

Education Reform, Colonization, and Unification of Thailand: The Turning Point of Educational Buildings in Lanna

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Abstract During the education reform period, Siam had changed Lanna under the former's policy to create a nation-state. Education reform was used as an instrument for unifying a new country. The new education policy had affected the perception of Lanna architecture, since traditional Lanna buildings did not fit with modern education function, which was more complex than the traditional one. Research showed that the educational buildings of Lanna changed through its unification with Siam and that Lanna's adoption of the western model from Siam was due to the pressures of the colonization period. For some, Western architecture created a more civilized atmosphere in Lanna as well as in Siam. After the Siamese coup d'état (1932), the typical school buildings had been gradually developed to meet "Thainess" policies. Therefore, the buildings' appearance was changed again with the introduction of a new policy from the government in Bangkok. This research shows that policies implemented by the Siam transformed traditional buildings. As a result of these policies, Lanna buildings began to have less local character, especially educational buildings.

Keywords Education Reform, Architecture, Lanna, Siam, Colonial Building

1. Introduction

During the period of Siamese administrative reform (so-called: the-sa-phi-ban) in the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910), Siam used education reform as a tool for consolidating Lanna. One of the methods was to assimilate Lanna people and culture through education. The main strategy was to compel the young generation to study the official Thai language. This new educational paradigm transformed the traditional Lanna educational spaces, making them more modern educational institutions at the behest of the royal government in Bangkok. New types of public buildings were constructed that differed from Lanna traditional edifices. When it came to the period of King Rama VI, the goal of education reformation was not only to make Lanna loyal to the Siam nation-state and its kings but to make the people of Lanna more Thai culturally speaking.

In 1932, there was a major change in the government system, called the "Siamese Revolution". [1] The absolute monarchy became a constitutional monarchy. The education system was also significantly reformed to become more modern, which helped to consolidate the country and spread Thai culture throughout its borders. The educational system was changed by the agreement of the royal court of Siam in orders to make Siam civilized in the colonization era. Since, the modern education was more complex in terms of teaching subjects; the school building

needed more rooms to serve that purpose. Therefore, the modern school was built in more complex functions and the appearance of the building also differed from the traditional edifice. With these reforms, Lanna became part of Siam and was called “Pak Nhua,” which means the north region of Siam. Given the interrelationship between modern education, colonialism, and the consolidation of the nation-state during this period, this article explores how this interrelationship worked in practice, particularly how it influenced education as well as Lanna education edifices?

2. The Dynamics of Politics Changes in Lanna

In the period of Siamese administrative reform, Siam turned the system from local autonomy to the-sa-phi-ban system. It drew the administrative power from the vassal states of Siam which included Lanna, Isan, and Malaya to Bangkok. In the northern area of Siam (Lanna), Chiang Mai was the strategic city that needed to assimilate. There was an attempt to unify this city to be part of Siam. The strategy, adopted from the lesson learned from the excursion of King Rama V to Malaya, to Singapore, and to Europe, was the same approach that the British used in India. [2,3]

Ramsay conclusively showed that Siam acted as a colonizer, following a pattern of internal colonization. Thongchai Vinichakul discussed that Siam did not think that they were imperialists in the same way that the western powers were, since they shared common cultural traits with other ethnic groups on the peninsula [4,5]. With this vision, Siam thought they had the righteousness to dominate Lanna.

In terms of internal colonialism, Siam had adopted a capitalist mode of production, from Europe (the British), to govern their vassal states, which was also similar to European colonization [6,7].

Prince Damrong Rajanubhab had once called the Siam governor of Lanna as the resident or Sa-Mu-Ha-The-Sa-Phi-Ban [2], meaning the authorized person to govern the vassal states. For him, colonial governor had the same status as the The-Sa-Phi-Ban governor. This comparison clearly showed that Prince Damrong saw these two systems (thesaphiban and colonialism) as the same [5].

