community members on the herbal medicine knowledge in PLMs.

Although the ideas held by community members and experts were relatively similar, they still differed in terms of perceptions of the value of PLMs, not only through the community's greater focus on the Buddhist teachings contained within the manuscripts but also on the emphasis accorded PLMs as ancient art objects. Community members saw this value in relation to belief, experience, artisanal skills and cultural pride. However, the experts tended to perceive the value of PLMs in their uniqueness and high price. Further, the community sampled was much more diverse than the experts, in terms of age, interests, experience, culture and beliefs; this may have

been significant in terms of the respective group dynamics. This section addresses Research Question 2, which concerns different perceptions of the value of PLMs (Table 6.1). The following section considers the different ideas on PLM management held by the two groups.

6.2.2 Authorship

Authorship/ roles involved in the production of PLMs		Participants	
		Community members	Experts
Original author	Buddha	✓✓✓	✓✓✓
Copyist	Monks	✓✓✓	✓✓✓
	Lay people who know LannaTham script	✓✓	✓✓
	Lay people who have left the monkhood	✓✓	✓✓
Editor and collector	Monks	✓	-
Author	Lay people with knowledge other than Buddhism	✓	
Donor	Villagers and masters	✓✓	-

Table 6.2: Community and expert views on authorship of palm leaf manuscripts

Authorship could refer to any of a number of roles involved in the production of PLMs: original author, copyist, editor, collector, or donor. In general, most are identified by name on PLMs, but the Buddha is also seen as the original author of the ideas and teachings. Monks were the original copyists who inscribed his teachings onto palm leaves, ideas previously passed down through oral transmission. With regard to authorship, both participant groups actually held the same opinion, one different from a Western view. In the Western tradition of individual authorship, a single person who creates a work through their own original efforts has an intellectual property right over that expression of their ideas. In contrast, even though the literature and herbal medicine material was certainly authored, references to authors are rarely found on PLMs. The findings in this study indicate that both community members and experts seldom thought of the role of "author" of PLMs in the Western sense. Instead, they focused on various roles, such as that held by the copyists who produce new versions in order to preserve the Buddha's teachings until the next Buddha is born. They also included in the authorship process editors who select and combine many stories into a single PLM since their role is to merge a variety of content and confirm the validity of PLMs. Collectors, mainly monks, were also mentioned in this respect as they gather PLMs from other locations by copying interesting and important PLMs and storing them in monasteries. Collectors seek to ensure the manuscripts are secure and that they can be safeguarded as a valuable resource for future generations. This was seen as another kind of authorship, one that leads to the creation of PLM collections. Therefore, for the participants in this study, the notion of authorship differed from the Western interpretation of the term, as described in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4.2). A collection, to them, was more about cultural interchange, the way in which material is passed around and disseminated in and between communities. It was also seen as spreading knowledge in the sense that collectors create, use and share wisdom through PLMs. Donors, those who create PLMs and donate them to a monastery to receive merit, were also seen

as part of this authorship process. Ultimately, however, the Buddha is the author, if the Western sense has to be used.

It was found that both community members and experts considered authorship as belonging primarily to the copyists. Such people could be monks, or individuals who had left the monkhood and resumed secular life, or people who had never been monks and had learned the script by other means, perhaps from parents or grandparents. The experts focused particularly on the copyist as author, but the community members elaborated on the subject in more detail. They believed that the authors of PLMs included copyists, editors and collectors, for example when they collected information about the Buddha's teaching, even though some will remain forever unidentifiable (Table 6.2).

6.2.3 Ownership

Ownership			Participants	
			Community members	Experts
Possession				
Monasteries and communities			✓✓✓	✓✓
Members of local, regional or national communities			✓	✓✓
Individuals		Local people	✓	-
		Foreigners	-	✓
Residents of specific locations e.g. villages that hold PLMs			✓✓	-
People who are interested			✓	-
Custodians			-	✓✓✓
Digital ownership			-	✓
Intellectual Property				
Physical format (PLMs as knowledge contained)	Whole knowledge contained	National heritage	✓	✓✓✓
		Public knowledge	-	✓✓
		Registration	-	✓
	Herbal medicine knowledge contained	Copyright	✓	-
		National treasure	-	✓
		Registration & patents	-	✓✓
Digital format	Copyright as Creative Commons licence		-	✓

Table 6.3: Community and expert views on ownership of palm leaf manuscripts

The third issue, ownership, raises two main questions. The first concerns which people can be said to possess or wholly own PLMs. The second involves the ownership of PLMs as intellectual property, particularly in terms of the ideas contained in the manuscripts. In responding to the first question, both community members and experts agreed that the monasteries and communities held ownership of PLMs. Interestingly, the experts focused on monasteries rather than the community and local people, and stressed that custodianship was the main criterion of ownership. However, the relationship between monasteries and the community, as expressed in these ideas, was a complex one, with boundaries and connections between the two not always clearly defined.

In general, the experts stated that PLMs belonged to the Thai people. Most experts also referred to community participation in monasteries and a few felt that staff from institutions who took charge of looking after PLMs also counted as custodians. In other words, there were various interpretations of ownership, but it can be seen that, in accordance with Thai social structure, the community has ownership. In Thai society, community is commonly seen as a combination of three units, house, temple and school, which cannot be separated from each other. His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej understood the social structure of communities and encouraged participants to engage in effective and sustainable development. He also helped to introduce a 1981 initiative to establish the concept of community organisation (house, temple and school) as the characteristic relationship in Thai society. Thus, in government discourse, all elements – monasteries, communities, villagers and custodians – are involved and integrated into the community. Community members also expressed the idea of the unification of monastery and community.

Some experts agreed with this sense of community ownership. However, most experts, without mentioning ownership, stressed that there were custodians who took care of PLMs. This could be connected to a common concept of ownership, whereby PLMs belong to everyone, including members of the community, local, regional and national, as the manuscripts are considered part of the Thai nation's heritage. In the experts' view on ownership, however, not everyone was seen as caring for or interested in these cultural artefacts. Therefore, only those people entrusted with taking care of PLMs could be viewed as custodians. In general, the experts tended to consider libraries and archives as more appropriate locations for public treasures. In contrast, community members often felt that owners and custodians tended to fulfil similar roles in monasteries. These custodians also have the right to take care of and manage PLMs for other people (Table 6.3). Considering personal or individual ownership, community members believed that those who were interested in PLMs were the most suitable people to take possession of the manuscripts. On the other hand, local people and foreigners were seen as collecting ancient manuscripts to enhance their prestige because of the rare, unique and valuable nature of these objects.

Another factor that the experts mentioned was the consequences of digital ownership. Their view was that digital files should belong to the organisation which conducted the digitisation process. Only one community member had a view on digital ownership, saying that if any institution produced a digital file of a monastery collection it should return the resulting file to the monastery, as it would belong to monastery, along with the original objects. Expanding on the issue of digital files, one expert stated that digital copies should need a Creative Commons licence gained through the organisation which carried out the digitisation.

In the interviews, the issue of intellectual property was rarely raised by community members. This might have been a result of their perception that ownership rested with the community. They considered themselves as responsible protectors. Thus community members disregarded protection of intellectual property rights. Only one community member said that PLMs should be protected by national heritage institutions and highlighted the content about herbal medicine. This community member's views were similar to those of the majority of experts, who focused on Thai national heritage. The experts also suggested the need for further protection of herbal medicine knowledge, such as registration, patents and national heritage recognition. Although some experts had attempted to gain protection for PLMs as knowledge containers and cultural objects, as part of the national heritage, others insisted that there was no need to claim intellectual property rights for PLMs because the manuscripts were already old enough to be considered public knowledge (Table 6.3).

To sum up, the findings in this area illustrate a significant difference between the views held by the two groups. According to Maina (2012), ownership could rest, in a cultural context, with individuals, society or organisations, but it is difficult to determine whether individual people, communities, organisations, or the wider public should be seen as the owners of these objects and their contents (Maina, 2012). However, the fact that the communities see themselves as the owners adds weight to the argument that they should be involved in PLM management. This suggests that the experts might need to reflect on the ownership assumptions they tend to make.

6.2.4 Classification and cataloguing of PLM material

✓✓✓	Action taken widely	
✓✓	Some action taken	
✓	Little action taken	
-	No action taken	

Classification and cataloguing through time		Participants	
		Community members	Experts
Past	Traditional label	✓✓✓	-
	Idiosyncratic/ ad-hoc	✓✓✓	-
Present	Registration record	-	✓✓✓
	Attached tag label	-	✓✓✓
	Classified by content	-	✓✓✓
	Classified by age, size, the work of a particular author and work of art	✓✓	-
Present adaptation	Process to access PLMs made easier	✓	-

Table 6.4: Community and expert views on classification and cataloguing processes for palm leaf manuscripts

In terms of classifying and cataloguing manuscripts, the most obvious finding to emerge from this study is that community members had a view on how PLMs should be organised. PLMs are generally held by monks and local people with no attempt made to standardise the objects or collections. Some monasteries have retained the ancestral practice of organising material by piling PLMs on top of one another; this is different from the approach used by experts, who might organise the manuscripts by wrapper colour or manuscript size, for example. In reality monks and local people in the past frequently stacked PLMs in cabinets and identified them from their attached wooden titles, some of which included the contents of the stories inside. Some community members said that they still employed a traditional approach to organisation. They selected PLMs for use based on their experience and memories of past use.

Explaining more about classification, community members said that they did not classify PLMs but simply piled them up in traditional containers because they remembered the content contained in each one. They had reminder tools for recognising the content, such as wooden titles placed above woven covers, and some PLMs had a table of contents or abstract attached to a wooden title-board. The patterns on the woven covers also helped community members to remember the content.

In contrast, over the last 40 years, experts have visited monasteries to survey PLMs and then organised the manuscripts using their own theoretical classification and cataloguing by content systems. Experts have been trained to classify artefacts according to particular criteria, which may vary in applicability depending on context. They have used a variety of systems created by different organisations and have then followed, adapted or combined elements from these existing systems. Experts classify PLMs by content. They also create tag labels with codes to represent the details in each manuscript. However, for display in monasteries, monks and local people nowadays classify PLMs by age, size, authorship, ownership and as works of art. Nevertheless, one expert did say that an example existed of a community conducting a survey of its own PLMs by initiating a form of cataloguing of its own design.

When experts come to monasteries and organise PLMs in order to make them easier to locate, some community members do accept the process, seeing that this makes the manuscripts more accessible and locatable. Coloured stickers have been put on PLMs to divide them into different categories within their glass wooden cabinets and tag labels used. Some monasteries have changed the colour of the woven covers to white and written locations on them in marker pen. Thus community members' views on PLM organisation can follow those of the experts, particularly in the sense of making it easier to locate specific material. However, it is likely that the way this process has been carried out by members of the community or people familiar with local practices captures more data than a one-size-fits-all approach. If community members have

the chance to organise PLMs by themselves, they are likely to come up with a different process. This raises the issue that the expert organisational method may not make sense to the community (Table 6.4).

6.2.5 Storage

	✓✓✓	Most commonly used
	✓✓	Used quite often
	✓	Rarely used
	-	Not considered

Storage		Participants	
		Community members	Experts
Individual item types of storage	Woven wrappers	✓✓✓	-
	Bamboo, cotton and thread wrappers	✓✓	-
	Thread woven and bamboo strip wrappers	✓✓	-
	Cloth wrappers	✓✓✓	-
	Long cotton bags	✓✓	-
	Wooden cases	✓	-
	Wooden covers	✓	-
Storage spaces	Traditional storage (ancient chests and cabinets)	✓✓✓	✓
	Empty traditional storage units	✓✓	✓
	Easily accessible storage — Cabinets with small blocks or drawers	✓✓	✓
	Easily accessible storage — Glass wooden cabinets	✓	✓✓✓
	Easily accessible storage — Airy and transparent cabinets	-	✓
	Easily accessible storage — Plastic containers	✓	-
Storage locations	Monastery (library and museum)	✓✓✓	✓✓✓
	Information institutions — Library	-	✓✓
	Information institutions — Museum	-	✓
	Information institutions — Institution	-	✓

Table 6.5: Community and expert views on storage of palm leaf manuscripts

The fifth issue is PLM storage, about which the community expressed a strong preference for traditional forms. There are three aspects here which need to be considered: types of storage, storage spaces, and storage location. The main finding is that previously villagers used their knowledge to create individual types of storage and storage spaces to protect PLMs from environmental damage and from insects. Regarding individual types of storage, in the past female villagers had the role of creating PLM coverings, which had the same function as dust jackets on books but were much more refined, being meticulously handmade. These individual storage methods kept PLMs in good condition for a long time. There were various types of handmade PLM covers: for example, woven cotton or bags made of bamboo strips and thread wrappers, stored in wooden cases. In the past, significant religious merit was acquired by people who undertook this work, whereas nowadays individuals may be asked to weave these covers only occasionally; printed fabric is often bought when needed. Even though some merit still attaches to such activities today, it is not valued as much as it was in the past. The reason behind the continued changing of PLM coverings is that it acts as a method of raising awareness of the value and merit of PLMs and to maintain traditional rituals. As nowadays people buy printed fabric

instead of weaving covers by themselves, some monasteries hire weavers for major ceremonies but do not produce such material themselves anymore.

In terms of storage spaces, four approaches were identified: storage in traditional chests and cabinets; easy access storage; displaying empty traditional storage units; and displaying items in glass cabinets. In terms of the storage of PLMs in traditional chests and cabinets and easily accessible storage, even though both community members and experts had similar views, they differed in emphasis. Community members usually opted to retain traditional storage methods, while experts preferred to keep PLMs in easily accessible storage. There were three main reasons for the community members' preference. Firstly, the traditional chests and cabinets originally belonged to their ancestors, so they wanted to maintain them, along with the PLMs. Another reason was that traditional storage units featured work by local craftsmen which community members were proud to present. Finally, PLMs and traditional storage were paired together because both were created by ancestors, so the community generally considered that these older storage methods should be retained. PLMs can only be seen when the cabinets are opened. Access in this way is part of the cultural practice surrounding these objects. It illustrates the history of PLM preservation and the use of the manuscripts by the community. A case can be made for the continuation of this tradition. In contrast, the experts were more concerned with practical issues of access than with maintaining traditional storage units made of solid wood and containing unseen material inside. They emphasised the need for transparent cabinets with drawers for PLM visibility and ease of selection. This is an important point, as it seems to suggest that experts sometimes focus only on the PLMs and not the cultural meaning of the whole, perhaps because they concentrate more on knowledge in the form of writing, whereas local people value the whole culture of PLMs.

Some community members and experts agreed with the display of empty traditional storage units. In terms of storage location, both community members and experts stated that the majority of PLMs were kept in monastery libraries and museums (Table 6.5).

6.2.6 Preservation

Preservation			Participants	
			Community members	Experts
Eastern preservation	TanTham Tradition	Reproduce PLMs and donate to monastery	✓	-
		Pray to ancient PLMs to make merit	✓✓	-
	TakTham tradition	Check condition, clean and put in the sunlight to avoid humidity	✓✓	-
	Local wisdom	Place mothballs or cotton-covered pepper seeds next to PLMs	✓	-
		Use thick layer of lacquer from traditional storage to prevent damage from humidity and insect	✓	-
		Build PLM storage surrounded by water to prevent insect damage and maintain condition of palm leaves	✓	-
		damage	✓	-
Western preservation	Follow theory or adapt processes from theory		✓✓✓	✓
	Propose guidelines for looking after physical material		✓	✓
	Digitisation		✓✓✓	✓✓✓

Table 6.6: Community and expert perspectives on preservation of palm leaf manuscripts

The sixth issue is preservation, with the findings highlighting three areas of concern: digitisation, Eastern and Western methods of preservation, and conservation. The greatest agreement across both groups was over the need to preserve PLMs by digitisation. Community members and experts saw digitisation as a means of increasing distribution and user access. Moreover, digitisation was seen as a form of preservation that backed up information in another version and kept physical manuscripts from being handled excessively.

While technology plays an important role in preserving physical manuscripts, there is another method of preservation, a more traditional one. Community members stressed the storage and reproduction of PLMs through the "TanTham' and "TakTham" traditions. There is an original Lanna tradition called the "TanTham ceremony", a reproduction process that includes making covers to donate to monasteries for merit. Another such tradition is the "TakTham ceremony" created by a monk at Wat Sungmen 100 years ago. This tradition involves engaging villagers in helping to take care of manuscripts by taking PLMs out of their chests and cabinets and exposing them to the sun. Both traditional processes are considered preservation processes and are still practised today. Yet they are not common ceremonies because the initiative needed to organise them depends on a monastery's capability, its leader and its institutional attitude. The traditions were established in the early twentieth century but gradually disappeared over the course of the century. However, in one monastery, Lanna monks have revived this tradition in the past decade.

However, the experts tended to follow a Western approach to preservation, one based on preserving specific objects. There was less stress here on engaging the community. The Western process includes controlling the temperature in the PLM storage room, a practice which depends on the budget of the organisation. It also involves two cleaning processes: dry cleaning with dusters, vacuum cleaners or suction; and wet cleaning with water and solutions containing 50% ethyl alcohol. This process requires page-by-page cleaning and consumes much time and

manpower. Further, the oil added to moisturise PLMs has to be olive oil, camphor oil or citronella oil; it is applied to their surface, according to traditional practices. Lastly, experts change the PLM binding threads. Neither the community members nor the experts in this study paid attention to the repair of palm leaves and woven covers as part of the conservation process. However, it is interesting that community members emphasised inscription as a means of preservation, in the sense of the copying of new PLMs, meaning that to them the content was more important than the objects themselves (Table 6.6).

6.2.7 Access

Access		Participants	
		Community members	Experts
Dissemination and use	Transliteration, translation and publishing	✓✓✓	✓✓✓
	Teaching and training	✓✓	✓✓✓
	Promotion and presentation in public media	✓✓	✓✓✓
	Continue to rewrite, copy and reproduce PLMs	✓✓	-
	Development project: database and website	-	✓✓
Borrowing and return	Failure to return to monastery	-	✓
	Failure to provide research results to monastery	✓	✓
Access restriction	Distrust outsiders	✓	-
	Local people lack knowledge of Lanna script	-	✓✓✓

Table 6.7: Community and expert views on access to palm leaf manuscripts

The next issue relating to the management of PLMs is access. The findings underline three factors: dissemination and use; borrowing and return; and the movement of people involved. One of the most significant findings is that both community members and experts stressed the importance of "dissemination as preservation" much more than they wanted simply to maintain PLMs in good physical condition by preventing their being handled. They agreed that accessibility, usability and the opportunity to handle PLMs were important for study purposes and for gaining knowledge from the content of PLMs in a comfortable environment.

Three main processes of distribution were identified: 1) transliteration (writing words in a different script), translation and publishing; 2) teaching and training; and 3) promotion and presentation in public media. Two further processes were mentioned: the continued writing and copying of PLMs, which was important to the community interviewees; and having development projects through databases and websites, as emphasised by the experts. With regard to further writing and copying of PLMs, there were two dissemination objectives in this activity. One was continuing the tradition of reproducing PLMs as a means of preservation. Instead of repairing old PLMs, new ones are created and the old manuscripts discarded. This was considered by the community to be a way of maintaining PLMs as the palm leaves aged. Another reason given for disseminating and reproducing PLMs was that inscribers could gain knowledge and merit by doing so. However, in contrast with preservation through digitisation, this process was not

equated to physical reproduction. The experts suggested that digital reproduction did not involve the learning and merit aspects involved in copying, even if it did offer an opportunity for others to learn about PLMs.

In terms of access and borrowing and return, problems have occurred between monasteries where PLMs are stored and experts and other outsiders who borrow but sometimes do not return PLMs. This has caused conflict between community members and experts, with reliability seen as the issue. Monks and community members have had bad experiences with outsiders, so they now restrict visitor access to PLMs. The experts felt they needed time to build trust with the community, whereas the community members distrusted outsiders. To create trust, experts who wished to enter monasteries to manage PLMs had developed personal connections with the monks over a period of time in advance. However, the experts saw one disadvantage of restricting access to PLMs as being that it hindered the raising of awareness among the majority of Lanna people who lacked knowledge of PLMs. Most community members wanted villagers to participate as visitor guides in the monasteries. To conclude, even though both groups spoke of digitisation as their preferred method of PLM preservation, a different picture emerged in the rest of the research. Data from both the participation observation and photographic inventory show that the community wanted to preserve everything, including traditional ways of storage, community events and community involvement, whereas experts tended to focus on preserving only the knowledge, such as through digitisation (Table 6.7).

The issues explored here concerning authorship and access answer Research Question 3 and cover the differences between community and expert views on how PLMs should be managed. The next section considers a suitable role for the community in this process, in response to Research Question 4.

6.2.8 Community Participation

Community participation	Possible community roles (Suitable roles for community)	Participants		How communities can help experts	Participants		How experts can help communities	Participants	
		Community members	Experts		Community members	Experts		Community members	Experts
Support	Food and encouragement provided to involve people	-	✓	Food and encouragement provided to involve people	-	✓			
Inform	Education about PLM importance	✓✓	✓✓✓				Education about PLM importance	✓✓	✓✓✓
	Education about LannaTham script	✓✓	✓				Education about LannaTham script	✓✓	✓
							Education about preservation and conservation of PLMs	-	✓
Consult				Give confirmation and validation of PLM content to experts and people	-	✓			
Involve	Make PLM coverings	✓	-						
	Make donations to reproduce PLMs	✓	-						
	Encourage cooperation between involved people (monks, villagers and outsiders)	✓	-						
	Promote PLMs, e.g. by being a "tour guide" to introduce PLMs	✓	-						
Collaborate				Give assistance to experts in cleaning PLMs	-	✓	Demonstrate to people appropriate cleaning procedures for specific artefacts	-	✓
				Help experts in transliteration or translation of content in PLMs	-	✓			
Empower	Set up protection authority, e.g. custodian and committee	✓✓	✓						
	Create traditional ceremonies run by leader	-	✓						
	Encourage the community leader to revive the importance of PLMs	-	✓						
	Set particular tasks for volunteer villagers to take responsibility for PLMs	-	✓						
	Help monks to take care of PLMs, e.g. inspecting the condition of PLMs	-	✓						

Table 6.8: Perspectives on roles of community members and experts in PLM management

In terms of community participation, there did seem to be some degree of agreement about suitable roles for community members and experts in the management of PLMs (Table 6.8). The five factors in the columns are based on IAP2 ideas and demonstrate possible levels of community participation. The roles of community members and experts, and the relationship between them, are identified above. Community participation involves six aspects: support; informing, consultation, involvement, collaboration and empowerment. These are on a scale of increasing involvement, with support as the most limited level and empowerment as the most significant. In terms of community support, the community often facilitated management of PLMs through indirect or social relations. The experts revealed that community members supported them while they were organising PLMs in monasteries by bringing food and encouraging them in their work.

There was agreement between community members and experts on informing the community about the language and importance of PLMs. Community members wanted to be aware of the importance of PLMs and to know the LannaTham script. The experts said they would like to provide local language classes and also preserve and conserve knowledge in the community. This shows the potential for collaboration between community members and experts. The experts were divided into two groups: language experts and librarians. The language experts taught the language of the Lanna manuscripts and organised community PLM cleaning, and the librarians played an important part in enhancing the efficiency of the process, teaching the community about the preservation and conservation of PLMs to ensure all members of the community valued them. As community members had limited LannaTham script literacy themselves, they needed language experts to engage in PLM management, particularly in terms of classification, cataloguing, preservation and access.

In terms of "consulting", in some cases where experts were translating manuscript text and felt unsure about meaning, facts or historical evidence in the PLMs, they had asked older local people who had lived through the time when the Thai language was compulsory to check their translations for clarity and validity.

With regard to "involvement", four types appeared in the data. The community members often expressed their own views and were active in planning and organising activities, events, displays and exhibitions. First, they saw themselves as communicators, coordinators between the monks and villagers, and also with outsiders, acting as "tour guides" to introduce visitors to PLMs in the monasteries. A further role was that played by local women who made the covers to protect the PLMs.

Lastly, community members could be PLM donors, copying out new versions to make merit. Community members gave these as examples of their involvement in PLM management.

The role of a partner is that of a collaborator in decision-making, according to the experts, yet it seems that the experts and community do not work as equal partners. The experts described two partner roles: helping experts to clean PLMs, and helping experts to translate manuscripts. While the community members saw themselves as more active and having a deeper role, the experts viewed community participation as being more about help provided in less significant tasks.

Finally, the highest level of community participation mentioned was empowerment, where community members have the capability to manage and make decisions by themselves. There were five roles of community control. The first is that of protector. Both sets of participants suggested that locals should take part in looking after PLMs, as custodians and committee members. Some monasteries had already organised volunteers to be custodians and committee members responsible for looking after PLMs. For example, some community members had played a major part in creating committees to look after PLM collections and displaying them in monasteries. Four other roles were put forward by the experts; assuming leadership in managing PLMs; having leaders to increase community involvement in PLM preservation; setting particular tasks for volunteer villagers to take responsibility for PLMs; and helping monks to take care of PLMs.

In terms of enabling preservation through tradition, some monasteries had already launched and maintained traditional ceremonies. One abbot led a campaign to employ the "TakTham tradition" as a strategy to encourage more community participation in taking care of PLMs, such as checking the condition of PLMs, selecting those needing repair, and taking PLMs into the morning sunlight. Another role identified in community participation was that of indirect supporter. Community members stated that some people made bags to cover PLMs and earned money from this activity. Some villagers donated money to pay people to inscribe Lanna script onto palm leaves and make woven covers and wooden titles; in this way they helped support PLM reproduction and gained merit for doing so.

The experts' ideas about decision-making were that experts should manage PLMs in the monasteries and make suggestions to community members to encourage their involvement. They asked the community to choose a leader to raise awareness of the importance of PLMs. This links to a point raised by Klimaszewski *et al*. (2012); they argue that it is not appropriate simply to pick a leader to

represent the views of the whole community. Instead they suggest that the community should set particular tasks for volunteers and help monks to take care of PLMs. They also believe that the community should continue to take care of PLMs when experts have completed their management strategy, chiefly by inspecting them and protecting them from harm.

Both community members and experts agreed that communities should become fully engaged as coordinators, committee members and volunteers. In this way, they could help and support the monasteries and thus continue to look after the PLMs. In terms of depth of involvement, only some communities were willing to be responsible for the care of their PLMs. As part of their participation, they were involved in managing ceremonies. From observation, they transferred information by word of mouth, preferring a more organic, unwritten code of what should be done. On the other hand, the experts required a written agreement about what was required of them, in the form of a policy or statement. They suggested that community members should identify their roles in detail to ensure that they knew exactly what they were to do. If the role of the community were set out as a written policy, other monasteries could adapt or follow it, to increase community participation more widely (Table 6.8).

It follows from this discussion that the community has its own ideas about how to engage in PLM management. It is important to note that some of what the experts saw as appropriate aspects of community involvement may not be suitable for these members, even if included in a written policy. Therefore, it is important that experts understand and respect local community needs and wishes. These points address Research Question 4 concerning the differences between community and expert views about how the community should participate in PLM management.

6.2.9 Drivers and barriers to caring for PLMs

Drivers and barriers to caring for PLMs	Participants	
	Community members	Experts
Driver factors: interest in PLMs		
Interest shown by important people	✓✓	✓
Interest shown by foreigners	-	✓✓
Interest shown by experts	-	✓
Interest shown by organisation	✓	-
Barrier factors		
Commercial opportunities	✓	✓✓✓
Transformation into amulets	✓✓	✓✓
Social barrier of Thai integration in the past	-	✓✓
Not used in everyday life	-	✓
Local people cannot read LannaTham script	-	✓✓✓
Harm caused by humans through misuse and ignorance	-	✓
Harm caused by environment: weather, insects and animals	-	✓

Table 6.9: Community and expert views on drivers and barriers to caring for palm leaf manuscripts

The final issue is drivers and barriers in caring for PLMs. Both community members and experts had a positive attitude toward the status of PLMs, one involving personal interest and a desire to participate in their management. Community members stated that elite scholars and organisations were interested in caring for PLMs. Moreover, the experts stated that it was important to involve as many interested parties as possible in order to enhance grassroots awareness. Participants might include experts, foreigners and elite groups such as the Thai royal family, all of whom were of interest to community members. From observation and interviews, these factors motivated community members to engage enthusiastically with PLMs.

