The Formation and Development of Shopping Areas in Chiang Mai, Thailand from the Foundation of Chiang Mai (1884) to 2000: the Transition of Shopping Streets to Complex Shopping Buildings

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The Formation and Development of Shopping Areas in Chiang Mai, Thailand from the Foundation of Chiang Mai (1884) to 2000: the Transition of Shopping Streets to Complex Shopping Buildings

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Key words: Urban elements, Shopping space, Spatial transformation

Abstract: This study of the formation and transformation process of shopping streets in Chiang Mai, Thailand aims to identify relative social factors and urban developments, based on architectural data, in order to examine the spatial transformation of shopping streets into complex shopping buildings; in order to understand the transformation process, the research also makes use of historical data, detailing past events significant to the process.

The formation of shopping spaces in 1884 falls into two categories pertaining to urban elements: permanent elements such as the river and streets, and temporary elements such as the public plaza that has convertible functions. The river in Chiang Mai is a significant historical route for long distance transportation that directly affected street formation, trading space along the street, and the development of the shopping street. The process of the formation of the shopping street before the 20th century organically followed from the pattern of the urban configuration. The development of permanent urban elements such as street and transportation routes, especially the 1921 opening of the train in Chiang Mai, affected transportation by river and the shopping street directly related to the river, but promoted the areas surrounding the train station. The establishment of shopping streets from 1920 are the consequence of the development of permanent urban elements such as street and public transportation. Urban expansion also affected the shopping street in Chiang Mai. The shopping street lost its role as a place of trade due to developments in the 1980s, which gave priority to cars over pedestrians. These irreversible changes to the urban environment, and the shaping of the trading area, are not mainly caused by urban developments, but come from economic stimulation from government policies, especially for the promotion of tourism.

This study of the formation of shopping streets in Chiang Mai describes the key factors of formation and transformation of shopping streets and identifies key factors that should be focused on, including economic advantage and sustainable urban development.

1. INTRODUCTION

Chiang Mai was established as a free state of Lanna Kingdom in 1296 and was annexed to Siam in 1884. The urban area is located between Suthep

Mountain on the west and Ping River, which was long used as a transportation route, on the east. Therefore, the area connected to the river and city area played a significant economic role. Urban development, particularly on shopping streets, was dictated by social factors in each city. In the case of Chiang Mai, to understand the formation and transformation of shopping streets, it is necessary to refer to historical data on significant incidents in Chiang Mai that impacted commerce and affected characteristics of the shopping area. These events can be described across six periods:

1) Fourteenth century: Foundation of Chiang Mai
2) 1884: Annexation of Lanna to Siam
3) 1921: Arrival of Chiang Mai-Bangkok train route
4) 1932: Change of regime from Absolute monarchy to Democracy
5) 1960: The First stage of the National Economic and Social Development Plan
6) 1986: The second stage of the National Economic and Social Development Plan

In the current context, the character of the shopping area as a shopping building complex is different from the original shopping street style. This study aims to identify the development processes that shifted shopping areas from horizontal spaces at the street level to vertical spaces such as department stores, and seeks to identify the possibility of sustainable commercial areas in Chiang Mai city. The objectives of this study are: 1) to identify the formation and development of shopping areas in Chiang Mai, and 2) to identify development processes that shifted shopping areas from horizontal spaces at the street level to vertical spaces.

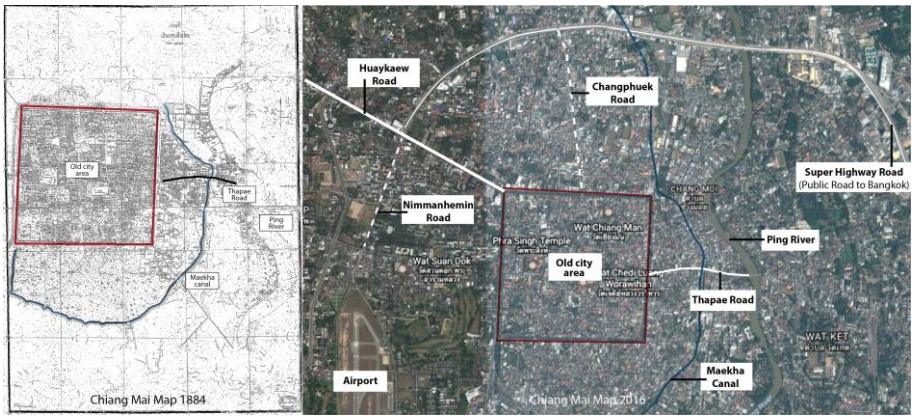

Figure 1. The characteristics of Chiang Mai city planning. Left - Chiang Mai map, 1884 (Map reference from Chiang Mai city map 1884, Archives, Payap University) Right Aerial photograph of Chiang Mai in 2016 (Map reference from Google Maps)

2. METHOD

This study uses historical data on the development process of shopping streets, therefore, the primary methods are: (1) a review of the historical literature to identify aspects of the transformation of shopping streets in the city and the selection of appropriate data for this study, primarily used to develop a theory related to the environment of trade around the town hall, used for classifying the characteristics of the shopping street in the scoped area; (2) a study of the historical period focusing on economic and social impact; (3)

tracing historical maps as base maps for studying the processes of significant urban development in the city, and analysing the connection between social factors and the development of shopping streets, which defined the cityscape area for studying the characteristics of shopping buildings in Chiang Mai; and lastly, (4) a focus on spatial development and scope in architectural urban theories to determine trends in the spatial organisation of the original shopping area, in order to determine the probability of sustainable development in the context for future planning.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORY

This study reviews the historical data and focuses on significant incidents which have particularly impacted shopping areas by dividing historical periods according to research on "Chiang Mai Capital" (Nethipo, 2009), which are further divided by economic development. The Modern age of Chiang Mai began when the Siamese Government annexed Lanna States during the reign of King Rama V (2464 B.E.), and significant periods are divided into six groups: 1) the period before the inauguration of Chiang Mai railways (before 2464 B.E.); 2) the post-train period (2464 B.E. to 2475 B.E.); 3) the period between the 2475 revolution until the first National Economic and Social Development Plan (2475 B.E. to 2500 B.E.); 4) the first stage of the Economic Development Plan (2500 B.E. to second half of 2500 B.E.); 5) the rapid economic expansion period (2520 B.E. to 2540 B.E.); and lastly, 6) the economic crisis after 2540 B.E. The historical terminology from "Chiang Mai History" (Ongsakul, 1986)divides historical periods from the formation of the Lanna States into three periods of government: the annexation of Lanna, the period after the democratic revolution, and, lastly, the period of the Economic Development Plan.