Consequently, Siam took many resources from Lanna. For example, under the Chiang Mai treaty 1 and 2, the Siam royal court made the Lanna lords grant them a concession of teak forest in the northern region [8]. Siam gradually initiated its power over Lanna. At first, Siam tried to dominate Lanna by centralizing political power, taking some of the Lanna lord family to the royal court in Bangkok. This system was called “The-Sa-Phi-Ban.” However, Siam applied the modern education system as a tool to assimilate the local people. Siam used education reforms to unify the nation-state [9]. Apart from these

reforms, Lanna’s influential monk system, called “Hua-Mu-U-Bo-Sot” and part of the traditional Lanna education system, also became managed by Siam [2]. The-Sa-Phi-Ban system now controls the Lanna authorities. It required many city officials who could speak, read, and write fluently in the official Thai language. Meanwhile, Lanna had their own language, but had to speak Thai if they wished to work for the Siam state. Therefore, providing modern education through Thai language also played an important role in controlling Lanna [10].

Thus, education reform paved the way for the colonization of Lanna by the Siam regime through the The-Sa-Phi-Ban system. The aesthetic of the power of Koompoong demonstrated the relationship between the state’s political power and the forming of architecture characteristics. Concerning Lanna education reform, however, there was also the relationship among the discipline of education, the education space, and the altering of the education policies from Siam to Lanna. These relationships led to a research framework that aimed to compile literature about 1). School buildings in the modern education initiative; 2) The difference in education policies in the period of King Rama V and VI; 3) The transition from traditional to modern education and the changing of sense of place; and 4). The development of educational buildings from Lanna to Siam.

This article focuses on the role of architecture as a tool for bringing Lanna under the control of Siam over three periods: traditional, The-Sa-Phi-Ban, and democratic. In terms of sources, this article uses physical evidence, such as existing buildings as well as the photos of the demolished ones, and historical documents. The research was conducted in the northern part of Thailand which, in the past, was called Lanna kingdom. The planning of study’s buildings was studied side by side with the political situation that influenced the change of function and appearance of the study buildings. The conclusion was made by using those 2 factors to analyse and demonstrate the reason for the changes of the educational buildings in Lanna.

The research is divided into three parts. The first part looks at Lanna during the traditional period (1802 - around 1931), from when Lanna became a vassal state of Siam until shifted to The-Sa-Phi-Ban in the period of King Rama V. The second part is in the time frame after The-Sa-Phi-Ban period until the Siamese revolution in 1932, corresponding with the reign of King Rama V to VII. The third part examines the period of the Siamese revolution, when Siam changed from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. These three time periods highlight the paradigm shift in terms of the conceptual framework of governing and the educational system. These two frameworks were used to control the attitudes, perspectives, and vision of the nation’s citizens. In each time period of three studies’ parts, the word “nation” was defined differently, with each time the Siamese used

the educational system to push this idea further into its vassal states [10].

This study covers the area of the traditional Lanna monarch, which included five states: Lampang, Chiang Mai, Lamphoon, Phrae, and Nan. The traditional Lanna monarchy system depended on the high power's state. It can be called Lanna as "a vassal state of Siam." The reason for choosing these five states is based on the acceptance of diplomatic policy from the superior power, the royal government of Siam. Most of the policies usually commenced in these states. The five areas showed clear evidence of implementing the policies of Siam, leading to the transformation of building characteristics in Lanna.

3. School Buildings in Lanna

3.1. Figures School Buildings in the Modern Education Initiative

The conventional education system of Lanna was centered around Buddhism the same as in Siam's [11]. Not only did Buddhism mobilize traditional socio-cultural frameworks, but it also served as a system of educational classification in Lanna. Education levels in Buddhism were related to social status. If a man wanted to access education, he needed to learn from the temple by becoming a Buddhist monk. When he left, he would elevate his social status to become "Noi" or Nhan," depending on the level of Dhamma he learnt [12].