In terms of barriers to PLM care, the experts raised more issues than community members did. The two most common attitudes amongst this group were that PLM status was being damaged due to commercialisation and the transformation of PLMs into amulets. The experts focused on this issue more than did community members, some of whom saw such activities as a normal part of traditional preservation. The experts tended to be more interested in preserving material objects, whereas the community saw copying and transformation as important aspects of preservation. Even though the experts disagreed with PLMs being turned into powder and sealed in amulets, they had to recognise this as a valid form of preservation.

Other barriers to PLM status were raised by the experts. The primary negative factor was identified as the social barriers resulting from Thai integration in the past. Through united as one country, minority areas such as the Lanna region lost their own identity to the Siam influence. A good example of lost Lanna identity is that of LannaTham script, which disappeared when Thailand became one country. In the past, use of the Lanna language was forbidden and many physical PLMs were carried secretly away by the Thai government. Others were hidden in caves, where the manuscripts were destroyed by high levels of humidity. Local people were banned from learning their own script, with the result that local people have forgotten their own history and become disconnected from its practices. Even though in the present the Thai government does not forbid local people from learning Lanna and maintaining their own traditions and language, PLMs still do not play a major role in their lives.

This has resulted in three negative issues concerning the attitudes of local people and the status of PLMs. First, when PLMs disappeared from local people's lives in the first half of the twentieth century, people ceased using them in their everyday practices. Second, the treasured knowledge contained in PLMs could not be read because the majority of local people could not read or write the Lanna script. This illiteracy was considered an area of some concern by the experts. Lastly, people did not see the value of PLMs and did not maintain them in good condition; PLMs had deteriorated through misuse and ignorance, and through the impact of weather, insects and animals (Table 6.9). The section below explains the historical background, situation and status of PLM management from the literature review, with the findings underlining the themes from participatory theories.

6.3 Historical reflection on how PLM management has changed over time

PLM management is divided into three distinct time periods. Original and present forms of management are similar to the concept of community control, but the middle period differs because PLMs were then mainly managed by experts. From the interviews, it became clear that PLM management could be divided into three eras: original management, expert management, and revitalisation. The original process started when the palm leaves were inscribed with text. These manuscripts were then kept in monasteries and looked after by monks. Over time, however, the PLMs were gradually forgotten: communities tended to become less aware of their significance and value.

The second phase was in the past 30 to 40 years, when experts came to monasteries to survey and manage the PLMs by cataloguing, classifying and selecting content to be transferred onto microfilm.

The experts helped stimulate interest and became engaged with both the communities and preservation projects. They asked permission from the abbot before entering the field. Over time, community members began to pay increasingly close attention to these activities. The third period, that of revitalisation, has occurred over the ten years up to the present, with some community members deciding that they wanted to bring PLMs back to life through traditional preservation practices. Abbots, monks and community members relaunched the traditional preservation methods, called "TanTham" and "TakTham", to allow people to engage in preservation and achieve merit. Experts also played an important role as advisors in administration, preservation and other activities. They were sometimes requested as academic speakers to educate people.

In short, experts tended to be managers of PLMs or advisors on the management of PLMs, which most community members accepted. After experts became involved in some communities, for example the community at Wat Sungmen, good leadership, harmony and motivation revived the tradition of taking care of PLMs on special occasions or all year. The important factors today are those concerning funding and levels of interest in Buddhism. In PLM management, the main agents – abbots, monks and community members – are all involved in preserving PLMs. However, the latter become more involved after the professionals and experts complete their own individual project tasks, such as cleaning, classification and cataloguing. More recently, PLM management has become increasingly dependent on experts who manage PLMs in monasteries. This is especially the case with regard to classification and cataloguing. Interestingly, there is a parallel trend cited in the community archives literature (Flinn, 2007, 2010) where the role of expert archivists is presently being debated and challenged. The important point is that communities often want to create and control their archives but they still have to rely on experts in areas such as preservation.

In the shift from the second to the third stage, PLM management changed from classification and cataloguing, as supported by experts, to preservation. This mainly involved community members in grassroots action which aimed to manage and take care of cultural material or collections originating from local communities (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009; Flinn, 2010, Kreps, 2008; Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). This bottom-up model is similar to PLM management practices observed by the researcher, where abbots, custodians and community members tended to be the core agents taking care of manuscripts. It is also relevant to monasteries, the original institutions where objects were created.

6.4 Aspects of PLM management and underlying values

The perceived value of PLMs	Participants	Ownership					Intellectual property				Classification		Storage		Location				Preservation			Access			Community participation*					
		Individual	Local community	Custodian	Everybody	Thailand	Public knowledge	National heritage	Creative Commons	Patent/copyright	By content	Age/value	Tradition	Easy access	Monastery	House	Library/organisations	Museum	Traditional	Digitisation	Western	Security	Translation/publication	Online database & website	1 Specific use: sermon & study	2 Protection	3 Adaptation	4 Facilitation	5 Active use	6 Exhibition
Buddhist teaching Merit and sanctity	Local people	✓					✓	✓					✓		✓				✓			✓			✓	✓		✓	✓	
Other knowledge	Experts			✓	✓		✓		✓		✓		✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		
Cultural object	Local people	✓					✓					✓	✓	✓	✓				✓			✓								✓
	Experts				✓			✓				✓	✓					✓			✓	✓								
Herbal medicine	Local people	✓											✓			✓			✓			✓						✓		
	Experts				✓			✓	✓		✓		✓				✓		✓			✓	✓					✓	✓	
Precious object	Local people &	✓										✓				✓						✓								
Historical documents	Local people &			✓					✓		✓		✓				✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓						

* Community participation through
  1 Specific use, by sermon, study & research
  2 Protection by custodian, key holder
  3 Adaptations used in classification & cataloguing
  4 Facilitate expert works, by cleaning,
    translating, offering food, encouraging
  5 Active at control level, by promotion,
    traditional preservation roles, e.g. bag maker,
    donator, supporter and coordinator
  6 Through exhibition use at control level,
    events managed by themselves

Table 6.10: Community and expert views on aspects of PLMs management and their underlying values

In the previous section, similarities and differences between the views of community members and experts in terms of PLM management were discussed. This section follows different aspects of the management process and its linkage to underlying values. The analytical process is grounded in the findings. These will be illustrated by observing and comparing the management patterns of community members and experts, based on the main perceived values of each group. The data from the interviews and participant observation of community members and experts show that both groups valued PLMs for the knowledge they contained and as material objects. Such knowledge concerned, on the one hand, Buddhism and other related topics, and, on the other, herbal medicine. As material objects PLMs were seen to have value as merit-bringers and as sacred objects, cultural artefacts, precious objects and historical records. Yet, while both community members and experts valued PLMs highly, they had different ideas regarding what the most valuable aspects were. Different values led to different views on how PLMs should be managed (Table 6.10).

6.4.1 Buddhist teaching

In relation to Buddhism, there were two aspects of PLMs that both community members and experts valued highly: "the Buddha's teaching and Buddhist objects with merit and sacredness attached" and "Buddhist content and other kinds of historical or traditional knowledge". Both aspects were connected to PLMs in the practice of Buddhism because they involved the Buddha's teachings. Beside this, other PLM content, including ancient knowledge such as language, literature, history and science for study and research, were also considered to be important. The difference between the two groups of participants is that the community focused on Buddhist subjects, whereas the experts emphasised a wider range of knowledge. This section presents community views first, followed by expert opinions, and shows the differing intentions that led both community members and experts to their separate ideas about taking care of PLMs.

6.4.1.1 Buddhist teachings and Buddhist objects: merit and sanctity

Reflecting the different types of value they attributed to PLMs, participants held different ideas about manuscript management. Only community members saw PLMs as valuable because they were a combination of religious and sacred objects. Although fewer than half actually acknowledged the value of PLMs as sacred objects, the evidence gained from observation and in the photo inventory significantly enhanced the emphasis on their value as sacred objects. The concept of a sacred object represents the symbolic significance of material objects which have strong bonds with religion, and which are perceived to have resulted from the Buddhist practice of making merit. The logic of this belief is that the monastery should be the place to store sacred

267

objects and should jointly own PLMs with the villagers. Community members would thus keep in touch with the physical objects and value them highly.

With regard to ownership, the local community was willing to share this with others because PLMs contain the Buddha's teachings, which are open for everybody to use. Monks and local people pay attention to producing PLMs and dedicating them to Buddhism, in order to gain a better quality of life for themselves and their families, as well as to accumulate merit. Therefore, local people saw themselves as the owners of merit. It is interesting that community members thought the Buddha's teachings, as found in PLMs, belonged to them but wanted to share them with the public, which is a collective form of ownership in practice; but Buddhist teachings do actually belong to everybody and are collectively owned. In line with intellectual property rights, there are two main elements involved in the protection of PLMs: public knowledge and national heritage. Some community members, those who were more open-minded, generous and wanted to disseminate the Buddha's teachings to others, considered PLMs to be public knowledge. They saw it as good practice to share and be hospitable to other people, in order for them to gain knowledge from PLMs. In addition, the action of sharing and giving knowledge to the public is seen as part of the achievement of following the Buddha's teaching in the Four Noble Truths. The Lord Buddha taught that the origin of suffering is attachment and that such suffering can be stopped by the attainment of dispassion. Therefore, in this sense, community members did not consider PLMs to belong to them in an individual/legal way but were for the general public to learn from. On the other hand, others considered that it was necessary to have additional legal protection. They preferred PLMs to be registered as part of the national heritage. This is another way of showing beneficence. It is about taking national responsibility seriously by giving PLMs to the nation in order to enable Thai people to have more knowledge in this field. Thai people hold that the concept of a "Thai nation-state" combines three elements: nation, religion and king. Lanna people are part of the Thai nation and their region is closely tied to the nation. Thus, when more community members understand that this cultural material is very highly valued and connected to Buddhism, they might consider such cultural artefacts to be part of the whole Thai nation and its national heritage.

In terms of storage and location, most PLMs are kept in monasteries; the majority of the content in PLMs is Buddhist in nature. The proper storage spaces from the community perspective were traditional handmade chests and cabinets, which are unique and take time to build, being created by craftsmen who have faith and belief in Buddhism and who aim to make merit. Another aspect of the concept of merit was that a person who makes PLMs earns merit. The neat, refined and beautiful tracery on these storage cabinets reflects their faith. For example, they sometimes paint

Buddhist spiritual figures such as angels or Devas/celestial beings, in the belief that they will protect the PLMs from danger. Gold paint is usually applied to the storage units. This colour is similar to the yellow robes of the monks, which present the brightness of the wisdom of the Buddha and act as a symbol of prosperity in the present and the next life.

In seeing them as objects with merit and sacred attachment, according to Buddhist teaching, community members considered PLMs to belong to the community and that they would be most appropriately stored in monasteries. A monastery is a sacred place and is employed for devotion and worship. People come to a monastery to make merit, purify the mind and refrain from all sins. Thus, monasteries are suitable places in which to keep PLMs.

For preservation, communities use tradition to persuade more villagers to become involved with PLMs in order to make and accumulate more merit. Community members linked every activity and process related to PLMs to merit. Even though there were two traditions created by the community, the TanTham ceremony received much more attention than did the TakTham ceremony. As a result, a key strategy might be to have community members involved in this ceremony, in order to reproduce PLMs, make PLM coverings, and to donate to Buddhism to achieve merit for themselves and their ancestors. However, this was not considered a preservation process. Hence, in terms of merit and sacred objects, it was seen as more important to use PLMs and gain value by reproducing them than preserve them. Preservation in itself had little religious value. In other words, attaining merit was considered by community members to be more important than preservation.

Through participant observation in the TakTham ceremony, it was seen that the monastery provided some PLMs for villagers to hold and lay out in the sun for a very short period. This was seen as setting the scene for specific occasions to show the community the process, and was not really about preservation. Perceiving value in PLMs as sacred objects, community members were proud of their symbolic significance. They wished to disseminate the story of PLMs to the local community and outsiders as much as possible, an objective to be achieved by promoting participation in religious traditions. They helped in the management of PLMs by making woven coverings and donating money to create new copies of PLMs. They also cooked local dishes to support other communities and efficiently coordinated events between outsiders and local people. This all represents an effective opportunity for local people to create goodness and purity in body, speech and mind. Dissemination of these teachings is to help continue Buddhism. The more distribution, the more merit is earned for promulgating Buddhist teaching.

269

In terms of participation, there are four processes of community involvement. The first is the sermon, which was active in the past but is rarely used in the present. The purpose of PLMs was to help monks deliver sermons based on the Buddha's teachings and to tell folktales to villagers. The community came to listen to such sermons to gain knowledge to help them to conduct their lives in the proper way. People who listened could gain insight through an awareness of the impermanent and non-self, which is an important Buddhist concept. When they listened, their minds would become calm, a way of achieving goodness. Second, being a protector, such as a custodian or key holder, involves responsibility for taking care of PLMs and is another form of goodness, thus also earning merit. Third, being a facilitator to help share information and teachings with others is a way to purify the mind and gain merit. Helping to clean PLMs or making local food to support others taking care of PLMs are examples of the ways in which selfishness can be abandoned, according to Buddhist thought. Lastly, being active in any action relating to the management of PLMs is considered to be a way of gaining merit, because PLMs represent Buddhism and merit.

6.4.1.2 Buddhist teachings and other knowledge

The experts felt the value of PLMs to be in their Buddhist teachings and other educational purposes. They considered PLMs to be knowledge which belonged to everybody. The experts also saw themselves as custodians on behalf of the Thai people. The concept that PLMs belonged to everybody reinforced their view that people involved in the management of PLMs were suitable representatives of the whole population for taking care of the manuscripts.

The experts considered the knowledge contained in PLMs to be public knowledge that some organisations, such as libraries, had to protect by using Creative Commons to require fair usage practices for the digital versions. Also, they advocated giving rights to the organisations that take care of PLMs. Since 1986, when Lanna experts came to survey the amount and condition of PLMs in monasteries in the Lanna region, they have been classifying PLMs by content and disseminating their content by translating it.

In the past, PLM content was preserved on microfilm, but currently this is being achieved through digitisation, in order to prevent the disappearance of the physical objects. Logically, then, all Thai people can access PLMs but in reality this is limited, particularly because of an insufficient knowledge of the Lanna language throughout society. Moreover, some organisations, such as the Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, limit access and charge for this service, while other information institutions, such as the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts, National Library of Laos, make all information publicly available. Experts have tried to expand access

opportunities through the development of an online database, websites, transliteration, and translation.

6.4.2 Cultural objects

In terms of perceiving the value of PLMs as cultural objects, both community members and experts aimed to preserve, continue, share and disseminate local culture and knowledge. The difference between them was in terms of approach and presentation location; community members wanted to display PLMs in monasteries, while the experts hoped to exhibit them in information institutions such as museums.

6.4.2.1 Cultural objects based on community views

From a community perspective, PLMs were cultural artefacts connected to folkways; the local community was considered to be the present owner, but it was recognised that PLMs also belonged to community ancestors. Therefore, the community members felt they had both the right and the obligation to manage PLMs which were exhibited in monastery museums with security access for visitors. PLMs here are classified by age and value. This suggests that the PLMs do not need to be classified in a systematic manner, as certain cultural objects are valued more for their age, perhaps for their beautiful wrapping or for the pictures which a text might include. Most PLMs are housed in easily accessible storage units so that visitors can see them clearly. They have been moved out of traditional storage and placed them in glass-fronted wooden cabinets instead. However, some PLMs are still kept in traditional storage places, such as ancient chests and cabinets, within secure monastery buildings.

Access can be firmly controlled by abbots, monks and custodians; visitors have to ask their permission before entering to view PLMs. Due to the financial value of these cultural objects, which are very old and aesthetically pleasing, many monasteries have built extra iron cages or gates to protect their artefacts from thieves. These maintain security but still allow access for use at the same time. On the other hand, some monasteries display PLMs with strong security and prevent access. They separate PLMs, keeping some in traditional chests, while displaying other individual PLMs in cabinets. Finally, two traditional preservation practices have been launched by the community, the TanTham and TakTham ceremonies.

6.4.2.2 Cultural objects based on expert views

The experts recognised the value of PLMs as ancient art objects. They saw cultural objects as the property of the Thai nation and thus claimed as part of the national heritage; they considered the material to be a part of Thai culture as a whole, unlike many community members. For this reason, there was a degree of tension between them. From the government perspective, these cultural manuscripts should be collected in national libraries or museums, as treasures of earlier cultures. Whilst there could be a view that Lanna culture is a separate tradition, this is not necessarily in line with the wider national situation.

This study found that, interestingly, none of the community members collaborated with experts in national museums to further PLM management. Both community members and experts felt that the manuscripts belonged to the local community and should be managed by local people. In terms of storage location, community members and experts agreed that a museum or a library in a monastery was the most suitable location for storing manuscripts because this means they would be in the care of those people who give the manuscripts value. In contrast, from observation in the National Library and Chiang Mai Provincial Rathamangklaphisek National Library, it seems that the government wants the Lanna manuscripts to be kept in a national library or museum so that they can be carefully taken care of and conserved through repairs to ancient material where damage is identified, but they might be displayed in a glass case which cannot be accessed.

6.4.3 Herbal medicine

In terms of the value of PLMs as containers of herbal medical knowledge, there were different perspectives from community members and experts. Community members saw PLMs as "ancestor wisdom treasures", considering them to be personal possessions. They preferred to store them in their houses and transfer them within the family, although some PLMs were still kept in monasteries. On the other hand, their main value for the experts was as a "wisdom repository", one which offered potential treatment benefits to humankind. The experts preferred that they be stored in libraries or organisations. This logic influenced expert views on PLM management and how medical knowledge might be disseminated and used as widely as possible.

6.4.3.1 Herbal medicine based on community views

From the community members' perspective, PLMs that contained knowledge of herbal medicine belonged to individual people, especially folk doctors. Due to these manuscripts being considered personal belongings and stored in secure houses, outsiders can find it difficult to access some PLMs, especially when compared to those which have been donated to monasteries by folk

doctors' descendants. Members of the community who own PLMs see the artefacts as belonging to them and, where they contain important information, such as medical cures, they store them safely. This means that there are different types of PLMs about which people hold different beliefs. Thus, it is not belief, in the form of a national religion, but local wisdom that is valued by the community. When members of the community donate PLMs to monasteries, the experts adopt the same preservation techniques. Members of the community become custodians and key holders for the monastery libraries. Therefore, there is no need for protection by law. In cases where PLMs are kept in individual houses, they are laid on the altar table, indicating that they are of high value. Other PLMs kept in monasteries are stored in traditional chests and cabinets.

Similar to manuscripts containing Buddhist knowledge, there is no classification or cataloguing of this PLM material, while, in terms of preservation, the same reproduction process and care-taking occurs through the TanTham and TakTham traditions. The interesting point with the herbal medicine content is that, even though there is no protection by law, access is voluntarily limited to folk doctors and people with expertise in this field. Previous folk doctors did not give the exact proportions of the ingredients used in herbal medicines to treat diseases. The precision needed requires experimentation based on tacit knowledge from folk doctors or people who can read PLMs.

6.3.3.2 Herbal medicine based on expert views

In contrast, according to the experts, herbal medicine was the second highest value, after Buddhist knowledge, in PLMs; it belonged to the Thai nation and was an important form of intellectual property. The experts thought that this knowledge needed to be protected from outsiders, especially from foreigners who would be willing to appropriate content and claim it as the property of their own countries. Therefore, they felt that PLMs should be registered as national heritage, patented and copyrighted, making clear that Thailand holds ownership of the information they contain. A library would be a secure place in which to keep PLMs for experts and librarians to protect them.

From this perspective, PLMs could be kept in easily accessible but secure storage units to prevent public access because of concerns about their being stolen by developed countries, as in the past. The optimal means of preservation might be digitisation, which would then facilitate translation.

6.4.4 Precious objects

Both community members and experts valued PLMs as precious objects because they contained artistic and historical significance. PLMs are handcrafted and unique objects, attracting antique collectors, traders and elite people, both Thai and foreign, to them. Such people tend to be interested in ownership. They classify PLMs by age or value through criteria such as handmade, antique, material and art. In regard to PLM storage locations, such people prefer to keep PLMs in their houses, antique shops or individual private museums because PLMs are rare items. Moreover, sometimes they are acquired illegally, so these objects cannot be shown in public. Normally, most PLMs are kept in monasteries. However, some people desire to have them in their private collections. As PLMs are unique objects of high financial value, special care and strict security need to be ensured at all times.

6.4.5 Historical documents

Community members and experts stressed that PLMs were primary sources of historical information. Palm leaves were the best and most durable material available to record knowledge of ancient times. Besides being kept in monasteries, other Lanna PLMs are stored in libraries and some kept in archives. The experts saw librarians and archivists as custodians of historical documents, not the people who owned them.

Since PLMs are collected in non-profit organisations, the knowledge contained within them was seen as public knowledge that should be available to everybody. However, with these organisations, the possibility of accessing this knowledge is dependent on administrators' attitudes regarding levels of access to information and other resources stored in libraries and archives. Concerning fair use and the role of non-profit organisations, some libraries used Non-commercial Creative Commons licences for digital versions to prevent the images from being used for profiteering.

PLM content has been classified in categories and catalogued in a systematic manner, and the manuscripts themselves stored in glass wooden cabinets for practical use. The process of preservation and conservation is carried out by specialists. Some libraries have created a website as a database portal to upload digital files to be available online, with limited access to some content, such as herbal medicine. However, other libraries have provided only a list of titles, not digital files, and some have not yet started to digitise their PLMs. These digital services depend on administrator attitudes and organisational policies. Management in these organisations has not engaged community members in the work.

6.4.6 Summary

To sum up, of the six values featuring different aspects of PLM management, all had the same focus on security in access to PLMs. Although both participant groups ranked the teaching of Buddhist values as the most important aspect, community members saw the value of physical PLMs as primarily sacred. Community members considered PLMs to be sacred objects connected to tradition in terms of three dimensions, those of spirituality, belief and culture. All three dimensions had a strong link to the notion of earning merit through the use of PLMs. The attachment of merit and sacredness to these objects was the main reason for having strong community participation. PLMs are often used in religious ceremonies in monasteries, such as in community sermons. They are protected by local custodians who are responsible for their conservation, maintenance and cleaning. Such ceremonies are also considered to be a form of traditional preservation.

On the other hand, the experts saw PLMs as valuable for the knowledge they contained, and less so as religious objects. They placed particular value on the herbal medicine knowledge in PLMs. They also emphasised the value of Buddhist teaching and other knowledge contained, and that PLMs belonged to everybody and should be available online for public view. In terms of PLMs as cultural artefacts, both groups classified the manuscripts by age and value and said they would like to show them in an accessible way. While community members considered PLMs to contain public knowledge and should be stored in a monastery and preserved in a traditional way, the experts saw PLMs as part of the national heritage, to be kept in a museum, and preferred Western preservation techniques. In terms of herbal medicine, experts were very keen to provide access to such content through translation.

6.5 Palm leaf manuscripts in libraries, archives and museums

This section compares models and practices among information institutions, including libraries, archives and museums which manage PLMs, and proposes a collaborative framework for this activity at the end of this chapter. In the West there tend to be three main heritage institutions for collecting and archiving historical materials, namely libraries, archives and museums. Typically, in Western practice, libraries contain printed books, archives contain unique manuscripts, and museums store and exhibit material objects. Libraries can also contain archival manuscripts. Museum objects may also include books and manuscripts, but broadly speaking, the three institutions tend to collect different artefacts of national culture. Equally, the professions that run these institutions are different and have different values (Latham, 2012; Lund & Buckland, 2008). As mentioned above, PLMs can be classified within all three categories. For example, they are

similar to printed books in that there are multiple copies of the same content copied out many times. Moreover, they are like material in archives as they can be unique texts. Furthermore, they are similar to museum artefacts as they are thought of as precious material objects. It is important to consider that attempting to choose one of these institutions as the place where PLMs should be stored and managed may not be entirely appropriate for the preservation of such manuscripts in this particular study because PLMs fit into all three institutions. In other words, they can be considered as written records, as venerated religious objects, and as cultural art forms. Western information institutions such as libraries, archives and museums differentiate between written and printed texts, unique manuscripts and material artefacts, while all of these elements are embedded in PLM conservation. Such organisations can show differences in terms of the types of collection they provide; however, they do possess a number of similar features. Thus theories of indigenous participation pertaining to these institutions, while not being exactly the same, have evolved to cover many similar basic practices. PLMs do not always fit neatly into any of the existing categories and hence they probably need their own theory, one which draws on insights from all three professions. This theory of PLM management should be transferable to other types of Eastern indigenous objects, to some extent. Therefore, PLMs may be considered important as they redefine aspects of participative theory.

The concept of sustainable development in a globalised era has been addressed in relation to indigenous knowledge. It is important to manage PLMs in sustainable ways in the context of globalisation, in terms of how PLMs can be maintained in a world which emphasises materialism and commercial growth. Therefore, this research aims to identify a suitable preservation and management method for PLMs in a changing and competitive world. Not only expert and community views but also local and global relations are relevant to local cultures. The four models (Table 6.11), all are based on local culture but indigenous curation is the only one that emphasises globalisation. Indigenous curation focuses on its own cultural heritage rather than diversity. It has changed the concept of Western museology from the previous model of global expansion to one of indigenous curation, which emphasises community participation. Although the other models do not directly address the relevance of globalisation, how they preserve collections and grant access to them could demonstrate their awareness of how globalisation is making local cultures disappear. To succeed in managing collections, the community archiving and indigenous curation models stress sustainable development in cultural, social, environmental and economic contexts. Concentrating more on sustainability, indigenous curation also seeks to identify a local community's values and the extent to which community-focused information services and community archives look for partner relationships. The tables in this section provide two shades of colour to represent degrees of difference. The dark shade shows an emphasis on an

276

issue, and the light shade refers to a lesser focus. The process of deriving these characteristics of the different models involved the researcher conducting a close critical reading of the key texts in each field, in order to draw out the key points and emphases of the authors.

Context	PLM management	Community participation theories in indigenous LAMs			
		Community-focused information services	Participartory archiving	Community archives	Indigenous curation
		Library	Archive	Archive	Museum
1 Local culture					
2 Globalisation					
3 Preservation					
4 Access					
5 Sustainable development					

Table 6.11: PLM management across four models with sustainable management context

As the nature of PLMs differs in degree from that of many other objects collected in information institutions, current theories could help to clarify definitions of active participation, but are unlikely to explain fully how this might be achieved. For example, a theory on museums could shed light on various aspects of their involvement with communities, experts and local volunteers. Existing professional traditions are distinguished by their collected resources or materials. This said, it is important to keep in mind that the roles and functions of libraries, archives and museums are becoming increasingly similar in response to innovations generated by the digital age. A number of commentators have noticed this recent tendency, in that many heritage institutions seem to fulfil very similar roles, for example in the operations of LAMs. In other words, a convergence of roles appears to be evolving (Davis & Howard, 2013; Robinson, 2012).

As noted in the previous chapters, there are at present seven main aspects of PLM management: authorship, ownership, classification and cataloguing, storage, preservation, access and participation. Current PLM management practices can thus be compared to current participatory theory across a range of contexts, such as indigenous libraries, community archive practices, participatory archiving, and indigenous curation. Accordingly, it may be possible to construct a new model for the management of PLMs.

In terms of models and approaches, this research study considers the applicability of the selected models of community archiving developed by Flinn (2007, 2010), Srinivasan *et al*.'s (2007, 2009) participatory archiving model, which aims at practice, and the model of culturally sensitive collaborative collection, which focuses on research, and Kreps's (2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2014)

277

notion of appropriate museology, which stresses non-Western museum models and aspects of curation as discussed in the literature review. To manage indigenous knowledge using a framework based on community participation, there are reasons for choosing these four models. The main reason for using these models is that they are well known and widely cited. Other reasons are each focuses on a different type of information institution and all were launched in the same period of time, between 2007 and 2010. Moreover, the four models provide a wide range of examples of communities in various places around the world; thus they help to demonstrate the diversity of local cultures and native peoples, for example the Zuni Native American tribe (native people in USA), Mukurtu Wumpurrani (aboriginal people in Australia), San Miguel de Allende (Mexican), Chicano (Mexican-American) and Southeast Asian. Also included could be community archives around the United Kingdom, Ireland, France and Canada. The last factor is that the authors who produced the frameworks are experienced, well-known, and have published many academic works around participatory theory. The following section offers the main features from the models, particularly in terms of their being core practices which might be adjusted and developed in order to create an appropriate form of PLM management.

