

พัฒนาการของรูปที่ว่างและองค์ประกอบเมืองของถนนช้างคลาน เมืองเชียงใหม่

Spatial Form and Urban Elements Development of Changklan Road, Chiang Mai

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บทคัดย่อ

งานศึกษานี้มุ่งเน้นที่จะอธิบายกำเนิดและพัฒนาการของการก่อรูปที่ว่างและองค์ประกอบเมืองของถนนช้างคลานตั้งแต่ พ.ศ. 2339 จนถึงปัจจุบัน ผ่านการศึกษาแผนที่ในแต่ละยุคและค้นหาสาเหตุปัจจัยที่ส่งอิทธิพลต่อกระบวนการพัฒนาของโครงสร้างถนน และองค์ประกอบเมืองบนถนนช้างคลาน การเข้ามาอยู่อาศัยของชาวอังกฤษ พม่า อินเดีย จีนยูนนาน และชาวไทยที่เข้ามาใช้ประโยชน์พื้นที่ จนกระทั่งเข้าสู่การเป็นแหล่งท่องเที่ยวในฐานะของถนนค้าขายของฝากของที่ระลึกยามค่ำคืนที่มีชื่อเสียงของเมืองเชียงใหม่ ความหนาแน่นของการใช้พื้นที่ถูกซ้อนทับลงไปบนพื้นที่ในแต่ละช่วงสมัย ทำให้เกิดเป็นองค์ประกอบเมืองที่หลากหลาย ซึ่งเป็นลักษณะพิเศษของถนนช้างคลาน อันประกอบไปด้วยวัด มัสยิด โรงแรม ห้างสรรพสินค้า อาคารพาณิชย์ โรงเรียน ตลาด และบ้านพักอาศัย เช่นเดียวกับการค้าขายที่มีตั้งแต่ห้างร้านขนาดใหญ่ จนถึงร้านแผงลอยขนาดเล็ก ซึ่งการศึกษาการใช้พื้นที่ของแผงลอยที่มีรูปแบบเฉพาะนั้น นำไปสู่การอธิบายการก่อรูปที่ว่าง พัฒนาการของเมืองและความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างองค์ประกอบเมืองในทั้งสองฝั่งถนน ผลลัพธ์ที่เห็นในปัจจุบันยังคงปรากฏให้เห็นร่องรอยในอดีต ผ่านลักษณะการใช้พื้นที่ โครงสร้างถนน รูปร่าง และขนาดของแปลงที่ดิน อย่างไรก็ตามพัฒนาการของถนนช้างคลานในปัจจุบันได้ชะลอลง เนื่องจากเกิดคู่แข่งจากย่านการค้าและการท่องเที่ยวแห่งใหม่ ซึ่งล้วนแต่ค้าขายและทำธุรกิจบนแปลงที่ดินขนาดเล็ก ด้วยเหตุนี้ แนวทางการพัฒนาของถนนช้างคลานในอนาคตจึงมีแนวโน้มที่จะเกิดขึ้นบนแปลงที่ดินขนาดใหญ่ ซึ่งเป็นจุดเด่นของถนนช้างคลาน

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to explain the development processes on Changklan Road's spatial forming and urban elements since 1796 through a study of the maps of each period, and to determine the causes of influences on the development of roads and urban elements from the settlement of the British, Burmese, Indian, Yunnan Chinese and Thai people until the place became

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Chiangmai's famous tourism spot and a night trading venue for souvenir shopping. The long and closely packed usage of spaces which are superimposed onto the area during each era formed a multiple townscape elements, specifically typical of Changklan Road, that are composed of: Buddhist monasteries, a mosque, hotels, shopping malls, shophouses, schools, markets and houses. The various patterns of trade ranging from large department stores to small street stalls also generated a unique pattern of space usage and townscape. The study of stalls' special spatial use led to explanation of space forming, urban development and relationship between urban components on both sides of the road. The outcomes remaining at present still shows some traces of the past through the usage of space, road structures and the configuration of land plots. However, the current development of Changklan Road has declined by new business districts and walking streets. These businesses typically run on small land plots. Thus, the developmental model of Changklan Road in the future is likely to take place on large scale land plots which is a strong advantage of the road.

คำสำคัญ: ช้างคลาน เชียงใหม่ ไนท์บาร์ซาร์ พัฒนาการเมือง ก่อรูปที่ว่าง

Keywords: Changklan, Chiang Mai, Night bazaar, Urban development, Spatial form

Introduction

Changklan Road is a well-known shopping street in Chiang Mai, the main commercial and Tourist Street in the city. (fig.1) The road gave birth to the first night bazaar in Chiang Mai, where local handicraft products were sold. Nowadays, there are international brand shops, and local handicraft goods stores are crammed along both sides of the road. The modern and cultural facilities; hotels, restaurants, a school, monasteries, a mosque, and shopping malls are also dispersed in the area. Originally, the road had been developed from the empty fields before it became an urbanized area, then later was further developed to be a nighttime tourist attraction. Currently, Changklan Road has a variety of spatial usage that occurs on both sides of the road at the same time as moveable usage stalls, these stalls are a nightly occurrence.

The developing and the formation processes of these elements alongside the road during each period of change are represented in the present day configuration that also has a variety of urban elements. The usage between daytime and nighttime has given this the unique townscape of the area. In spite of this, it has not yet been studied in detail in regard to how the area was formed and developed and by what factors and influences it contains in the present urban configuration. In addition, the area is now being gradually procured by one landowner, which is likely to affect the development of the area in the future. Using the above-mentioned details, the topic of this study is very important for understanding suitable directions for future developing Changklan Rd, as one of the irreplaceable business districts of the city in the present day.