The teachers who were monks or senior monks were categorized into three levels. 1) The monks who had been ordained for fewer than five years. At this level, the monks could teach only at the elementary level, which is the equivalent to elementary school. Most of the pupils were temple disciples. 2) The monks who had been ordained more than five years but not over 10; they could teach at the intermediate level. The pupils were novices. 3) The senior monks who had been ordained for more than 10 years could teach at the advanced level. At this level, the senior monks would also give lessons to junior monks. The teaching at every level was conducted in the Thai-Yuan language. Usually, the pupils were children in the communities who were around 10 years old. When they could read and write, they would become novices and continue on to higher education. [12]

Therefore, the whole process of Lanna's traditional education was carried on in the Buddhist territory.

The next step of Lanna's traditional education, apart from reading and writing, was crafting the Dharma characters with palm leaves, reciting Buddhist prayer, and preaching. With these qualifications, when they left the Buddhist monkhood, they would be called "Noi" and be praised for having a higher qualification than general men. To continue the higher education, though, a novice needed to keep their ordination until reaching the age of 20 years old; then, they would be allowed to become monks. The

monks could access a variety of special knowledge, such as traditional medicine, astrology, and building construction. Then, when they left the monkhood, they would be called "Nhan." With this status, they would have a higher status in terms of knowledge and would be seen as an important person in the community. This education method continued in Lanna during its period of being a vassal state of Siam [10,12].

Once, Lanna had self-autonomy Under Siam rule. This policy changed to the new governing system, "The-Sa-Phi-Ban," and the first 12 ministries including the Ministry of Education in 1892 (2453BE). In the 19th century, colonization in Southeast Asia pressured Siam to change its view of Lanna [10]. In the reign of King Rama V, the Siam royal court decided to gradually centralize its control over Lanna. One of the strategies was to encourage the local Lanna people to learn the central Thai language instead of their Thai Yuan language [10,12]. Local people needed to fluently read and write the central Thai language in order to be a local official. With this strategy, the usage of language had gradually changed and affected the education system as well as the place for teaching, as language became an assimilationist tool for Siam leaders.

The Lanna region was dominated by five main cities, each having their own local lords: including Lampang, Chiang Mai, Lamphoon, Nan, and Phare. The early education stage outside the temple in Lanna was supported by Christians and Siam. The first school building constructed in Chiang Mai since 1878 was the Christian school for girls, called Prarajchaya school (meaning the King Rama V's consort). It was built in the Lanna wooden style with two stories (Figure 1) by Phrajao Inthawitchayanon, the seventh high lord of Chiang Mai. The curriculum was in the Thai-yuan language, and the subjects included the central Thai language, mathematics, Bible study, sawing, and singing [13].



Figure 1. The first school building of Prarajchaya school built in 1878 [13]

By that time, Siam had developed their curriculum from the Thai royal study textbook, which had been used for 17 years after being launched in 1888. The textbook discussed ways to understand the Thai language within a few months, since the local people had to stop learning every month due to their agricultural work requirements. The curriculum also included history, basic geography, reading, crafting, writing, and grammar [14].

In 1892, public schools teaching modern education in Lanna were subsidized by Siam. These schools were called Mulsuksa (meaning fundamental study) and were supported by the Ministry of Education. These schools represented a new paradigm in teaching, with teachers who were neither monks nor missionaries; they taught both central Thai and foreign languages, such as antique Thai, English, Chinese, and Malaya. Chaleisak schools (meaning unregistered status) were also subsidized in the same year. However, there was no report of Mulsuka schools in Lanna, only the Christian schools, such as Prince Royal School, built in 1887. At the beginning, the modern education was taught in the traditional public buildings such as lords' palaces and monasteries, to differentiate the modern education from the traditional one. The modern education in Lanna was initiated only to teach the central Thai language, consequently including four textbooks: fundamental of reading, basic knowledge, basic mathematics, and morality [12].

Most of the modern schools in Lanna had originally settled in traditional public spaces, such as a palace or religious area. The areas were normally adequate for a small number of students, and the course was designed to teach students how to write, read, and speak the central Thai language only. The local people's attention to the central Thai language increased vastly and rapidly as compared with other areas in Siam such as Isan county (Northeastern county of Thailand-present) and Malaya county. Consequently, there was an expansion of modern schools in most of Lanna's major cities. The search for locations to build modern schools was conducted by civil officers or local authoritarians. The modern schools were built differently from Lanna traditional buildings in terms of both function and form.