6.5.1 Main features of participatory theory in relation to PLM management

Before any detailed discussion of PLM management and specific participatory models or approaches can be attempted, two common issues and one concern from participatory theory about information institutions (LAMs) should be highlighted: community control over collections, relying on communities for accurate information, and respecting restricted access.

The first commonality across the theories of participation concerns community control over collections. It is suggested that in indigenous LAMs, communities establish projects by becoming involved in the decision-making process and by engaging in a people-centred approach (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009; Flinn, 2007; Kreps, 2008). For example, in community archives, community members are engaged in choosing the content, but expert input can be requested by community members for specialist work such as preservation (Flinn, 2007).

The second common idea in theories of participative management within LAMs is reliance on the community for information (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009; Flinn, 2010, Kreps, 2008; Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). This is challenging in terms of PLM management because the majority of community members cannot read or write LannaTham script and lack the expertise to interpret and understand the content.

These theories of community participation, as presented in the literature review, are useful constructs as they can help to define how PLMs should be effectively managed. Several of the models, such as community archiving, reflect an inclusive approach to collecting, so that archival material, printed material and museum objects can all be included in community collections. PLMs possess all these attributes, and so defy neat Western categories of material suitable for libraries, archives or museums. Many of Srinivasan's (2007, 2009) ideas are relevant to Lanna PLMs, such as the suggestions about listening to the community voice, community involvement in appraisal, the importance of cultural sensitivity, and direct indigenous involvement.

The issue of respecting restricted access is one with which the participative models struggle, and the same issue arises with PLMs. As described in the findings chapter, traditional societies tend to closely manage and restrict the dissemination of knowledge. To explain this, sometimes knowledge is circulated through traditional customs or confined to one social group, and this is seen as culturally significant. Therefore, the notion of open access in the Western sense may not be considered desirable or appropriate in the context of heritage locations such as monasteries. Thus, the extent to which traditional restrictions should be acknowledged and accepted, even though they may hinder open access to the general public, is important. A related issue concerns the extent to which traditional power exercised by specific individuals should be redefined or reduced.

For example, becoming a community member is not easy. It can depend on a number of factors, such as one's gender, age, ancestry, clan, and standing in the community (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009, Kreps, 2006). These restrictions are often determined by traditional attitudes and notions of social status, which can influence the decisions of community members (Stevens *et al*., 2010). As described in the findings, this factor is similar to the past, when PLMs were kept in monastery libraries but women were forbidden access and prevented from touching and learning the Lanna script inscribed on the palm leaves. More recently, however, restricted access by gender has been gradually removed, due to more enlightened attitudes. In other words, PLMs are currently open to the public and thus attitudes to general access are becoming increasingly similar to those held in the West.

Even though access to PLMs is now more open, there are still limitations, such as restricted access to specific users, charging for services, and showing only titles on online portals. Other restrictions include, for example, individual monks' attitudes towards outsiders, over-protectiveness regarding PLMs, and a widespread inability to read the contents of PLMs. Another problem is that temples and monasteries may have different ways of managing their manuscripts. They often vary in how access should be allowed. As noted above, they depend on the people in

charge, specifically the monks and abbots. Therefore, traditional means of circulating knowledge should be respected even if they seem in opposition to contemporary values.

6.5.2 PLMs and Srinivasan's community-focused information services model in librarianship

In the last ten years, a culturally sensitive model of cultural information has emerged from Srinivasan's research, this time more embedded in librarianship. This model focuses on how information institutions such as libraries and archives can work with indigenous people in order to collect information in a culturally sensitive way. Culturally sensitive collection includes five main elements: community ownership; concerns regarding appropriate access; relationships between experts and the community; expert participation; and community participation (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009). Another model, Shilton and Srinivasan's (2007) participatory archiving model, sets out to inspire community members to become involved in appraisal, arrangement and description activities (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). Both models are similar in that they recommend that professionals listen to the community voice, they allow community members to manage their cultural heritage themselves, and they rely on the community for accurate information. However, the approach has been criticised by Klimaszewski *et al.* (2012), who question how easy it is to identify an authentic community voice and draw attention to issues of power concerning who should speak for the community.

Indigenous libraries are important because, if designed appropriately, they can focus on and conserve many aspects of local knowledge. In terms of theory, it is worth noting that these theories are usually applied in the case of indigenous peoples in countries that have been colonised by other countries, and where their culture is under profound threat, such as in Australia and Canada. Generally, the cultures concerned had not developed writing, so they were largely oral cultures with knowledge handed down by storytelling and apprenticeships. The intention of the indigenous library is to enable a people to develop a sense of cultural identity through the preservation, encouragement and teaching of local culture. The idea of an indigenous library might apply in this sense to PLMs, but it is not entirely clear how this could be achieved. Certain aspects of the community-focused information services model are not entirely appropriate for PLM management. There are six important points in the community-focused information services model (Table 6.12).

Comparison of similarities and degree of differences		Community-focused information services	Existing PLM management
		Library	LAMs
1 Appraisal	Community-led		
2 Provenance	Community-authored		
	Community-owned		
3 Description	Community-provided description		
4 Community governance and community participation	Involved at every level		
	Process of trust building between experts and communities		
	Listen to community voice		
5 Collection	Create collection from oral tradition		
6 Aim	Access		
7 Storage location	Housed within information institution		
8 Preservation and continuity	New initiative		
	Project-based & time-bound		
	Use technology for conservation & preservation		
9 Appropriate access	Respect traditional access restrictions		
10 Types of material	Published works		

Table 6.12: Community-focused information services model and PLM management

Ten elements can be derived from a comparison between community-focused information services and PLM management: 1) appraisal; 2) provenance; 3) description; 4) community governance and community participation; 5) collection; 6) aim; 7) storage location; 8) preservation and continuity; 9) appropriate access; and 10) types of material.

There are five significant similarities between the community-focused information services model and PLM management, covering provenance, community government and community participation, and types of material. The first two similarities involve community authorship and ownership, as the community is seen as both author and owner in the community-focused information services model, which is consistent with the community perspective on PLM management by members of temples, the community and villagers, who are similarly granted authorship and ownership. The third similarity concerns the building of trust between experts and the community in terms of community government and community participation. The community-focused information services model suggests that both library professionals and community members decide what kind of relationship they should have: a formal institution-to-institution one or a loose relationship. In the community-focused information services model, a researcher has to gain the trust of the community before gathering data rather than concentrating immediately on how the community should be involved in running the cultural information or archive. This factor is similar to PLM management in this study, in that the community "trusted" in experts only after observing their behaviour and attitudes for some time. One interviewee stated

that experts should be careful when building trust in the community. They should not dominate dialogue or "over-control" the community by giving too much advice and too many instructions; rather, they should let community members think for themselves. This study found that time helps to build trust but pushing agendas too quickly can bring relational problems. The fourth aspect concerns listening to the voice of the community in terms of community governance and community participation. In the community-focused information services model, information is provided to communities based on their needs. It can empower communities by teaching them what they would like to learn or useful information such as basic technology employed in digitisation and media production. This fits the management of PLMs, particularly with regard to listening to the community voice. There are different needs among communities in relation to having experts provide suggestions, about, for example, learning LannaTham script, knowing how to digitise, making woven coverings or inscribing PLMs. In contrast, as mentioned above, although community members still depend on expertise in translation language and preservation theory, there is a danger of experts offering too many opinions to the community as a result of over-management. The final similarity is that both models are characterised by published works. Both of them are supported by research studies that have already been published.

There are five potential differences between community-focused information services and PLM management, which can be identified as: appraisal; community governance and community participation; collection; aim; and appropriate access. Forms of appraisal in community-focused information services are similar to those in other models, in that the community actively participates and makes decisions regarding every stage of its research or project. In contrast, this feature does not apply to PLMs. PLM management in the past 40 years has often been organised by experts because of their awareness and knowledge of the Lanna language and culture, and because of time limitations. After experts took the management role, abbots, monks and community members were engaged later in basic management tasks such as cleaning and protection. The second issue concerns community involvement in every level of governance and participation. The community-focused information services model proposes to bring the community into involvement at all levels and phases of the project, including design, implementation, data collection, analysis and publication. This feature does not reflect current practice in PLM management. PLM management depends on each monastery and on community members' attitudes about how they value cultural collections and how strong their desire is to take part in PLM preservation, making access available and sharing material. If there are strong relationships between abbots, monks and community members, they can effectively run their project by themselves and let experts support them where necessary. If not, the PLM collections

may continue to remain in monasteries as sacred objects without knowledge of their significance being shared.

The third possible difference is over collections, in that indigenous knowledge tends to be focused on oral knowledge and orally recorded data, as seen in many traditional societies. In contrast, PLMs are entirely written texts; there is little evidence of oral knowledge in this tradition. Indeed, the information is not generally accessible to local people. This has many implications for the understanding of community involvement. The fourth issue concerns aims. The principal goal of the community-focused information services model is to ensure the preservation and retention of traditional knowledge. Therefore, this fundamental concept creates a model which has less relevance to PLMs; there are significant differences regarding the forms in which knowledge resides, in terms of the contrast between orally-transmitted knowledge and that contained in PLMs, which are objects. This distinction has a number of implications for all aspects of the management of PLMs.

The fifth relates to the appropriateness of respecting traditional access restrictions. The community-focused information services model is concerned with sensitive issues that experts should respect: relationships, hierarchy, ethnicity, power, and preservation of artefacts created by indigenous people. Experts should understand which information can be published and which should remain confidential. This might, however, be contested by those who argue that historical artefacts should not be censored.

Another issue concerns the gathering of information. In the community-focused information services model, the service relies on the community for accurate information. This has been critiqued by Klimaszewski *et al*. (2012), who suggest that information selected from community members by experts may not be correct because there is a plurality of views, hence it is difficult to find a single, definitive spoksperson for the entire community. They raise the issues of what the appropriate "community" is and who should be consulted. In other words, it is difficult to address which community members to select, and easy to assume that all members think similarly about key issues. Becvar and Srinivasan (2009) gloss over the difficulty of power differences in the community and how different actors may have different views. Klimaszewski *et al*. (2012) also make the point that power structures can shape who becomes involved or is listened to during collaborative initiatives around indigenous collections. This means that researchers should look in more detail at hierarchy and power in communities. It also means recognising that some have more time to be involved than others. In this way, community members should be selected representatively, taking into account such aspects as gender roles and background, thus covering all types of community members. In the findings in this study, there were several factors which

indicated that different community members had different views. For example, in terms of age groups, the degree to which PLMs were valued differed between middle-aged participants, who had no involvement with PLMs, and older participants, who were familiar with them. All older participants saw the value of the Lanna language and the need to make it more accessible for learning purposes, while middle-aged community participants saw the value of Lanna script as a font to develop and apply in product design. Another example here is storage location, in that most community members preferred PLMs to be kept in monasteries but one teenager wanted to establish an arts centre for this purpose.

Current PLM management aligns with Klimaszewski *et al.*'s (2012) study. For example, the results show that some community members wanted to promote their monastery as a tourist attraction. This view could, however, be criticised by others as inappropriate and disrespectful. It shows that voices in the community are many, which affects ideas of how they can be included. The issue of multiple voices in the community does apply to northern Thailand, particularly because it is an ethnically diverse region. This needs to be addressed in any model of PLM management. However, this study has explored various views from different community members of varying status. According to the community-focused information services model, respect is a sensitive issue, but for PLM management the limitations on gender access have changed. All community members are now allowed access to PLMs. Another point is hierarchy and how this can shape those who can access material. In this respect PLM management is consistent with community-focused information services. Athough everybody can access PLMs in monasteries, a hierarchical structure still exists. The most influential and powerful individuals are the abbots and monks, followed by the experts and custodians. It should be noted that custodians can also be religious elders. These hierarchies tend to follow traditional patterns of power and can impact on community cooperation. In short, it is difficult to see how to represent a whole community, according to Kimaszewski *et al.*'s insights. The notion of who the community is needs to be problematised. There are thus challenging issues to consider in terms of empowering the community, if it holds within it diverging views.

6.5.3 PLMs and participatory theory for archives

There are two models of participatory theory for archives which can be discussed. One is the participatory archiving model (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007), and the other is the community archives concept (Flinn, 2007, 2010).

6.5.3.1 PLMs and Srinivasan's concept of the participatory archiving model

Shilton and Srinivasan (2007) created the participatory archiving model to show how archives could respond to the voices of community members. The participatory archiving model is one of the two models Srinivasan and his colleagues created to encourage community engagement in appraisal, arrangement and description. There are three steps involved in the model: appraisal, provenance and ordering. This model seems appropriate to PLM management, especially in the appraisal phase, but again the concept of having community members run the process by themselves may not be a useful model to apply to PLMs (Table 6.13). Shilton and Srinivasan's (2007) analysis focuses mostly on the role of the community in appraisal, but other works (Caswell *et al*., 2016; Caswell *et al*., 2017; Flinn, 2007, 2010; Stevens *et al*., 2010) reveals that participation could happen at other stages in the management of collections.

Comparison of similarities and degree of differences		Participatory archiving	Existing PLM management
		Archive	LAMs
1	**Appraisal**	Community-led		
2	**Provenance**	Community-authored		
3	**Description**	Community-provided description		
4	**Community governance and community participation**	Involved at every level		
5	**Collection**	Create collection from oral tradition		
6	**Aim**	Preservation		
7	**Embeddedness**	Embedded locally within social context		
8	**Storage location**	Housed within information institution		
9	**Preservation and continuity**	New initiative		
		Project-based & time-bound		
		Use technology for conservation & preservation		
10	**Types of material**	Unique documents		

Table 6.13: Participatory archiving and PLM management

There are four similarities between the participatory archiving model and PLM management: provenance, aim, embeddedness, and types of document. The first similarity, concerning provenance, is over authorship, where both models see the community as author. While PLM management is different in its identification of authorship, its focus is still on determining accurately an equivalent to author, this being creator, particularly in the sense of copyist, donor or collector. The second similarity is aim, in that both models target the preservation of cultural knowledge. The third concerns embeddedness within a local social context. Participatory archiving focuses on ordering the connections between records and local knowledge when creating records. This applies to PLMs, where elements of knowledge contained within them are

related to social context: for example, the Buddha's teachings relate to community beliefs. The fourth similarity is that both models use unique documents as the content of their managed collections.

In terms of possible differences, there is one obvious concern: appraisal. This relates to choices made about what to collect. This does not apply to the PLM context, in which there is little choice about what to retain. PLMs are considered valuable and rare items because of their ancient and unique characteristics, very difficult to reproduce. When experts realise what communities value, they understand the need to preserve the contextual value of records.

Overall, the nature of PLM management seems, at least in some respects, a special case. The key element is the need to use experts as role advisors as well as supporters. The community-focused information services model refers largely to the latter. Participatory archiving theory is more suitable to PLM management in terms of appraisal, provenance and ordering. The model requires the community to manage its records by itself. However, this tends to be difficult to apply to PLM management, which needs the participation of experts. It is not necessary here to address how communities perceive value. In essence, then, participatory archiving theory possesses useful elements which might be employed in a PLM management framework; it could contribute a number of issues to a consideration of appropriate and potential such frameworks.

6.5.3.2 PLMs and Flinn's concept of community archives practices

	Comparison of similarities and differences		Community archives	Existing PLM management
			Archive	LAMs
1	Appraisal	Community-led	▓	
2	Provenance	Community-authored	▓	▓
		Community-owned	▓	▓
3	Description	Community-provided description	▓	
4	Expert participation	Expert-supplied support		
5	Community governance and community participation	Community control, decision-making and rule-setting	▓	
		Involved at every level	▓	
		Community requests advice from expert		▓
		Community consulted	▓	
6	Collection	Create collection from oral tradition	▓	
7	Content	Political belief/ activism/ social movement	▓	
		Religious belief		▓
8	Aim	Access	▓	
9	Storage location	Housed locally	▓	▓
10	Preservation and continuity	New initiative	▓	
		Project-based & time-bound	▓	
		Use technology for conservation & preservation	▓	▓
11	Types of material	Unique documents	▓	▓

Table 6.14: Flinn's concept of community archives and PLM management

Community archiving concerns community participation in collecting, a natural reference point for what PLM management might be. The context is generally Western countries, where minority groups such as LGBT or ethnic groups wish to oppose received conventions and assumptions by challenging what is seen as worth collecting in an archive. This is one reason why community archiving might not be a completely suitable model with which to manage PLMs. In a discussion of Flinn's model of community archiving to PLM management, there are both similarities and degrees of difference. The most significant features of these will be discussed across eleven themes: appraisal; provenance; description; expert participation; community governance and community participation; collection; aim; embeddedness; storage location; preservation and continuity; and types of material (Table 6.14).

There are four obvious similarities between the community archives model and PLM management: provenance, expert participation, storage location, and types of material. In terms of provenance, two factors, authorship and ownership, are included in both models; they view the community as author and owner of its collection. The second likeness concerns expert participation. With regard to expert-supplied support, there are similar aspects within both community archives and PLM management, in that information institutions provide knowledge

to the community, but they differ in procedure. In Flinn's model, some institutions offer training, workshops and seminars to support community archives in developing their collections. In PLM management, there are also information institutions which provide these services, along with training in preservation, digitisation, documentation, copyright, and utilising collections to raise income, where requested.

The third parallel connecting the models is that of storage location. Both community archives and PLMs are similar: they are often housed locally to ensure that local people can manage and gain access. Community archives in the UK are changing, particularly in order to involve local communities in collecting, creating and managing their local knowledge materials (Flinn, 2007). For PLMs, the majority are now kept in monastery libraries and are looked after by abbots, monks and community members, who serve as curators. The fourth likeness is that both models refer to the management of unique documents.

The five main dissimilarities, however minor they might be in practice, between the community archives model and PLM management can be found in appraisal, collection, content, aim, and preservation and continuity. The first distinction, concerning appraisal, is that, in the community archives model, in terms of custody, communities create, take responsibility for and control their projects; they make decisions about the content that can accessed, future deposits, and dissemination for long-term preservation (Stevens *et al*., 2010). Community archives are therefore driven by the community's active governance. Community members actively participate in running the whole management project (Flinn, 2007, 2010). In contrast, even though PLM collections are protected and safeguarded by abbots, monks and community members, their actual management often depends on Lanna language experts organising the content on the manuscripts. However, this is where there could be some consideration as to whether the model of community governance might be useful. Thus, the emerging model of archivist experts supporting community-governed projects is one that could fit PLMs. Abbots, monks and community members need advice from professionals to manage PLMs. For example, abbots and monks at Wat Sungmen have invited academics to be advisors on their palm leaf manuscripts conservation project.

The second aspect of comparison concerns collection. In the community archiving model, participants create and continue to gather material and fill gaps in their collections, while, in contrast, PLM collections already exist. With regard to community archives, the community actively creates its own content, such as oral history sources. Community members not only collect existing material but are active in creating artefacts (Flinn, 2007, 2010). Flinn sees this practice as often being the result of hostility to traditional archives, with the community collecting

items they value but think traditional archives will fail to collect, although there are some community archives which are driven by communities not hostile to official archives. Community archiving is usually an act of resistance, for example by LGBT and black communities in the UK against the mainstream sector (Flinn, 2007), and for this reason could be seen as anti-professional. It is about the community being empowered to collect important material that archivists neglect. This is a less important concern with PLMs. It is also often argued that the successful running of archives requires local knowledge, decision-making skills and an appreciation of community needs. In the community archiving context these are less professional skills and more elements that should be defined and provided by the community, such as in the Moroccan Memories team that includes inexperienced community members (Steven *et al.*, 2010). Community archives are run by marginalised social groups who want to preserve a story about society that traditional archives would not keep. This tends not to apply PLMs because they record knowledge which is a core cultural value of a whole society.

In addition, it is increasingly being recognised that archivists should change their values and work with communities. This aspect is somewhat relevant to PLM management in Thailand. If library and information science professionals see the importance of local information, such as Lanna content, including PLMs, and set its management as a priority, it could create high levels of collaboration between professionals and communities. Therefore, Lanna communities could establish their own projects in order to create the content they feel is more interesting and more relevant to their traditional and cultural contexts. They could create local collections from their oral histories and collect various artefacts. With regard to the actions and abilities of communities, the fact remains that the majority of Lanna people are unable to read the text on PLMs: only trained language experts can read and write these often ancient manuscripts. For this reason, Lanna language experts are particularly interested in the analysis and preservation of the scripts. They have been instrumental in managing and caring for PLMs.

The third point of discussion about community archiving theory relates to content. It is important to a community archive that it holds the content the community cares about. Documents from community archives are often created by "minority groups" or linked to activism and social movements. They differ, however slightly, from the content on PLMs; this dates from the ancient past. However, PLM collections already existed as cultural collections in many monasteries. Significantly, unlike community archives, the manuscripts are closely linked to religion and religious ceremonies in the community and are thus seen as sacred forms of written art. The original content of PLMs mainly relates to Buddhism but also includes local knowledge referring to herbal medicine, literature, astrology, folktales and legends. These sources were largely created

by abbots, monks and knowledgeable lay males. PLM management represents a mechanism to store parts of religious, cultural and local knowledge which communities may have forgotten about and respect less than in the past. Therefore, activities and processes of management for community archives and PLMs differ in their detail. The activities of community archives tend to be those used in communal daily life and political activism. On the other hand, PLM management is more concerned with orthodox Buddhist spirituality, morals and teaching.

The fourth slight difference concerns aim. The main goal of both is to preserve and allow access to collections. However, for community archives the main goal is to facilitate access, with perhaps less emphasis on preservation. Many community archives use the internet to disseminate information, often through their own websites and Flickr. This is about digitisation and sharing content, so local people and visitors can create content by uploading photographs and digitising material (Flinn, 2010). They also hold living exhibitions in order to spread knowledge and awareness of community-held material (Stevens *et al*., 2010). In PLM management, only a few monasteries hold exhibitions. In contrast, PLM management focuses more on aspects of preservation and creating interest in these historically important objects by protecting them from disappearance, since the aim is to continue teaching Buddhist wisdom for the next 5,000 years (Veidlinger, 2006). In any discussion of PLM management and community archives, it can be seen that PLM collections in Thailand are thought of as places to store objects, but they have rather different functions and roles. Community archives aim to determine the content of their collections, becoming involved in community action and encouraging a reappraisal of cultural continuity and tradition, creating a new version of local and group history. In terms of technology use, in practice both community archives and PLM management employ this strategy for preservation and dissemination. They preserve cultural material by using digitisation.

The fifth point in this discussion concerns preservation and continuity. Community archives are new initiatives, often project-based and time-bound, and thus face issues of continuity and sustainability (Flinn, 2007, 2010). In contrast, PLM management is based on continuity with longstanding traditions. As noted above, the majority of PLM management projects in monasteries are initiated and driven by professional and expert interests, with community members becoming more engaged in the preservation process after the initial stages. In other words, they look after and ensure that the objects are secure and monitored. For instance, in Thailand, only one monastery has an annual ritual ceremony, although others do hold ritual ceremonies on other occasions.

To summarise, the community archives model is significantly different from PLM management. Community archives do not rely on archivists to manage their collections; instead they rely on

the local community. In contrast, PLM management depends on experts who have Lanna knowledge because community members lack an understanding of Lanna script. To examine these differences in more detail, community archives create projects, whereas collections under PLM management already exist. Moreover, community archivists take control of their own projects. However, in PLM management, the drivers for change are experts, supported by community members, while community leaders and members still have a central role in the management of PLMs in their communities. In terms of participation, levels are different, as experts in community archiving lend support but experts in PLM management actually manage collections. Nevertheless, although there are explicit differences, there are a few similarities, such as housing material locally, offering advice and using technology to disseminate information, all of which can contribute to a management framework.

6.5.4 PLMs and Kreps's concept of non-Western models of museums and curation

Comparison of similarities and degree of differences		Indigenous curation	Existing PLM management
		Museum	LAMs
1 Appraisal	Community-led		
2 Provenance	Community-authored		
3 Description	Community-provided description		
4 Community governance and community participation	Involved at every level		
5 Collection	Exists as cultural objects		
6 Aim	Preservation		
7 Embeddedness	Embedded locally within social context		
8 Storage location	Housed locally		
9 Preservation and continuity	Ritual ceremony		
	Renew/ reproduce		
10 Dissemination	Exhibition in living tradition		
11 Types of material	Material objects		

Table 6.15: Non-Western models of museums and curation

A fourth relevant viewpoint is that of Kreps (2003, 2005, 2008, 2014), who uses the term "indigenous curation". It adopts an approach common to indigenous libraries, community archives and participatory archiving theory, in that it focuses on the local community preserving its collections. In indigenous curation, it is recognised that local people already make collections and preserve them as part of existing practices. In this context, objects collected continue to have meaning and are not extracted from the social context of their creation, as in Western museum practices. Local people have their own ways of collecting items within social relationships, which

means value is still attached to the objects on display. This matches local practice because the artefacts are displayed as being in daily use (Krep, 2003, 2006). Local people tend to select objects to present in this way rather than dismiss social context. The way that they collect and show artefacts is understood and respected among local people and conveyed to visitors (Krep, 2003, 2005, 2008). This concept resonates with the value of traditional methods of looking after PLMs. Local people connect preservation with the ritual of making merit and respecting the value of the artefacts. (Table 6.15). Moreover, as part of these daily practices cultural materials are preserved. Therefore, rather than adopting Western practices of museology, it may be that PLM management should start with how people already look after such material.

From the previous models discussed in the literature review, the concept of indigenous curation appears to be the most relevant to Lanna PLM management. Local people have their own ways of collecting, preserving and displaying objects as part of existing social practices (Kreps, 2003, 2006). The way that they collect and show artefacts is understood and respected among local people and also enables visitors to have access to PLMs via museums (Kreps, 2003, 2005, 2008).

In this model, shrines and temples are the natural places to store ancient collections (Kreps, 2006; Koanantakool, 2006). The concept thus appreciates the value of traditional methods of looking after PLMs. PLMs have strong ties to religious merit-making (Koanantakool, 2006). Local people connect preservation with the ritual of making merit and respecting the value of both content, as found in the Buddha's teachings, and form, as found in the fine, handmade work such as the coverings, wooden titles and palm leaves themselves. Moreover, they seek and attain merit by donating their collections to the monastery. To preserve their cultural objects, local communities tend to "renew" them not only for conservation and restoration purposes but also to refresh the material. Community members stressed reproduction and taking care of PLMs by following traditional processes (Kreps, 2014, Koanantakool, 2006). Nevertheless, in the Lanna context it is clear that the expertise of information professionals can also contribute in many ways to the organisation and preservation of PLMs. A final model will need to integrate this element, while still respecting local practices. In terms of exhibitions, in indigenous curation people present objects that are connected to their everyday lives. This concept is similar to how PLMs were kept at home on altars, which connected them to everyday life in the past. Unfortunately, PLMs no longer apply in this sense because local people now only keep them as sacred objects. However, today local people translate PLMs into Thai and record their contents on mulberry paper instead, including herbal medicine knowledge and incantations. PLMs have also recently been used in occasional ceremonies in which visitors can touch the manuscripts.

In short, the concept of indigenous curation has much in common with PLM management: storage

locations and cultural objects can link people, generating social interaction and networking society as a whole. Being sensitive to social relationships and respecting local practices would allow more understanding and a more positive response to cultural context in relation to PLM collections. These concepts can contribute to a viable framework for PLM management.

