

Cultural Heritage Places: the cases of Yanaka district in Tokyo and Banglamphu district in Bangkok

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INTRODUCTION

According to the transforming conservation perspectives and the recent concerns on the uniqueness of conservation in Asian countries, the study uses two traditional districts in Tokyo and Bangkok as good examples of historical places with valuable intangible aspects and strong associations. In the seeking to explore the uniqueness conservation concepts, the study discusses in three board parts. The first section provides an overview of the transformation of conservation perspectives. The changes in definition of conservation in international agreements and Asian countries are concerned. The second section defines two traditional districts as heritage places in viewpoints of cultural significances embodied in the places themselves and their essential aspects – fabrics, settings, uses, meanings and associations. The final section is a discussion of distinctive Asian conservation concepts.

TRANSFORMING CONSERVATION PERSPECTIVES TO 'HERITAGE PLACES'

Heritage – the Most Modern Phase of Conservation

There are a number of studies argue that heritage is the most modern phase of conservation (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000; Nasser, 2007; and Yuen, 2007). Since the 1990s, concepts of conservation have shifted from 'preservation' covering the meaning of protection of the harm and preserving valuable aspects of past built environments, to 'heritage' conservation as a term of describing almost everything inherited from the past or destined for the future (Ashworth, 2003: 142).

Moreover, the definition of heritage conservation is widening to be the places associated with community or spiritual value for the past, present or future generations (Burra Charter, 1999). In Burra Charter, the concerned historic districts as 'places' comprise cultural significances, which are: (a) *fabrics* and *settings* -- fabric means all physical material of the place including components, fixtures, contents, and objects, and setting means the area around place that may include the visual catchments; (b) *uses* mean the functions of a place, as well as the activities and practices that may occur at the place; and *meanings* denote what a place signified, indicates, evokes or expresses, and (c) *associations* mean the special connections that exist between people and a place.

If we parallel the above significances in Burra charter with urban literatures about the definition of 'place', we can see that the above significances (physical appearance, activities and meanings) are the raw materials of the identity of places and this attribute identity has been variously termed such as 'spirit of place' or 'genius loci'. All terms which refer to character or personality deriving from past events and present situations; can persist in spite of profound changes in the basic component of identity (Relph, 1976: 47- 48). By theoretical approach of Henri Lefebvre in a process of the production of space, the heritage 'place' here that refers to the special connections between people and a place, can be signified as the 'space of representation' or '*lived space*', space of everyday experience or the space in term of symbols and images produced by the inhabitants and

users (Merrified, 2006). The relations between place and inhabitants are also described in the term 'urban experience' including properties of *density*, *variety* and *continuity* in urban form and urban space by Christian Norberg-Schulz (1991).

Within the current period, depart from the concerns of heritage places because of their connections to people and community, the places has been re-interpret for tourism industry, for instance, the term 'gaze' that means the tourist consumption of place was first introduced in the book of Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* in 1990. Urry's article in 2003 used Britain as a case of cultural industries that are concerned in part with re-presentation of the supposed history and culture of a place. However, in recent years, the heritage places are purposed to interpret referred to the full range of potential activities, not only for tourism but they also intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of cultural site (ICOMOS Charter, 2007). Furthermore, heritage interpretation is suggested to meet the requirement for ecological, economic and social sustainability (Interpret Europe, 2007).

Distinction of Asian Conservation Concepts

From the transforming concept of conservation in international trends, we can see the adopted concepts from the Western Europe as original conservation concepts to the East or Asian concepts in conservation plans and regulations and also in the trends of international tourism of the heritage places, particularly in Asia region. Nevertheless, there are obvious differences between concepts of the Western Europe conservation concepts and that of Asian concepts and the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) is stated to be the first international agreement to identify Asian conservation concepts.

Nara Document declared that cultural heritage diversity exists in time and space, and demands respect for other cultures and all aspects of their belief systems, also tangible and intangible expression, which constitute their heritage should be respected. Due to the creation of the document, the Nara Conference on Authenticity in 1994 showed the differences between Japanese concept and Western concept in the Japanese methodology of conservation for wooden structures, craftsmanship or techniques is an important aspect (Inaba, 2005). Inaba also pointed that nowadays the role of conservation of art object in the former period is the effort to secure the eternal life of their material existence that is to stop the changes or the deterioration has changed to the field of built heritage. This plays important part in the acceptance of changes derived from the continuity in uses, as well as the changes from material deterioration.