The spatial study describes the formation and development of shopping areas from the perspective of significant events in Chiang Mai, the most important being the spatial transformation from shopping areas to department stores, because lifestyles change according to the "human aspect of urban form" (Rapoport, 1977), which describes how urban developments are related to social and cultural elements that have influence over the architecture in the city. This is especially true in the shopping area, according to consumption and lifestyle. This theory describes how urban lifestyles, patterns of consumption, and new urban elements impact the urban environment.

In consideration of urban areas as sustainable shopping areas for future planning, this study makes use of the concept of the Central City Mall (Rubenstein, 1978), the idea that the Central City Mall is strongly related to public city space, and classifies shopping space into three categories: full malls, transit malls, and semi malls. All types of malls require solutions for public transportation in order to reduce personal cars, arrange areas for solely public transportation use, develop pedestrian urban areas for public space concerning plazas, trees, benches, lighting and other amenities, such as sculptures, before a commercial area can be considered sustainable.

4. THE EVIDENCE OF SHOPPING AREAS IN CHIANG MAI

4.1 Before the Nineteenth Century — the Foundation of Chiang Mai (Early Chiang Mai in Subsistence Economics)

The archaeological evidence from the fourteenth century reveals that there were three markets in Chiang Mai: Hua-wiang market, Klang-wiang market, and Chiang-reuk market. In the fourteenth century, markets were related to the sacred legitimacy of the Mangrai Dynasty, where the royal family and nobility earned a substantial portion from various business monopolies, including from long distance trade and local markets.

1. Klang-wiang market, as the king's settlement and area of nobility, was established as a place of commerce, which the royalty significantly economically benefited from. Streets played an important economic role in the facilitation of transport, both of goods and people into the city (Easum, 2012). Klang-wiang market was connected to Chiang-ruek market as a space for transportation, using Ping River as a channel for long distance trade. In addition, the location of Klang-wiang market relates to other aspects of Lanna city. It is possible that the market was located in the city's open space (Khuang), and that the characteristic places of commerce in that period were temporary markets in open spaces.

2. Chiang-ruek market facilitated long distance trade in the fourteenth century and Thapae Street was the connecting route from the centre of Chiang Mai city to the river. This market began much earlier in Chiang Mai's history, but definitely grew after the sixteenth century when the city's outer wall was erected and the city expanded from the eastern side to Ping River formally (Easum, 2012).

In the past, the royal family negotiated with foreign merchants, which gave long distance trade an important role in city economics and meant that it was simultaneously monopolized by the royal family. Due to settlement policies that legally forced outsiders to settle on the eastern bank of Ping River (outside the city area), Ping River became an essential trade route and Thapae Street played a significant role in connecting the production areas and commerce areas, centralising the trade area and thereby economically benefitting the royalty.

3. Hua-wiang market lay at the northern edge of the city (Figure 2) and was one of the three markets in the fourteenth century, but disappeared in the nineteenth century. Between the thirteenth to seventeenth century, society was structured as a feudal system where serfs were stratified in an ownership system beneath feudal lords and capital goods such as land and natural

resources belonged to royalty.

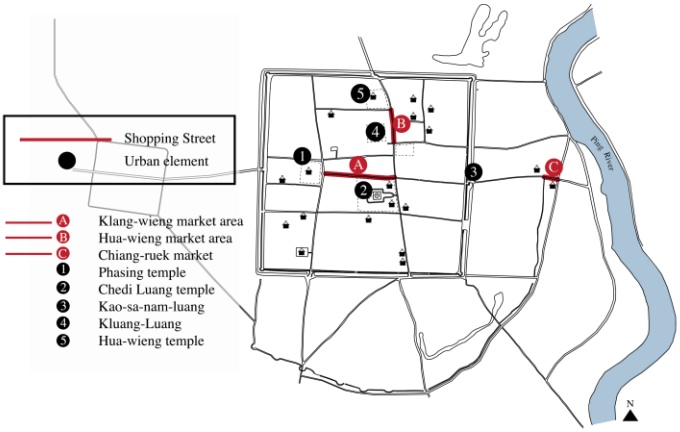

Figure 2. Location of temporary market in Chiang Mai, 14th century

From the location of Hua-wiang market at the northern edge of the city and the location of *Khuang-luang* (biggest open space of Chiang Mai city), it can be expected that the market was set up in the Khuang (open public space) of the city.

4.2 1884 — Annexation of Lanna to Siam (1884 to 1920)

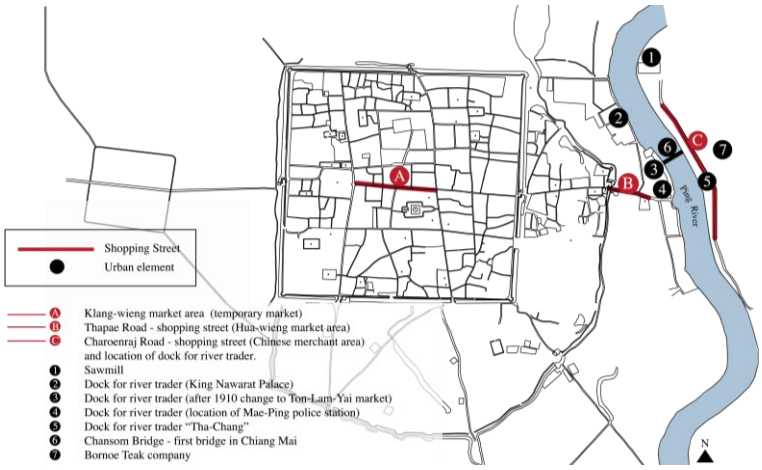

Figure 3. The location of urban elements related to commerce in 1884 (Map reference from Chiang Mai city map 1884, Archives, Payap University)

Regarding the transformation of the old city due to political factors, the Siamese assimilated Chiang Mai into Siam, especially in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Lanna was annexed as part of the royal marriage of the Lanna princess "Dararassami" and King Rama V of Siam (Phra Poraminthra Maha Chulalongkorn Phra Chunla Chom Klao Chao Yu Hua) in 1886. In 1890, initially, the city land was sold to the Siamese government by the Lanna aristocracy to allow for authority and easier governance (Easum, 2012). In addition, the old sacred royal centre which was the base of traditional government for the Lanna elite, including its political authority, was relinquished to Bangkok, including temples, markets and the open space of Khuang-Luang in particular (Easum, 2012). The Siam government office

(Sara Rattaban) was established at the centre of the old city in 1919, and the provincial court in Lanna royal parliament (Kao-Sa-Nam-Luang) was created as a space for royal ceremony (Meechubot, 2008). Furthermore, many areas around Khuang were sold and converted into shophouses for other commercial use (Easum, 2012).