6.5.5 Similarities between participatory theories from information institutions and PLM management

	Degree of similarities		Community participation theories in indigenous LAMs				Existing PLM management
			Community-focused information services	Participatory archiving	Community archives	Indigenous curation	
			Library	Archive	Archive	Museum	LAMs
1	Appraisal	Community-led					
2	Provenance	Community-authored					
		Community-owned					
3	Description	Community-provided description					
4	Preservation	Use technology for conservation & preservation					
5	Expert participation	Expert-supplied support					
6	Community governance and community participation	Community control, decision-making and rule-setting					
		Involved at every level					
	Degree of differences						
1	Collection	Create collection from oral tradition					
		Exists as cultural objects					
2	Aim	Access					
		Preservation					
4	Embeddedness	Embedded locally within social context					
5	Storage location	Housed locally					
		Housed within information institution					
6	Preservation and continuity	New initiative					
		Project-based & time-bound					
		Ritual ceremony					
		Renew/ reproduce					
7	Appropriate access	Respect traditional access restrictions					
8	Dissemination	Exhibition in living tradition					
9	Expert participation	Expert-controlled material					
10	Community governance and community participation	Community requests advice from experts					
		Community consulted					
		Process of trust building between experts and communities					
		Listen to community voice					
11	Types of material	Published works					
		Unique documents					
		Material objects					

Table 6.16: Comparison of the four models with existing PLM management

A comparison of different models with PLM management shows clearly that there are many strong similarities among them. The most striking similarity across all the theories concerns that of community authorship. However, the theories do perhaps show a small number of slight differences of emphasis. The community-focused information services model emphasises appropriate access with respect to traditional restrictions, community governance and community participation in terms of the process of trust-building between experts and the community, and listening to community needs. Participatory archiving focuses more on embeddedness in its

insistence that there should be a connection between records and knowledge when a collection is created. Any such collection should continue to have meaning and not be removed from the social context of its creation. The community archives model positions its focus in community control and community consultation. This model shows the power of community management. Indigenous curation concentrates on ensuring that exhibitions are situated in a living tradition.

Moreover, almost all the models possess similarities in the sense of community empowerment; these appear in terms of appraisal, community-provided description, and community involvement at every level. However, PLM management offers few such practices, which demonstrates clearly that PLM management is different from the other models. Nevertheless, in terms of the similarities shown by each model to PLM management, indigenous curation is the most relevant to PLM management. Five similarities are apparent between the two: their collections already exist as cultural objects; both of them aim for preservation; they are embedded locally within social content; each uses ritual ceremonies in preservation and continuity; and both renew or reproduce their cultural objects for the sake of preservation and continuity. In comparison with community-focused information services, PLM management employs similar practices for provenance and appropriate access, particularly in the importance of relationships to build trust between experts and the community, and listening to the community voice. In relation to the participatory archiving model, PLM management shares two features: the aim to preserve, and embeddedness. PLM management is also close to the community archives model in terms of provenance and expert participation, especially in the focus on support offered by experts to the community.

As discussed above, the models from all the information institutions demonstrate many similarities within their practices and forms of guidance with which to organise their collections. There are, however, still two areas of small difference: the nature of the collections and the degree of participation. The first difference on a spectrum concerns the types of material they collect. Each information organisation tends to collect different forms of artefacts: books for libraries, documents and manuscripts for archives, and objects for museums. Community archives tend to collect a variety of material, such as documents, books, pictures, CDs and songs. A PLM is a specific type of artefact, a written document which can suitably be collected in the institutions noted above. It should still be noted, though, that different types of material can be organised in different ways.

The second concern is that of the degree of participation and governance. All formal institutions and community archives produce various kinds of approach, such as frameworks, models, projects and protocols. While some simply seek to be sensitive to how their collection is managed

in the light of concerns of indigenous people, other models are about a deeper form of governance by the community, where the community is empowered at every level of management. This is an ideal form of participation for PLM management. To manage PLMs, community members operate at the initial level of participation. It is difficult for them to reach the highest stage, that of empowerment in terms of making decisions. It should be noted that there are various levels of community capabilities and knowledge around PLMs. Most community members are illiterate in LannaTham script, lack awareness of the importance of PLMs, and are disconnected from PLMs in their daily life. Another problem is that each institution has its own classification system, which produces a challenge in allowing collaborative efforts between these formal institutions. One possible way to encourage community involvement might be to have experts and librarians perform their duties first and then produce a set of optional practices; after that the community could offer give feedback or select from the proffered choices.

In summary, the four models contain many similarities and certain minor differences, but none is particularly similar to PLM management. This suggests that none can be applied totally to PLM management. Therefore, there is a need to employ the strongest and most relevant features of each model and adapt them to the management of PLMs. The next section presents a suitable framework for PLM management, one underpinned by community-based ideas from the findings and the four theories.

6.5.6 Summary

The Lanna community and people are strongly involved with Buddhism; therefore the monastery and community are closely attached to each other. The monastery is the centre of the community and also the natural place to store valued cultural collections such as PLMs. Both the local community and experts have important roles in helping the monastery collect, store and use PLMs. Experts manage the infrastructure of the collection while community members are the core participants who continue to use and preserve it. Community members in this study placed great value on both the value of PLMs as including Buddhist knowledge, herbal medicine, history, language and literature, as well as being ancient and artistic objects, which is the overall value that emerged. However, a key difference between the way the community and experts saw the value of PLMs was that the community viewed them primarily as Buddhist objects because of the merit attached to them, while the experts considered the herbal medicine knowledge they contained to have significant value.

The needs of PLM management differ in significant respects to the context of community archives and the community-focused information services model, but participatory archival theory is

295

relevant in terms of appraisal, provenance and ordering. Non-Western models of museums and curation that respect local practices in which objects are created and used are also highly relevant to PLMs. These useful aspects provide a starting point to create a suitable framework for libraries and archives to manage PLMs with community involvement. Information institutions should work with local communities by building productive relationships and giving authority to the community. Such processes preserve the sense of ownership in the community through active involvement in storage, access and preservation. Existing theory lacks a clear summary of the key elements which would make up an appropriate model. Therefore, the last section will state in more theoretical form a set of principles which are equivalent to those already offered, such as Becvar and Srinivasan's (2009) community-focused information services model.

Even though the studies discussed in this chapter do not directly address the issue of globalisation, some implicitly recognise that this is a potential issue in relation to indigenous material like PLMs and indigenous curation. The other models do not tackle directly such issues but apply the results of change in a globalised world to their collections. Some issues might need a degree of consideration that these models do not supply. For example, the prospect of the commercialisation of PLMs remains a key concern. Support from government and institutions might thus be considered to fund projects and give authority to communities to control such initiatives.

6.6 An appropriate community-based framework of PLM management

Earlier sections of the discussion chapter presented a summary of the findings across aspects of PLM management and the underlying values of those involved in the process, and a comparison of the needs of PLMs and material in other contexts such as Western community archives, indigenous libraries and museums. There are unique and various aspects of PLMs which mean that the manuscripts have to be managed in different ways from those suggested in existing participatory models, although some inspiration might be drawn from such concepts. The final section here provides the most suitable form of management for PLMs, offering a framework which best involves the community. This section responds to Research Question 4, which asked what a collaborative model for the management of PLM would be.

As stated, there are three main places where physical PLMs are stored: monasteries, libraries and information institutions. Libraries and information institutions are storage places used when abbots and community members donate manuscripts to organisations because they do not have the capacity to maintain and manage PLMs. This framework shows a process for community-based management PLMs in monasteries, where most Lanna PLMs have historically been kept. Some monasteries have no role in managing PLMs and act only as storage locations. Here, abbots,

monks and community members are non-participants. However, some monasteries feature active participation by abbots, monks and community members. Thus although communities often participate in PLM management, the degree to which this occurs in reality varies significantly. PLM management is either an occasional or regular practice depending on the monastery involved. If communities which have PLMs use this framework as a guideline, they could learn and then continue to manage these collections by themselves. This model for PLM management could be used as a guideline for communities to follow or adapt to a specific context in order to manage their collections in a sustainable way. This PLM management model proposes an open-ended process suitable to a globalised era because culture, society, economics and the environment are now changing rapidly.

An overview of the framework proposed by this research is presented in Figure 6.1. This is then supplemented by Figures 6.2 to 6.7, which offer further detail to explain the most important features of the main framework. This framework consists of two parts: an initial process and an outcome. The initial process involves empowering communities by developing their abilities in this area, at which point experts and leaders are needed. After communities learn and realise the importance of PLMs, they can continue to manage and create their own strategies for preserving them. The outcome involves three elements: 1) attitude, awareness and ownership; 2) community movement; and 3) merit. The way to maintain PLMs in the present day is by making PLMs come alive through ritual or tradition. A successful and sustainable form of management is one in which tradition and ceremonies are utilised annually (Figure 6.1).
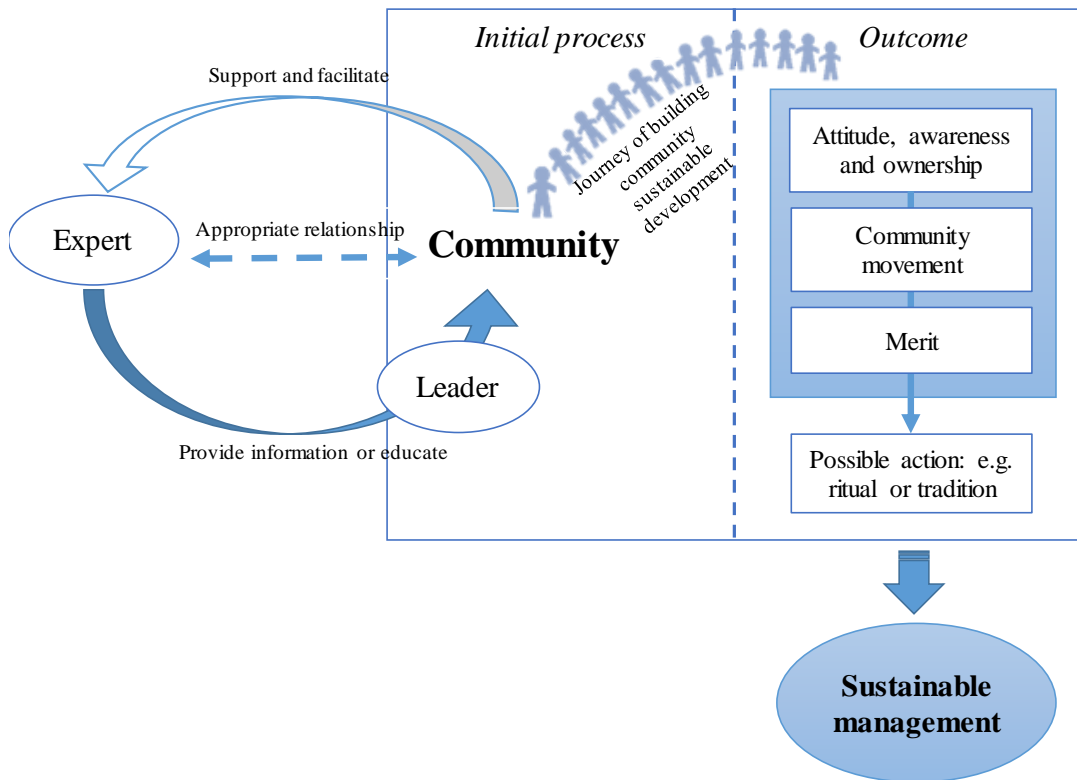
Figure 6.1: An appropriate community-based PLM management framework

6.6.1 The initial process

6.6.1.1 Expert support involvement

At the start of the process, experts manage the PLMs and are actively involved in the community. Past status restrictions on access to PLMs now mean that local people cannot read or write Lanna script and there is a lack of interest in these artefacts among the public. In the last 40 years, experts have come to local communities to stimulate and facilitate greater awareness of PLMs, becoming managers, academics and IT support. The first role for experts is to manage PLM cleaning, cataloguing and classification, and to survey and collect data from physical manuscripts. After this stage has been completed, experts should act as academic support, their second role. They can stimulate community members to understand the importance of PLMs by teaching Lanna script and training members of the public in the composition of PLMs, for example inscribing, weaving cloth coverings, making wooden titles, making styluses, learning the techniques involved in binding threads and in cleaning and preservation. Moreover, to facilitate community involvement, experts should disseminate the content held on PLMs by transliteration and translation. They can also create more channels for public access through the effective use of

information technology, their final role. They can make digital online databases and websites about PLMs, and train community members how to digitise artefacts (Figure 6.2).

To stimulate and facilitate community

Expert support involvement

Manage:
Cataloguing, classification and cleaning

Academic support:
1. Teaching: Lanna language and script
2. Training: inscribing; making cloth covers, wooden titles, styluses, binding thread; cleaning and preservation
3. Transliteration, translation and publishing

IT support:
1. Creating online database, website, digitisation
2. Training: digitisation process

Note: To meet the needs of community

Figure 6.2: Types of expert support

In the initial phase, it should not be the case that only experts are seen as the pioneers of management, as community members can also be involved at this point. The degree of involvement depends on the potential of community members. If a community is capable of taking care of its PLMs, it can succeed by itself, without expert help. However, from the findings and in the literature review, no evidence has been found to suggest that this is the case in any community, so experts are certainly the most suitable people to manage the first stage.

With regard to the needs of the community, experts should make themselves aware of the characteristics, attitudes and abilities of the community in terms of PLM management and also investigate what the community wants from the collection. An evaluation of the potential of the community will clarify at what point control should be delivered to community members. For example, if PLMs are stored in a monastery and perhaps subject to neglect, if they are simply stored and not managed, if community members do not realise the importance of these artefacts and do not know how to manage them, then experts should raise their awareness and help them to learn, perhaps by launching events, training sessions and workshops for the community. Moreover, if community members realise the value of PLMs but lack the ability to manage them, then experts should allow the community to be part of the management structure, teaching members the required skills as a result.

6.6.1.2 Community leaders

To connect with community members effectively and easily, it is important that experts should develop relationships with them. Leaders represent local community members, albeit with the caveat that the community may not speak with one voice because a community is complex, in terms of attitudes, gender and roles. As shown in the findings, and as argued by Klimaszewski *et al*. (2012) in opposition to Becvar and Srinivasan (2009), it is difficult to determine who should act as community leader. Indeed, when a particular individual is selected to represent the community voice, the choice may not always be acceptable to all community members, who might then refuse to become involved in or engaged with PLM tradition (see Section 4.6.5). Therefore, finding ways to involve all members and to ensure that suitable leaders are chosen who can speak for the whole community is required (Klimaszewski *et al*., 2012). In order to achieve this, it will be necessary to continue reminding people of the importance of PLMs and promoting the idea of respect and appropriate access by looking at power structures and hierarchies in areas such as gender and age. Community leaders are those who can first screen the prospect of the commercialisation of PLMs and evaluate whether it is suitable for the community to be involved or not. Leaders can coordinate the community and experts. It could be abbots, monks or respected community members who gain trust and unite the community; they could be male or female. These leaders can instigate and oversee the transfer of expert knowledge to the community and engender belief in the value of PLMs (Figure 6.2).

To connect community members effectively and easily

Key person

Leader

Who:
Abbots/monks/male or female community members

Functions:
1. Coordinate community and experts
2. Gain trust and unite community
3. Link knowledge and faith

Note: A leader should be able to activate community ambitions
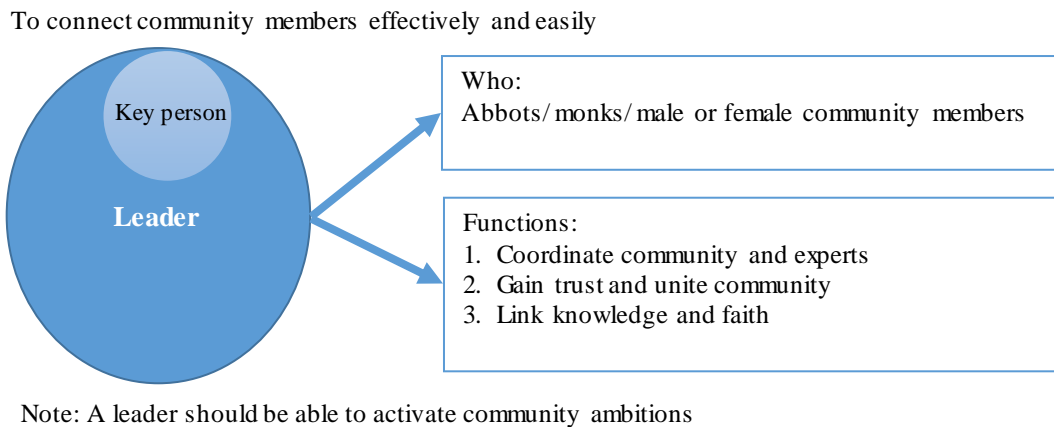
Figure 6.3: Leader as key person

6.6.1.3 An appropriate relation and support work

In order to develop an appropriate relationship between experts and the community, it might take time for experts to build trust. Experts can prove their good intentions by providing information to community members and taking action to manage PLMs effectively. It is important to note that experts should listen to the community voice and try not to dominate local attitudes in order to gain the trust of the community. At the same time, community members should not depend excessively on experts. Although community members have tended to be passive about PLMs, they should begin monitoring processes and thinking about what they themselves might do in relation to their cultural collections. Leaders can set regular projects to encourage community members. Where leaders are too busy or have other priorities, they can create committees and delegate these tasks to them (Figure 6.4).

After experts have helped establish PLM management structures and provided information to community members, these members can learn the process of taking care of PLMs from experts. They can help to clean PLMs, for instance. Community members who can read Lanna script can transliterate and translate the PLMs into Thai. Older local people can help experts to validate the information found, based on their own experience. The community can also facilitate the experts' work by welcoming outsiders who have no malicious intentions towards them and their communities. They can share food with the experts, a common feature of Thai society, especially in local areas.

Figure 6.4: Appropriate relations between experts and community members

The initial process is key in building community awareness and knowledge. When local people have the capacity to manage PLMs, they can create their own strategy. Another vital point about community is that successful management requires group leaders to have the same target and attitude. In the current study there was one community that had a very active custodian. He acted as a coordinator, learning from the experts, adapting the process of cataloguing so as to enable PLMs to be easily located. He designed a suitable wooden storage unit for each PLM. He also

conducted research and translated folktales from PLM into Thai and published them. This monastery was very well organised. However, when this individual left the community, the active management he had carried out ceased, and the monastery become only a storage place. It is crucial to address the fact that sustainability requires more than reliance on a few individuals. Therefore, the lesson from this situation is that the community as a group is the core power in the successful management of PLMs, one dependent on awareness and knowledge.

The next stage is that of outcomes, a process which might be referred to as community empowerment. At some points in the process community members would, where necessary, consult experts.

6.6.2 Outcomes

The initial process prepares community members for participation in independent and appropriate decision-making in PLM management. Three elements comprise such readiness: 1) community attitude and awareness and sense of ownership; 2) community movement; and 3) making merit. The first component is a partial outcome while the second element is the full outcome of the process. Attitude, awareness and ownership are the key ideas and emotions. The second element involves necessary action by experts. The last element is that of making merit, which already exists in communities which have a belief in Buddhism.

6.6.2.1 Community attitude, awareness and sense of ownership

In terms of raising awareness of the value of PLMs and increasing the community's sense of ownership, elite people (such as Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn) and researcher-outsiders need to show interest in these cultural collections. This would represent a turning point for community members, who are likely to value these artefacts and traditions more as a result. This is the outsider impact of community motivation and enthusiasm, but might be somewhat opposed to the spirit of community ownership, as it involves a relatively top-down approach to generating interest from the community. However, this will be simply the initial stage of renewing community interest in PLMs. Ultimately, insider-ownership can be facilitated by letting members of the community see, touch and experience their objects. PLMs can be seen as sacred objects, Buddhist teaching materials, herbal and medical sources of knowledge, ancient objects and historical documents. A sense of ownership will be realised when community members understand the value of their PLMs, which will also increase their desire to take care of this cultural legacy. Thus, having the same target, that of looking after such material, local people

can become more united in action and spirit, dedicating their time, energy, labour and will power to managing PLMs (Figure 6.5).

To create value of PLMs

| Community attitude, awareness and sense of ownership | → | Interest shown by elite groups demonstrates importance of PLMs | → | Community: personal interest, dedication and sense of ownership | → | United in actions and spirit |
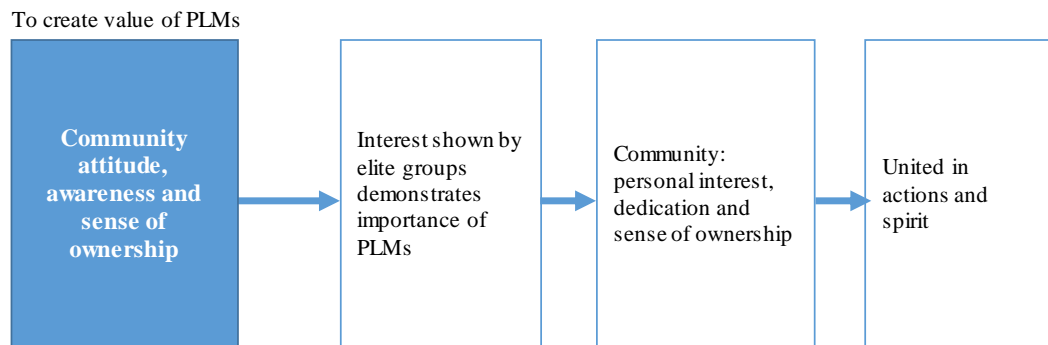
Figure 6.5: Community attitude, awareness and sense of ownership

6.6.2.2 Community movement

This process is the outcome of expert support. The extent to which community members absorb learning from experts is the dynamic for transferring responsibility for PLM maintenance from experts to community members; it will also create a community of practice and enhance community skills and knowledge. The stage might also see processes adapted and the community's own management methods created, based on community culture. An important practice based on indigenous curation (Kreps, 2003) involves allowing community members to describe their relationship with the material, between objects and people and people and objects, and the material's function in culture in previous and existing circumstances. There are six aspects of community participation: support, informing, consultation, involvement, collaboration and empowerment, all of which can be identified in the continuum of participation (Figure 6.5).

To create community of practice					
Community movement →	Enhance community skill and knowledge →	Community able to continue management →	Describe relationships: objects to people people to objects		
			Six aspects of community participation		
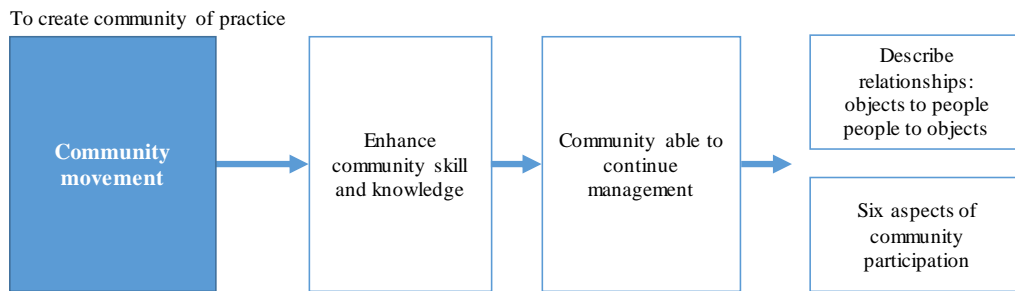
1. Support	2. Informing	3. Consultation	4. Involvement	5. Collaboration	6. Empowerment
Provide food & encouragement to experts	Learn: 1. The value of PLMs 2. LannaTham script 3. Preservation & conservation	1. Confirm & validate PLM content to experts and people 2. Supply advice about PLM management	1. Weave bags as coverings for PLMs 2. Make donations to reproduce PLMs 3. Encourage cooperation between involved people (monks, villagers and outsiders) 4. Promote PLMs, e.g. by being a "tour guide" to introduce PLMs 5. Act as investigator	1. Provide assistance to expert in cleaning PLMs 2. Help experts with transliteration or translation of content on PLMs	1. Protect, e.g. custodian or committee 2. Create traditional ceremonies 3. Encourage the community leader to revive the importance of PLMs 4. Set particular tasks for volunteer villagers to take responsibility for PLMs 5. Check condition of PLMs

Figure 6.6: Community movement

6.6.2.3 Making merit through ritual and tradition

The last element is merit, which is part of Buddhist belief. It is spiritual credit earned by performing righteous acts. Merit is the medium for community involvement in PLM management. It acts as an anchor to bring other local people into the work of preserving and renewing or managing manuscripts (Figure 6.7).
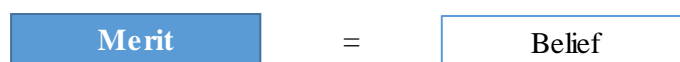
Figure 6.7: Merit as belief

To continue taking care of cultural objects, some monasteries and communities have revived ancient traditions. This can encourage community members to keep in touch with the traditions in their community. Community members can help promote tradition via media channels. Such tradition can be seen to show spiritual activity but also the preservation process behind the activity. With regard to Buddhism, belief in merit and sacred objects are the factors that motivate community members to participate in such activities. The necessary quality behind such behaviour is the power of awareness. Tradition is the strategy through which to build and cultivate beliefs and value them. Moreover, tradition is also the process required to mobilise people to help monasteries preserve PLMs properly. Preservation can include cleaning, maintaining and renewing. This can be seen as the wisdom of the preservation strategy of community members.

6.6.3 Summary

To conclude, the obstacles to managing PLMs are that people cannot read or write LannaTham script and lack interest in PLMs. Therefore, the framework proposes a learning approach and sets out a vision. The suggested overall framework (Figure 6.1) includes, within the process, from beginning to end, all the measures that might help to achieve a sustainable management outcome that this study recommends for implementation. It shows how all the different measures might be integrated into the process to create a vastly improved overhaul of the existing system. Further to this, Figures 6.2 to 6.7 expand on the main framework to offer more detail about the suggested new elements of a more appropriate form of community-based PLM management. The six elements are: expert support involvement, which includes the different services, from management and training to IT support, that experts can supply to the local community; community leaders, which stresses the requirement for key people within the community to act to coordinate local needs; appropriate relationships and support, which highlights the necessity of achieving a balance between the different groups involved in PLM management; community attitudes, awareness and sense of ownership, which seeks to make clear the importance of PLMs to the local community, community movement, which looks for the different ways in which community members themselves might play an enhanced role in the management of PLMs; and making merit, which emphasises one of the potential values for the community as a result of its becoming more engaged with PLMs. It is important to raise awareness of the value of PLMs as sacred, ancient objects. PLM survival can be facilitated by organising events to respect this high value and to bond with community members, in the form of worship and ritual. There are five elements that make PLM management a sustainable community practice: the relationships built between experts, leaders and community members; community participation; community need; community responsibility; and community rights.

This framework addresses how to solve the problem and achieve sustainable management (or sustainable community development) across the essential elements, including drivers, enablers, pathway and evaluators. These elements depend on each other. Achieving community-driven preservation is the main point of sustainable development, so expert support is the enabler for enhancing community ability. This framework offers both the initial and outcome processes for the management of PLMs as an appropriate pathway to producing a guideline for the community to continue to manage manuscripts by themselves. The evaluators of this management procedure are to be presented through regular management events in each community, thus locating PLMs in daily life. The hope is that this will begin to change people's opinions and attitudes, and raise awareness of the significance of PLMs, so that communities value PLMs and are able to manage them through their own activities, in an open-ended process which will occur differently in

different places, depending on local enthusiasm and experience. However, it is impossible to predict precisely how long-term management of this kind will operate, because how people relate to their culture cannot be predetermined. Cultural attitudes will change and evolve, so exactly how PLMs are preserved may well change over time.

6.7 Conclusion

Gaining knowledge of how participants value PLMs and understand the perceived value of the manuscripts leads to the formulation of a specific process of PLM management which reflects these values: as Buddhist teachings, cultural objects, herbal medicine knowledge, precious objects and/or historical documents. The way to construct a management process is through the value of PLMs, in terms of differences and similarities in handling PLMs, as expressed by community members and experts. This will help to involve people and can be utilised as a direction for managing PLMs through each perceived value. Those taking part could evaluate which issues require more attention and which require an increased management role.

This study of PLM management is based on community, in contrast to the Western models employed in LAMs. As most models do not fully apply to PLM management, community is used as a guideline in creating a new framework. In relation to ideas about community control taken from community archives, the community-focused information services model and participatory archival theory, PLM management is currently unsustainable due to a lack of community competency in managing collections. Only non-Western models of museums and curation have been widely related to PLMs, but in a general context. Instead, therefore, this study began by considering how people already looked after PLMs. The Western models, however, are useful for covering loopholes relating to which community members might be chosen to speak for the whole community, and by what means.