More to the point, the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties of 1975 shows the distinction in Japanese conservation in acceptance of changes. In this law, the concept can be on one hand 'material objects' (tangible cultural properties) and on the other, 'traditions and old techniques' (intangible cultural properties). These two key aspects are stressed by Kisho Kurokawa by using the other terms -- 'visible tradition' and 'invisible tradition'. Ise Shrine is an example of Japanese wooden architecture with a history of 1300 years, but in fact, it is rebuilt in every twenty years, that Kurokawa used for explaining this concept. He described further to the character of the Japanese cities that nowadays the cities look like international cities due to the urban fabrics changes. But in fact they are a 'very Japanese city in character' if we concern them in the term of 'visible tradition', which are the aesthetic sensibility behind the object and the sense of order. Japanese concept is thus in contrast to Western concept, which pays an important role in aesthetics of materialism that seeks the eternal (Kurokawa, 1997).

Similar to Japanese concept, the acceptance of change in physical fabrics is one of Thai conservation concepts, according to concept of impermanence of Buddhist and the

wooden culture. However, in Thailand, the living places for people use wood or ‘impermanent materials’ but the places for the royal and religious use ‘permanent materials’, such as bricks or rocks. When they conserve the royal and regional buildings, the levels in conservation are to restore and reconstruct decay ornaments with the ones of original state (Khanjanusthiti, P. 2000). Based on that, the Thai concept is contrast to the authenticity in materials in the Western concept. Besides the original Thai conservation concept, in nowadays the concept is obviously shifted to ‘heritage’ with the contemporary uses of cultural resources and places. With the development of international tourism in the 1970s, ‘Thailand’ has been increasingly turned to a brand name and Thai culture is being exploited by Thais themselves (Logan, 2002: xiv).

As regards to the changes of conservation concepts to the concept of heritage places, the following part of the paper will presents two districts in Japan and Thailand by the viewpoints of Burra Charter, which is to concern cultural significances of the ‘places’ comprising (a) *fabrics* and *settings*; (b) *uses* and *meanings*; and (c) *associations*. Also, this paper draws on theoretical concept of identity of place and re-interpretation cultural resources to be heritage products and facilities, describing today uses of resources, effects and changes of the places, particularly the ways to employ resources by Asian concepts.

TWO CASES OF HERITAGE PLACES

Yanaka District, Tokyo

Background

Yanaka District is one part of the hill area in the northern part of Tokyo. The nearby areas of Yanaka are Nezu and Sendagi; therefore three areas are named by the local people as “*Ya Ne Sen.*” Yanaka was formed as a temple town in Edo era (1603-1868). The hill area of Yanaka was occupied by around one hundred shrines, temples and cemeteries. As well, it was residential areas for feudal lords and lower ranking *samurai*. Since Meiji era (1868-1912), some parts of the shrines, temples and residential areas of the lords and samurai, have gradually turned into the residential areas of common people. Since Yanaka was obliterated neither the Great Kanto Earthquake (1923), nor the Second World War destroying, it was known as one of a representative of the old Tokyo.