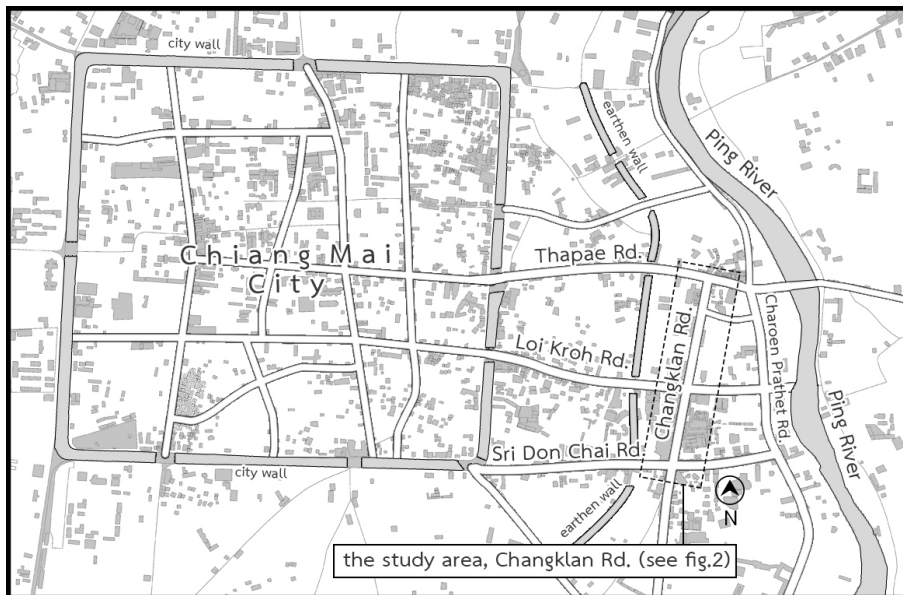


Figure 1 Location of Changklan Road the study area.

Objective

- 1) To explain the development process of spatial form and urban elements on Changklan Road from 1796 until the present day, and to explore influences and factors that control the development processes of the road and its urban elements, up and until the present configuration.
- 2) To analyze the spatial form of the road and the usage pattern of the elements along Changklan Road which make the area remarkable.

Methodology

At first, old texts, graphics data and previous studies about Changklan Road history were collected, and then a map in 2015 by Chiang Mai Municipality office is used as a base map for doing field survey for collecting data on site, and mapping data from literature reviews. Old maps of years 1828, 1933, and 1945 were compared with the base map and each other. Additionally, aerial photos of years 1944, 2002, 2003, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018 were superimposed with all maps to investigate the development processes of the area. Field surveys were done to classify the road structure, land plots, stall and building usage, space, and placement of stalls. Spatial management of the stall was also investigated to explain spatial forms, urban element developments, and its relationship between the elements along the road. The relationship of these elements upon the structure of the road formed along the development process will be discussed and explained as to how we can see these configurations in the present day.

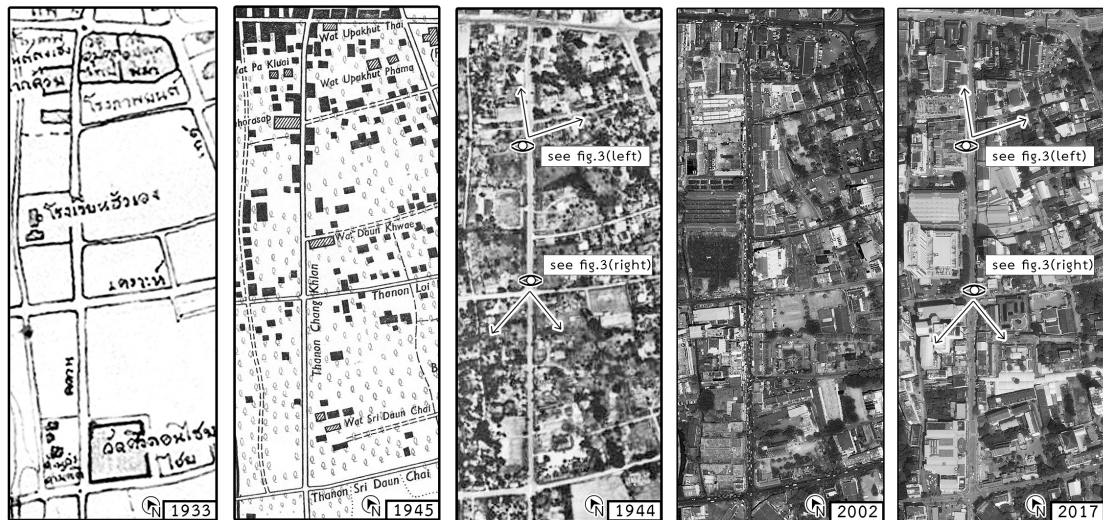


Figure 2 Maps and Aerial photos of Changklan Road in each period

(Source: (left to right) Chiang Mai Municipality, UW-Milwaukee Libraries, CRMA Research Center, and 2002 2017 Google Earth)

Chiang Mai and Changklan Road: An Overview

Chiang Mai City was planned by King Mengrai in 1296 according to the geography that has abundant resources for people to live in. Chiang Mai City is located between Doi Suthep Mountain on the west and the Ping River on the east. The Ping River was used as the main transportation to connect to other cities in the south. The citadel (known today as the Old City) area was designed into a rectangular shape surrounded by walls, 5 gates and a moat. Originally, outside the wall was the utilization for agricultural purposes, including, the area that developed later to be Changklan Road

At a later period, Changklan Road was formed using the field on the south side of Thapae Road. The origin and development of Changklan Road is lacking in any comprehensive study, but it is widely known that the famous Tantrapan Mall was opened in 1951 on the south side of Thapae Road not far from Wat Upakhut intersection. The storage area for the mall was the starting point of northern end of Changklan Road. The newly cut Changklan Road attracted a group of San Kamphaeng merchants who were selling clothes at Warorot Market to further set up and sell substandard fabric at a cheap price along the streets nearby. At night, a battery was used to provide light on the sidewalk. Later, with an influx of merchants from Pa Sang district in Lamphun, and also many other ethnic groups, the numbers of traders had increased and the street turned to be a busy night market. In 1962, the first hotel, Suriwong Hotel, was built on the corner of Changklan Rd and Loi Kroh Road. The Superhighway from Chiang Mai-Bangkok was opened in 1967. Three years later the government declared Chiang Mai Airport as an international destination, and the numbers of

foreign tourists in Chiang Mai increased. In the following year, the Chiang Mai Cultural Center opened on Wualai Road. In 1973, a number of bus companies started using Changklan Road as a connecting point to the Cultural Center on Wualai Road. It became an accessible bus hub for both locals and tourists. With the increasing number of tourists, the abandoned yard because of the demolition of Wiang Ping Movie Theater, was developed into the first souvenir stall market and soon after stalls were widely spread along Changklan Road stretching to the front of Chong Fah School. Later, in 1977, the school courtyard was paved with concrete and divided into small plots for stalls to lease. In 1981, Chong Fah School was demolished, leaving vacant land available and the Chiang Mai Night Bazaar was then constructed on this vacant land plot. Around about the same time, Sri Tokyo Hotel on the opposite side of the road was knocked down leaving a plot of vacant land, enabling more merchants to use the vacant land to set stalls up on, for selling their local products. This land was later developed into the Kalare Night Bazaar in 1989. Changklan Road has become a tourist attraction and the most famous souvenir shopping area of Chiang Mai ever since.