An appropriate community-based framework for handling PLMs aims for sustainable management. It consists of an initial process to develop the community's abilities and awareness of PLMs and outcome processes in order that community members might subsequently manage their collections by themselves. A learning approach is identified as the means by which to solve the problem of a lack of knowledge of LannaTham script and a lack of interest in PLMs. Community members, including leaders, along with expert support, guidelines and continuing management are the four main elements of sustainable PLM management. This is an open-ended process, and thus one which other communities can adopt, in order to enable suitable management for particular contexts.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

Following the discussion of the study findings and the comparison of the findings to the existing literature, this chapter draws conclusions about the research in its entirety. The study set out to develop a model for collaborative management of palm leaf manuscripts by examining the views of community members and experts. This chapter begins by presenting a summary of the whole thesis, how the research aim was achieved and the research questions answered. It then delineates the contributions to theoretical and empirical knowledge made in this thesis. The implications of the research findings for practice and for the various stakeholders are then provided. The final section of this chapter discusses the limitations of the study, possible future research directions, and includes some closing remarks.

7.2 Summary of research and response to research questions

This research studied the potential for a collaborative model of community management for PLMs. Chapter 1 presented the context of the study and the aims and research questions.

Chapter 1 introduced the Lanna people, their culture and cultural material, focusing primarily on PLMs, asking how they should be managed and the potential role of both community members and experts in this process. Local people who live in northern Thailand call themselves Lanna people. Lanna culture is pluralist. The significance of PLMs is that the manuscripts are the medium for recording knowledge and inscribing LannaTham, the script developed in the fourteenth century to record the language. The teachings of the Buddha are the main knowledge content of PLMs; hence they are considered sacred texts (Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan), 2002; Veidlinger, 2006). The majority of PLMs are kept in monasteries. However, local culture has been largely forgotten as the impact of globalisation, originating in and driven by Western countries, influences people to focus on modern trends, celebrity and profit. Most PLMs are hard to access due to their removal from their usual context through processes relating to national cultural integration and globalisation and due to physical deterioration resulting from environmental changes (Abhakorn, 1997; Ongsakul, 2005). Consequently, PLMs have suffered various forms of crisis. For example, PLM management has experienced a lack of funding, a lack of interest, poor LannaTham script literacy, and a lack of leaders, all of which have resulted in limited PLM preservation (Abhakorn, 1997, 2006; Grabowsky, 2008). Although there have been difficulties in terms of PLM preservation and access, there are organisations which have chosen

to take care and manage them. These exist at four organisational levels: local, national, international and integrated, where "integrated" means that all stakeholders, including the community, are part of the decision-making process on a permanent basis. According to Lagirarde (2002), in general PLMs belong to their traditional owners, the monasteries and communities. The community has a voice, vision and rights in relation to its PLMs, so it is important that community members should be involved in their management. Unfortunately, at present the management of PLMs is based primarily on expert authority; it is seldom community-based (Lagirarde, 2002). In addition, there is a lack of relevant research that explores community management. Many local people, including abbots and monks but also members of the wider community, have a direct involvement with PLMs; they are aware of the importance of the manuscripts. However, their opinions seem to have been subsumed by those of experts, professionals from information institutions who work with PLMs for academic research purposes. This study makes a distinction between community members and experts in the sense that, while both groups do possess a knowledge of PLMs and engage with the manuscripts, and thus the division between the two might not always be clearcut, they can hold different views and objectives with regard to the use and importance of PLMs.

Chapter 2 provided a review of relevant concepts about how indigenous knowledge should be managed in information institutions such as libraries, archives and museums. Literature was reviewed relating to Lanna history, PLMs, indigenous knowledge with sustainable development and community participation, and the management of indigenous knowledge in libraries, archives and museums. First, the chapter provided an overview of the Lanna region, which used to be an independent state and had a golden age in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, was then influenced by Burmese and British colonialism, and then became part of the Thai nation (Penth, 2004; Ongsakul, 2005). Lanna culture has a strong bond to Buddhism and spiritual respect, with merit-making representing a significant religious belief among Lanna people (Phanichphant, 2005). In the period dominated by nation-building, Lanna culture weakened and it was forbidden to use LannaTham script. Even though Lanna culture is less of an identity than in the past, it has been revived in recent times through private and government tourist investment, administration and healthcare.

It is not only the influence of other nations and colonialism that has led to the decline in Lanna culture. Globalisation, which is in the process of turning cultural diversity into a global mono-culture, has also played a part in destroying local cultures. However, the concept of local wisdom or indigenous knowledge has been revived and adapted at both national and international levels. Community participation has become a significant factor in preserving indigenous knowledge with sustainable development.

From this starting point, an overview of Lanna culture, the focus of the chapter then narrowed to a review of PLMs. Since the 1980s, renewed interest in PLMs has occurred in many organisations and those interested in their conservation and protection, including both experts and people who have an interest in preserving Lanna culture. However, the chapter also showed that PLMs were still being neglected in some cases. Indeed, as local people saw the importance of PLMs as sacred objects, they often transformed them into amulets. This process might be considered an Eastern form of preservation (Veidlinger, 2007).

The main literature about the management of indigenous knowledge, including collaboration between communities and information institutions, including libraries, archives and museums, was then reviewed. Theoretical frameworks based on the work of three authors were outlined in order to identify frameworks potentially appropriate to PLMs. The chapter discussed two models from Srinivasan: the "culturally sensitive model" (Becvar & Srinivasan, 2009) and the "participatory archiving model" (Shilton & Srinivasan, 2007). These two models share similar concepts: listening to the voice of the community, and allowing community members to manage collections by themselves. This approach, however, has not been without its critics. For example, some authors raise the issue of how suitable community members can be selected to represent a whole and actual community (Klimaszewski *et al*., 2012). Flinn (2007, 2010), amongst others, has established the term "community archives", which is where the community creates a collection of items that it hopes to preserve, often because it is perceived that official archives select and collect documents that tend not to match the community identity. Flinn's work thus provides one model of how the community can be involved with collections. The literature review then outlined a fourth model, from Kreps (2003, 2005, 2008, 2014), who proposes the term "indigenous curation". Indigenous curation focuses on displaying cultural collections within their social context. The four models of community participation practices – community archives, participatory archiving, culturally sensitive collections, and indigenous curation – have the common element of community engagement. These practices welcome community members' involvement in managing their collections by taking part in collection, selection and preservation. The key concept of community-based management is "understanding and engaging with community needs".

Chapter 3 established the research design and methodologies used to collect and then analyse the data. It explained why an interpretive epistemology was adopted to understand the context of the social world being investigated. A critical paradigm was also adopted to focus on empowerment aspects of community life. The inductive approach taken to the research was then described. The chapter also explained the choice of an exploratory design to the study, one intended to reach a deeper understanding of PLM management from the views of both community members and

experts. The research design employed ethnographic techniques to capture local tradition and explore relationships between people and their collections.

The chapter then explained the two stages of data collection. First, a pilot study employing semi-structured interviews was conducted. Five monasteries in three different provinces and two weaving villages in two provinces were investigated. This stage helped the researcher select and confirm the approach to the main study on PLMs. Semi-structured interviews, participant observation and photo inventory were then chosen as the data collection methods for the main study. In the main study, the 23 participants comprised 11 community members and 12 experts. They were asked open-ended questions in interview sessions. Two sites in monasteries and information institutions were used for participant observation sessions where notes were made. Visual images were taken after the interviews and during the events or traditional activities in the field study. The chapter supplied a discussion of the strengths and limitations of these methods. It was explained that, to offset the limitations of each individual method, data triangulation strengthened the plausibility of the findings. The data was analysed by thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The chapter then discussed data interpretation and the methods used to ensure accuracy and reliability. It concluded by addressing the ethical considerations of the research and explaining the influence of the pilot study on the outcome of the main study.

The outcome of the main study was influenced by the way the pilot study supplied initial information about the topic. The pilot study was also conducted in order to test data collection tools and evaluate the appropriateness of PLMs as opposed to weaving as the subject of the case study. The results of the data collection led to the decision to focus on PLMs. Weaving was discounted as the topic of the main study because it was difficult both to collect data about weaving from participants in the community and to find the time to interview the weavers directly, as this was simply a hobby for them. In contrast, the researcher was able to find various participants involved with PLMs, such as custodians, leaders, abbots and community members, who could be easily located and could offer rich data about these objects and their management. Moreover, PLMs are suitable for information institutions as they are not only a medium for recording content but also ancient manuscripts and valuable artefacts. Therefore, PLMs were selected as a suitable cultural object for study. The interviewees thought there was a need for more research into PLMs. Many aspects of PLM management certainly need more attention so that interest in PLMs might be revived. In addition, PLMs are cultural objects which include information, locating them as a field within library science.

After the selection of PLMs as the main subject of the study, relevant sites, types of interviewee and data collection tools were chosen. The researcher narrowed the study sites from five temples to two, chosen because it appeared that the monks there already understood the importance of

PLMs. The first temple visited was Wat Sungmen, which has the largest collection of Lanna PLMs, and the second was Wat Laihin, which has the oldest Lanna PLM collection. In the pilot study, the experts recommended particular members of the community as study participants. 12 experts were selected who confirmed that they were involved with PLMs. 11 community members were chosen, comprising six who were experienced in working with PLMs and five who had little experience in this area (see Section 3.4.2.3). This led to the selection of two groups of participants, community members and experts, for the main study.

Chapters 4 and 5 provided the study findings relating to PLM management, and Chapter 6 drew the findings together. Chapter 4 supplied an account of the main study of community views on PLM management. Chapter 5 offered the experts' perspectives. Three main issues were raised: the perceived value of PLMs, expectations about how PLMs should be managed, and how the community should participate in PLM management. Chapters 4 and 5 thus responded to the first three research questions. In Chapter 6, a summary of the findings was set out in order to compare community views with those of the experts in terms of the value of PLMs, management, community participation, and drivers and barriers to caring for PLMs. Further discussion of the findings on aspects of PLM management and underlying values was then provided. The study suggested that each value allowed for different views of PLM management. These two sections answered Research Questions 1 to 3. In the middle of these two sections, reflections on how management has changed over time were supplied to enable the reader to understand the situation facing PLMs, across past and present, in more detail. The subsequent section discussed the findings by relating them to the relevant literature about community participation in information institutions. This section of Chapter 6 compared PLM management to three models – indigenous libraries, community archives and indigenous curation – and found that PLM management had specific characteristics and a background of community capability. The theories offered models of community involvement. Thus, this section was the starting point for Research Question 4. It was found that existing models in the literature did not supply a convincing model for PLM management; hence this study developed its own model based on the reading. The last section in Chapter 6 outlined what a collaborative model of PLM management would look like. This chapter highlighted the process of encouraging community members to participate in managing their collections in an open-ended model where each community can create its own outcome.

The next four sections summarise the answers to the research questions:

1. What similarities and differences exist in terms of how community members and experts perceive the value of PLMs?

The community members and experts saw the value of PLMs in the same way, at least to some extent. Both saw PLMs as containers of knowledge and valuable material objects. Buddhist teachings, herbal medicine, history, Lanna language and literature were considered to be the knowledge value of PLMs. With regard to material value, they were seen as records of historical events, ancient objects and art objects. Community members and experts expressed similar ideas about the knowledge in PLMs in terms of valuing Buddhism, herbal medicine, history, language and literature and academic study and research, but their emphases were different. For example, although both groups ranked the teaching of Buddhist values as most important, community members saw physical PLMs as valued primarily because they were sacred objects connected to Buddhism, belief and spirituality, with merit attached. On the other hand, the experts respected the Buddha's teachings as a form of knowledge contained in PLMs. Although both valued the Buddha's teachings as the most important feature of PLMs, the experts tended to put greater emphasis on herbal medicine. Therefore, experts were more concerned with action regarding the protection of this intellectual property. Considering PLMs as material objects, both groups valued them as ancient and artistic objects but differed in their levels of emotional attachment. Community members were proud of PLMs and their context, including coverings, chests and cabinets.

2. What similarities and differences are there in how community members and experts think PLMs should be managed?

This study looked at how people thought PLMs should be owned, classified, stored, preserved and accessed. It found that community members and experts had somewhat different views. Authorship, ownership and organisation are three aspects of managing PLMs. Authorship of PLMs has a specific meaning in the context of PLMs, which is not that of an individual author in the Western sense, but relates to the roles of copyist, collector and editor. Both sets of interviewees recognised the role of monks, ex-monks and knowledgeable lay people as copiers. However, the experts focused only on copiers, while community members considered editing and collecting to be part of authorship. In terms of ownership and intellectual property rights, both the community and the experts considered monasteries and communities to be the owners of PLMs. Nevertheless, the specific focus differed. Community members stressed that villagers were the owners, while experts stressed the role that custodians played in monasteries and information institutions. However, it should be noted here that interactions between the monastery and the

local community, as implied by both sets of participants, are complicated; it might be more effective to conclude that an umbrella term, one that covers villagers, custodians and monks, should be employed in attempting to define where PLM ownership rests. In terms of intellectual property, community members paid little attention to the protection of intellectual property rights, whereas the experts focused on national heritage, especially for the herbal medicine content, and issues of patents and registration. The experts also believed the contents of PLMs should be seen not only as intellectual property but also as public knowledge.

Classification and cataloguing, storage, preservation and access are four processes involved in managing PLMs. In terms of classification and cataloguing, the community thought that PLMs should be classified by age and value, whereas the experts focused on separating the contents into subject categories. For cataloguing, the experts suggested a systematic approach, recording descriptions of PLMs in a registration book and having tag labels attached to them. Community members generally suggested adopting the experts' existing practices to make access easier, although one particular community had proved capable of designing its own classification system. With regard to storage, findings about storage location, spaces and individual item storage were presented. The experts preferred to keep PLMs in accessible storage for practical use and to make it simpler to look after them but the community members wanted to retain traditional storage units and create new designs in order to display manuscripts to the public. Both sets of interviewees indicated that PLMs should be kept in monastery libraries and museums. The experts also added other locations in which to store PLMs, namely libraries, museums and information organisations. For storage spaces, such as ancient chests and traditional or modern cabinets, both groups preferred empty traditional storage units to display the value of ancient artefacts. In comparison, community members preferred to store PLMs in traditional storage containers, such as large chests, to maintain their ancestors' belongings, and were proud to present their handicraft alongside PLMs. In contrast, experts preferred easy access storage. For individual item storage, there were various types of weaving, cloth and box coverings, made by community members.

In terms of preservation, even though both experts and community members accepted that digitisation was the best solution, findings from the interviews, participant observation and photographic inventory revealed that the community preferred to retain traditional methods, as a better solution than digitisation. The community wanted to keep things as they were in the past, through the religious events involving the community that used to be staged in which PLMs were reproduced. The experts, on the other hand, emphasised preserving knowledge by digitisation, and protecting content through intellectual property rights. In terms of access, both stressed "dissemination as preservation", placing more emphasis on access by spreading information from PLMs among people as the best way to preserve the meaning of PLMs, rather than focusing on preserving PLMs as objects. Having more access to such channels, practical to use both in

physical and digital formats, was a way of providing more knowledge for various generations of people. For example, older people preferred to read physical material while the younger generation tended to use the digital format. Dissemination involved transliteration, translation and publishing; teaching and training; and promotion and preservation in the public media. Community members also wanted to add activities such as continuing to rewrite, copy and reproduce PLMs, while the experts preferred to develop databases and websites as the best approach to conservation.

3. What similarities and differences are there in how community members and experts think the community should participate in the management of PLMs?

Six levels of potential participation were identified, from the lowest to highest levels of engagement: support, informing, consulting, involvement, collaboration and empowerment. Informing, collaboration and empowerment were the three levels about which both sets of interviewees shared an opinion. In terms of support, community members acted as bag-makers and weavers of coverings for PLMs, helped to renew PLMs, and brought food and encouraged experts. With regard to informing, the community and the experts agreed that experts should teach the Lanna script and encourage community members to clean PLMs. Librarians should teach the community how to preserve and conserve PLMs. This would increase the quality of the process and help the community to see the importance of PLMs. It was agreed, too, that community members could help experts with translation so as to confirm the validity of the content. For involvement, community members should be able to organise and manage monks, villagers and visitors. In terms of collaboration, the experts suggested that community members should be facilitators in basic tasks like helping to clean and translate. Community members, however, saw themselves as more active and having a deeper role. Finally, the highest level of participation was community empowerment. Both groups said community members should engage in PLM management as coordinators, committee members and volunteers. Community members suggested that they should relaunch traditional events to maintain PLMs. Such traditions would encourage people to become involved and gain religious merit. The experts suggested that the community should choose a leader to increase awareness. In addition, community members should continue to take care of PLMs.

4. What should be the characteristics of a collaborative model for the management of PLMs?

Section 7.5 outlined a collaborative model for the management of PLMs. It is an open-ended process with two stages: an initial process and an outcome. The initial process includes identifying the experts' role, that of the community leaders, an appropriate relationship between them, and

314

the experts' support work in the community (see Section 7.6 for more detail), the aim being to improve the community's ability to become involved with and control PLMs. Experts should aim to stimulate and facilitate awareness of PLMs. There are three key roles, those of manager, academic supporter and IT supporter, and three issues of concern. First, the level of community involvement depends on the community's existing capability. Next, to meet community needs, experts should understand community attitudes, abilities and characteristics, and should also ascertain what the community wants from the collection. Finally, an open-ended process is needed so that experts can design further suitable activities for the community.

With regard to the community leader role, abbots, monks and other respected community members would be suitable choices for leader. They could act as coordinators between the community and experts, gaining trust and bringing the community together. They could also link knowledge and faith. According to Klimaszewski *et al*. (2012), a small sample cannot fully represent a wide range of community views. It is hard to select people who can fully represent a community. Even more, it is a very difficult process to consult a whole community. In this model, there are many ways to involve the community. As appropriate connections and support between community members and experts are important, experts should build trust, listen to the community voice and offer information. Community members should not over-rely on experts. The initial process would thus prepare the community for decision-making in PLM management.

The other stage of this collaborative model is the outcome, one which aims for community control and consists of three elements. The first is a community desire to be involved with PLMs, to raise awareness and gain a sense of ownership, the core idea. This process aims to establish the value of PLMs. Elite people and researchers who are interested in PLMs can raise awareness. The second element is to develop community movement, aiming to create a community of practice by improving skills and knowledge. Community members should be able to manage their collection by themselves. The final aspect is making merit, which connects the community to PLM management. Merit is seen as the factor which encourages the community to continue to take care of PLMs through ritual and tradition.

The last stage can lead to different outcomes. This is an open-ended process, one that might lead to different results in different places, depending, for example, on local enthusiasm and experience. To some degree, long-term developments cannot be predicted because how people relate to their culture cannot be fixed. Cultural attitudes will change and evolve, so exactly how this material is preserved will change over time.

7.3 Contribution to knowledge

This study makes several noteworthy contributions to knowledge about understanding of memory organisation in libraries, archives and museums. It fits into a wider trend in information studies in trying to understand how to increase user participation and community empowerment in service governance and design. The overall objective of the thesis was to develop a model of community-based collection development for PLMs by exploring the views of community members and experts. This has made it possible for the study to contribute to key debates on how the community should be involved in the management of information services. This is a long-running debate, including authors such as Shilton & Srinivasan (2009), Becvar & Srinivasan (2007), Flinn (2007, 2010) and Kreps (2005, 2006, 2008). This study is the first to examine PLMs based on theories of indigenous memory institutions. Moreover, using a combination of interviews, observation and a photographic inventory as tools to collect data is novel to studies in PLM management. In addition, this study has generated a collaborative model for the management of PLMs, one which includes how stakeholders should be involved. Lastly, this study is original to Thailand, especially to the north of the country. This section thus discusses the theoretical, empirical and methodological contributions made by the study.

7.3.1 Theoretical contribution

There are two significant theoretical contributions in this study. Firstly, the research augments the theory of community participation in information services. Secondly, there is a contribution to the PLM management model in terms of including community engagement and collaboration.

7.3.1.1 Theory of community participation in information services

This research is located in an increasingly important debate about how communities should be involved in information services, especially in the context of indigenous knowledge. Interest in the subject has grown in the last few decades, and has extended the field of study to include more local or indigenous knowledge. In terms of the wider trend at an international level, the field of information services has grown to include indigenous knowledge, especially in Australia, New Zealand and America, where indigenous communities exist. All memory organisations, such as libraries, archives and museums, have taken part in launching activities or projects such as the IFLA's Memory of the World. Moreover, international conferences have provided a platform for traditional knowledge dissemination, such as an iConference provided by Cultural Heritage and an IFLA Indigenous Matters event. At national level, Thai and foreign experts in linguistic and history have paid much attention to PLMs and studied both their content and management. At local level, one monastery is serving as a role model for others; it stores a large number of Lanna PLMs that the previous abbot collected, preserving them and promoting them to other people.

This study contributes to an emerging theoretical debate on community participation and cultural objects, such as PLMs, based on four practices from three information institutions: libraries, archives and museums.

Based on the findings of this research, PLM management faces unique challenges, different from those facing existing models of community participation in information services. Current PLM management has particular characteristics; it does not fit easily into existing models of community participation. The major difference between the existing models and the PLM management model is how the process of community involvement begins. Existing models have communities playing an important role at the beginning; they start their own projects and have their own capabilities. They differ from PLM management in that some Lanna people know that there are PLMs in their communities but do not possess the knowledge to manage them. In addition, many communities do not even know about PLMs. Most types of indigenous theory concern living and oral cultures, while PLMs are significantly different in the sense that they embody a written culture. Therefore, existing models do not match PLM management in the following respects: community awareness of PLMs, community involvement with PLMs, expert involvement with PLMs, and the influence of Buddhism on PLM management. As a result, the theoretical contribution of this study is to supply a new theory about how communities can become involved in the preservation of PLMs. The value of this theoretical model may not be limited to PLMs. It is likely that other minority or marginalised cultures have similar written elements: in such cases, the model developed here might be more suitable than previous models.

7.3.1.2 PLM management model with community engagement and collaboration

The PLM management model offered in this thesis is a theoretical contribution. It is a model of how the community can become involved in the management of PLMs; its aim is to be sustainable and effective in terms of managing PLMs. The model can be applied to other, similar communities where PLMs are found and where such communities lack awareness about the management of PLMs. Furthermore, these ideas are transferable to other contexts, since this model is open-ended, so that other communities can establish their own forms of management in their specific situations. This model is important in four ways. First, it helps to build capacity and raise awareness of PLMs in the community. Second, it identifies how leaders can activate the whole community. Third, patterns and levels of stakeholder participation are identified based on community needs. Last, it paves the way for communities to manage PLMs effectively and sustainably.

7.3.2 Empirical contribution

This research is the first study from an information perspective to explore stakeholder views on PLMs and how PLMs should be managed. It has shown how key stakeholders, namely community members and experts, view PLMs. The findings enhance understanding about the perceived value of PLMs. The study has also uncovered the similarities and differences in perspective on PLMs between experts and community members. Its findings show that community members and experts seemed to have similar attitudes to PLMs but varied in their levels of emphasis. For instance, both saw the value of PLMs in terms of the Buddha's teachings they include. However, the community considered PLMs to be sacred objects, while the experts focused on the knowledge contained. Nevertheless, there were some clear differences of opinion. For example, in terms of intellectual property, community members were not interested in protecting PLMs by law, whereas the experts stressed protecting herbal medicine content as a national heritage, and gaining patents. Moreover, while community members preferred to keep PLMs in traditional storage, experts suggested holding them in easy access units. Also, although community members said that they wanted to maintain the process of PLM reproduction, the experts preferred to follow Western approaches to preservation, such as digitisation. Moreover, this study enhances understanding of current and previous management of PLMs and the social contexts in which it occurs, such as the role of leaders and levels of community participation. These are the key elements to creating a collaborative management model for PLMs.

The findings of this study show that PLMs should be managed based on stakeholder views, with new perspectives added about the underlying value of PLMs in order to determine stable classification and cataloguing, storage, preservation, access and community participation. The current findings add substantially to understanding of community and expert attitudes and preferences in relation to the management of PLMs. The findings contribute to previous knowledge by opening up a new integration of participatory concepts in relation to community participation.

7.3.3 Methodological contribution to information studies

The methodology employed by this research includes multiple methods of data collection and ethnographic techniques. First, the data collection method used, involving a combination of three types of data collection methods, offers substantial advantages over any individual method. This is particularly useful for studying and comparing community and expert views. It can lead to a greater understanding of the opinions of members of these two groups regarding PLM management in different contexts, confirming the validity of the findings.

Second, this study employs a photographic inventory in an investigation of community participation. It also confirms the validity of collecting data from semi-structured interviews and participation observation. The use of photography is an effective approach when treating PLMs as material objects. Photography can answer research questions and help people understand social relations in visual terms. Collier (1967, p. 5) says that "photographs are precise records of material reality". For example, in Figure 5.17 the "combination of real storage in glass cabinets and storage in ancient chests in one room, Wat Laihin, Lampang", responds to Research Questions 1 and 2 about how PLMs should be managed. In answering Research Question 1, the photo shows how the community respects PLMs as valuable objects, with statues of the Buddha protecting them. In response to Research Question 2, community preferences concerning PLM storage are shown. Although in the interviews most community members said that they would like to keep PLMs in traditional storage, the photograph shows this monastery to use a practical storage approach, putting PLMs in glass cabinets and displaying empty ancient chests to tell the story of the history of PLM storage.

Creating a photographic inventory by taking photos while in the field and after interviews enhanced understanding of how community members and experts manage PLMs and helped to identify key factors which might encourage community engagement in PLM management. This is possibly the first time that photographs have been used in an information science study of PLMs, producing visual data and informal background notes which uncovered several significant findings. The use of photography contributed to this study in five ways. The first concerned the prompting of new ideas after an observed event. For example, it was a good sign that some women participated in the event (Figure 6.1: Participants in inscribing training). Second, it enabled the recording of detail that could not be comprehensively observed at the moment it occurred. For instance, how community members saw PLMs as sacred objects was conveyed in pictures in which they were barefoot when holding PLMs and walking ritualistically in the ceremony as a sign of respect. Photographs also confirmed the validity of findings and enabled a better understanding of unclear data from interviews. Third, it helped the reader to understand the research more fully. For example, visual images illustrated the community members' emotions when praying and holding PLMs: closing their eyes, putting their palms together and binding their heads, all of which reflect their religious respect and belief. Wearing a white dress as a symbol of purity in Buddhism is also shown. Fourth, images allowed detailed comparisons between similar objects, such as a range of storage units. Last, such images excited audience interest by conveying directly the beauty, refinement, skill and wisdom of the objects.

Next, this study applied an ethnographic perspective to information studies. This moves some way toward addressing the concern of Klimaszewski *et al*. (2012), though not in a systematic way, which would have explored wider views, beyond active community representatives.

However, such work was beyond the limit of this research, and will perhaps be studied more extensively in the future (see Section 7.5 below). In focusing on the social context of PLMs, this study aimed to increase understanding of local communities and their cultures. Employing an ethnographic perspective in the exploratory research during data collection and analysis and during observation enhanced understanding, as it integrated the individual, community, society and culture. The use of ethnography in this respect encouraged a focus on surrounding and background context, including individuals, historical evidence, politics, economics, culture and social structure. The development of a suitable collaborative model for PLM management in an open-ended procedure confirms the value of this ethnographic study, although it cannot be concluded whether the action or outcome in one community might apply to other communities in the same way. Despite the researcher's lack of knowledge of sociology and anthropology, she began to study several core elements, such as culture and society, while also consulting with experts to confirm her understanding and the validity of her arguments. The result is an enhanced understanding of how community members and experts would like PLMs to be managed.

This section has examined the academic contribution made by this research project. The implications for PLM management and those associated with it are now considered.

7.4 Practical implications

The practical implications which arise from the PLM management model developed here, defining roles and their interrelations, and how the model can be realised, are explained in this section. The PLM management model identifies three groups of stakeholders who should be involved for the purpose of determining best possible future practices, namely community members, monasteries and community leaders; academic and community experts and librarianship.