Historical evidence shows that Klang wiang market and Chiang-ruek market still existed until the nineteenth century. The area of Klang-wiang market was expanded to Khuang-luang, and Chiang-ruek market was expanded from the old city gate to Ping River and developed rapidly in the wake of the sixteenth century's effect on urban development at Thapae Street.

The expansion of the commercial district in Chiang Mai is more obvious after 1884 because of the transition to capitalism that affected economic development and brought the formation of urban elements such as bridges, docks, and markets. The main point of trade in this period was along Ping River, due to the importance of long distance trade and the settlement of Chinese merchants along Ping River near Wat-ket temple to the east and along Charoenrad Road on the other side; this was the first Chinese merchant community and it still retains evidence of shophouses in the Wat ket area (Ongsakul, 1986). The river was used for trade during the Mantra Dynasty between around 1290 to 1558 A.D., and continued on into the nineteenth century.

One of the urban elements that indicate the economic growth of Chiang Mai in the nineteen century is Jansom Bridge, the first bridge in Chiang Mai, which was constructed in 1890 by the American medical missionary Marian Cheek, who had already proven himself an extraordinary evangelist (Bristowe, 1976); the bridge connects the Wat- ket community and the opposing dock of Waroros Market at present. This bridge was created 20 years before the origin of the Waroros market.

Figure 4. Location of urban elements related to commerce in 1910 —Wararot Market was established

According to a Chinese merchant family of Chiang Mai Market, between 1855 and 1921 there were an additional seven docks along Ping River: Wat-ket Temple, the location of Waroros Market, the remains of King Kaew-Nawarat's Palace, the Borneo Teak Company, the remains of Ton-Lamyai Market, and the Tha Chang and Mae Ping police stations (Chuchat, 2006) (Figure 4). In this period, people from both sides of Ping River crossed the

river by boat until the establishment of the first bridge near Tha Chang in 1890, made from teak wood (Bristowe, 1976). Kitichai Wattananikorn (2015) from "*Nai-Hang-Pa-Mai"* gives the explanation that *"After the teak bridge was constructed, the activities in the early morning had many people cross it and the market was open before late morning."* This was the historical character of Chiang-ruek Market.

The historical records indicate that two markets continued to exist in Chiang Mai city, and in 1910 the Warorot Market was established after the political power of the Lanna king was further reduced in the wake of the annexation. The Royal family simultaneously continued business after their long term of market monopolisation had diminished. They changed the open space of "Khuang-maen" to the Waroros Market which had been under the purview of the Lanna royalty.

From Kawila's restoration, the commercial area was spatially separated according to ethnic difference: the area outside of the city gate, near Ping River, was reserved for non-resident traders and foreigners. Westerners settled on the eastern bank of Ping River, including the Christian church, the college, and a teak company. Marian Cheek was rewarded by King Inthawichayanon and he ordered teak for the construction of housing and a hospital, until he finally turned it into a business and established his teak company called the "Borneo Company" (Watthananikorn, 2015). In addition to the Chinese merchant community on the eastern bank of Ping River, there was another area on the east side of Ping River which was essential in connecting the market to the west side of the river. The construction of bridges had a significant impact on the economic connection.

4.3 1921: Arrival of the Chiang Mai-Bangkok Train (1921 to 1931)

The significant social factor that affected the shopping street was the arrival of the Chiang Mai train. The railway station impacted on the cessation of transportation by river, which led to the formation of a new shopping street on Charoen-muang Road, which connected the railway station to Ping River, along with the construction of a new bridge that connected Charoen-muang Road to Thapae Road, called Nawarat Bridge. Consequently, the city was expanded to the east side of Ping River.

4.3.1 The city elements that indicated the development of commercial areas between 1921 and 1931

4.3.1.1 Train

The most important element that dictated new development was the railway connection from Bangkok to Chiang Mai. Goods carried from Bangkok to Chiang Mai increased in number and took a much shorter time compared to river transportation. It also encouraged commerce in Chiang Mai. Chinese merchants in Chiang Mai and Bangkok could deal directly with one another, which was preferred to trade with Myanmar, which was an international trade that was rife with communication difficulties. Therefore, the Chinese merchants progressively gained bargaining power over their counterparts in Myanmar (Tai-Yai) and with the Indians (Ongsakul, 1986). Shops on Charoen-muang Road (San-pa-koi) began to sell construction materials and motorcycles and bicycles as a result of imports from Bangkok in this period, which supplied luxurious goods (Chananan, 1986).

4.3.1.2 Markets

Nearby Warorot Market, another important market called "Ton-Lam-Yai Market" was also situated on the west side of Ping River (Figure 5). Between 1921 and 1945, the second generation of Chinese merchants settled down and did business extensively in Warorot and Ton-Lam-Yai Markets.

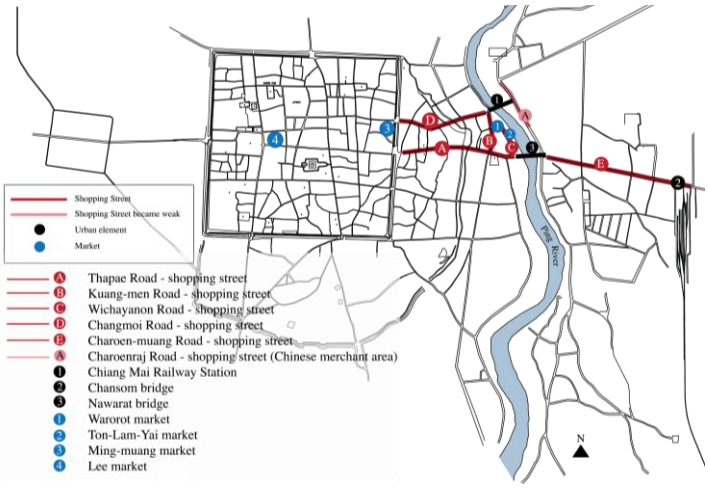

Figure 5. Location of urban elements related to commerce from 1921 —Chiang Mai Railway station was established (map reference from City of Chiang Mai, Siam map 1923 by American Presbyter Mission, Archives, Payap University)

4.3.1.3 Bridge

Another significant urban element was the "Nawarat Bridge", the second bridge in Chiang Mai. Because of the establishment of the Chiang Mai railway station, in this period people could access the shopping areas easily by bicycle or on foot. Trucks were used for long distance transportation transmitting goods and people between the countryside and city. Some were modified as pigsty trucks, known as "Rod-Kok-Moo" (Pigsty carriage). It is found that Chinese merchants started truck shops in Charoen-Muang Road (San-Pa-Koi).