Figure 3 Comparison of same view old and new photos between before and after the modernity
(Source: Old photos 1970, 1992 from CMU Library; picturelanna. 2018 photos by author)

Results of the Study

1. Formation and development of Changklan Road.

The analysis of formation and development of Changklan Road can be divided into 5 periods. The first 3 are under the administration in Chiang Mai. The latter 2 are the flourishing period of Changklan Road and the present day.

1.1 Period of city settlement from founding until losing its independence (1296-1796)

Changklan Road was an agricultural area on the outer parts of the old city. It connected to the transportation route from the Ping River through the outer city wall to the inner city at Thapae Road. This was the first main arterial structure and further led to the commencement of Changklan Road. An important urban element in this area was the Wat Upakhut, as it was the spiritual center not only locals, but also for the Burmese people who had ruled the city from 1558 to 1774. Wat Upakhut was built in 1757 and Chiang Mai was recolonized by Thonburi soon afterward, upon where Chiang Mai was then deserted. Later in 1790, Phraya Kawila accumulated sufficient manpower to

begin to restore Chiang Mai. There was no evidence whether Changklan Road had been cut yet it is assumed that there was no settlement outside the city walls in general. There were still some parts along the main road that were connected between the city and the Ping River and around the important elements, such as Wat Upakhut, where social life occurred in the area along and around the main road.

1.2 Period of reconstruction during the reign of King Kawila up and until modification of the political administration when Chiang Mai became a province and the city was stabilized. (1796-1939) (fig.4A)

The beginning of this period started with the development of the forestry industry in Lanna. The forestry industry concessions were run by British companies in 1864. Until 1883, the British Embassy was built on Charoen Prathet Road near the intersection of Sri Don Chai Road and Changklan Road. The arrival of the British directly impacted and affected the development of Charoen Prathet Rd, with some influence spreading to Changklan Road. Especially, the Burmese Tai Yai (Shan people) and Indians who were under the British rule. They were entrepreneurs in most of the business. At that time, Chinese merchants were very few (Sant, 2016: 238). Changklan Road appeared on the map with Charoen Prathet Road where it curved along the Ping River, and Thapae Rd, lane 1 on the other side also curved along the outer city wall, whereas Changklan Road traveled in a straight line from Thapae Road to Sri Don Chai Road and continued to the south. This suggested that Changklan Road was built later to make better use of the area by following the shortest route which made the area itself more accessible. Furthermore, on the old map showing the grid of Wat Upakhut, it had a Thai side (fig.4A, no.2) and a Burmese side (fig.4A, no.3), where architecture and art that were influenced by Burmese rule for over 200 years was evident.

As well was Ban Ho mosque, (name in the present as MASJIDHIDAYATUL ISLAM BANHAW, Chiang Mai) where it was located on Charoen Prathet 1 Alley. (fig.4A, no.4) It was first built by a group of Chinese people, called Chin Ho, mostly who came from Yunnan to cater to the Muslim Yunnan Chinese community that had settled in 1915 and had built a brick mosque. (Suchart, et al., 1996) Before that, the Yunnan Chinese and Tai Yai merchants who came to trade would stopover at the outer northern city gate. Around this time also Thapae area became a large mixed community, and the Yunnan Chinese and Tai Yai caravans changed their location from the Northgate and then gathered at Wiang Ping area, near the current Ban Ho Mosque. This group of Chinese people were mainly involved in brass, herbs and non-timber forest products (Sant, 2016: 237). Establishment of Changklan Road linked the two communities and thus at Wat Upakhut community it had begun to be densely populated by the Yunnan Chinese Muslim, Thai Buddhists, and Indians. Wat Sri Don Chai community is located nearby a Thai school (fig.4A, no.6,8) linked to Charoen Prathet Road which was once the location of the British Embassy, French Embassy, and the Royal Forest Department.

Changklan Road was the main structure connecting both communities until they assembled into one, known as the Ban Ho community.