7.4.1 Implications for community members

Community members are the key people who can achieve sustainable management of PLMs. They are local people who live in areas where monasteries store PLMs. From the findings, the community considered Buddhism as the highest value held in PLMs; they have a sacred aspect and enable merit to be gained. Therefore, community members should work together to discuss the events and activities to be delivered in their communities, such as ancient ceremonies that have merit attached. Another finding was that community members could not read or write LannaTham script, so building community capability is recommended by this researcher. For example, the community could enhance its understanding of the skills and knowledge involved in LannaTham script. One more finding was that PLMs have been neglected by the community

or, from another perspective, have been disconnected from everyday life. In this case, community members need to establish the attitude, awareness and sense that PLMs belong to them. They should also continue to preserve traditions which have led to community involvement in the past, though without the gender restrictions which previously existed. In addition, they should gather regularly to carry out tasks such as cleaning and checking the condition of PLMs.

7.4.2 Implications for monasteries and community leaders

Monasteries are the main storage place for PLMs, but they often have restricted access with padlocks and gates always closed for security purposes. It would be better to unlock the gates during the daytime and welcome visitors. PLMs should be touchable, in order that people might know and understand their composition and various elements, their wrappers and coverings. This would create a deeper connection and allow people to experience PLMs as valuable objects. The findings also showed that abbots would prefer to keep PLMs in the monasteries, so they could be put on display. Monasteries might hold exhibitions that convey the story of PLMs and invite local people to engage in these activities. If monasteries do not know the detailed background of PLMs, they can actively engage with experts and local communities to build interest and share knowledge, such as by developing more ceremonies that involve community members, like the TakTham and TanTham traditions.

Leaders are people who activate the whole community and connect community members to engage in PLM management easily and effectively. Leaders could be abbots, monks, male or female community members. The findings show PLM management to require leaders who can engage a variety of stakeholders. This study recommends that leaders should be coordinators between community members and experts and gain community trust as a priority. Moreover, they should be able to unite community members in an effective way, and be able to link knowledge of PLM management and faith in the Buddhist belief in merit.

7.4.3 Implications for academic and community experts

In some senses, experts can be viewed as motivators of the community. They could be Lanna language experts or people who can read and write LannaTham script. It was found that expert views did not always align well with community attitudes toward PLMs. Two recommendations are made in this respect. First, experts should find out more about what communities want from their collections by participating more in the community through observation, communication and gaining feedback in both verbal and written forms. Experts also need a greater understanding and awareness of the differing characteristics, attitudes and abilities of community members. Last, experts should build trust and have a balanced attitude to community members' views. It is important that experts not only provide information but also listen to the community voice.

Another finding was that each organisation had its own classification and cataloguing approach. Therefore, it is suggested that communities work together to produce a standard classification and cataloguing sheet.

In terms of preservation, community members accepted digitisation as an effective approach. Experts should return the resulting files to the community and train members to carry out the digitisation of their PLMs. Another related finding was that experts believed that distribution was a form of preservation, and thus the most convenient way to make PLMs known to the public. This study suggests two portals: via IT and through academic support. With IT, PLMs should be exhibited online, including in databases. For academic support, experts should translate manuscripts into Thai as far as possible and publish the results. To enhance the availability of experts, they should educate a new generation to continue managing PLMs in the future.

The last finding was that, where a community lacked awareness of PLMs, experts should provide support. They should offer basic information on PLMs to community members through courses in the LannaTham language and LannaTham script. Moreover, they should train community members to inscribe, to make wood titles, styluses and binding threads, and to undertake the cleaning and preservation of PLMs, so that community awareness will rise.

7.4.4 Implications for librarianship

Libraries should play an important part in the management of PLMs. Even though librarians rarely engage with the community to manage PLMs as few local people can read or write LannaTham script, the community still has needs which librarians ought to be able to meet. There are four competencies suggested by community members as being necessary for librarians. The first is that librarians should know the context and constituent elements of PLMs in order to gain a better understanding of this ancient material. The second is that librarians should know about Lanna culture and connect it to global knowledge. They should be able to analyse and criticise Lanna cultural material to know how to revive and raise awareness among younger generations. The third is that librarians should disseminate the content of PLMs as much as possible. Last, librarians should preserve these fragile manuscripts and create manual and digital search tools to enable on-site and virtual access to PLM collections.

In terms of curriculum creation, the findings show that community members would like librarianship to include a new curriculum, one which covers Lanna library science and integrates history, culture, library science, and archive and record management. This, however, may be difficult to achieve because it would take time. Therefore, this researcher suggests that library science needs to be aware of the importance of local knowledge and alert to developments in the

field of Lanna literacy and technology by increasing the subjects relating to indigenous knowledge and management in the curriculum.

7.5 Limitations and future research

This section identifies the limitations of the study and makes suggestions for future research based on them. This research project investigated community involvement in the management of PLMs as Lanna cultural material in Thailand. The research adopted a qualitative and reflective stance in terms of data collection and analysis. It contributed an open-ended, realistic model of community involvement which itself does not give exact answers. However, this model can be seen as a prototype that could be applied in other communities. It is clear that this is a fruitful area that needs further work. The rest of this section considers ways in which the study could be extended by future research which builds on the current work.

The study was based on a few cases and a limited number of community interviews. Future studies could expand the analysis to other communities and perhaps look more systematically at certain populations' views on PLMs, for example those of women or young people. It also revealed the specific characteristics of some communities but cannot be said to have represented all the communities in the Lanna region. To discover whether the model could apply to other communities, further research might be conducted in specific communities, comparing results across them. Thus, a comparative study of different communities would be appropriate.

Time limitations have to be considered within this study. This type of study would be improved by using an ethnographic approach which integrates analyses of individuals, the community, society and culture. It would require at least six months for such a necessarily prolonged study. It would also help were the researcher to have a background in sociology and anthropology, as well as in Lanna culture. Also, an understanding of who might be the most suitable community members and leaders to represent the whole community voice could be ascertained by observation in the field. The actual representatives for each community have not yet been identified. Moreover, future studies should be more representative in their sampling of participants from local communities, in order to gain a more comprehensive and inclusive perspective on community views regarding PLMs and their management. There is a need to consider the choice of area where PLMs are stored in monasteries as a collective case, then to set the criteria for selecting a population as a sample of study, such as varied levels of Lanna language literacy, varied levels of involvement in PLMs, and relationships between different ethnic groups in the community. In addition, further research could be conducted, for example more in-depth interviews with community members on sustainable involvement in PLM management, such as balance, participation, information needs, responsibility and rights.

One significant issue involves the problem of identifying the real identity of the community. This is the point made by Klimaszewski *et al*. (2012) in their critique of Becvar and Srinivasan's (2009) work. Future research might need to analyse power structures in greater depth in order to tackle this difficult question.

One limitation is that, while the researcher did develop a model, she did not have time to see how this could actually be implemented by returning to the stakeholders to discuss it, to the experts and the communities. For example, as academic librarians take a more significant role in the management of PLMs, librarian focus groups might encourage participants to think and revise their opinions. This would certainly help public and national librarians to develop their understanding of the management of PLMs. In addition, the technique offers the opportunity for all librarians to be open-minded and accept previous findings supplied by experts in Lanna culture, as well as community perspectives. In terms of sampling for a focus group, this should involve librarians with a background in librarianship and Lanna cultural management. A researcher could act as moderator and facilitate participants to discuss and comment on their personal experiences (Powell *et al*., 1996). Stewart and Shamdasani (1990, p. 15) identify the various purposes of a focus group, three of which are relevant to this study: 1) stimulating new ideas and creative concepts; 2) diagnosing the potential for problems with a new programme, service or product; and 3) interpreting previously obtained qualitative results. All three purposes could lead to examining and constructing a collaborative model for Lanna PLM management based on conflicting views. Using photographs has proved efficient in this study as a method of collecting data related to the context and then confirming the data. Therefore, using photographic methods as photo-elicitation might be a good choice for those focus group participants who are not familiar with PLMs.

This study focused only on PLMs, but Lanna culture is, of course, broader than this. Thus, the ideas in the study could be extended to other Lanna practices. To understand how Lanna communities manage their knowledge better, further research could be conducted, such as through case studies of Buddhist wisdom classrooms. There are at least 50 classrooms around the Lanna area in eight provinces: Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lamphun, Lampang, Phrae, Nan, Phayao and Mae Hong Son. Sampling could be undertaken on the basis of relevance to the manuscripts and the degree to which the classrooms embody the holistic nature of Lanna culture. Typical features of Lanna culture include art and crafts, art performance, fine arts, dramatic art, folk music, household and folk toys, natural resource management, traditional herbs and food, and in particular, language and literature. Sample community selection could be based in Chiang Mai and be established by community members.

Lanna wisdom classrooms are places where Lanna people gather and create. Future research could study how community members transfer knowledge to a younger generation, through folk art, the Lanna language and art performance. Research could also study how community members organise their cultural material, such silverware, handicrafts, craft arts, and musical instruments. The aim of selecting Lanna wisdom classrooms would be to investigate their importance to Lanna culture, to find out how the classrooms impact on communities and to explore how they manage the ownership and authorship of their cultural collections. It would generate two potential benefits. First, future research could create more effective collaborative models of community empowerment. Secondly, better relations with libraries could be developed by encouraging cooperation between Lanna cultural activities and management. Libraries could support and promote Lanna in a wider context of cultural networks for users to access easily. This suggestion would be a fertile area for future work. For example, it would be interesting to explore whether people's attitudes influence how they perceive the management of PLMs and other cultural collections.

7.6 Closing remarks

In this study, many experts expressed the view that it has taken over a hundred years to start to release the intrinsic value inherent in PLMs. At last, local people can fully engage with their past and their culture. Other manifestations of culture, such as music, dance and drama, are generally considered more accessible and easier to revive. PLMs, though, have the potential to unlock a cultural energy which could stimulate wider social engagement and thus potentially influence social development in a positive way. They can serve as a catalyst to enhance reinterpretations of local history, and bring an awareness of the past and its relevance to contemporary Lanna life. Moreover, new types of PLMs can be developed, written by monks and lay people. Such a focus on PLMs can trigger a meaningful revival and interest in Lanna culture. Cultural identity is often closely linked to both written and spoken language. There are now positive developments in related areas, for example the successful revival of the minority Welsh language in the UK after many years of suppression and a lack of status. It is therefore important to create and develop a digital library for PLMs for present and future generations. Admittedly, PLMs are but one aspect of Lanna culture, but this could bring about change in a wider context, resulting in a significant grassroots revival of the culture as a whole.

References

Note: This research adapts the APA style for referencing Thai authors, who are listed by full surname followed by full first name, a convention which is normally used in Thailand.

Abbott, J. (1996). *Sharing the city: Community participation in urban management*. London: Earthscan.

Abhakorn, Rujaya. (1997). Towards a collective memory of mainland Southeast Asia: Field preservation of traditional manuscripts in Thailand, Laos and Myanmar. *IFLA Journal, 23*(2), 107-111.

Abhakorn, Rujaya. (2006, August). *Issues and future of preservation activities and collaboration in South-east Asia*. Paper presented at Pre-conference of WLIC2006 Preservation and Conservation in Asia, National Diet Library, Tokyo, Japan.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Library, Information and Resource Network Inc (ATSILIRN). (2012). *Welcome to the ATSILIRN protocols for libraries, archives and information services*. Retrieved from http://atsilirn.aiatsis.gov.au/protocols.php

ALA Office for Information Technology Policy. (2010). *Librarianship and traditional cultural expressions: Nurturing understanding and respect*. Revised version 7.0, Retrieved from http://www.wo.ala.org/tce

Alhojailan, M. I. (2012). Thematic analysis: A critical review of its process and evaluation. *West East Journal of Social Sciences*, *1*(1), 39-47.

Altheide, D. L. & Johnson, J. M. (1994). *Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London: Verso.

Anderson, J. (2005). Indigenous knowledge, intellectual property, libraries and archives: Crises of access, control and future utility. *Australian Academic & Research Libraries, 36*(2), 85-98.

Antweiler, C. (2012). Urban environmental knowledge as citizens' science: Theoretical issues and methods from Indonesia. In A. K. Hornidge and C. Antweiler (Eds.), *Environmental uncertainty and local knowledge: Southeast Asia as a laboratory of global ecological change* (pp. 55-91). Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Ata, R. (2014). *An exploration of higher education teaching in a virtual world in the context of blended learning.* Retrieved from White Rose eTheses Online. (uk.bl.ethos.617272)

Baan Singkham Resort & Wedding. (2013). *Baan Singkham Resort & Wedding*. Retrieved from http://weddingbaansinghkham.com/main.php?ln=home

Bamberger, M. (1988). *The role of community participation in development planning and project management: Report of a workshop on community participation, held in Washington, D.C., September 22-25, 2986*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Battiste, M. (2005). *Indigenous knowledge: Foundations for first nations*. Retrieved from http://www.truworld.ca/__shared/assets/Batiste-Indigenous-Knowledge29332.pdf

Becvar, K. & Srinivasan, R. (2009). Indigenous knowledge and culturally responsive methods in information research. *Library Quarterly, 79*(4), 421-441.

Berman, S. (1971). *Prejudice and antipathies: A tract on the LC subject heads concerning people*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press.

Bertrand, I. & Hughes, P. (2005). *Media research methods: Audiences, institutions and texts*. London: Palgrave McMillan.

Besser, H. (2004). *The museum-library-archive*. Retrieved from http://www.nyu.edu/tisch/preservation/program/04spring/chin-libraries.html

Bloor, M. (1997). Techniques of validation in qualitative research: A critical commentary. In G. Miller & R. Dingwall (Eds.), *Context and method in qualitative research* (pp. 37-50). London: Sage.

Boast, R., Bravo, M. & Srinivasan, R. (2007). Return to Babel: Emergent diversity, digital resources, and local knowledge, *The Information Society*, *23*(5), 395-403.

Boonaree, C. & Tuamsuk, K. (2013). Community learning resources management practices in Thai Buddhist monasteries. *Procedia: Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 73, 175-180.

Braun, V. & Clark V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.

Brown, R. H. & Davis-Brown, B. (1998). The making of memory: The politics of archives, libraries and museums in the construction of national construction of national consciousness. *History of the Human Sciences*, *11*(4), 17-32.

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buddha Dharma Education Association & BuddhaNet. (2008). *Dharma data: A dictionary of Buddhist terms*. Retrieved from http://www.buddhanet.net/e-learning/dharmadata/index.htm

Burns, R. B. (2000). *Introduction to research methods* (4th ed.). London: Sage.

Callison, C., Roy, L. & LeCheminant, G.A. (Eds.) (2016). *Indigenous notions of ownership and libraries, archives and museums.* Berlin: De Gruyter Saur.

Caswell, M., Cifor, M. & Ramirez, M. (2016). "To Suddenly discover yourself existing": uncovering the impact of community archives. *The American Archivist, 79*(1), 56-81.

Caswell, M., Migoni, A. A., Geraci, N. & Cifor, M. (2017). 'To be able to imagine otherwise': Community archives and the importance of presentation. *Archives and Records, 38*(1), 5-26. doi.org/10.1080/23257962.2016.1260445

Cecez-Kecmanovic, D. & Kennan, M. A. (2013). The methodological landscape: Information systems and knowledge management. In K. Williamson and G. Johanson (Eds.). *Research methods: Information, systems, and contexts* (pp. 113-138). Prahran, Victoria: Tilde Publishing.

Chamnongsri, Nisachol. (2009). *Metadata development for management of a digitized palm leaf manuscript*. (PhD thesis, Khon Kaen University, Khon Kaen, Thailand). Retrieved from http://tdc.thailis.or.th

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage.

Charoenmuang, Tanet. (2011). *Kon Muang: Prawatsat Lanna samaimai po so 2317-2553* (2nd ed.). (In Thai) [Kon Muang: The modern Lanna history from 1774-2010]. Chiang Mai: Creative Urban Solutions Center.

Chiang Mai Guide Association. (2012). *Upper northern provinces group 1 prepare for miracle tourism forum*. Retrieved from http://www.chiangmaiguide.net/ttttt.html

Chiang Mai University Library. (2010). *E-thesis database*. Retrieved from http://library.cmu.ac.th/digital_collection/etheses/index.php

Chiang Mai TV News. (Producer). (2012, June 21). *Pattananakgarntaladsu Asean*. (In Thai) [The development of smart traders for ASEAN]. [TV]. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UjW1NETzJhI

Coffey, A. (1999). *The ethnographic self: Fieldwork and the representation of identity*. London: Sage.

Collier, J, Jr. & Collier, M. (1986). *Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method* (Rev. ed.). Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico Press.

Collier, J., Jr. (1967). *Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Cook, T. (2012). Evidence, memory, identity, and community: Four shifting archival paradigms. *Archival Science*, *12*(2-3), 95-120. doi:10.1007/s10502-012-9180-7

Cooper, D. R. & Schindler, P.S. (2008). *Business research methods* (10th ed.). Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

Craig, W. J., Harris, T. M. & Weiner, D. (Eds.). (2002). *Community participation and geographic information systems*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. & Miller, D. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice, 39*(3), 124-130.

Crowshoe Consulting. (2005). *Sacred way of life: Traditional knowledge*. Retrieved from http://www.naho.ca/documents/fnc/english/ FNC_TraditionalKnowledgeToolkit.pdf

Dadds, M. (2008). Empathetic validity in practitioner research. *Educational Action Research, 16,* 279-290.

Darling, P. W. (1985). Preservation vs. conservation. *Abby Newsletter, 9*(6), 1. Retrieved from http://cool.conservation-us.org/byorg/abbey/an/an09/an09-6/an09-604.html

Davis, W. & Howard, K. (2013). Cultural policy and Australia's national cultural heritage: Issues and challenges in the GLAM landscape. *Australian Library Journal, 62*(1), 15-26.

Davison, W. (n.d.). *Textiles in Mae Chaem*. Retrieved from http://www.turkotek.com/salon_00113/salon.html

Dearstyne, B. W. (2000). *Managing historical records programs: A guide for historical agencies*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Denzin, N. K. (1970). *The research act in sociology*. Chicago: Aldine.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: the discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 1-32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N.K. (1978). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Diener, E. & Crandall, R. (1978). *Ethics in social and behavioral research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts. (2016). *DLNTM Project*. Retrieved from http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/about#dlntm-project

Ding, N., Berry, H. & O'Brien, L. (2015). One-year reciprocal relationship between community participation and mental wellbeing in Australia: A panel analysis. *Social Science & Medicine*, 128, 246-254.

Drabinski, E. (2013). Queering the catalog: Queer theory and the politics of correction. *The Library Quarterly, 83*(2), 94-111.

Duxbury, N. & Jeannotte, M. S. (2011). Introduction: Culture and sustainable communities. *Culture and Local Governance, 3*(1-2), 1-10.

Earthwise Centre. (2016). *Indigenous knowledge*. Retrieved from
    http://educationforsustainability.info/learn/indigenous-knowledge/

École Française d'Extrême-Orient. (n.d.). *Lanna manuscripts – A northern Thai collection of chronicles and other texts: Mapping a literature*. Retrieved from
    http://www.efeo.fr/lanna_manuscripts/node/55

Feather, J. & Sturges, P. (Eds.). (1997). *International encyclopedia of information and library science*. NewYork: Routledge.

Fetterman, D. M. (2010). *Ethnography: Step-by-step (Applied Social Research Methods)* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.

First Archivists Circle. (n.d.). *Protocols for Native American archival materials*. Retrieved from
    http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html

Flinn, A. (2007). Community histories, community archives: Some opportunities and challenges. *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, *28*(2), 151–176.
    doi:10.1080/00379810701611936

Flinn, A. (2010). Independent community archives and community-generated gontent: "Writing, saving and sharing our histories." *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, *16*(1), 39–51. doi:10.1177/1354856509347707

Forbes, A. (2004). *The peoples of Chiang Mai*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Gall, M. D., Gall, J. P. & Borg, W. R. (2003). *Educational research: An introduction* (7th ed.). Boston, MA: A & B Publications.

Gilliand, A. & Flinn, A. (2013, October). *Community archives: What are we really talking about?*. Keynote paper presented at Nexus, Confluence, and Difference: Community Archives meets Community Informatics: Prato CIRN Conference, Prato, Italy.

Gilliland, A. J. (2012). *Voice, identity, activism (VIA): A community-centric framework for approaching archives and recordkeeping*. LA: Center for Information as Evidence, University of California Los Angeles.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.

Girard, N. (2015). *SWM 2015: Thailand – Promoting a more inclusive tourism industry for Chiang Mai's hill tribes*. Retrieved from

http://www.minorityvoices.org/news.php/fr/1806/swm-2015-thailand-promoting-a-more-inclusive-tourism-industry-for-chiang-mais-hill-tribes

Glesne, C. & Peshkin, A. (1992). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction.* White Plains, NY: Longman.

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Report, 8*, 597-606. Retrieved from http://www.nova.edu.ssss/QR/QR8-4/golaf-shani.pdf

Gorjestani, N. (2000, November). *Indigenous knowledge for development: Opportunities and challenges,* indigenous knowledge for development program of the World Bank*.* Paper presented at the meeting of the UNCTAD conference on traditional knowledge, Geneva.

Grabowsky, V. (2008). Tai manuscripts in the Dharma script domain: Surveying, preservation and documentation, part 1. *Manuscript Cultures,* Autumn/Winter, 16-23.

Green, J. L. & Bloome, D. (1997). Ethnography and ethnographers of and in education: a situated perspective. In F. J, S. B. Heath, & D. Lapp (Eds.), *Handbook for literacy educators: research in the community and visual arts* (pp. 181-202). New York: Macmillan.

Grenier, L. (1998). *Working with indigenous knowledge: A guide for researchers.* Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre.

Griffiths, T. (2005). *Indigenous peoples and the World Bank: Experiences with participation.* Moreton-in-Marsh, UK: Forest Peoples Programme.

Griswold, W. (2013). *Cultures and societies in a changing world* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Guest, G., Bunce, A. & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and validity. *Field Method, 18*(1), 59-82.

Hafstein, V. T. (2004). The politics of origins: Collective creation revisited. *Journal of American Folklore*. *117*(465), 300-315.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.

Happywedding. (2017). *4 wedding locations in Lanna style*. Retrieved from
    https://www.happywedding.life/th/tips/venue/international/4804

Harris, K. E. & Schur, S. E. (2006). A brief history of preservation and conservation at the
    Library of Congress. Retrieved from
    https://www.loc.gov/preservation/about/history/pres-hist.pdf

Hawkins, M. (2014). *Global structures, local cultures* (2nd ed.). Victoria, Australia: Oxford
    Univerity Press.

Hockings, P. (2003). *Principles of visual anthropology* (3rd ed.). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Holstein, J. A. & Gubrium, J. F. (1997). Active interviewing. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative
    research: Theory method and practice* (pp. 113-129). London: Sage.

Huapcharoen, Lamchun. (2010). *Kret phongsāwadān Lān Nā.* (In Thai) [Lanna anecdotes].
    Bangkok: Duangkamol.

Huvila, I. (2015). The unbearable lightness of participating? Revisiting the discourse of
    "participation" in archival literature. *Journal of Documentation, 71*(2), 358-386.

Ietto-Gillies, G. (2003). Transnational corporations in the globalization process. In J. Michie
    (Ed.), *The handbook of globalization* (pp.139-149). UK and Northampton, MA.:
    Edward Elgar Publishing.

Igunma, J. & Ginsburg, H. (2014). *The beauty of palm leaf manuscripts (1): Central Thailand.*
    Retrieved from http://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2014/11/the-beauty-of-palm-leaf-
    manuscripts-1-central-thailand.html

Igunma, J. & Ginsburg, H. (2015a). *The beauty of palm leaf manuscripts (3): Storage and
    preservation.* Retrieved from http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/asian-and-
    african/2015/02/the-beauty-of-palm-leaf-manuscripts-3-storage-and-preservation.html

Igunma, J. & Ginsburg, H. (2015b). *The beauty of palm leaf manuscripts (2): Northern Thai,
    Lao and Shan traditions.* Retrieved from http://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-
    african/2015/01/the-beauty-of-palm-leaf-manuscripts-2-northern-thai-lao-and-shan-
    traditions.html

Information Technology Service Center (ITSC). (2013). *Fon Sao Mai*. Retrieved from
    http://www.lannacorner.net/lanna2012/article/article.php?type =A&ID=896

Intangible Cultural Heritage. (2017). *Fon Sao Mai.* Retrieved from
http://ich.culture.go.th/index.php/th/ich/performing-arts/236-performance/310-----m-s

International Association for Public Participation (IAP2). (2007). *IAP2 Spectrum of public
participation.* Retrieved from http://c.ymcdn.com/sites/www.iap2.org/ resource/
resmgr/imported/ IAP2%20Spectrum_vertical.pdf

Jorgensen, D. L. (1989). The methodology of participant observation. In D. L. Jorgensen (Ed.),
Participant Observation (pp.12-26). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Jory. P. (2000). Books and the nation: The making of Thailand's national library. *Journal of
Southeast Asian Studies, 31*(2), 351-373.

Kelly, L. & Gordon, P. (2002). Developing a community of practice: Museums and
reconciliation in Australia. In R. Sandell (Ed.), *Museum, society, inequality* (pp.153-
174). London: Routledge.

Kempila, Pitsanu & Sridharma, Krisada. (2007). *The study of covering cloth design of Isan Bai-
Lan Dharma text.* Mahasarakham: The Office of Art and Culture, Rajabhat
Mahasarakham University, Thailand.

Khum Khantoke. (2015). *Service*. Retrieved from http://www.khumkhantoke.com/service

Khunkitti, Suwit. (2006). Tissadeekhamru Lokaphiwat lae Phoompanya Tongtin. (In Thai)
[Globalisation and wisdom knowledge theory]. Retrieved from
http://www.slideshare.net/choenkrainara/ss-16013441

Klangwiang Chiang Mai Museums Partnerships. (n.d.). *The Klangwiang Chiang Mai Museums
Partnerships*. Retrieved from http://www.cmocity.com/history/indexhall03.html

Klimaszewski, C., Bader, G. E. & Nyce, J. M. (2012). Hierarchy, complicity and culture in the
library and information science preservation agenda: Observations from Romania.
Journal of Librarianship and Information Science, *45*(1), 38–52.
doi:10.1177/0961000611434998

Knowlton, S. (2005). Three decades since prejudices and antipathies: A study of changes in the
Library of Congress subject headings. *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly, 40* (2),
123-145.

Koanantakool, Paritta Chalermpow. (2006). Contextualising objects in monastery museums in

Thailand. In F. Lagirarde & Paritta Chalermpow Koanantakool (Eds.), *Buddhist legacies in mainland Southeast Asia: Mentalities, interpretations and practice* (pp.149-165). Paris, Bangkok: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Kontogeorgopoulos, N. (1998). Tourism in Thailand: Patterns, trends, and limitations. *Pacific Tourism Review, 2,* 225-238.

Kreps, C. (1998). Museum-making and indigenous curation in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. *American Anthropological Association, 22*(1), 5-17.

Kreps, C. (2003). Curatorship as social practice. *Curator: The Museum Journal*, *46*(3), 311–323. doi:10.1111/j.2151-6952.2003.tb00097.x

Kreps, C. (2005). Indigenous curation as intangible cultural heritage: Thoughts on the relevance of the 2003 UNESCO convention. *Theorizing Cultural Heritage*, *1*(2), 1-8.

Kreps, C. (2006). Non-Western models of museums and curation in cross-cultural perspective. In S. Macdonald (Ed.), *A companion to museum studies* (pp. 457-472). Oxford: Blackwell.

Kreps, C. (2010). *Indigenous curation and museum ethics in the post-colonial era*. Retrieved from http://sarweb.org/?iarc_lecture_christina_kreps-p%3A2009_2010_iarc_speaker_series

Kreps, C. (2014). Thai monastery museums: Contemporary expressions of ancient traditions. In *Museums and Exhibitions as Materialisations of Knowledge Orders/Museen und Austellungen als Konkretisierungen von Wissensordnungen* (pp. 230–256). Cologne: Center for Advanced Studies, International Research Institute.

Kreps, C. F. (2008). Appropriate museology in theory and practice. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, *23*(1), 23–41. doi:10.1080/09647770701865345

Kuzel, A. J. (1992). Sampling in qualitative inquiry. In B. F. Crabtree and W. L. Miller (Eds.), *Doing qualitative research* (pp. 31-44). Research Methods for Primary Care Series, Vol. 3. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lagirarde, F. (2012, January). *Facts and figures about the Buddhist historiography of Lanna, its material culture and production*. Paper presented at the 2012 Chulalongkorn-EFEO International Conference on Buddhist Studies "Imagination, Narrative, and Localization", Bangkok, Thailand.