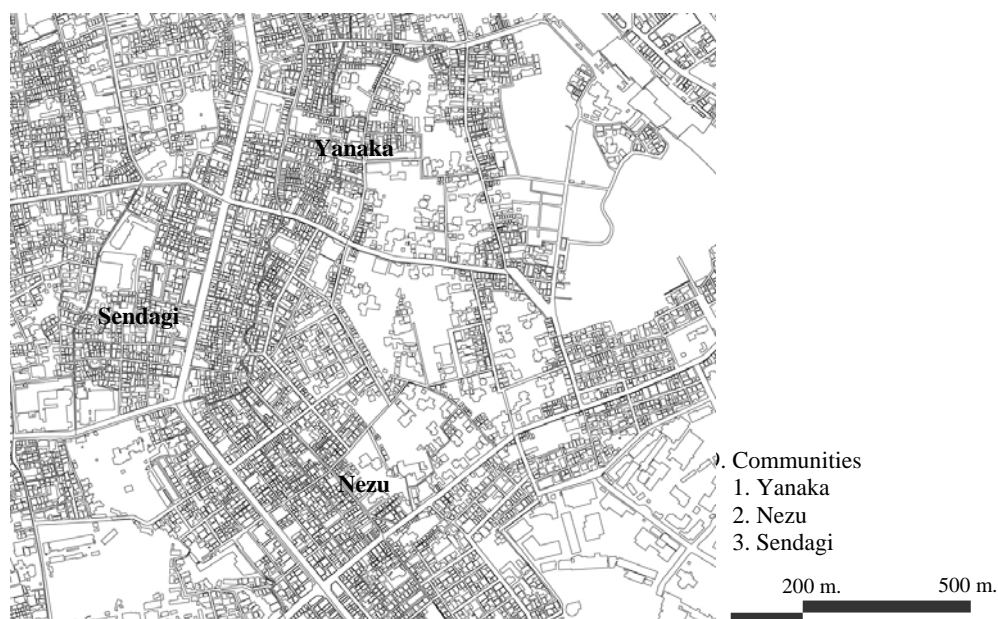


Figure 1: The map shows the Yanaka area with small grains of houses and temples and huge open spaces of cemetery on the hill area.

Cultural significances

- Fabrics and settings

Although Yanaka district is recognised as a rare area that has left Japanese urban characters, Yanaka is not included in the Japanese registration system -- ‘The important Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings’ (*Denkenchiku*). Since the historical districts, which can enrol the *Denkenchiku* system need to be in high values and in the well preserve of the original state, Yanaka does not qualify enough for that. The physical fabrics in Yanaka are mixed in many different styles and ages. Moreover, architecture in the area except shrines and temples has not left much integrity in terms of materials and architecture in original state due to the urban changes from the continuity of uses. However, the urban textures of Yanaka can be the representatives of the urban characters of the Edo period (1600-1867) until the post Second World War period (Maeno, 1997).

The significances include several features. One is the trace of the settlement based on morphology of hill areas with small rivers and fields. The forms of land plot show the former residential lands belonging to feudal lords and lower ranking *samurai*. Furthermore, a significance of urban fabric in the recent times is the hard shells of buildings along major streets encompassing soft cores of low-scale dwelling (Rowe, 2003). Jinnai (1991) described the distinctive characters of inner cores in the retaining of sense of human scale and unity of wooden fabrics in contradiction with the outsider surroundings. Because of the narrow roads and the large temple areas, most of the area has been sheltered from the redevelopment pressures seen elsewhere in Tokyo (Sorensen, Koizumi and Miyamoto, 2006). However, in these days, the traces of old settlement have been changed due to the widening of the roads and old wooden houses and roll houses have gradually replaced by new houses, as well the pressures from redevelopment projects.



Figure 2-4: The physical fabrics in Yanaka are mixed in many different styles and ages. “Cultural Heritage Place: the Cases of Yanaka District in Tokyo and Banglamphu District in Bangkok”, Presented at the Interdisciplinary Workshop YANESEN, Department of Urban Engineering, School of Engineering, the University of Tokyo, Tokyo, 11 November 2007. 4

- **Uses and meanings**

In the term of uses, Yanaka comprises residential areas and famous as a temple town. Moreover, the area has disputation in specialty goods such as traditional foods, handicrafts, for instance, Japanese wooden shoes, Japanese traditional sweet and snack and Japanese traditional clothes (*kimono*). To retain contemporary uses and the daily life of the residents is realised as an important character of Japanese heritage conservation. There are a number of articles supported this concept. For example, in the *machinami* charter (Charter for the Conservation of Historical Towns and Settlements of Japan) of 1997: “The aim of conserving historic town is not only to save groups of houses and the surrounding landscape as material objects, but to attempt to reconstruct the relationships between the daily life of the residents, the houses, and the surrounding setting”.

According to the uses, the other emphasis is on how to retain identification or meanings named by the inhabitants and users. As it gains a naming in old traditional Japanese living and crafts, Yanaka is a re-interpreted cultural place serving people who want to catch the glimpse of old Tokyo. Not only is a place of Japanese culture, but also a place of various cultures and new urban experiences. South-east Asian, French, Indian, Turkish and African cultures has been appeared in a number of new souvenir shops, coffee shops, restaurants and art galleries, particular located in ‘Yanaka Ginza’ shopping street.



Figure 5-6: In Yanaka, local shops serving communal needs still retain as well as other kinds of new shops such as café and souvenir shops.



Figure 7-8: Asian style shops in Yanaka Ginza.