These changes in architecture affected the learning space. The central Thai language strategy led to a construction of new educational buildings, which Lanna people felt alienated from, since modern education activities could not fit with any kind of Lanna traditional buildings.

3.1.1. Lampang

The first public school in Lanna was built in Lampang in 1898 in a temple. It was initiated by Phaya Surasiwisitsak (Chei Kallayanamit), who held the position of the regent of Northern The-Sa-Phi-Ban county (1902-1915). The school had not been funded by the Siam royal court. To establish the school, the donations were requested from the local lords, wealthy people, and local people in the form of money, land, and equipment. In 1905, the title "Boonyawatwittayalai school" was given by Price Maha Wachirawoot (later the King Rama VI) to this first school. The number of students attending the school gradually increased. Chao Boonyawatmanit, the high lord of Lampang, began to teach the central Thai language in his palace in 1910 (Figure 2). In the beginning, there were 2 teachers and 42 students (more male students than females). In 1931, the school was moved to land that was bought by the Kim Seng Lee store (Local merchant of Lampang) and

was rebuilt with a modern appearance [12].

It can be seen from the front elevation in Figure 3 that the building was a long building, with a central porch and two main stairs on both wings. Its architecture is similar to the later typical school building. It can be assumed that the classrooms were located at the end of both wings on the first and second floors. The school was enlarged and moved again to outside Lampang's city walls and has operated there since.



Figure 2. The Lampang palace. [24]

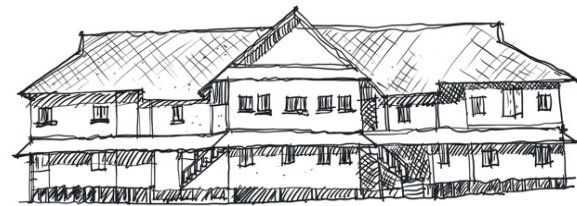


Figure 3. Boonyawatwittayalai school, built in 1931. [24]

3.1.2. Lampoon

The expansion of modern schools occurred all over Lanna, including in Lampoon. The Jakkamkanathon school was established in 1922 and was supported by Chao Jakkamkanathon, the high lord of Lampoon.

The school was originally called Wittayakom school, which was built in 1904 and was located next to Hariphunchai temple. After operating for 15 years, the school needed to be enlarged due to the growing number of students. In 1921, Chao Jakkamkanathon donated the land by the Lampoon-Pasang road to build a new school in 1923 and changed the name to Jakkamkhanathon (Figure 4) [15,16].

The school was then expanded again in 1941 and was relocated to the Nongsheng community in Lampoon. Figure 4 shows the appearance of the school building that was built in 1941. The layout plan of the buildings was laid in long half-aisles similar to Boonyawatwittayalai school in Lampang. Both buildings had a porch, balconies, and eaves on the first floor. However, the mentioned school buildings were demolished when the school was expanded [16].

3.1.3. Phrae

During The-Sa-Phi-Ban period, five major cities in

Lanna were ruled in a similar fashion. Chiang Mai, Lampang, and Lamphoon had a kin relationship with the Chaojetton clan, the first ruling clan of Lanna in the Ratanakosin era. Nan was from the Chaoluang Ariyawong lineage, and Phare was from the Phraya Sansai lineage. However, the lineage of the lord of Phare was cut off after the reign of Chao Piriya-wong because of the revolution of the Nguao (Shan people). The royal court of Siam dethroned Chao Piriya-wong because they suspected he conspired with the Shan. After that, Phare was removed from the lineage of the descent of the ruler. The rest of the four Lanna cities were dethroned later because of Siam's centralization policy. The school established in Phare was the same as the other Lanna modern schools, as the school was set in the temple. One year before the Nguao revolution, Chao Piriya-wong created the school following Siam's policies. The Theppawong school in Phrae was established in 1901. After the Nguao revolution in 1902, the school changed its name to become the Phare example school and was finally named the Piriyalai school in 1910 with 200 students. Before then, the teak classroom building was built in 1909 (Figure 5). Originally, Piriyalai school was built between Prabath temple and Mingmuang temple before moving across from the Phare's governor's residence. The building had been demolished to enlarge the school, and the Chaoluang building was then built to replicate the earlier building.