Lanna Architecture Centre. (2013). *Background*. Retrieved from http://www.lanna-arch.net/history

Lanna Thai Medical Federation. (2012). *History*. Retrieved from http://www.lannahealth.com/?page_id=492

Lanna Wisdoms School. (2011). *About us*. Retrieved from http://www.lannawisdoms.com/blog/?page_id=2

Latham, K. F. (2012). Museum object as document: Using Buckland's information concepts to understand museum experiences. *Journal of Documentation, 68*(1), 45-71. doi: 10.1108/00220411211200329

Lather, P. (1986). Issues of validity in openly ideological research: Between a rock and a soft place. *Interchange, 17*(4), 63-84.

Lee, H. L. (2003). Information spaces and collections: Implications for organisation. *Library & Information Science Research, 25*(4), 419-436.

Lee, R.M. (1993). *Doing research on sensitive topics*. London: Sage.

Leksomboon, Krot. (2015). *Final report on conservation and revitalization of palm leaf manuscript learning resources in the community to strengthen of wisdom and prepare for the ASEAN community* (In Thai). Chiang Mai: Social Research Institute, Chiang Mai University, Thailand.

Lessig, L. (2010). Getting our values around copyright. *EDUCAUSE Review, 45*(2), 27-42.

Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Loftland, J. (1971). *Analyzing social setting: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Lund, N. & Buckland, M. (2008). Document, documentation, and the Document Academy: Introduction. *Archival Science*, 8(3), 161-164. doi: 10.1007/s10502-009-9076-3

Mackay, H. (2004). The globalization of culture? In D. Held (Ed.), *A globalizing world? Culture, economics, politics*. London: Routledge.

Maina, C. K. (2012). Traditional knowledge management and preservation: Intersections with library and information science. *International Information and Library Review*, 44(1). 13-27.

Manosé Research Center. (2014). *Manosé research center*. Retrieved from http://www.manose.co/en/

Marshall, C. & Rossman, G. (1989). *Designing qualitative research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Martin, R. & Olson, C. (2005). The collection of palm-leaf manuscripts at Northern Illinois University Libraries. *Illinois Libraries, 85*(3), 9-15.

Mason. J. (2002). *Qualitative researching* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Mathiesen, K. (2008). *Indigenous peoples' rights to culture and individual rights to access: Proceedings of iConference 2008*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA.

Maykut, P. & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning qualitative research: A philosophic and practical guide*. London: Farmer Press.

McDaniel, J. T. (2008). *Gathering leaves and lifting words: Histories of Buddhist monastic education in Laos and Thailand*. Chiang Mai, TH: Silkworm.

Midgley, J. (1986). *Community participation, social development and the state*. London: Methuen.

Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Mingers, J. & Walsham, G. (2010). Toward ethical information systems: The contribution of discourse ethics. *MIS Quarterly, 34*(4), 833-854.

Ministry of Public Health. Department for Development of Thai Traditional and Alternative Medicine. (2013). *Prarajchaanyadkumkrong lae sungsearm aouaphoompanya*

kanphaetpanThai. (In Thai) [The Protection and Promotion of Traditional Thai Medicine Wisdom Act]. Retrieved from http://ptmk.dtam.moph.go.th/law/index.html

Monfai. (2015). *Maonfai*. Retrieved from http://www.monfai.com/?lang=en

Morrow, R. & Brown, D. (1994). *Critical theory and methodology*. London: Sage.

Morse, J. M, Barrett, M., Mayan, M., Olson, K. & Spiers, J. (2002). Verification strategies for establishing reliability and validity in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *1*(2). Retrieved from http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/1_2Final/ html/morse.html

Morse, J. M. (1997). *Completing a qualitative project: Details and dialogue*. London: Sage.

Morse, J. M. (Ed.). (1989). *Qualitative nursing research: A contemporary dialogue*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Mostafavi, M. (1999). Cities of distraction. In F. Bradley (Ed.), *Cities on the move: Urban chaos and global change - East Asian art, architecture and film now* (pp.7-9). London: Hayward Gallery.

Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA). (2007*). Securing excellence; Delivering for communities: Museums, libraries and archives and the local government white paper*. MLA: London.

Nakata, M. & Langton, M. (2005). *Australian indigenous knowledge and libraries*. Sydney: UTSePress.

Nakata, M., Byrne, A., Nakata, V. & Gardiner, G. (2005). Indigenous knowledge, the library and information service sector, and protocol. *Australian Academic & Research Libraries, 36*(2), 9-24.

National Discovery Museum Institute. (2015). *Museum data network*. Retrieved from https://www.museumsiam.org/mdn-detail.php?MDNID=188

National Library of New Zealand (2005). *Managing and preserving community archives*. Wellington: Author.

National Library of Thailand. (2005). *Khumue Pathibatngarn Kiewkab Aekkasarn Boran* (In Thai) [A practice manual for ancient manuscripts]. Bangkok: Author.

339

Neuman, W. L. (2006). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London: Allyn & Bacon.

New York State Archives. (1988). *Ensuring a usable past for your community: The New York citizen's guide to evaluating and improving historical records programs*. Albany, N.Y.: Author.

Northern Thai Information Center, Chiang Mai University Library. (2010). *About*. Retrieved from http://library.cmu.ac.th/ntic/

Ongsakul, Sarassawadee. (2005). *History of Lan Na*. In S. Barron & D. W. Miller (Eds.). (Chitraporn Tanratanakul, Trans.). Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Payap University Library. (2017). *About*. Retrieved from http://lib.payap.ac.th/?page_id=135

Peers, L. & Brown, A. K. (2003). *Museums and source communities*. London: Routledge.

Penth, H. (2000). *A brief history of Lan Na: Civilization of North Thailand* (2nd ed.). Chiang Mai, Silkworm Books.

Penth, H. (2004). *A brief history of Lan Na: Northern Thailand from past to present*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Penth, H. & Forbes, A. (2004). *A brief history of Lan Na: Northern Thailand from past to present and the peoples of Chiang Mai*. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Persaud, I. (2010). Field Study. In N.J. Salkind (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of research design*. (pp.489-491). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Phanichphant, Vithi. (2005). *Vithi Lanna*. (In Thai) [Path of Lanna]. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Phattarakiatcharoen, Banyen. (2013). *Analyzing and classifying knowledge content in palm leaf manuscripts* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Khon Kaen University, Khon Kaen, Thailand.

Phengphachanh, Bouakhay. (2008). *The revitalization of palm leaf manuscripts in the renovation era for people in the Democratic Republic of Lao* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Mahasarakham University, Mahasarakham, Thailand.

Phra Direk Wachirayano (Injan). (2002). *Khumue Karn Samruaj Khamphi Bilan* (In Thai) [A manual for surveying palm leaf manuscripts]. Chiang Mai: Social Investment Fund and Lanna Wisdom School.

Phra Maha Suthit Apakaro (Oboun). (2005). A study of the body of knowledge and the local wisdom appearing in Lân-nâ Buddhist literature: A case study of "Ânisamsa" and scriptures preached on various occasions in Lân-nâ (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University Bangkok, Thailand.

Phra Maha Suthit Aphakaro (Oboun), Phra Kru Winaithorn (Suwit), Phra Chatthep Phuthachato. (2006). *Kan Jadkan Kwamru Tang Wattanathem nai Praphenee TaktTham khong Wat Soonmen Jungwad Phrae* (In Thai). [Cultural knowledge management in Takdharma traditions at Wat Soonmen in Phrae province]. Bangkok: Office of the national culture commission, Ministry of Culture, Thailand.

Phrommathep, Nikhom. (2000). *Phayha Lanna: Cha Ping Hin Fai*. Retrieved from https://www.gotoknow.org/posts/136533

Pickard, A. J. (2013). *Research methods in information* (2nd ed.). London: Facet.

Pike, K. L. (1954). *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour.* Glendale, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Pink, S. (2001). *Doing visual ethnography*. London: Sage.

Pink, S. (2004). Visual methods, in C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. F. Gubrium, and D. Silverman (eds), *Qualitative research practice* (pp.361-376). London: Sage.

Plummer, K. (2001). *Documents of life 2: An introduction to a critical humanism*. London: Sage.

Pongsripian, Winai (Ed.). (1996). *Ba Bai Xifu-Ba Bai Dadian: Chiang Mai nai aekkasanprawatsat jean boran.* (In Thai) [An old Chinese history of Ba Bai Xifu-Ba Bai Dadian: Chiang Mai through the eyes of Yuan and Ming, China]. Bangkok: The Commission for the Study of Chinese Records on Thai History, the Secretariat of the Cabinet.

Powell, R. A., Single, H.M. & Lloyd, K. R. (1996). Focus groups in mental health research: Enhancing the validity of user and provider questionnaires. *International Journal of Social Psychology, 42*(3), 193-206.

Pradidpong, Ekapong. (2011). Magara-Mom Sad nai jintanakan pao phuttasathan. (In Thai) [Magara-Mom: The mythical creatures which guard Buddhist places]. Retrieved from http://www.komchadluek.net/detail/20111202/116641.html

Prudtikul, Somsuang. (2011). Khwamru Beungton Keiwkab Thraphyakorn Sarasonthes Laksanaphises (In Thai) [An introduction to special information resources]. In Somsuang Prudtikul (Ed.), *Instruction and documentation of special information resources 13411/20133011.* (pp. 1-1-1-28). Nonthaburi: Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University.

Rahula, W. (1978). *What the Buddha taught* (2nd ed.). New York: Grove Press.

Rawarin, Narongsak. (2010). *Management system for palm-leaf manuscripts at Wat Mahachai Muang District, Mahasarakham province* (Unpublished master's thesis). Maharasakham University, Mahasarakham, Thailand.

Richardson, L. (2000). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 923-948). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ritzer, G. (1992). *Metatheorizing in sociology: Explaining the coming of age*. London: Sage.

Robertson, R. (1992). *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Robinson, G. (2012). *Tackling tourism in Chiang Mai*. Retrieved from http://www.chiangmaicitylife.com/citylife-articles/tackling-tourism-in-chiang-mai/

Robson, C. (1997). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner researchers*. Oxford: Blackwell.

RoiMueSangMuang. (Producers). (2013, September 7). *Krongkantalad PhoompanyaLanna su Sakol*. (In Thai) [Lanna wisdom marketed to international project]. [TV]. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZCpLM4qLlgs#t=2309

Rubin, H. & Rubin, I. S. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Saengngam, Prasong, Wongsakul, Sirinuch, Boontha, Sainathi & Chinawong, Nichapha (Eds.). (2005). *Lanna wisdom classrooms: Lively classrooms and learning wisdom for self-sufficiency*. Chiang Mai: Lanna Wisdoms School.

Sattayanurak, Attachak. (2010, March). *Krob Naewkhid Kanwikrao prawadsas wattanatham chumchon thongthin kab karn srang samnuk rak thongthin su phlang kan khabkheun Sitthi chumchon*. (In Thai). [Conceptual framework for analyzing local community cultural history, and creating local love consciousness to drive community rights]. Paper presented at Roles of Mentorship for Development of Local Research Projects meeting, Tamnhak Kham, Chiang Mai, Thailand. Retrieved from http://vijai.trf.or.th/Activity_detail.asp?topicid=861

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. (2009). *Research methods for business students* (5th ed.) Harlow: Financial Times Prentice Hall.

Scarduzio, J. A. & Geist-Martin, P. (2008). Making sense of fractured identities: Male professors' narratives of sexual harassment. *Communication Monographs, 75*, 369-395.

Schinke, S. P. & Gilchrist, L. (1993). Ethics in research. In R. M. Grinnell (Ed.), *Social work, research and evaluation* (4th ed.) (pp.80-92). Illinois: Peacock.

Schwandt, T. A. (1997). *Qualitative inquiry: A dictionary of terms*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Schwandt, T. A. (2001). *Dictionary of qualitative inquiry* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Scrase, T. J., Holden, T. J. M. & Baum, S. (2003). Asia's globalisation: A sociological view. In T. J. Scrase, T. J. M. Holden and S. Baum (Eds.), *Globalization, culture and inequality in Asia* (pp.1-18). Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.

Seale, C. (1999). Quality in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 5, 465-478.

Sen, B. (2005). Indigenous knowledge for development: Bringing research and practice together. *International Information & Library Review, 37*, 375–382.

Shilton, K. & Srinivasan, R. (2007). Participatory appraisal and arrangement for multicultural archival collections. *Archivaria, 63*, 87-101.

Simpson, M. G. (2001). *Making representations: Museums in the post-colonial era*. London: Routledge.

Sinclair-Sparvier, W. & Mangan, H. (2008). *International indigenous librarians' forums 1999 - 2009: Background and outcomes from past fora*. Retrieved from https://sites.google.com/ site/indigenouslibrariansforum/outcomes

Soni, K. (2007). *CINE Project: Indigenous knowledge and importance*. Retrieved from
https://iimahd.ernet.in%2Fusers%2Fanilg%2Ffiles%2FArticles%2
Fcine_report_Kailash.doc

Soytong, Penkhae. (2007). *Yonroi Thai naisongkhram Subsinphoompanya*. (In Thai)
[Intellectual property backtracking in Thailand]. Retrieved from http://www.food-
resources.org/news/2/08/07/8284

Spradley, J. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Srinivasan, R. (2012, October 27). *How culture and technology create one another:
TEDxUCLA invited speaker*. [Video]. Retrieved from
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eo8iNn2CCE4

Stevens, M., Flinn, A. & Shepherd, E. (2010). New frameworks for community engagement in
the archive sector: From handing over to handing on. *International Journal of Heritage
Studies*, *16*(1-2), 59–76. http://doi.org/10.1080/13527250903441770

Stewart, A. (1998). *The Ethnographer's Method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: sage.

Stewart, D. W. & Shamdasani, P. N. (1990). *Focus groups: Theory and practice.* London: Sage.

Suchar, C. S. (1997). Grounding visual sociology research in shooting scripts. *Qualitative
Sociology, 20*(1), 33-55.

Suk-erb, Somkhit. (2008). *A study of cabinets and boxes for storing holy palm-leaf scripture for
conserving and developing models and structure work of art by community
participation at monasteries in Changwat Yasothorn*. (MA dissertation, Mahasarakham
University, Mahasarakham, Thailand). Retrieved from http://tdc.thailis.or.th

The Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture. Chiang Mai University. (2013). *Lanna study
and history training project*. Chiang Mai: The Center for the Promotion of Arts and
Culture.

The World Bank Group. (2014). *Indigenous peoples overview*. Retrieved from
http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/indigenouspeoples/overview

Thomson, L. (2012). *Information, photographs, & the cultural inventory: What John Collier, Jr.
offers contemporary researchers*, *49*(1), 1-5. Paper presented at the American Society for
Information Science and Technology. doi: 10.1002/meet.14504901358

Thorpe, K. (2013, July). *Protocols for libraries and archives in Australia: incorporating indigenous perspectives in the information filed*. Paper presented at IFLA WLIC 2013 - Singapore - Future Libraries: Infinite Possibilities, The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions, Singapore. Retrieved from http://library.ifla.org/99/1/125-thorpe-en.pdf

Tosun, C. & Timothy, D. J. (2003). Arguments for community participation in the tourism development process. *Journal of Tourism Studies, 14*(2), 2-15.

Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "Big-Tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry,16*(10). 837-850.

Underhill, K. J. (2006). Protocols for native American Archival materials. *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage, 7*(2), 134-145.

UNESCO. (2008). Memory of the world. Memory of Asia: Project to preserve palm-leaf manuscripts of Asia. Retrieved from http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php-URL_ID=27780&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO. (n.d.). Memory of the world Asia Pacific programme. Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002298/229823e.pdf

United Cities and Local Governments. (n.d.). *Culture: Fourth pillar of sustainable development*. Retrieved from http://www.agenda21culture.net/sites/default/files/files/documents/en/zz_culture4pillars d_eng.pdf

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat). (1985). *Community participation cost recovery and affordability: Training module*. Nairobi: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements Habitat.

United Nations. (2013). *International day of the world's indigenous peoples 9 August*. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/events/indigenousday/

Veeraprajak, Kongkaew. (2011). Nangsue Tuakein Manuscript (In Thai) [Manuscript]. In Somsuang Prudtikul (Ed.), *Instruction and documentation of special information resources 13411/20133011.* (pp. 3-1-3-52). Nonthaburi: Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University.

Veidlinger, D. M. (2007). *Spreading the Dharma: Writing, orality, and textual transmission in Buddhist northern Thailand* (Southeast Asian ed.). Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.

Venerable K. Sri Dharmananda Maha Thera. (2011). *The significance of transference of merits to the departed.* Retrieved from http://www.budsas.org/ebud/whatbudbeliev/307.htm

Vongyai, Sangwart (2003). *A study and analysis of local knowledge in Lanna scripture orthography*. Phayao: Buddhist Research Institute of Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University.

Wat Sungmen. (n.d.). *KalakhrangNgung Tee Wat Sungmen. Muang Khamphi Bailan. ThinThamnanTakTham. KrubaKanjanaArunyawasriMahatein.* (In Thai). [Once upon a time at Wat Sungmen, the city of palm-leaf manuscripts, the legend of TakTham, and Kruba Kanjanaaranyavasri Mahatein]. Phrae: Wat Sungmen.

Weick, K. E. (2007). The generative properties of richness. *Academy of Management Journal, 50*, 14-19.

Wichienkeeo, A. (2013). Kumphi Bailan Lanna. (In Thai). [Lanna palm leaf manuscripts]. *The Journal of the Royal Institute of Thailand*, 38(2), p. 114-133. Retrieved from http://www.royin.go.th/royin2014/upload/246/FileUpload/2807_6447.pdf

Winter, G. (2000). A comparative discussion of the notion of validity in qualitative and quantitative research. *Qualitative Report, 4*(3&4). Retrieved from http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR4-3/winter.html

World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). (1987). *Our common future*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

World Health Organization. (2002). *Community participation in local health and sustainable development: Approaches and techniques*. Geneva, Switzerland: Author.

Wyatt, D. K. (2003). *Thailand: A short history*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Younging, G. (2016). The traditional knowledge – intellectual property interface. In C. Callison, L. Roy and G. A. LeCheminant (Eds.), *Indigenous notions of ownership and libraries, archives and museums.* Berlin: De Gruyter Saur.

Primary sources

Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture. (n.d.). *Bud Khaumul Khamphi Bailan Lanna* (In Thai) [Lanna palm leaf manuscript card catalogue] [Sheet]. Chiang Mai: Author. Collected 3rd January 2015.

Palm Leaf Conservation Project at Northeastern. (n.d.). *Baeb Krauk Khaumul Aekkasarn Bailan* (In Thai) [Record form for Lanna palm leaf manuscripts] [Sheet]. Mahasarakham: Author. Collected 21st January 2015.

Social Research Institute. (n.d.). *Baeb Buntheuk Khaumul Aekkasarn Bailan* (In Thai) [Record form for ancient manuscripts] [Sheet]. Chaing Mai: Author. Collected 12nd Febuary 2015.

National Library of Thailand. (n.d.). Thabien Khamphi Bailan (In Thai) [Registration for palm leaf manuscripts] [Sheet]. Bangkok: Author. Collected 26th January 2015.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant information sheet

The University of Sheffield.	Proposal for
Information School	**Research Ethics Review**

Students		**Staff**		
This proposal submitted by:		**This proposal is for:**		
	Undergraduate		Specific research project	
	Postgraduate (Taught) – PGT		Generic research project	
×	Postgraduate (Research) – PGR	This project is funded by:		

Project Title:	An exploration of the value of a collaborative model of collection management for Lanna cultural material in libraries from the Upper Northern Thailand	
Start Date:	23rd September 2013	**End Date:** 23rd September 2016

Principal Investigator (PI): *(student for supervised UG/PGT/PGR research)*	Miss Piyapat Jarusawat
Email:	pjarusawat1@sheffield.ac.uk

Supervisor: *(if PI is a student)*	Dr. Andrew M. Cox
Email:	a.m.cox@sheffield.ac.uk

Indicate if the research:	**(put an X in front of all that apply)**
	Involves adults with mental incapacity or mental illness, or those unable to make a personal decision
	Involves prisoners or others in custodial care (e.g. young offenders)
	Involves children or young people aged under 18 years of age
×	Involves highly sensitive topics such as 'race' or ethnicity; political opinion; religious, spiritual or other beliefs; physical or mental health conditions; sexuality; abuse (child, adult); nudity and the body; criminal activities; political asylum; conflict situations; and personal violence.

Please indicate by inserting an "X" in the left hand box that you are conversant with the University's policy on the handling of human participants and their data.	
×	**We confirm that we have read the current version of the University of Sheffield** *Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue***, as shown on the University's research ethics website at:** **www.sheffield.ac.uk/ris/other/gov-ethics/ethicspolicy**

Part B. Summary of the Research

B1.   Briefly summarise the project's aims and objectives:
(This must be in language comprehensible to a layperson and should take no more than one-half page. Provide enough information so that the reviewer can understand the intent of the research)

Summary:

The aim of the study is to develop a model of community based collection development for Lanna cultural material. Lanna culture is the culture of Upper Northern Thailand. The objectives of the study are to better understand the nature of Lanna cultural knowledge; to explore Lanna community beliefs about their culture and how Lanna knowledge is currently managed, and how this could be improved; information professionals' expectations about how such material is best managed; and on this basis to develop guidelines for a collaborative model of collection development.

B2.   Methodology:
Provide a broad overview of the methodology in no more than one-half page.

Overview of Methods:

The study as a whole will draw on using qualitative data collection techniques to achieve the objectives of the study. The project will be in two phases: Phase1:   Exploratory interviews with a small sample of experts and librarians. Phase2: Explanatory study using semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and participant observations, and documentary evidence.

This application is to cover the needs of the phase 1 initial exploratory data collection only. The exploration of the viewpoints of experts and librarians will be based on semi-structured interviews with the purpose of building an understanding of interviewees' thinking and feelings about the topic.

If more than one method, e.g., survey, interview, etc. is used, please respond to the questions in Section C for each method. That is, if you are using both a survey and interviews, duplicate the page and answer the questions for each method; you need not duplicate the information, and may simply indicate, "see previous section."

C1.	Briefly describe how each method will be applied

Method (e.g., survey, interview, observation, experiment):
- Semi-structured interviews

Description – how will you apply the method?
- Semi-structured interviews with Thai librarians and experts - who are well qualified and experienced about Lanna culture or Lanna cultural collections - will be conducted with the purpose of building an understanding of interviewees' thinking and feelings about the topic of Lanna collection management, including the current social norms and cultural meaning of Lanna resources.

About your Participants

C2. Who will be potential participants?

Experts in Lanna culture and Thai librarians working with relevant collections. Qualified librarians must have at least 5 years experience of involvement in aspects of the collection of Lanna culture. Experts must be a professional in Anthropology and Lanna community local information management or be recognised as National Artists in literature in Lanna language. All will be over the age of consent.

C3. How will the potential participants be identified and recruited?

A list of key informants has been compiled by identifying relevant organisations. They will be invited to participate by email/phone. They will be encouraged to participate by providing information about the purpose and benefits of the study in enhancing professional practice and cultural management to communities.

C4. What is the potential for physical and/or psychological harm / distress to participants?

No questions of a personal or sensitive nature will be asked. The risk to participants is the same as in everyday life.

C5. Will informed consent be obtained from the participants?

×	Yes
	No

If Yes, please explain how informed consent will be obtained?

Participants will be given an information sheet about the study and asked to sign a consent form confirming their agreement to participate.

If No, please explain why you need to do this, and how the participants will be debriefed?

C6. Will financial / in kind payments (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants? (Indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided)

There will be no financial remuneration involved in the study.

About the Data

C7. What data will be collected? (Tick all that apply)

	Print	Digital
Participant observation		
Audio recording		×
Video recording		
Computer logs		
Questionnaires/Surveys		
Other:		
Other:		

C8. What measures will be put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data, where appropriate?

All data will be treated confidentially. Data (audio recording and transcripts) will be stored securely on a password-protected computer, and backed up onto the University drive, and shared only with the supervisory team.

On writing up data will be anonymised so that participants cannot be identified in any report of the study.

C9. How/Where will the data be stored?

All the data will be stored in researcher's laptop with a password protection on both laptop and document accessing. The data will be backed-up into an external hard drive with a password protected, and onto personal space on the University network.

C10. Will the data be stored for future re-use? If so, please explain

The data will be only used for this research project, and related publications. Once the project is completed, the data will be reused for future research as specified above.

About the Procedure

C11. Does your research raise any issues of personal safety for you or other researchers involved in the project (especially if taking place outside working hours or off University premises)? If so, please explain how it will be managed.

No, there are no issues of personal safety. All questions interviews will be conducted at participants' workplaces during office hours.

Title of Research Project: An exploration of the value of a collaborative model of collection management for

Lanna cultural material in libraries from the Upper Northern Thailand

We confirm our responsibility to deliver the research project in accordance with the University of Sheffield's policies and procedures, which include the University's '*Financial Regulations*', '*Good Research Practice Standards*' and the '*Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue*' (Ethics Policy) and, where externally funded, with the terms and conditions of the research funder.

In submitting this research ethics application form I am also confirming that:

- The form is accurate to the best of our knowledge and belief.
- The project will abide by the University's Ethics Policy.
- There is no potential material interest that may, or may appear to, impair the independence and objectivity of researchers conducting this project.
- Subject to the research being approved, we undertake to adhere to the project protocol without unagreed deviation and to comply with any conditions set out in the letter from the University ethics reviewers notifying me of this.
- We undertake to inform the ethics reviewers of significant changes to the protocol (by contacting our academic department's Ethics Coordinator in the first instance).
- we are aware of our responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data, including the need to register when necessary with the appropriate Data Protection Officer (within the University the Data Protection Officer is based in CiCS).
- We understand that the project, including research records and data, may be subject to inspection for audit purposes, if required in future.
- We understand that personal data about us as researchers in this form will be held by those involved in the ethics review procedure (e.g. the Ethics Administrator and/or ethics reviewers) and that this will be managed according to Data Protection Act principles.
- If this is an application for a 'generic' project all the individual projects that fit under the generic project are compatible with this application.
- **We understand that this project cannot be submitted for ethics approval in more than one department, and that if I wish to appeal against the decision made, this must be done through the original department.**

<u>**Name**</u> **of the Student (if applicable):**

Piyapat Jarusawat

<u>**Name**</u> **of Principal Investigator (or the Supervisor):**

Dr. Andrew M. Cox

<u>**Date:**</u> February 14, 2014

Appendix 2: Participant consent form

<table>
<tr>
<td>The University of Sheffield.

Information School</td>
<td>An exploration of the value of a collaborative model of collection management for Lanna cultural material in libraries from the Upper Northern Thailand</td>
</tr>
</table>

Researchers			
Title:	Miss	Name:	Piyapat Jarusawat
Post:	Research student	Department:	Information School
Email:	pjarusawat1@sheffield.ac.uk	Telephone:	07440470787

Purpose of the research

The aim of the study is to develop a model of community based collection development for Lanna cultural material. Lanna culture is the culture of Upper Northern Thailand. The objectives of the study are to understand better the nature of Lanna cultural knowledge; to explore Lanna community beliefs about their culture, how Lanna knowledge is currently managed, and how this could be improved; information professionals' expectations about how such material is best managed; and on this basis to develop guidelines for a collaborative model of collection development.

Who will be participating?

In phase 1 there will be two groups of participants:

- public, academic and national librarians who are involved in collecting Lanna cultural material.
- academic experts on Lanna culture.

A second phase of data collection will also involve Lanna community members.

What will you be asked to do?

One hour long interviews will be conducted, about how you define Lanna, what types of things you think represent Lanna culture, and your beliefs about how Lanna communities should be involved in the development and management of collections of Lanna cultural knowledge in libraries.

What are the potential risks of participating?

The risks of participating are the same as those experienced in everyday life.

What data will we collect?

Audio recordings of the interviews will be made.

What will we do with the data?

The audio recordings will be transcribed by the researcher. These transcripts will then be analysed for inclusion in the researcher's PhD dissertation and potentially in publications.

Once the project has finished, the data will be reused for future research as specified above.

Will my participation be confidential?