- Associations

In Yanaka, since there are the soft cores of low-scale dwelling surrounded by hard shells of buildings along major streets, the vitality of lives in the soft core is occurred along the narrow alleys that can be called ‘the lane life’ or *roji seikatsu* in Japanese word.

In the original concept of the *roji* in Japanese cities, particularly in Kyoto, the lane space means the ‘communal space’ or ‘intermediate space’ between public space and private space, exterior and interior, nature and building (Kurokawa, 1997). Based on the observation, the *roji* space in Yanaka are enclosed and separated from surroundings. The ambience inside the *roji* shows lively village-like neighbourhoods and the traces of settlement patterns based on the old walkways and waterways. The unoccupied community spaces along the *roji* lined with houses are looked after by the inhabitants with informal agreements.

Because the small alleys are connected as networks, the public space or *hiroba* in the form of neighbourhood pocket parks are well combined with the alleys. Main functions of the parks are for recreation, playground and gathering space in case of disaster. Some have special function as a location of the traditional spirit statue, *jizo*. The areas on the crossing of the alleys or the alleys cross the streets, there are general be places of small stores serving local communal needs, as well as coffee shops and souvenir shops serving visitors. Moreover, the crossing of the lanes is a meeting place that people greeting each other and it is also a place of information board, particularly information of local festivals and local welfares.



Figure 9: The lively village-like neighbourhood with the decoration of flower pots.



Figure 10: The spirit statue, *jizo* in a pocket park.



Figure 11: A neighbourhood pocket park in Yanaka.

Consistent with strong associations between people and their place, the associations bring the involvements of people in the heritage conservation processes. In Yanaka District, even though it has not been preserved under any legal system, the area is looked after by the local residents. It was in 1980s that the grass-roots movement in townscape conservation in Yanaka rose based on the improvement of environments in their neighbourhoods, known as ‘community building’, *machizukuri* (Hohn, 1997). In 1984, the local residents published a magazine called *Ya Ne Sen* with the theme of rediscovery of local resources around Yanaka. Shortly thereafter, in 1989, the local volunteer group, the *Yanaka Gakko*, was formed by the collaboration of the local residents, professors and university students. *Yanaka Gakko* developed enthusiastic activities based on three themes: 1) rediscovering local resources; 2) propositions to the community -- conservation and utilisation of the historic buildings were proposed; and 3) links with the community -- the linkage activities between the group and local people was create (The university of Tokyo, 2005).

By 1998, neighbourhood associations and *Yanaka Gakko* started the duty in controlling physical features of the area. In that period, these groups were the main actors in opposing a large-scale apartment proposed to build in the area. Finally, both the citizen groups and the developers were satisfied with the joining design. The process of design of the apartment brought about the information of local agreement to preserve the cultural landscape through adoption of a ‘community building charter.’ At the end of 2003, *Yanaka Gakko* was changed to be two NPOs. One is to support *machizukuri* activities and the other is to develop cooperative housing projects suitable to Yanaka.

Banglamphu District, Bangkok

Background

Banglamphu district is located on the northern part of the Rattanakosin, the conservation zone of Bangkok. In 1782 when Bangkok was created, the Rattanakosin area covered the core inside the city walls and city moats, remarked as the most important in political and commercial functions. The district received its name from Banglamphu temple, an old temple from Ayutthaya era (The period before the establishment of Bangkok as the capital). Contained diverse ethnic groups including Mon, Laos, Muslim, Vientiane and Chinese, Banglamphu gained first important functions as the royal hub comprising palaces and houses of servants serving the Second King in the early period of Rattanakosin; afterward, it changed to be residential areas of government officers because the place is close to various government offices near old palaces.

From the turn of the twentieth century, Banglamphu was recognised as market and entertainment places associated with new conjunctions of three modes of transportation –

waterways, trams and streets. Since the post Second World War until the 1970s, the area experienced high economic growth; consequently gained adverse effects from the moving out of local people replaced by new comers, known as ‘the stranger’, particularly people from the other provinces. Since then, physical fabrics and socio-economic structures of the area have dramatically changed (Askew, 1993).

In the 1970s after the end of the Vietnam War, Banglamphu started to receive its disputation as a tourist area, particularly for serving backpackers who are keen on seeing the remaining scenery of old Bangkok (Ouyyanont, 2001).