Therefore, a new shopping street appeared between the railway station and the city, known as Charoen-Muang Road or "Sanpakoi". Historical evidence for this road can still be seen in the form of shop-houses along both sides of the street. Another permanent market was formed called "Sanpakoi Market" and it gave birth to a new community. It can be assumed that the arrival of the railway station led to the end of port usability, since the Charoenrat community (Wat Kat) became too dull, and the merchants in Wat Kat moved their business to Warorot Market.

4.4 1932: Regime change from Absolute Monarchy to Constitutional Monarchy (1932-1959)

In 1932, as there was a crucial change in the government system from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy, the ideology, urban elements, and architectural characteristics of Chiang Mai were dramatically affected. In addition, World War II changed the economic focus. The change of regime affected the character of urban development. As the city was traditionally used as a centre of provincial administration and government offices, government employees moved to the old city area and became a new elite class in Chiang Mai (Nethipo, 2009). Moreover, the government

constructed a road linking Chiang Mai to Bangkok, which additionally stimulated urban growth.

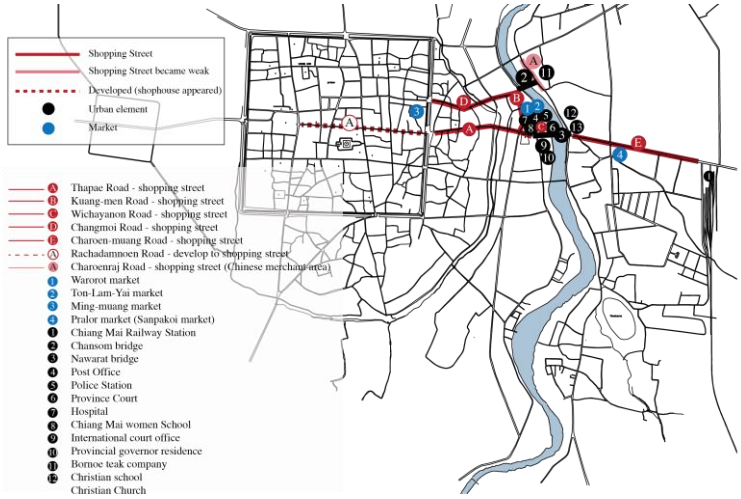

Figure 6. Location of urban elements related to commerce from 1933 - Government facilities office nearby Warorot Market (map reference from Chiang Mai city map 1932, Chiang Mai Sukhaphiban, Payap University)

As for the impact of World War II, it caused an economic recession that significantly affected urban development. Shopping streets ceased operating and went out of stock, and living expenses increased as a result of economic deflation. Trading was confined in 1933 so that the shopping street remained unchanged from the end of World War II on Thapae Road, Charoen-Muang Road (Sanpakoi), and in Warorot Market.

From 1944 onward, Chiang Mai city was expanded to the east of the city, which is visible in the aerial photograph from William Hunt (2474-2493, Figure 7). Dense communities on Charoen-Muang Road began consolidiating after the arrival of the railway station. The map of 1933 (Figure 6) displays public service offices, such as the police station, post office, hospital, provincial court located in northeastern side of Thapae near Nawarat Bridge, and the Warorot and Ton-Lam-Yai markets. These obviously indicated the significance of these communities to Thapae and the economic progress of the Warorot Market area. In 1940, moreover, the wood craft market called "Ming-Muang Market" was established on Mun-Mueang Road in the old Chiang Mai area at the east side of Ku-Mueang (rectangular canal) with shop-houses in the front.

4.5 1960: First stage of Economic Development Plan (First Economic Development Plan to Fifth Economic Development Plan, 1960-1986)

After the end of World War II, the USA selected Thailand as a location for a military base (Potjanalawan, 2015) in 2500 B.E.(A.D. 1957). Because of this, public roads were constructed extensively. With the first Economic Development Plan, Thailand sought to build infrastructure to solve the economic situation. By constructing public roads, products could be easily transferred, and this established political solidarity through economic growth. Tourism was also promoted and supported according to the first Economic Development Plan.

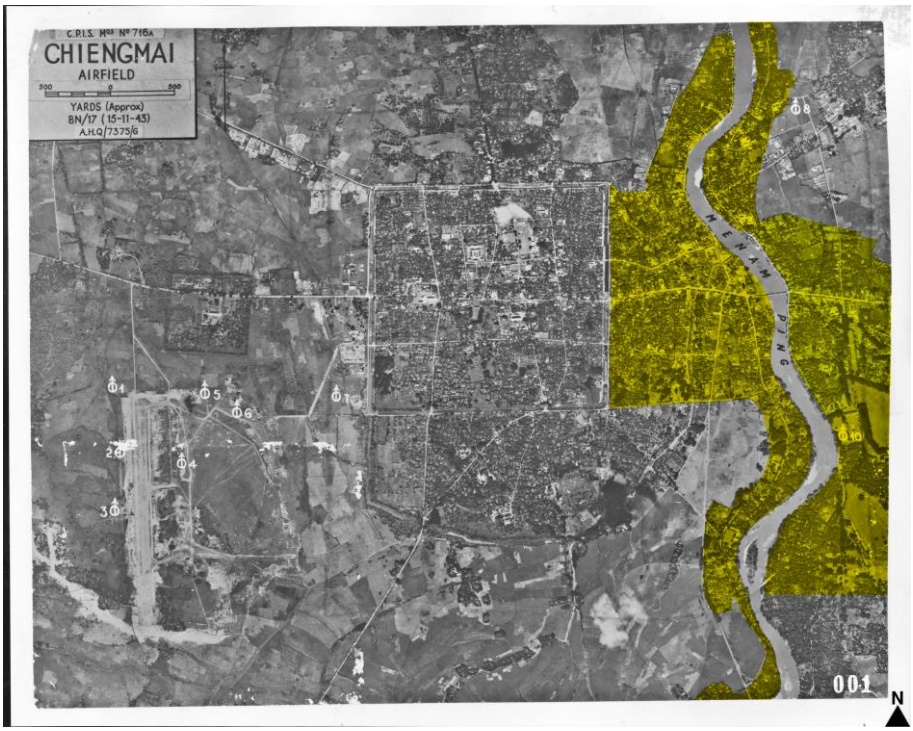

Figure 7. Aerial photograph of Chiang Mai, 1931 to 1950, from William Hunt (map reference from Library of Center for Southeast Studies, Kyoto University)

4.5.1 The Impact of the Economic Development Plan on Shopping Streets: Construction of Public Roads

Before the issue of the Economic Development Plan, the shopping streets had one and two-storey wooden shop-houses settling along both sides. Almost everyone used bicycles, animal carts, or walked to get around the city. Beginning in 1956, the city municipality began disallowing animal carts in the city and they were entirely outlawed in 1967. Cars, as the main vehicle for business, were promoted extensively in accordance with public road construction. That was the beginning of the use of cars to access shopping areas, and it brought a new shopping lifestyle. The construction of the Super Highway Road in 1964 was the crucial point of city expansion. The highway route encircles the city from east to north and crosses Nimmanhemin Road which began extensive development in the following period. Moreover, the Super Highway Road also crosses Chang-Phuek and connects to Mae-Rim beginning from the north city gate, a convenience which led to the establishment of the Chang-Phuek bus terminal. Chang-Phuek Road too was developed as a shopping street through the gradual construction of shop-houses along the street. Therefore, the shop-houses on Chang-Phuek Road were visible during the bus terminal's establishment.