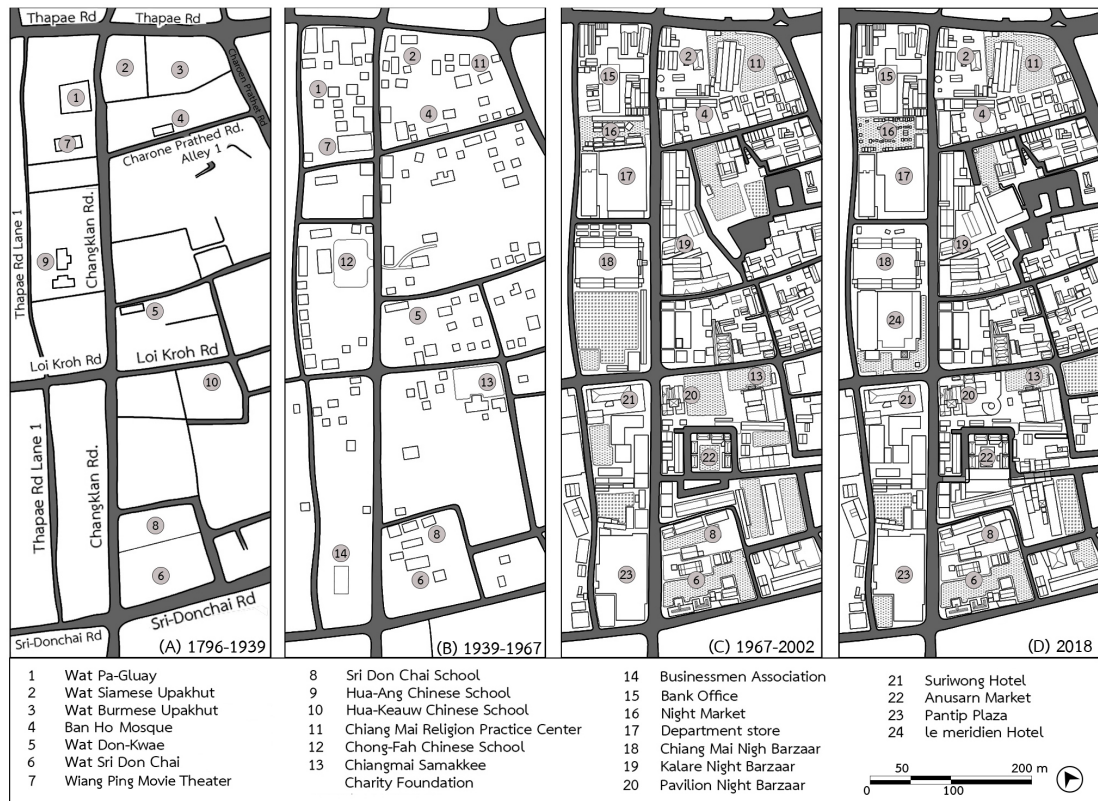


Figure 4 Maps of Changklan Road in each period

Business growth of trade in Chiang Mai had encouraged many Chinese merchants to settle, and they later became Chiang Mai permanent residents. This sparked the step-up of Hua-Ang Chinese School (Teochew Chinese teaching); it was originally located west of the Ping River where there was the mooring area and some warehouses that belonged to Chinese merchants from Bangkok. The land was small and the number of students was more than expected, so the school was moved to land on Changklan Road, where the land was obtained from a Chinese businessman's donation in 1917. (fig.4A, no.9)

Upon completion of the railroad was built in 1921, business growth in Chiang Mai dramatically rose and as a consequence reduced water transport and cart transport. As a result, cart transporting for the overland trading with Burmese came to an end, and Chinese merchants from Bangkok bought the Burmese businesses. East Indians were still able to continue trade because of British support in trade and merchandise shipping. Subsequently, Hua-Keauw Chinese School

(Mandarin Chinese teaching) was established in 1927. (fig.4A, no.10) This was considered a Chinese School in Chiang Mai, and at that time there were only 2 Chinese schools, both were located in the Changklan Road area.

Development of Changklan Road from (1796 to 1939) is described as dense by the inhabitants of the area. Important city elements such as Wat Upakhut and Wat Si Don Chai, as well as a Thai school and two Chinese schools, and a mosque epitomized the diverse cultural backgrounds that have now morphed into unique features along Changklan Road

1.3 Period of modernity before being developed into an international tourist city (1939-1967) (fig.4B)

After Thailand changed from an absolute monarchy to a democracy, Chiang Mai became a province. The continuous growth of its economy affected physical features. The main road remained the same, but some minor roads disappeared and new ones took their place. Sub-minor roads occurred at the edge of land plots where it was not prominently developed. During World War II from 1941-1945, the two Chinese Schools were closed, then reopened, and renamed “Chong Fah School” in the same area in 1949. (fig.4B, no.12) Until the last group of Chinese Muslim immigrants sailed to Chiang Mai in 1948 (end of WWII), it was an end of the Chinese immigration era.

This period showed steady modernization of both water supply upgrades, and building construction technology, therefore space usage was required to accommodate these upgrades. Chiang Mai Religion Practice Center was constructed in 1958. (fig.4B, no.11) It replaced the Wat Burmese Upakhut where it had deteriorated and was no longer in use. Suriwongse Hotel was built in 1962 as the first hotel located on Changklan Road (fig.4C, no.21) Changklan Road was not overcrowded compared to Thapae Road, Ban Ho Mosque community and Charoen Prathet Road where many small buildings had sprung up. Empty land remained the same on both sides of Changklan Rd, including large land plots that had been used for Chong Fah Chinese School, Unity Charity Area, Wiang Ping Theatre area (fig.4B, no.7) and the Chiang Mai Businessman Association. (fig.4B, no.14)

1.4 Period of development as an international tourist destination when both sides of Changklan Road grew rapidly to support the boom in tourism. (1967-2002) (fig. 4C)

In 1967, the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) developed Chiang Mai as the second international tourist city after Bangkok. At an International Travel Conference (PATA), held for the first time in Chiang Mai, foreign awareness of Chiang Mai was now and increasing tourist destination. Later that year, the Super Highway from Bangkok to Chiang Mai was completed. Until 1972, there was an expansion of the commercial district towards Changklan Road, especially where there were two popular hotels, Suriwongse Hotel and Sri Tokyo Hotel (fig.4C, no.19 had been Sri Tokyo Hotel before). Changklan Road area was the access area between the Chiang Mai city center, and was on the west side of the Ping River where the highway and railway were located. Until 1973, Anusan

market was used as a parking lot for passengers. (fig.4C, no.22) As a consequence, Changklan Road area became the first souvenir shopping place, starting from Wiang Ping vacant land (fig.4C, no.16) to Chong Fah school field (fig.4B, no.12). During that time, Changklan Road was two-way traffic, so it was dense and lively in growth within this area. As an effect the Charoen Prathet Road was then a lifeless regress, until 1978 when one-way traffic was allowed, one-way access to Changklan Road, then drive one way through Charoen Prathet Road (Anu, 2011: 5), as a result of these road changes from Changklan Road to Charoen Prathet Road the number of crossroads increased. Therefore, the developments according to tourism were expanded from Changklan Road along the road cut through to Charoen Prathet Road The rise of tourism businesses resulted in the construction of shophouses, large shopping centers; Chiang-In Plaza (fig.4C, no.17), Chong-fah schools was replaced by Chiang Mai Night Bazaar (fig.4C, no.18), Sri Tokyo Hotel was replaced by Kalare Night Bazaar (fig.4C, no.19), Chiang-Inn Hotel (behind Chiang-In Plaza building), a large vacant land plot was replaced by Anusan market (fig.4C, no.22), and the Chiang Mai Businessman Club was demolished to be replaced by a large department store, but it was an unfinished construction until later. (fig.4C, no.23) Additionally, houses with small land plots were modified into restaurants and guesthouses, or were sold to entrepreneurs at exorbitant prices. Land was consolidated into larger areas also became a setting for night markets and food court. During this period, Wat Pa-Gluay and Wat Don-Kwae on Changklan Road became deserted. Wat Pa-Gluay was replaced by a bank office building (fig.4A, no.1) to (fig.4C, no.15) and Wat Don-Kwae was replaced by shophouses (fig.4A, no.5). The original size of these 2 land plots can still be seen. Main road structures remained in the same position but were improved to accommodate large buses. There were new paths to the market, also new roads around buildings to facilitate goods transfer, and convenient access to the buildings. Furthermore, small traders saw trading opportunities, after they had traded on their street stalls. These stalls were the beginning of the souvenir shopping street on Changklan Road, as we know today as the “Changklan Night Bazaar” where was fully utilized on both sides for trading and businesses that supported all forms of tourism.