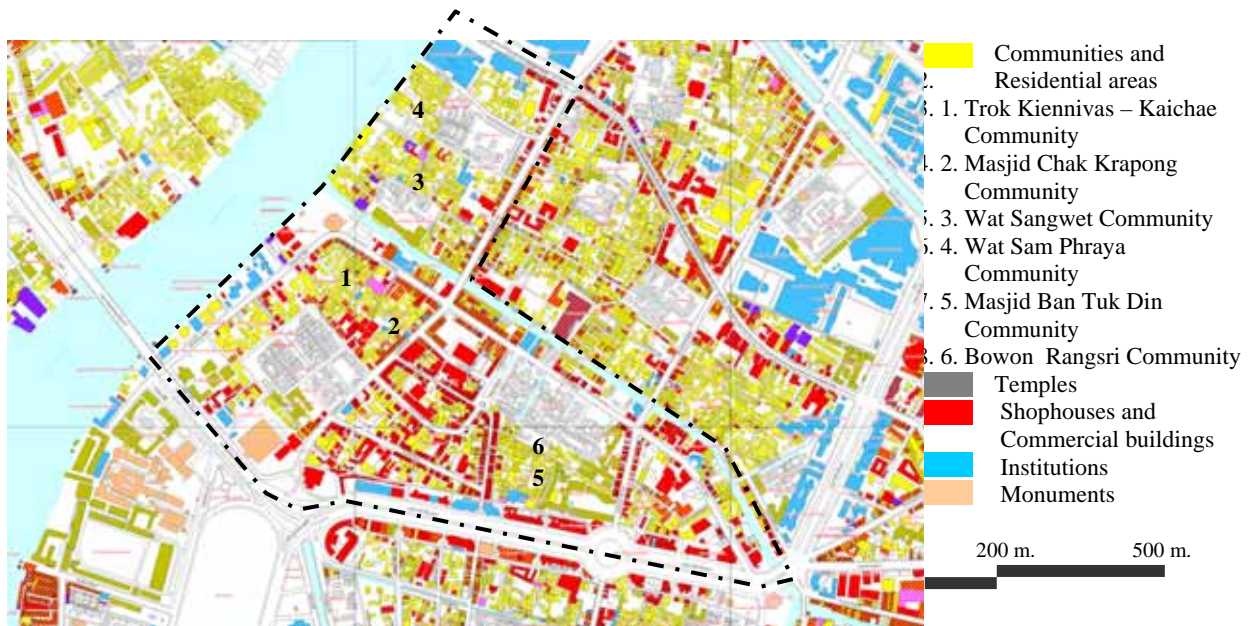


Figure 12: Map of Banglamphu district. Outline the boundary of Banglamphu district by the author based on administrative map and interviews of local neighbourhoods.

Cultural significances

- Fabrics and settings

Banglamphu district is located in Bangkok conservation zones bounded by the second ring of canal, called ‘the Outer Rattanakosin’. The significances in terms of fabrics and setting in Banglamphu include the traces of settlement patterns. Today, we can see some original urban patterns of the first settlements, especially structures of the city moats, fortresses and palaces. The palaces line along the Pra Athit Street paralleled the Chao Phraya River and traditional communities clustered around palaces, temples and governmental institutes. The essential fabrics since the latter decade of the nineteen century are the hard shells of shophouses along major streets encompassing soft cores of low-scale dwelling.



Figures 13-14: The urban fabrics of Banglamphu. The left picture shows one hundred years ago fabrics with harmony in small grain buildings and the right picture show the recent fabrics with some large-scale buildings.



Figure 15: Remain hard shells of one-hundred-year shophouses along Rambutri road at the centre of market place in Banglamphu district.

Although the Banglamphu district, as well as other districts in the oldest sections of Bangkok have been controlled by the conservation plan (1982) and the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) regulation (1987) concerning land uses, building heights and building alterations, the implementation of the conservation plan and legal controls have not in a success (Team Consulting Engineering and Management, 2004 and Issarathumnoon and Nishimura, 2006). Apart from that, the areas have been under development pressures. The vast changes in the political revolution in 1932 and the post war period caused the changes in fabrics of the area. Some lands that used to belong to monarchy changed to hands of common people and some valuable traditional wooden houses changed to be shophouses or markets.