Another factor that affected Chiang Mai shopping streets was the establishment of Chiang Mai University in 1964; while the Super Highway Road had an obvious impact on the city's expansion in the north and east, Chiang Mai University covered the north-eastern area — from Huay-Kaew Road— to Suthep Road on the west. It promoted development in the nearby area, which later supported people that migrated to work and study.

Regarding the promotion of tourism, the Tourism Authority of Thailand in 1959 shifted Chiang Mai to a centre of northern tourism because public

transportation and infrastructure were completely supported. This promotion of tourism led to the formation of the tourist industry and a boom in hotels, souvenir shops, tourist markets and other tourism-based companies. In 1974, Chang-Klan Road was developed into a night market called the "Night Bazaar" in order to support tourists; it sold local handcrafts and local products as souvenirs (Ongsakul, 1986). It links with Thapae Road and Wichayanon Road where handcraft products are sold by small traders (Wattanaputi, 2002). Data from an interview revealed that around 1977, a new road was constructed from Wichayanon Road to Thapae Road on the west side of Nawarat Bridge called "Prisanee Road" (Post office Road). This street used to be the shop-house area behind Ton-Lam-Yai Market. After Prisanee Road was constructed, this street became the main street supporting transportation from Wichayanon Road.

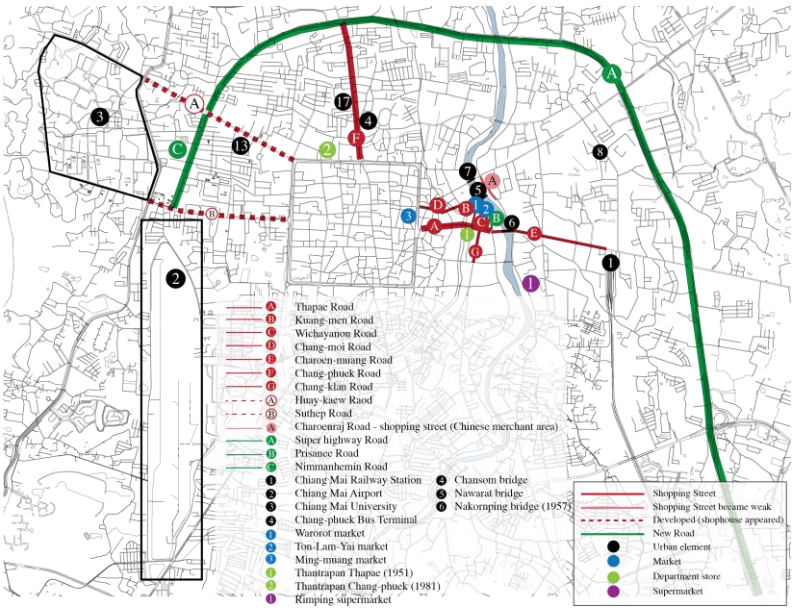

Figure 8. Location of urban elements related to commerce from 1960

4.6 1987: The Second Stage of the Economic Development Plan (Sixth Economic Development Plan of the Twenty First Century, 1987 to 2000)

4.6.1 Evidence of the commercial area in Chiang Mai, 1986 - 2000

In this second stage, the city developed continually and Chiang Mai remained the centre of commercial transportation and tourism promotion in northern Thailand according to the core city policy. The construction of three looped super highways on the outskirts, that later affected Chiang Mai, expanded increasingly from 1987.

4.6.2 The impact of the Economic Development Plan on shopping streets: Tourism Promotion and Roads

Tourism promotion is an important creator of new services for tourists. Shopping streets were specifically arranged to support local people and tourists. The Night Bazaar in 1974 was the first tourist market.

The development of transportation roads was indicative of the increasing

use of cars. In 1987, "Niyom-Panich Store", the business under the Chinese merchant family "Sakdathorn", became a dealer of Toyota cars, as well as of Yamaha, Honda and Suzuki motor vehicles. Within a short time, the majority of people started using cars and motorcycles.

Because Thapae Road links with the Night Barzaar, the tourist market, former urban elements failed to serve the new social behaviours. The new accessibility of shopping centres for local people rendered a change in the old shopping streets' function. Thane Road used to be a famous shopping street for local people, as indicated by various commercial building types, such as shop-houses, a department store, and a theatre, but was flattened around 1992 when the Thantrapan Thapae department store was sold.

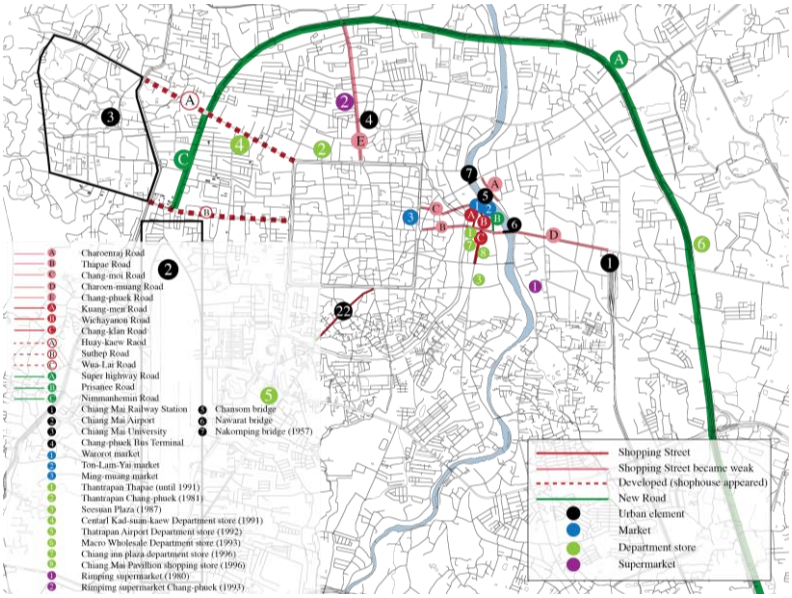

Figure 9. Location of urban elements related to commerce from 1986

4.6.3 New commercial building type

While the shopping streets before 1990 lost customers, especially on Thapae Road, with the dissolution of the Thantrapan Thapae department store, there was a simultaneous arrival of a new department store in 1991, "Central Kad-Suan-Kaew", which belonged to a Bangkok investor. Therefore, after Thantrapan's owner sold his business, in 1992 he invested in establishing a department store complex called "Thantrapan Airport" on Mahidol Road. The former shopping street began supporting tourism and thereby served local people passively.