Until 2002, Chiang Mai Municipality held an event “10 Lanna wonders” on Thapae Road. from Thapae gate, to Wat Upakhut, which was the first official walking street in Chiang Mai and this was full of liveliness (Suranaree, 2014: 29). According to an inspiring feedback of the walking street event, it has continued until now. However, the high-voltage underground cable project was decided to be improved for the scenery on Thapae Road and Changklan Night Bazaar. This caused the Walking Street to be moved to Rachadamnoen Road inside the city wall temporarily. The relocation of the Walking Street that year had led to the beginning of a new souvenir shopping venue in Chiang Mai. In contrast, the construction on both sides of Changklan Road brought an inconvenience to the businessmen and businesses themselves. Moreover, there was a massive flood in 2005, this caused the areas along the Ping River to be heavily damaged. At Changklan Road and Night Bazaar

they were also heavily affected, both the buildings and the trolley stalls were damaged and the construction had been delayed. Until 2010, the when construction was completed. It took 8 years to complete the construction, and it had a massive negative impact to Changklan Night Bazaar. Both the Sunday and Saturday Walking Street markets caught more of the tourists' attention and have grown ever since. The beginning of the walking street was one of the factors that made Changklan Road less popular, especially on weekends, where tourists targeted to go shopping at both Saturday and Sunday Walking Streets. The vendors themselves had to sell their products on weekends at the walking street markets, and run their normal businesses in Changklan Road on the weekdays.

1.5 Present day Chiang Mai (2018) (fig.4D)

In this period, the development of road structures has changed its direction. From the original road cuts into the land to gain access more thoroughly, over this period some of the minor roads have been converted into covered walking streets to attempt to bring back the tourist, where now the entire area of the original thoroughfare area covered. The passageway can no longer accommodate buses or cars, and these have been replaced by markets accessible only on foot. Especially, The Anusarn Market and Kalare Night Bazaar, these areas are packed with street food restaurants which are not moveable. Moreover, open spaces, vacant land, and road area have decreased significantly. Large pieces of land that built up as Le Meridien Hotel comprising of large structures that fill the land plots. (fig.4D, no.24) In addition, Kalare Night Bazaar and Anusarn markets former parking lot is now food centers, expanded from the original area. Night Bazaar building stays the same, yet the building has not had any upkeep, and as a consequence popularity has been greatly reduced.

The development of the usage on both sides of Changklan Road in this period is noticeable in the changing on large land plots. In contrast, the shophouse buildings still remain the same as in the past. However, some ownership and businesses type have changed. For example, Chiang-In Hotel has become a B2 hotel, and Chiang-In shopping center was renovated into The Plaza Shopping Mall, and ownership was taken over by Thai Beverage Plc., a huge entrepreneur of Thailand after that. (Supatta, 2010) As mentioned above, the prior owners and the land were important pioneering businesspeople of Chiang Mai, but modern time entrepreneurs of Thailand are becoming a new larger land plot owner, in that have the opportunity to gather land plots into one piece of land, and then, larger buildings could be built.

2. Structure and Elements (fig.5)

The study area on Changklan Road has 6 main roads. The routing of these main roads created four large blocks, each with its own minor road to enable more effective access and use

of the area. The eastern block area exists with a lot of minor roads, and has more walkway roads than the west side, because of the early development from the old Chinese Yunnan Muslim community where there are many small land plots and houses. As a result of this, the cul-de-sac walkways formed in this organic pattern. This urban structure has influenced the spatial configuration of the area, until the present.

During the 1970s, Changklan Road was developed into a tourist area, which involved the merging and development of some land areas into markets and trading areas. The commercial space is continuously dense until it overlaps the minor roads around Kalare Night Bazaar and Anusan market, subsequently making the minor roads unable to connect with the other roads, although it is possible to walk through the buildings and market to access these other roads. Due to commercial developments being limited to extending out from Changklan Road to the sides of Charoen Prathet Road, the area remains made up of small plots of land that have been developed into a combination of houses, guesthouses, and small restaurants. What is more is, that there are still some storage buildings and areas that were previously used to store steel frames for the stalls that appear in four places: the first is at the beginning of Changklan Road on the ground floor of an abandoned building, the second is in the middle west side on the ground floor of the Chiang Mai Night Bazaar, the third is on the middle east side of Changklan Road, in a storage area available for rent behind a restaurant on Loi Kroh Road, and the fourth area is an open area space on the side of small lane, next to Sri Don Chai School.

The four areas provide storage for the market stalls that set up along both sides of Changklan Road and the west side of Loi Kroh Road every night. The steel frames of the stalls are then carried out in the afternoon to begin evening trading in the pedestrian areas, which best represent the characteristic urban streetscape of Changklan Road. Shophouses on both sides of Changklan Road are mostly ground floor used for trading and some upper floors are used as residences. Clothing goods are highest in numbers, followed by souvenirs, including dried food, local handmade clothing and products that represent Chiang Mai City. Business services such as traditional Thai massage parlors and photography shops, account for 17% of the total number of commercial building units. Businesses which support tourism as souvenir shops and service centers amount to 26%, comparable to the category of general clothing, footwear and bags at 24%. The business model originated from the unique characteristics of the area such as, custom tailor shops and Indian craft shops at 8% and 6%, respectively. These are operated by East Indian entrepreneurs who embody the pioneers of Changklan Road. In addition, other products and businesses found include convenience stores and pharmacies, which account for 9%, unused building units comprise of 9%, and food and beverage restaurants at 4%. All types of businesses are distributed along Changklan Road, but food and beverage shops are located in a small area around Anusarn Market.