- Uses and meanings

In the term of uses, Banglamphu has been a residential area of the monarch families surrounded by servants' houses. The other uses, which make deputation of the district is to be a market place. After the Second World War, Banglamphu was famous for the largest cloth markets and traditional Thai goods markets. Moreover, Banglamphu is a place for traditional crafts, such as gold leaves, gold crafts and institutes of Thai music and performances. For contemporary uses, a new function that brought about a new naming of Banglamphu is to be a tourist place. Khaosan road in Banglamphu is the most

famous street for accommodation and facilities for tourists as it is located near the Grand Palace and other high valuable monuments.

Even if the regulation controls ban the use as hotel and restrict the size of restaurant in the conservation zones, local residents have applied small houses to be guesthouses since the 1970s. Later until now, the guesthouses have gradually scattered to surrounded areas and some have changed to be chain hotels. Moreover, tourist facilities have extended from Khaosan road, the main tourist street to the nearby shophouses and communities inside the soft cores. The reasons why Banglamphu has gained its deputation in tourism are reflected in the voice of the community's leader: "Banglamphu has been interpreted for tourists who wish to stay in wooden houses with warm welcome from local families"(Silapee, 2007), as well as stated in a guide book: "Beyond the manic scene of Khaosan road, Banglamphu is a unique collection of bohemian and traditionalist Thais, the cultural inheritors of the neighbourhood's legacy" (Lonely Planet, Bangkok City Guide, 2006).

Nevertheless, the results from the interviews of the local leaders notably point that the uses of the area as a tourist place cause severe effects to the residents, such as some people have to move out from the area because of the deteriorate environment and some sold their lands due to economical pressures (Silapee, 2007, Nuchpum, 2007 and Kulsirorat, 2007).



Figure 16-18 show tourist facilities that are filled in old shophouses and wooden houses along Thanow road and Rambutri road. Figure 19 shows Khaosan road, a famous road for guesthouses for backpackers.

Considered the maintaining of naming of place, it is remarkably pointed out that to preserve the naming of Banglamphu as a place of original Thai customs and crafts is pretty hard due to the disappearing of production of crafts in the households. However, a naming as a tourist place exploiting tangible and intangible resources as heritage products still exists and wider spreads to international tourism.

- Associations

From the perception of its residents, Banglamphu referred to a district with four important temples, groups of palaces, shophouses and markets. Also, six communities clustered around temples and palaces along the narrow lanes (*trok*) and minor canals still be seen in the recent days. The whole components make Banglamphu be characterised as a *yarn*, which means a mix-used domain with common people living in a patchwork of name places (O' Conner, 1990), or a part of a mosaic pattern (Tomotsugi, 1993).

The sturdy associations of the close-knitted communities in narrow lanes are called *chomchon trok*. Some of them are based on ethnic groups and former artisan communities. Trok Kiennivas - Kaichae community is Mon community and Masjid Chak Krapong community and Masjid Ban Tuk Din community are Muslim communities. Historically, the community members earn their living on gold leaves making and goldsmiths business. Some have intimately relationships with their temples (*wat*). Wat Sangwet community, Bowon Rangsi community and Wat Sam Phraya Community represent these kinds of relationships.

In the *trok* community with houses densely packed along small lanes. The same as the *roji* in Yanaka, the *trok* is the 'communal space' where people can stop by, greet and exchange news and experiences. In the *trok*, the inhabitants know each other well, accordingly, look after the area by informal rules. The nodal points for communal activities are placed in open spaces or *lan* in the temples, mosques and schools. The most important space for the Banglamphu neighbourhood is a park in the area of Phra Sumeru fortress, namely Santi Chaiprakarn Park. Local people use this park as a public recreational space and as a symbol of the civil society and a festival space for almost all of local events.

Not only have the associations been created by 'urban community', but also 'urban hierarchy' (O' Connor, 1987 cited in Askew, 1994). Here, some local residents identify themselves with the traces of palaces and high cultures that people received from their ancestors who worked as servants of the palaces. As Askew (2002) clearly states, 'great' and 'little' traditions of urban life existed in harmony, reflected spatially in the co-existence of the royal citadel and its surrounding *yarn*, or 'urban village'.



Figures 20-21: *Chumchon* Masjid Chak Krapong, a Muslim community. In figure 20, it is a Thai style houses that still remains and figure 21 shows a mosque, which is a civic space or a core of community.



Figures 22-26: *Chumchon Trok Kiennivas-Kaichae*. Figures 22-24 show private domains that people live and use for household working, while figures 25-26 show public spaces.