5. CHARACTERISTIC OF SHOPPING AREAS IN CHIANG MAI

5.1 Characteristics of commercial areas in Chiang Mai before the nineteenth century

Originally, markets (spaces for exchange) located in *"Khuang"* (open public space of the city), served as temporary trading spaces in the early

morning. There was Hua-wiang Market, the market named according to *"Hua-Khuang"*, the place at the northern edge of the city near Chang-phuek Gate and Hua-wieng Temple, and Klang-wiang Market, which was located in the centre of the city near *"Khuang-muang"* (open space in the centre of Lanna). This market was characteristically a temporary market that started in the early morning and ran until the late morning. The economics of the market significantly depended on the royal family and important elements of the city respectively. However, Chiang-ruek Market became an important market because of its close proximity to Ping River and its connection out of the city. It was able to develop easily into a permanent commercial area without impacting on religious places.

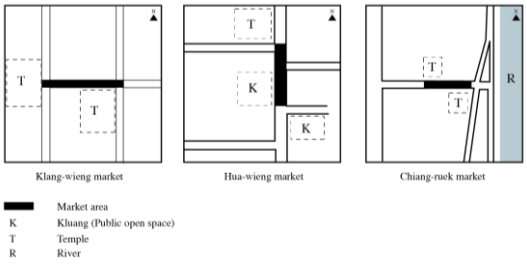

Figure 10. Important urban elements nearby a market street in 14th century

5.2 Characteristics of commercial areas in Chiang Mai between 1884 and 1921

5.2.1 Klang-wieng Market – the market street that disappeared

Historical evidence shows that the Klang-wing Market only ran until 1884. As the function of the old city area developed, Klang-wieng Market fell out of use. Chinese merchants had land rights in the old city area. The centre of the old city lost its sacred environs and the middle class moved to settle down in this area, as shown in the historical photo of 1924 (Figure 11).

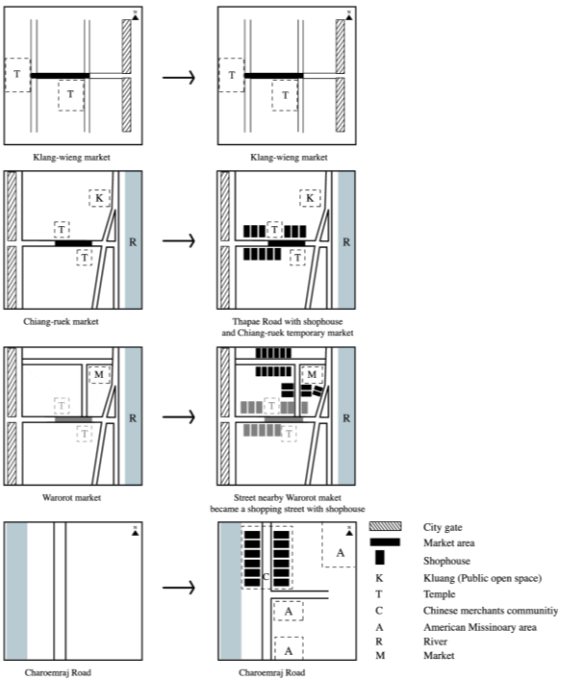

Figure 11. Diagram of the street's development into a shopping street due to its proximity to the river

5.2.2 Warorot Market – first establishment of a permanent market

Warorot Market was established in 1910 in the area that used to be the Kluang-men (Royal crematorium). Due to the annexation of Chiang Mai to Siam, the Lanna royalty's revenue from taxation had decreased and the Dhararasmi princess gave an order to transform "Kluang-men" into a market using her brother's name "Inthawarorot" as its namesake, and so it was named "Warorot" (locally called "Kad-luang"). The characteristic style of the market as an open building with a wooden Lanna-style roof, and open on its northern and southern sides, was the style of the open temporary marketplace (Kad-mua).

5.2.3 Charoenraj Road (Wat ket) - shopping street and Chinese community

In 1884, because of a flourishing river trade, Chinese merchants built shops along the Ping riverside. Later, this area became the first Chinese merchant community of Chiang Mai.

5.2.4 Thapae Road (Chiang-ruek Market) - shopping street

Thapae maintained an important role as the commercial area from the fourteenth century onward because its geography suits the trading environment. It was therefore able to develop into a permanent commercial area in contrast to Klang-wiang Market, which specifically relied on sacred places and its significance for the royal family under feudalism. Therefore, the transformation of open space to commercial space was difficult; spaces along the street were set for temples and palaces in this period.

After the annexation of Chiang Mai to Siam, the power of Lanna began to decline. The areas that once belonged to the Lanna royal family were sold off and became commercial areas in the next period. The Klang-wiang temporary market disappeared finally while Thapae Street continued its role and the Warorot Market was set up as a permanent market, replacing "Khuang-maen" and becoming a significant market in Chiang Mai's history.

Thapae Street was located outside the city and people came to settle along the street for trade. They had temporary open markets along the street, and the residents developed their accommodation into shop-houses. Later, temporary open markets disappeared after the development of streets and transportation; only shop-houses can still be seen as historical evidence of commerce on Thapae Street. Warorot Market became the most important market in Chiang Mai.

In conclusion, markets were developed from open markets in Khuang, but shop-houses were developed from housing along the streets of commercial areas.

5.3 Characteristics of commercial areas in Chiang Mai from 1921 to 1931

From 1921 to 1931, although the cessation of urban commercial elements such as ports had a small effect on Thapae shopping street, the arrival of new

urban elements such as the train highly affected Thapae Road. Thapae Road remains a commercial centre because of its location as a linking space. When the railway station was established, Charoen-Muang Street, the new shopping street, was linked to Thapae Road, which was also connected to Warorot Market, the most significant market in Chiang Mai.

The historical evidence that can still be seen through historical photography, is the wooden shop-houses situated on both sides of Thapae Road. Warorot Market became a significant shopping area for local people in Chiang Mai. Wooden shop-houses ran parallel along the street from Warorot Market to Thapae Road, and similarly to Klang-men Road, Wichayanon Road, and Chang-moi Road.