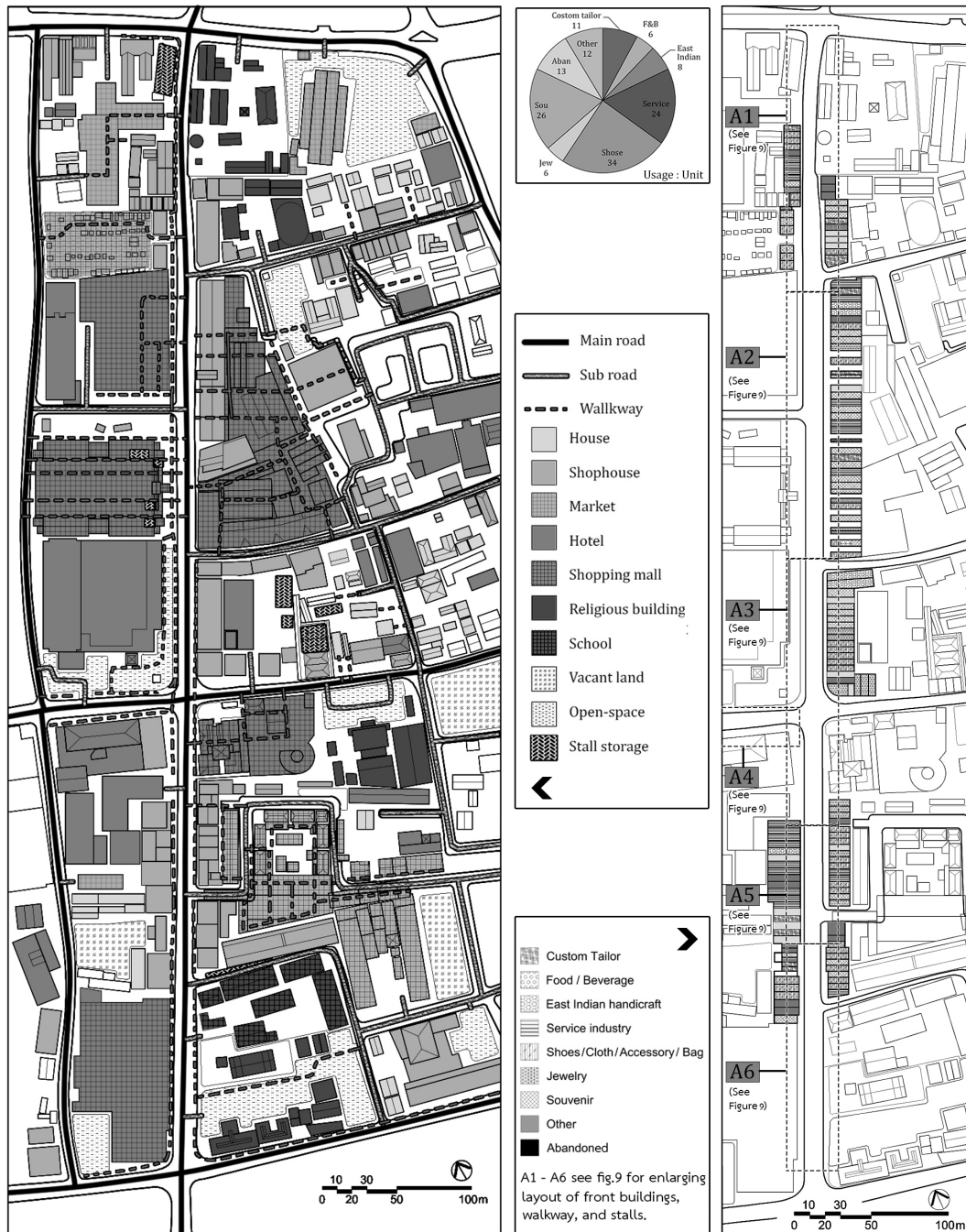


Figure 5 Space usage and urban structure of Changklan Road

From the original Changklan Road where it was once full of educational institutions and religious places, the area has been practically replaced by tourism businesses. Minor roads and sub-minor roads on the borders of land plots have expanded to support car size transport.

The density of trade on Changklan Road continues to increase, not only for entrepreneurs, but also for low-income earners who seek the opportunity to make money. This has growth has resulted in many closely packed stalls on the sidewalk. The number of stalls has increased steadily through organizing and extending of the trade areas on the sidewalk many times, with numbers of traders fluctuating according to the organizational structure. These stalls are become a fascinating unique activity of Changklan Road.

3. Stalls as moving elements

3.1 Background

Stalls epitomize the unique feature of the trade on Changklan Road in the Night Bazaar. They were also the catalyst for market sales of souvenir products. Early traders moved from Thapae Road to this area to sell their cloths or goods, and as tourism grew they changed the target of their sales. Much later other traders were attracted to this area by the large numbers of tourists were now accessing the pathway along these roads to Chiang Mai Cultural Center on the Wualai Road, and being where tour bus were bringing this increased tourist groups to the traders adjusted to meet the growing tourist demands. As a result of this change, the areas in front of closed shops then became an open courtyard for trade at night. Over time, the use of land increased with fewer open spaces being available, and the area became increasingly congested. Chong Fah School Foundation renovated the land in front of the school next to Changklan Road into a concrete open courtyard, with marked areas dividing compartments into areas of approximately six square meters. Merchants rented these spaces to sell their goods. Later in 1981, the area developed into the Chiang Mai Night Bazaar as a tourist attraction of souvenir street shopping. There is also a permanent building to support vendors who want to rent space to trade their goods. However, the number of stalls on the walkway increased steadily until they obstructed the passageway.

In 1997, a law was passed to declare an area along this road to sell products on the sidewalk on both sides of Changklan Road. The size of the stalls was set at width: 0.9-meter, length: 1-meter, and height: 1.8-meter. By 2005, the number of stalls reached 922 from humble beginnings of only 320 in 1993 (Duangchan, 2005: 534). An announcement regarding control and reorganization was imposed in 2016. This stated the requirement to leave 1 meter of the pavement free for public circulation. Size of the stalls was increased to a width: 1.4-meter, length: 1-meter, and height: 1.8-meter and 663 licenses were issued. Each merchant required a stall license in which cooking of food, street hawking, hassling of people walking, and loud music was prohibited.

3.2 Moving system management

Night market on public sidewalks on both sides of Changklan Road were prohibited during the day but allowed to be set up at night. Many trolleys were mobilized with larger wheels attached to their base and a storage area beneath the sales shelves as seen in (fig.7, left). Some parts of the area of Changklan Road used to store steel trolleys during the daytime. However, massive flooding

damaged the steel trolleys destroying in large numbers and thus reduced their presence as stalls. This brought about mixed styles of stalls being set up until the stall area management and organization in 2018, resulted in the steel trolleys being abandoned because stall positioning would now allow need to follow the guidelines for pedestrian space of 1 meter, which the large old trolleys did not meet the new guidelines. Stalls were then built from steel frames that can be disassembled (fig.7, right). They are flexible and easy to install, resulting in significantly reduced storage space. The vacant space that was used to park the steel trolleys during the daytime became an open courtyard area at night (fig.8, left). Later, when the stalls were progressed to using only a steel frame system, the storage space required was greatly reduced. From the original trolleys could only transport one unit at a time but, when changing to a removable steel frames, they could transport 6 units at a time. The trolley storage area was reduced and has been converted to hotels and shops which are open from daytime to nighttime (fig.8, right). Therefore, adaptation to the current configuration of stall management improved space usage and increased the density of the urban element, both in facilities and stalls.