Figure 27: The Santi Chaiprakarn Park, an important public space in Banglamphu district that can be claimed as a centre of the whole areas wrapping the six communities together.

Thanks to the strong associations between people and noteworthy places -- the narrow lanes, temples, mosques and markets, the involvements of people have been created. By 1997, communities in Banglamphu, as well as 20 communities in the Rattanakosin area and thousands communities over Bangkok Metropolitan area were registered. The acceptance of communities in legal system helped to strengthen the communities from the top-down approach. While the local residents, the new comers who own the new shops in Banglamphu and a non-government organisation -- *Bangkok Forum*, built their bottom-up powers through the first walking street festival and the establishment of *Prachakom Banglamphu* or Banglamphu Civil Society in 1998 (Thirapantu, 2007).

The activities comprise a successfully searching the last lamphu (*Duabanga grandiflora*) tree from the helps of local residents and a local schoolteacher. Then, it brought the concerns from local people in the enhancing local history and revitalise the area. Thus the collecting oral history of the place was conducted in that period. (Duangsawai, 2007). One remarkable action that brought about the strength of the civil society is an opposition of the demolishing of the fifty-year-old building, which was used as the first publishing of textbooks in Thailand, located near the Phra Sumaru fortress.

Banglamphu people led by the civil society want to use the building as a civic space. Although the movement can save the building, local people cannot be allowed to use it until now.

Today, the Banglamphu Civil Society is the host of six communities and civic groups of market places and guesthouses (Life-UNDP, 2003). Although the civil society in Thailand is not under any legal system, it is acknowledged from other parts of society. The Banglamphu Civil Society collaborating with various government sectors -- the BMA, Ministry of Culture and TAT (Tourism Authority of Thailand), non-government sectors and private sectors, have organised several festivals along the year; for instance, *Songkran* festival (Thai New year day) and International drama festival.

DISCUSSION

Regarding to the transformation of conservation concept, recently shifted to the conservation of the 'place' and the analysis of two cases of Asian historical districts, this discussion would like to stress the 'sense of living in the place' or *roji seikatsu* in Yanaka and *chumchon trok* in Banglamphu, to be one of important aspects of conservation and three significances that support the identity of place and urban experiences will be emphasised.

First, *Urban textures*. From the cases, the important point here is to concern the areas as heritage 'places'; thus, look at the monuments, temples, palaces, not only their intrinsic values, but also their relations to the surrounded communities. Due to Asian conservation concepts mentioned elsewhere that Asian people accept to the changes on physical fabrics appearing in the mix in styles and ages of fabrics; however, the continuity of living in small spaces still remains. Accordingly, urban textures including spatial network of small alleys and small grains of buildings should be considered as authentic significances.

Second, *Contemporary uses and meanings*. As regards to the uses of the heritage places with mix-used functions, a vital point is how to maintain the lived space that means to let people stay in the area with good life supporting by public spaces and facilities. Particular supporting components for community life comprising commercial activities on the main streets, schools, temples and market places that are often used as community spaces should be maintained. On the other hand, the re-interpretation heritage places and resources to be commoditised places and marketed products should concern history, culture of the place and the living of the residents. In the recent situations, Banglamphu has been affected from pressures of tourist development, while Yanaka has faced pressures of the redevelopment, in particular, the construction of new residential buildings.

Third, *Community life and networks*. We can learn from the cases that close relations in the communities help to raise public awareness of heritage places and develop to be the civil societies. Local residents consequently try to share the civic spaces comprising first, the conceptual spaces, which mean the rights to manage their spatial heritage, and second, the physical spaces. In the term of conceptual space, the local organisation has been developed from their informal rules of controlling and balancing the uses of private and public spaces. Furthermore, recently, we can see the confrontation between the tourism consumption of spaces and lived space of the inhabitants, in particular, in Banglamphu. From the cases, the forms of local organisations are founded on connection of people and socio-cultural conditions. In the case of Banglamphu, the local organisation is supported from both hierarchical power (vertical) relations and horizontal relations based on social structure, where as people in Yanaka seem to depend

on horizontal relations. In the term of physical spatial networks, we can see some normal meeting places at nodal points, such as open spaces in temples have been re-created to be 'civic spaces'. From this, how to enhance community life and networks thus should be a part in conservation tasks, as we see in the efforts of *machizukuri* in Yanaka and the *Prachakom Banglamphu*.

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