In addition to the annexation of Lanna to Siam, government offices moved to the old city area and the middle class began to settle their residences; consequently shop-houses appeared on Ratchadamnoen Road.

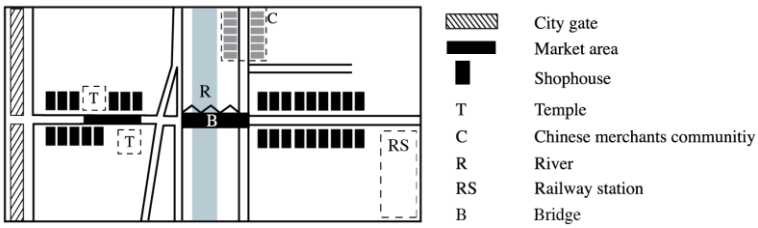

Figure 12. Diagram of the street's development into a shopping street due to its close proximity to the river

5.4 Characteristics of commercial areas in Chiang Mai from 1932 to 1959

Shopping streets in this period remained considerably stable because of World War II. Trading proceeded gradually for established traders. In addition, because of war, economic policies ceased. The shopping streets from 1933 to 1960 were no different from the period of 1921 to 1932, and the shopping streets and markets served only local people.

Warorot Market in this period featured high wooden columns with a zinc roof in the Lanna style of architecture. Inside, there were meat stalls, shrimp paste kiosks, and other market stands. At the southern end of the market, there were wholesale shop-houses with two storeys. The west side of market had two-storey shop-houses facing the main buildings of the market, which were crockery shops. Behind the two-storey shop-houses, there were three-storey shop-houses located on Wichayanon Road.

There were shop-houses along both sides of the street that had expanded from two former routes, Wichayanon Road and Klang-men Road, which also had a parallel link to the north of Thapae Road to Warorot Market to support more merchants.

5.5 Characteristics of commercial areas in Chiang Mai between 1960 to 1990

In this period of economic development, one in three significant businesses in Chiang Mai were department stores that mostly imported products from Bangkok and sold goods locally at inflated prices. Notably, in the last decade of the 20th century, around 1980 to 1990, there was a significant arrival of western style department stores with merchandise sections catering to high

and middle class families, government officers, and university students (Noranitipadungkarn & Hagensick, 1973). The first department store in Chiang Mai was founded by a Chinese merchant family who had firstly operated a shop in Warorot Market and later expanded business to Thapae Road following the Thantapan Thapae department store in 1951. Another department store located in Wichayanon Road was also started by a Chinese merchant who had a clothing shop in Warorot Market and later expanded business into a 3x10 unit shop-house on Wichayanon Road, and later into a large scale store in 1981, further expanding to Thapae Road and Chang-kran Road from around 1982 to 1990.

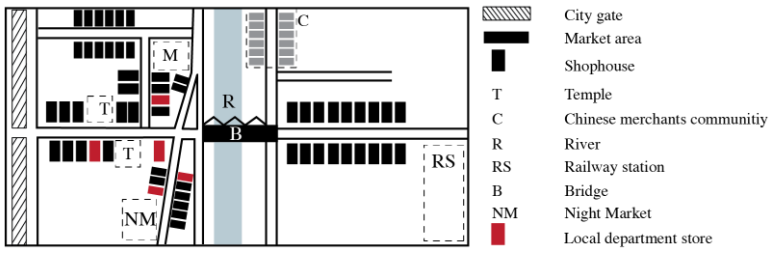

Figure 13. Diagram of the expansion of the shopping street from the old shopping street

1951— Thapae Road continued its role as the main shopping street and the first department store was established on Thapae Road (Thantrapan Thapae).

1961— Development of Suthep Road and Huay-Kaew Road to support Chiang Mai University staff and students.

— Chang-Phuek Road became the new main shopping street because of the construction of the Super Highway and Chang-Phuek bus terminal.

1974— Chang-Klan Road played an important role as a night shopping street for tourists.

1981— Maneenopparat Road near Chang-phuek Road saw the establishment of Thantrapan Chang Phuek

1982— Wichayanon Road, a shopping street linked with Warorot Market, had a large scale store called "Sor-kan-ka Department Store"

In the period between 1960 to 1985,the most significant urban element was the roads, which affected the city development and new shopping streets. Because of the first Economic Development Plan, cars and motorcycles became the main mode of transportation for the majority of people accessing shopping areas. Therefore, the shopping lifestyle had changed according to social conditions. The local department stores were developed on each shopping street, e.g. Thapae Road, Wichayanon Road, and Changkran Road.

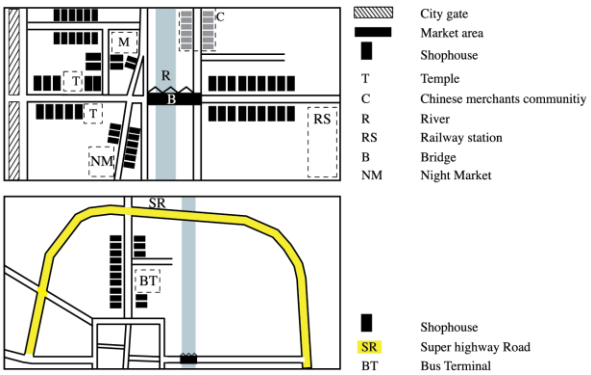

Figure14. The old shopping area and the establishment of new roads affected formation

of new shopping streets

5.6 Characteristic of commercial areas in Chiang Mai after 1990

The shopping lifestyle had already changed due to the import of luxurious goods, and the majority of people in the middle class had the capacity to purchase goods previously restricted to the elite class. Therefore, shops were built to match the growing demand.

At first, luxurious goods were sold in shop-houses on shopping streets, as historical photos show: the Japanese toy shop of a Japanese merchant on Thapae Road, the electric appliances store on Charoen-Muang Road, and retail shops in Warorot Market.

The transformation of the shopping lifestyle in 1990 was a result of the development of transportation. In the past, local people accessed shops by bicycle or by walking, and shops were appropriately accessible. Local people bought consumer goods at nearby grocery markets (shop-houses in the community) and markets.

With the development of transportation, cars and motorcycles became essential vehicles that suited the new urban lifestyle. Chinese merchants started car businesses in Chiang Mai, which changed the accessibility of street side shops. In addition, the foundation of complex department stores with parking areas was better suited to this new shopping lifestyle, and this affected shop-houses in shopping streets.

Supermarkets also extended to many streets, which caused the city's expansion and new communities appearing on its outskirts. Thus, the shopping areas spread in all directions.