Figure 6 Changkuan Road Daytime (left), Nighttime (right) **Figure 7** Steel trolleys (left), Steel frames (right)
(Source: The left from Google Street View)



Figure 8 Steel trolleys in storage land (left) and old storage land was replaced by new hotel (right)
(Source: The left from Google Earth and Google Street View, the right from Google Map and author)

3.3 Usage of stalls (see fig.9 and chart.1)

Most of the products at up to 58%, are souvenirs, followed by clothing 36%, types of paintings 3%, electronic products 2%, and jewelry 1%. Souvenir products are sold by more than half of all stalls followed by clothing products which are regarded as the main sale items of the stall market. In the past, types of products on sale were handicrafts and souvenirs, especially fruit pickles, handwoven fabrics, wood carvings, silverware, and local clothing as well as ethnic clothing and accessories. Nowadays, traditional products are mixed with finished products. Product types are of

different sizes and characteristics but prices generally do not exceed 400 baht per piece. Silverware and jewelry make up around 10 stalls with higher prices than the others. Prices are generally uniform and an important factor that determines the product types on sale. In addition, stall shops do not have reliable product quality in the eyes of tourists; therefore, traders prefer to sell many cheap products and profit from sales at low prices. High-priced products are not as popular as cheaper alternatives. Moreover, most merchants operate two stalls and sell general ready-to-wear clothing products and folk clothing. Clothing needs to be arranged attractively to show off the items using more space than for other products on 395 stalls, representing 59% of the total numbers.

3.4 Relationship on the walkway between shophouses and street stalls (see fig.9 and table.1)

The most commonly used walkway area is W2 which winds through the middle of Changklan Road. W2 is characterized by just one row of stalls with their fronts to the buildings and rears facing Changklan Road. Thus, W2 has relationships with the shop fronts, including any open spaces and wall lines. The most common type of building front is S5, where shops extend their displays of goods on sale to the edge of the walkways. Walkway usage also depends on the width of the sidewalk along Changklan Rd, mostly about 2.5 meters, with the opportunity to set up stalls in one row and keep 1 meter free as a passageway, allowing tourists to walk effortlessly and see products from stalls and front shops. Walkway W1 has a single stall setting similar to W2, but only occurs in the front of abandoned buildings (S1), or solid walls (S8). This allows tourists to see products from either side of the street as they walk. This type of layout increases interest in the stall products, and compensates for the disadvantages of W1 stalls that are located at the ends of the road where trading is sparser than along the middle section of the road length. In contrast, S8 is able to use W2 on the area of Loi Kroh Road, where there is a sidewalk of at least 2-meters in width, which requires the stalls to be set up contrary to a W1 setup. With the stalls backing onto the traffic surface area leaving then a 1-meter passageway which takes away the interaction and relationship to over the road. They are up to two rows of stalls form; W3, W4, and W5. Which offset area in front of the building that is wide enough and does not obstruct the building entrance. W3, W4, and W5. have distance of the walkway to the building is at least 3 meters. Which is only found in Anusarn market area. The shophouses located on the Anusarn market land were built with an offset distance from the edge of the land plot. This is different from other shophouses within the area researched. In some stall areas in Anusarn Market area, they are up to 3 rows as shown in W6 and W7 form. W6 is a set of stalls in a parallel direction to the passageway. The middle stall row is created by setting up two stalls attached to each other to create more product space, resulting in the outcome where these 2 stalls backing onto each other are accessible by both passageways. Similarly, the area on the sidewalk in the W7 pattern is characterized by 3 stall rows, but the midway stall is created by setting up stalls perpendicular with the passageway on the two blocks of parallel stall space. This causes the stalls to have more trading space and tourists can walk freely to see the products and connect to the other passages. The third row of stalls are at the back, adjacent to the building and facing the front to the passageway. This W7 is found only in front of abandoned building (S1). The total width of the sidewalk is more than 5.50 meters and appears only for a short distance in the Anusarn Market area.