Your participation will be confidential. The data will be anonymised on writing up, so that you will not be identifiable.

The audio recordings and transcripts will be stored securely on a password-protected computer, and backed up onto the University drive, and shared only with the supervisory team.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

The results of this study will be included in the researcher's PhD dissertation which will be publicly available. Please contact the School in 3 years.

I confirm that I have read and understand the description of the research project, and that I have had an opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences.

I understand that I may decline to answer any particular question or questions, or to do any of the activities. If I stop participating at all time, all of my data will be purged.

I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential, that my name or identity will not be linked to any research materials, and that I will not be identified or identifiable in any report or reports that result from the research.

I give permission for the research team members to have access to my anonymised responses.

I give permission for the research team to re-use my data for future research as specified above.

I agree to take part in the research project as described above.

Participant Name (Please print)   Participant Signature

Researcher Name (Please print)   Researcher Signature

Date

Note: If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about, any aspect of your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Angela Lin, Research Ethics Coordinator, Information School, The University of Sheffield (ischool_ethics@sheffield.ac.uk), or to the University Registrar and Secretary.

Appendix 3: Research ethics approval letter

Information School Research Ethics Panel

Letter of Approval

Date: 3rd March 2014

 TO: Piyapat Jarusawat

The Information School Research Ethics Panel has examined the following application:

Title: An exploration of the value of a collaborative model of collection management for Lanna cultural material in libraries from the Upper Northern Thailand

Submitted by: Piyapat Jarusawat

And found the proposed research involving human participants to be in accordance with the University of Sheffield's policies and procedures, which include the University's '*Financial Regulations*', '*Good Research Practice Standards'* and the '*Ethics Policy Governing Research Involving Human Participants, Personal Data and Human Tissue'* (Ethics Policy).

This letter is the official record of ethics approval by the School, and should accompany any formal requests for evidence of research ethics approval.

Effective Date: 3rd March 2014

Dr Angela Lin

Research Ethics Coordinator

Appendix 4: Interview questions - pilot study

An exploration of the value of a collaborative model of collection management for Lanna cultural material in libraries from the Upper Northern Thailand

Phase 1: Semi-structured interviews with Thai librarians and experts - who are well qualified and experienced about Lanna culture or Lanna cultural collections - will be conducted with the purpose of building an understanding of interviewees' thinking and feelings about the topic of Lanna collection management, including the current social norms and cultural meaning of Lanna resources.

Research questions:

1. How are Lanna culture and people defined?
2. What is the value of Lanna culture?
3. How can Lanna collections be managed in culturally sensitive ways, ie respecting indigenous beliefs and practices of ownership, categorisation etc?
4. Are professional librarians equipped to manage Lanna collections in culturally sensitive ways?

Librarian interview questions:

Introductory question

1. Can you tell me a bit about your job role here?

Lanna collection management

2. What types/ quantities of Lanna material do you have in your library?
3. How is this material used by the public/ users?
4. How do you acquire the Lanna cultural material?
    4.1 Do you have a collection management statement about Lanna material?)
5. How do you classifiy Lanna collection?
6. Do you have a separate class sequence for Lanna material? (as opposed to shelving Lanna material with other material)?
7. How do you assign authorship to Lanna cultural material?
    7.1 Does it differ between resources? How?
8. What is your view about intellectual property with regard to Lanna cultural material?
    8.1 How do you think intellectual property laws might protect Lanna culture?
    8.2 How do you think intellectual property laws might harm Lanna culture?
9. How do you facilitate Lanna people who wish to explore Lanna culture in library?
10. Do you think Lanna people could be more actively involved in collection management?

General questions

11. What do you value about Lanna culture?

12. How has Lanna culture changed from the past to present?
13. Do you see any impacts of globalisation on Lanna culture? (Tourist investment/ government administrative, health and medical care)

Expert's interview questions

Introductory questions

1. How did you first get interested in Lanna culture?
2. What do you value about Lanna culture?
3. How has Lanna culture changed from the past to present?
4. Do you see any impacts of globalisation on Lanna culture? (Tourist investment/ government administrative, health and medical care)?
5. How do you think Lanna people see themselves (as a culture? community?)?

Lanna collection management

6. How do Lanna people organize and store cultural material?
7. How do Lanna people transfer cultural material from ancestor/community to organization, for example, temple, museum, or library?
8. What is the reason behind transferring?
9. What is your view about intellectual property with regard to Lanna cultural material?
   9.1 How do you think intellectual property laws might protect Lanna culture?
   9.2 How do you think intellectual property laws might harm Lanna culture?]
10. Who do you think is a suitable owner for Lanna cultural materials - individuals, communities, and/or organizations?
11. What do you think it is suitable to assign authorship to Lanna cultural material?
    11.1 Does it differ between resources? How?
12. How can Lanna materials be best identified in your perspective?
13. How can Lanna materials be best organized, stored and retrieved in your perspective?
14. Do you think academic / national / public library meet the specific needs and management to Lanna communities?
15. What do you think the role could be of libraries in managing Lanna cultural material?
16. Do you think Lanna people could be more actively involved in libraries management of Lanna collections?

Appendix 5: Interview questions – main study

<div style="border:1px solid">

Interview Questions

Research Questions:

1. What is the character and state of Lanna culture in the present day?
2. Where do palm leaf manuscripts or wisdom culture fit into Lanna culture?
3. How do stakeholders believe Lanna collections should be managed, in terms of in terms of authorship, ownership, organisation and access?
4. How do stakeholders (the community, community leaders, experts on Lanna culture and librarians) think they should be managed?
5. What should be the characteristics of a collaborative model for the management of PLMs?

Introductory questions

1. ช่วยเล่าความเป็นมา และ/หรือ ที่มาที่ไป ของคัมภีร์ใบลานให้ฟังหน่อยค่ะ (โรงเรียนภูมิปัญญา)

   Could you tell me about palm leaf manuscripts (/wisdom classrooms)? this question will allow them to give their viewpoint. They may well answer following questions before you ask them!

2. ท่านเกี่ยวข้องกับคัมภีร์ใบลานอย่างไรบ้าง What is your involvement with them?

3. ท่านคิดว่าทำไมคัมภีร์ใบลานถึงมีความสำคัญกับท่าน Why are they important to you?

   [This relates to this issue of the different ways people think they are important, as per the email I sent you last week, eg do they see them as beautiful objects or containers of knowledge]

   ท่านคิดว่าทำไมคัมภีร์ใบลานถึงมีความสำคัญต่อล้านนา Why do you think they are important to Lanna?

4. ท่านคิดว่าทำไมคัมภีร์ใบลานถึงมีความสำคัญกับสังคมของเรา Why are they important to our society?

5. ท่านคิดว่าคัมภีร์ใบลานถูกคุกคามหรือไม่ อย่างไร อาทิเช่นจากทางใด จากบุคคลใด เป็นต้นDo you think they are under threat in some way? By what? *bring clearer sense of what the wider pressures were on Lanna and the internal strengths. (also in par ob)

6. ท่านมีความคิดเห็นอย่างไรว่าเราควรจะปกป้ององค์ความรู้ทางวัฒนธรรมล้านนาด้วยวิธีการ ใดบ้าง และอย่างไร How should Lanna cultural knowledge should be protected?

</div>

Lanna collection management
Authorship
7.   ท่านคิดว่าใคร และ/หรือ บุคคลใด ที่เป็นผู้เขียนคัมภีร์ใบลาน Who do you consider is the "author" of a palm leaf manuscript? (Note: In the wisdom class room interivews obviously it would be different)
Ownership
8.   ท่านคิดว่าใครคือเจ้าของคัมภีร์ใบลาน Who owns palm leaf manuscripts, do you think?
9.   ในความคิดเห็นของท่านใครควรที่จะเป็นเจ้าของคัมภีร์ใบลาน Who should own palm leaf manuscripts?
Organisation
10. ท่านคิดว่าขั้นตอนในการดูแลคัมภีร์ใบลานควรมีขั้นตอน และ/หรือ วิธีการ อย่างไรบ้าง What are the processes of looking after palm leaf manuscript?
11. หากมีบุคคล และ/หรือ กลุ่มบุคคล ที่ต้องการค้นหาคัมภีร์ใบลาน ท่านคิดว่าในปัจจุบันนี้ท่านจะมีวิธีการจัดการอย่างไรบ้าง How do you currently organise palm leaf manuscript for people to find them?
12. หากมีบุคคล และ/หรือ กลุ่มบุคคล ที่ต้องการค้นหาคัมภีร์ใบลาน ในความคิดเห็นของท่าน ท่านคิดว่าวิธีการ และ/หรือ แนวทางในการจัดการเกี่ยวกับคัมภีร์ใบลานที่ดีที่สุดควรเป็นอย่างไร How would it be best to organise palm leaf manuscript for people to find them in your perspective?
13. ในความคิดเห็นของท่าน ท่านคิดว่าวิธี และ/หรือ แนวทางการจัดประเภทคัมภีร์ใบลานแบบไหนถือว่าดีที่สุด How would it be best to classify palm leaf manuscript in your perspective?
14. ในปัจจุบันนี้ท่านมีการจัดประเภทคัมภีร์ใบลานอย่างไร How do you currently classify palm leaf manuscripts? *if mention fabric pattern…expand more
15. ในความคิดเห็นของท่าน ท่านคิดว่าวิธีการ และ/หรือ แนวทางในการจัดเก็บคัมภีร์ใบลาน/วัตถุทางวัฒนธรรม ควรเป็นอย่างไรจึงจะถือว่าเหมาะสมที่สุด How are palm leaf manuscript be best stored in your perspective?
16. ท่านคิดว่าคัมภีร์ใบลาน/วัตถุทางวัฒนธรรมควรมีการจัดเก็บ และ/หรือ แปลงให้อยู่ในรูปแบบที่เป็น หรืออยู่ในระบบดิจิทัลหรือไม่ อย่างไร Should palm leaf manuscripts be digitized and why?
17. ท่านคิดว่าในปัจจุบันนี้ขั้นตอนในการอนุรักษ์ควรประกอบไปด้วยอะไรบ้าง อย่างไร What are your current conservation processes?

Access

18. ท่านคิดว่าคัมภีร์ใบลาน/วัตถุทางวัฒนธรรม มีการถูกนำไปใช้โดยผู้ใช้ และ/หรือ ถูกใช้ในที่สาธารณะ และ/หรือ ที่ส่วนรวม อย่างไร How are palm leaf manuscripts or cultural objects used by the public/users?

19. ท่านคิดว่าบุคคล และ/หรือกลุ่มบุคคล สามารถที่จะเข้าถึงคัมภีร์ใบลาน/วัตถุทางวัฒนธรรม ได้ โดยวิธีการใดบ้าง อย่างไร How do people access palm leaf manuscripts?

20. ท่านคิดว่าคัมภีร์ใบลานจะถูกนำไปใช้เพื่อวัตถุประสงค์ใดบ้าง What are they (palm leaf manuscripts) used for? *expand the use of manuscript for scholar and community (also in par ob)

21. ท่านคิดว่าบุคคล และ/หรือกลุ่มบุคคลใดที่ควรเข้าถึงคัมภีร์ใบลานได้ Who should access the material?

22. ท่านคิดว่ามีวิธีการ และหรือ แนวทางใดบ้างที่สามารถทำให้บุคคล และ/หรือกลุ่มบุคคล เข้าถึงคัมภีร์ใบลานได้ง่ายกว่าที่เป็นอยู่ในปัจจุบันนี้ Are there ways to make it easier for people to access them?

Participation

23. ท่านคิดว่าคนล้านนา และ/หรือ คนท้องถิ่นสามารถมีส่วนร่วมในคัมภีร์ใบลาน/วัตถุทางวัฒนธรรม โดยวิธีการใดได้บ้าง อย่างไร How can Lanna/local people participate in collecting and organising palm leaf manuscripts?

24. ท่านคิดว่าคนล้านนา และ/หรือคนท้องถิ่น ควรมีส่วนร่วมในการจัดการคัมภีร์ใบลาน/วัตถุทางวัฒนธรรมในปัจจุบันนี้ อย่างไร How are Lanna/local people involved in looking after palm leaf manuscripts now?

25. ท่านคิดว่าผู้เชี่ยวชาญ และ/หรือบรรณารักษ์ ควรที่จะมีบทบาทอย่างไรบ้างในการดูแลคัมภีร์ใบลาน What should be the role of experts (libraries) in looking after palm leaf manuscripts?

26. ท่านคิดว่าห้องสมุดที่เข้ามาจัดการกับคัมภีร์ใบลาน/วัตถุทางวัฒนธรรม สามารถตอบสนองถึงความต้องการของชุมชนได้หรือไม่ อย่างไรDo you think library where provide service of palm leaf manuscript or cultural objects meet the specific needs and management to Lanna communities?

27. ท่านคิดว่าห้องสมุดสามารถที่จะอำนวยความสะดวกต่อชุมชนในการพัฒนาคัมภีร์ใบลาน/วัตถุทางวัฒนธรรม ได้หรือไม่ อย่างไร How can libraries facilitate community to develop collection (such as palm leaf manuscript or cultural material)?

Appendix 6: Observation sheet

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px">

<h1 style="text-align:center; color:orange">Observation Sheet</h1>

Place:_____   Event:_____   Date:_____

Research questions:

1. What is the character and state of Lanna culture in the present day?
2. Where do palm leaf manuscripts or wisdom culture fit into Lanna culture?
3. How do stakeholders believe Lanna collections should be managed, in terms of in terms of authorship, ownership, organisation and access?
4. How do stakeholders (the community, community leaders, experts on Lanna culture and librarians) think they should be managed?
5. What should be the characteristics of a collaborative model for the management of PLMs?

RQ3: management

Organisation

6. How many of palm leaf manuscripts, rooms, cabinets, boxes?

7. How are palm leaf manuscripts organised?

8. What is their classification?

</div>

9. How they take care of palm leaf manuscripts?

10. What are their conservation process?

11. Temple/Wisdom Classroom: describe place

12. When people can access palm leaf manuscripts?

13. How long people can hold palm leaf manuscripts?

14. What activities that occur around palm leaf manuscripts?
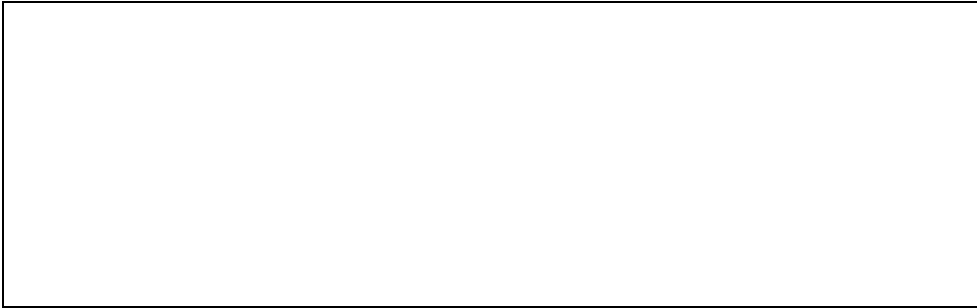
15. Chronicle of events

16. What relation between what and what?

17. Who involve?

18. Which role they have?

19. How people work together?

20. How relationship among them?

21. What language they talk (including: slang, idiom, methaphor etc.) that express their feeling or explain in their life?
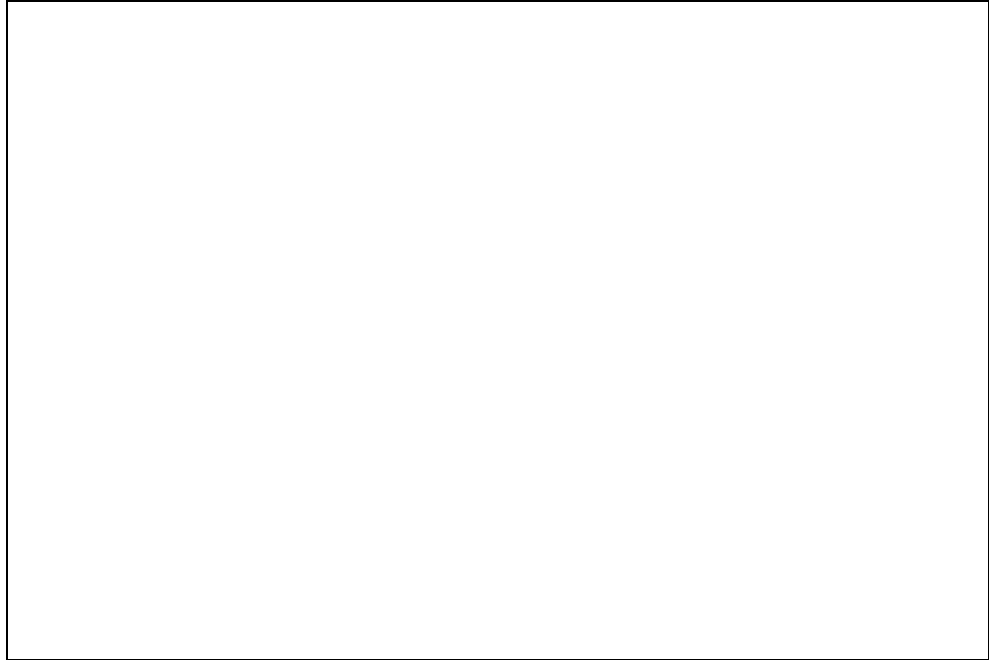
Lanna culture

22. What is the current state of Lanna culture in present day? E.g. how many people come to participate, how they dress, what generation involve
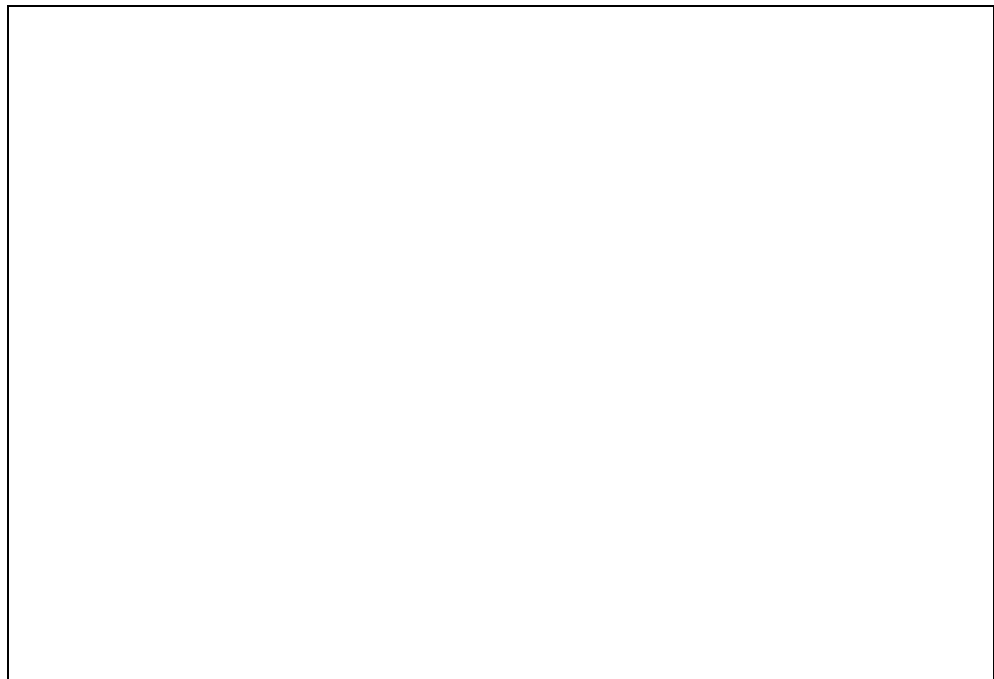
23. How and where palm leaf manuscripts/wisdom culture fit into state of Lanna culture?
(Describe the events: how this event maintains Lanna culture, how this event attract community to support Lanna culture and security)

Reflect: what I think, what I feel to people

Appendix 7: Photo shooting guide

Photo Shooting Guide

Place:_____   Event:_____   Date:_____

Whole building					
No	**Topic**	**Category**	**No. of photos**	**Filename**	**Note**
1	How can people access material?	Access			
2	What is the security of the building?	Access			
3	Are they advertised/promoted in any way? e.g. library, posters or information	Access			

Inside building: rooms/ collection/ objects					
No	**Topic**	**Category**	**No. of photos**	**Filename**	**Note**
1	How are the manuscripts stored?	Organisation			
2	How are items organised?	Organisation			
3	Is there a classification system?	Organisation			
4	How are items preserved/ conserved?	Preservation			

Public place					
No	**Topic**	**Category**	**No. of photos**	**Filename**	**Note**
1	Are there any activities which involve community members with items?	Participation			

Appendix 8: Data record sheets for Lanna palm leaf manuscripts

a) The data record sheet for PLMs at the Center for the Promotion of Arts and Culture, Chiang Mai University

b) The data record sheet for PLMs at the Northeastern Leaf-inscription Conservation Center, Mahasarakham University

อนุรักษ์ พื้นฟู บูรณาการ
แบบกรอกข้อมูลเอกสารใบลาน
งานอนุรักษ์ใบลานภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือ

รหัส	จังหวัด	วัด	หมวด	เลขที่มัด	เรื่อง/ชุด	

จังหวัด .... ชื่อสถานที่ ....

วัด ....บ้าน..................ตำบล .... อำเภอ ....

ชื่อเรื่อง ....

หมวด

( ) ๐๑ พระวินัย   ( ) ๐๘ โอวาทคำสอน   ( ) ๑๕ กฎหมาย

( ) ๐๒ พระสุตตันตปิฎก   ( ) ๐๙ ประเพณีพิธีกรรม   ( ) ๑๖ ตำราอักษรศาสตร์

( ) ๐๓ พระอภิธรรม   ( ) ๑๐ ธรรมทั่วไป   ( ) ๑๗ กวีนิพนธ์ร้อยกรอง

( ) ๐๔ คัมภีร์ภาษาบาลี   ( ) ๑๑ นิยายธรรม   ( ) ๑๘ ตำราโหราศาสตร์

( ) ๐๕ บทสวดมนต์   ( ) ๑๒ นิยายนิทานพื้นบ้าน   ( ) ๑๙ ตำรายา

( ) ๐๖ อานิสงส์ /ฉลอง   ( ) ๑๓ ตำนานพุทธศาสนา   ( ) ๒๐ รวมหลายหมวด

( ) ๐๗ ชาดก   ( ) ๑๔ ตำนานเมือง/ราชวงศ์ ( ) ๒๑ อื่นๆ ....

อักษร ( )ไทย ( ) ธรรมอีสาน ( ) ไทยน้อย ( ) ขอม ( ) อื่นๆ ...

ภาษา ( ) ไทย ( ) ไทยอีสาน ( ) บาลี ( ) อื่นๆ ....

ลักษณะเอกสาร ( ) ใบลานยาว ( ) ใบลานสั้น ( )สมุดข่อย ( ) อื่นๆ ...

จาร/บันทึก เมื่อ ( ) จ.ศ. ....( ) พ.ศ. .... ( ) ไม่ปรากฏ

จำนวนผูก/เล่ม ที่พบ .... ผูก/เล่ม

ลักษณะชุด ( ) ครบชุด ( ) ไม่ครบชุด ( ) ไม่ปรากฏ ( ) ต่างชุด

สภาพเอกสาร ( ) ดีมาก ( ) ดี ( ) ชำรุดเล็กน้อย ( )ชำรุดมาก

การซ่อมแซม ( ) ซ่อมสายสนอง ( ) ซ่อมตัวใบลานหรือสมุดข่อย ( ) ไม่ได้ซ่อม
     ( ) ใส่ไม้ประกับ ( ) ห่อผ้าใหม่ ( ) ทำความสะอาด ( ) อื่นๆ ......

ถ่ายไมโครฟิล์ม ( ) ไม่ถ่าย ( ) ถ่ายเมื่อวันที่ ....เดือน............... พ.ศ. ....

หมายเหตุ ....วันที่ .... เดือน .... ปี.................. ที่สำรวจ

ชื่อผู้สำรวจ (๑) ....(๒) ....

หมายเหตุเพิ่มเติม ....

370

c)   The data record sheet for PLMs at the Social Research Institute

แบบบันทึกข้อมูลเอกสารโบราณ

รหัส | 1 | 5 | . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | . | | | | . | | | | | - | |

ปีที่สำรวจ   รหัสวัด   หมวดเรื่อง   เลขที่เรื่อง   -   จำนวนผูก

ชื่อเรื่อง _____

หมวดเรื่อง

☐ 01 พุทธศาสนา

☐ 01A พุทธตำนาน   ☐ 01B มหาชาติชาดก   ☐ 01C ทศชาติชาดก   ☐ 01D ชาดกทั่วไป
☐ 01E พระสูตร   ☐ 01F พระอภิธรรม   ☐ 01G พระวินัย   ☐ 01H ธรรมะทั่วไป
☐ 01I อานิสงส์ต่าง ๆ   ☐ 01J ทรรศนะเกี่ยวกับจักรวาล   ☐ 01K ประวัติศาสตร์พุทธศาสนา
☐ 01L ตำนานปูชนียวัตถุ   ☐ 01M พระสาวกที่มีชื่อเสียง   ☐ 01N พยากรณ์เหตุการณ์อนาคต
☐ 01O บทสวดมนต์   ☐ 01P พิธีกรรมสงฆ์   ☐ 01Q เทพนิยาย

☐ 02 นิทานพื้นบ้าน   ☐ 03 กฎหมายโบราณ   ☐ 04 จริยศาสตร์   ☐ 05 ประวัติศาสตร์   ☐ 06 โหราศาสตร์
☐ 07 โคลงกลอน   ☐ 08 ยาสมุนไพร   ☐ 09 ลัทธิพิธีกรรม   ☐ 10 ไสยศาสตร์   ☐ 11 ปกิณกะ

แหล่งที่มา   วัดต้นยางหลวง _____

อำเภอ สารภี _____   จังหวัด เชียงใหม่ _____

อักษร   ☐ ธรรมล้านนา   ☐ ไทลื้อ   อื่น ๆ _____

ภาษา   ☐ ไทยวน   ☐ บาลี   อื่น ๆ _____

ประเภทเอกสาร   ☐ ใบลาน   ☐ พับสา   อื่น ๆ _____

จำนวน   _____ ผูก / เล่ม   _____ ใบ / แผ่น   _____ หน้า

ขนาด (เซนติเมตร)   กว้าง _____   สูง _____   จำนวนบรรทัด / ลาน _____

ปีที่จาร / บันทึก   _____

ผู้จาร / ผู้คัดลอก   _____   ผู้สร้าง _____

สภาพเอกสาร   ☐ สมบูรณ์   ☐ ไม่สมบูรณ์ _____

ลักษณะชุด   ☐ ครบชุด   ☐ ไม่ครบชุด _____

การซ่อมแซม   ☐ ไม่ซ่อมแซม   ☐ เปลี่ยนสายสนอง   ☐ ซ่อมแซม _____

การถ่ายภาพ   ☐ ไม่ถ่าย   ☐ ถ่าย   เมื่อวันที่ _____   จำนวนไฟล์ _____

หมายเหตุ _____
_____

วันที่สำรวจ _____

ผู้สำรวจ _____   ผู้ช่วยสำรวจ _____

โดยสถาบันวิจัยสังคม มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่

371

d) The data record sheet for PLMs at the National Library of Thailand

ทะเบียนคัมภีร์ใบลาน

เลขที่..

มัดที่............. หมวด........................ ชื่อคัมภีร์..

ชื่อเรื่องหน้าปก.. ผู้แต่ง...

ผู้สร้าง.. ปีที่สร้าง.................... จำนวน.............. ผูก ....บรรทัด

อักษร................................ ภาษา..................... .... เส้น...................

ฉบับ.. ขนาด กว้าง.............. ยาว.............. หนา..............

ไม้ประกับ.. ขนาด กว้าง.............. ยาว.............. .หนา..............

ประวัติ..


Appendix 9: Conference poster for iFutures 2015

An exploration through the photo inventory method of the value of collaborative management of palm leaf manuscripts as Lanna cultural material in libraries and communities in Thailand.

Appendix 10: Conference poster for iConference 2015

An exploration of the value of a collaborative model of collection management for Lanna cultural material in libraries in northern Thailand

Appendix 11: iConference 2017 - Most Interesting Preliminary Results Paper Nomination