6. PRIMARY ANALYSIS OF THE BEGINNING OF DEPARTMENT STORES IN CHIANG MAI

Initially, the local department stores in Chiang Mai were developed from shop-houses in shopping street areas. The significant examples include Thantrapan Thapae (1951), Sor Kanka1 at Wichayanon Road (1982), Sor Kanka2 at Thapae Road, and Sor Kanka3 on Chang ran Road (1982 to 1990).

In the last decade of the 20th century, there were new western style department stores that sold many products and contained many shops in one building and which contained parking areas; these stores began appearing around the city, e.g. Seasuan Plaza at Chang ran Road (1987), Central Kad suankaew at Huay knew Road (1991), Thantrapan Airport at Mahidol Road (1992), Chiang Inn Plaza, and Chiang Mai Pavilion at Chang kran Road (1996).

After the arrival of complex department stores from Bangkok, shopkeepers in Chiang Mai were dramatically affected. Local department stores Thantrapan Thapae (Figure 15), for example, established in 1951, closed down in 1992 because of the arrival of Central Kad Suankaew (Figure 15).

In the case of Thantrapan Thapae, the owner divested funds into a new complex department store called "Thantrapan Airport" (Figure 15) to compete with Central until it was taken over by CPN from Bangkok in 1996. Thantrapan Thapae closed down as a result of the shopping street downfall at the end of the 20th century. This significantly demonstrates the

interconnectedness of shopping streets, shop-houses, and department stores on the street.

In the case of the Sor Kanka department store on Wichayanon Road (1982), the characteristic of the building as a 3x10 unit shop-house remained until the end of the 20th century. The business downfall implicitly led to its reformation as a local fashion shop utilising only its first floor as an outlet. It remains in existence until today because Wichayanon Road still plays a role as a shopping street linked to Warorot Mrket. However, Sor Kanka2 on Thapae Street ceased its operations during the last decade of the 20th century following the downturn of Thapae shopping street. In the case of Sor Kanka3, it was renovated from an old hotel into a department store around 1990 on Chang klan Road. Nowadays, it continues its business using the first and second floor as shopping spaces and the fourth to fifth floor as a hotel for tourists who want to stay close to the Night Bazaar shopping street on Chang kran Road.

Regarding other local department stores located around Chiang Mai city, these closed down because of the arrival of Bangkok shopkeepers with higher investment capacity.

Thatrapan Thapae from 1951 Central Kad Suan Kaew from 1991 Thatrapan Airport from 1992

Figure 15. The character, of significant department stores in Chiang Mai (pictures by author, http://www.kadsuankaew.co.th/, https://th.wikipedia.org)

7. CONCLUSION - THE TRANSITION OF SHOPPING STREETS TO DEPARTMENT STORES

From the spatial study of the shopping areas in Chiang Mai from the foundation of Chiang Mai to the 1990s, the description of the characteristics of the shopping space can be categorised into three periods: shopping streets (1884 to 1969), the beginning of car-oriented streets (1970 to 1990), and shopping buildings (1991 to 1999). The shopping space in Chiang Mai transformed very obviously in the 1990s and brought in a new era with a new shopping lifestyle.

From 1884 to 1980, shopping areas still existed in linear spaces where shop-houses were located along streets, and their expansion followed uniform patterns, expanding from significant shopping streets to larger shopping areas. Streets had played a role as urban public spaces and people interacted with the urban area as a shopping area directly; although the first department store was established in 1951, the building was located in a significant shopping street until the transformation of the shopping area occurred, associated with the establishment of the Super Highway Road in 1969, when the nature of transportation altered the urban development of the city. Therefore, the character of transportation for accessing shopping areas by car changed with the advent of the Super Highway Road, but the character of old shopping spaces has been retained as shop-houses can still be seen along the shopping streets.

After the extreme period of urban development, the majority of people used cars to access Chiang Mai as the centre of Northern Thailand, and the city expanded through road construction. Lacking public transport, however, the people of Chiang Mai and those living in nearby districts had to use personal transportation. The characteristics of shopping streets are not accessible by cars and they have seen a dramatic decline in customers since 1990. In addition to Chiang Mai's role as the economic and tourist centre of Northern Thailand, demand and purchasing power have increased the potential for investment in trade.

The complex "department stores" have been established independently from shopping streets with parking space supporting access by personal transportation.

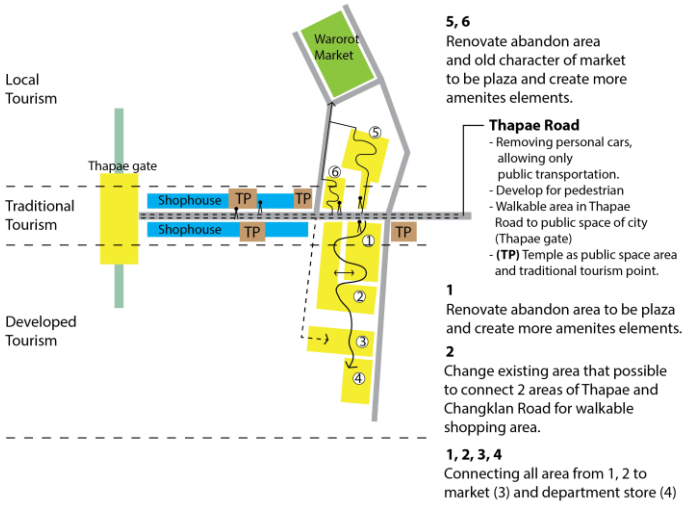

Figure 16. Commercial Area in Chiang Mai on the west side of Ping River (Warorot Market, Thapae street, Night Bazaar): Location of city public space and the area has the potential to link three areas and create new public space.

The main factor determining the shift in development form horizontal to vertical development has been the expansion of roads and increased access for updated modes of transport. Therefore, the original character of shopping spaces that do not accommodate cars and support the new urban lifestyle may cease to exist, especially as shopping spaces of the city. The development of original shopping areas could be shaped by increased public transportation. It should develop according to the basic principle of the Central City Mall (Rubenstein, 1978), by allocating walkable pedestrian areas. In the case of the Thapae area, including the Night Bazaar area and the Warorot Market area, it is possible that they could be developed by connecting all areas and creating an element of public space (Figure 16). It could be done by demolishing buildings without historical value. By that means, a public plaza would be created and would connect open space and local tourist shopping areas (i.e. Warorot Market), cultural tourist shopping areas (i.e. Thapae Road), and developed tourist shopping areas (i.e. Night Bazaar), together (Figure 17).

Figure 17. Create new shopping area connecting three areas together for a more sustainable shopping area and walkable city.

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