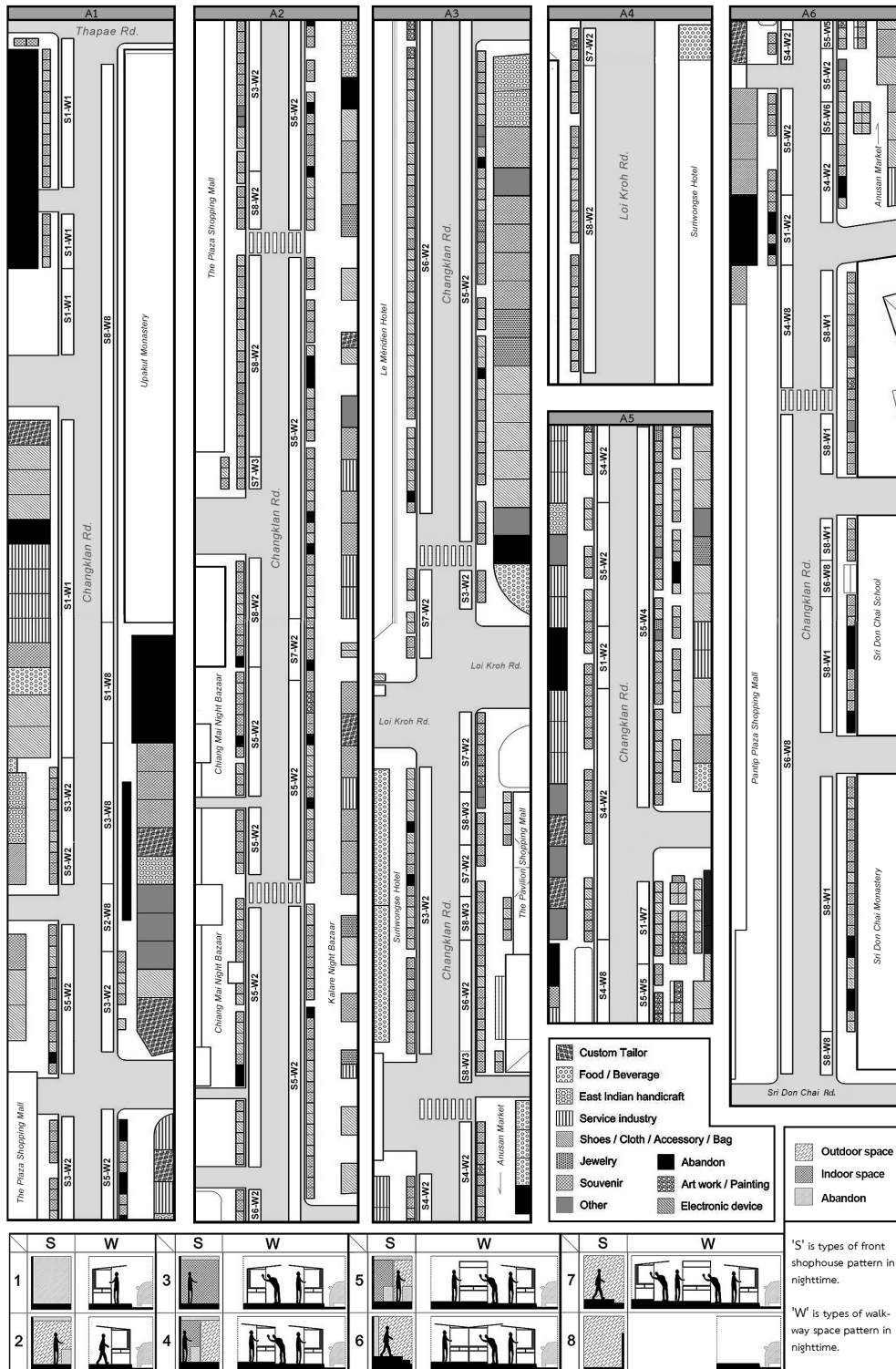


Figure 9 Layout of stalls along Changklan Road and various space sections on sidewalk.

Chart 1 Type of good of each stall.

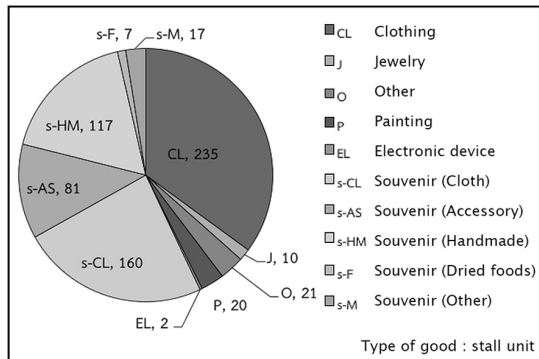


Table 1 Relationship of walkway space-shophouse.

| Frequency table of relationship pattern between front of shophouses (S1-S8) and walkway spaces (W1-W8) | | | | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|-----|----------|----|----|------|
| | S1 | S2 | S3 | S4 | S5 | S6 | S7 | S8 |
| W1 | •• | | | | | | | •••• |
| W2 | •• | • | •• | ••• | •••••••• | • | •• | •••• |
| W3 | | | | | | | • | ••• |
| W4 | | | | | • | | | |
| W5 | | | | | • | | | |
| W6 | | | | | • | | | |
| W7 | • | | | | | | | |
| W8 | • | • | • | •• | • | •• | | •• |

Conclusion

Development of spatial form and structures of the Changklan Road started from the arrival of the British forestry industry with the Indians and Burmese as subjects and employees in 1864, who started their settlement and trade on Thapae Road and Changklan area respectively. Later in 1915, with the arrival of Muslim Yunnan Chinese this resulted in denser living environment, while commercial activity gradually expanded from Thapae Road to Changklan Road. Changklan Road was built to make better use to the area between Chiang Mai City and Ping River, main transportation to other cities, by following the shortest straight route into the vacant land to connect Thapae Road and Sri Don Chai Road, which made the area itself more accessible. In addition, there was a sub-minor road extended from Changklan Road to the east where it commences from the area of the community around Ban Ho Mosque, Wat Don-Kwae, and Wat Sri Don Chai, and connected to Charone Pathet Road. This road further extended from Changklan Rd to the west and connected to Thapae Road, Lane1. This created large plots of land on both sides of Changklan Road. These areas are suitable for large scale buildings to serve a sizeable number of people. Later, these plots of land were developed with the Hua-Ang Chinese School (Teochew Chinese teaching), Hua-Keauw Chinese School (Mandarin Chinese teaching), Businessmans Association, and the Wiang Ping Movie Theater. At first, land on both sides of the Changklan Road had not been used in these wide open areas. Where upon the entering of the National Economic and Social Development Plan No. 3 (1972-1976) that wanted to promote Chiang Mai as a tourist city and required Changklan Road to be an area developed for economic growth, due to the area that it is located on as the connection point between the Chiang Mai Cultural Center which opened on Wualai Road and location to important transport routes; such as the railway that was completed in 1921, and the Superhighway completed in 1972. As a result of this development a tourist bus stop was established in Anusan Market. The beginning of the parking spot for tour buses to access this area caused many hotels to be constructed along sides of Changklan Road, including the souvenir stall market for tourists.

Until around 1989 when the Chiang Mai Night Bazaar was constructed and also shophouses, a shopping mall, and food courts. These buildings replaced those land plots of the now demolished Hua-Ang Chinese school, Wat Don-Kwae, and the Movie Theater.

Additionally, the business growth expansion not only occurred inside those land plots, but also occurred along the side of the road in the form of stalls, along main roads, sub-minor roads, and open areas behind the side road buildings. Stalls and buildings to support these tourism businesses have become an element that creates the distinctive townscape on Changklan Road showing the changing of the area used that once supported local people basic needs to an area for tourism businesses, which has expanded over time to include now both sides of Changklan Road to the present day.

Subsequently, Changklan Night Bazaar became the most flourished commercial area in the early 2000s into late 2005, the massive flood hit the area, damaging many stalls and building, which resulted in the walking street markets being established in the old city, making Changklan Road a less important tourist venue since then. Therefore, the current popularities of the weekend walking streets which are the competitors of Changklan Rd, have caused Changklan Road development to proceed at a slower pace. Because of the increased business growth of these new commercial sites, where trade and business are run on small land sites, which is the difference from Changklan Road this outcome as a result for future commercial development plans may cause leverage on the large land plots to be developed, taking away a feature inherited from the past, as a strong selling point of Changklan Road. However, Changklan Road area in the present day is dense by big buildings, so, existing building renovations to create new public spaces for sharing new experiences or cultural variety between local people and tourists, is another strong and appealing point of Changklan Road.

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