Nareerat school was similar to Piriyalai school but was established to educate girls. The first public girl school in Phrae was settled in the old building of the scout club. In 1921, the Namphetch building was built. It was a two-story building with 12 classrooms and two staircases. The building was decorated in Lanna contemporary and Siam elements, since there are stencil wooden decorations on the roof (Figure 6). The similar characteristics of the three schools mentioned above are the long corridor with three porches and the balcony on the second floor. The Namphetch building is now used to house the Museum for Phrae Education.



Figure 4. Jakkamkanathon school [15]



Figure 5. Above – Piriyalai school, built in 1909 [17]. Below – Chaoluang building (in Piriyalai school).



Figure 6. Namphetch building, Nareerat school, Phare, this building was built in 1921.

3.1.4. Chiang Mai

Yupparatwittayalai school officially opened in 1906 as a provincial public school, which elevated the status of northern public schools. Originally, the school did not teach the modern curriculum, teaching only the nobility's offspring in the palace of the lord of Chiang Mai. With the support of Prachao Inthawarorose-suriyawong, the high lord of Chiang Mai, and Praya Surasri Wisitsak, the northern region's high commissioner, the first wooden building was successfully built in 1905. The building was a three-story wooden corridor with some structural elements donated from the old theatre of the high lord; the building also had nine classrooms. It was still in the form of a Lanna traditional building. Later, the first western school building was built in 1912 and opened its doors in 1915; it was called the Yuparaj building, in the Yupparajwittayalai school [12].

This school was a modern one, as its building plan and design came from Bangkok. The building design was influenced by the west, in terms of the porch in the middle of the building and the decorated arches of the balconies (Figure 7). It was a two-story building with a single corridor and fewer than 10 classrooms.

Ruenpej was built in 1935. The plan was a typical modern building with 15 classrooms. The building had no decorative elements (Figure 8). The front porch with three windows was also in the middle of the corridor between both wings, which was similar to Boonyawatwittayalai and Namphej buildings, built in the same period. Figure 9 is the oldest picture of a typical modern school building with a Thai flagpole. However, the building was demolished in 1987 to construct a bigger building, Yupparaj Library [18].

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It can be seen that the modern school during this first period usually picked a public building to serve its function. The Buddhist monastery was the most suitable space to use, since it had served as a traditional education institute and allowed the local community to access it. However, when the number of students increased rapidly, the monastery could accommodate the vast number of students.

Modern education reforms led to the new modern school building style. It also led to new perspectives on building in Lanna, as these new buildings were different from Lanna's traditional public buildings. The form and function of these buildings were designed by Bangkok and brought to Lanna to implement Siam's new education policies. Figure 10 shows the long corridor wooden schools in Lanna that were built after the period of King Rama V shared the similarity in terms of planning. The buildings comprised of two staircases located on both sides of the building wings. The building approach was in the middle. The rooms were separated and connected with a long front corridor. The roof came with the overlaid hip.



Figure 7. The Yuparajwittayalai school was built in 1912 and opened in 1915 [19]

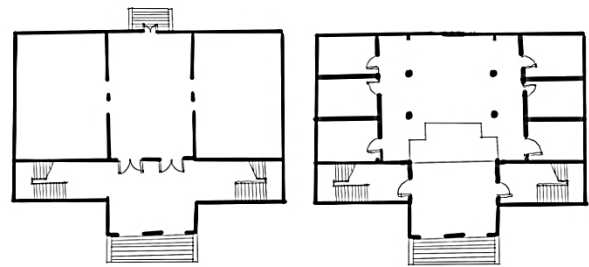


Figure 8. Left - the first floor plan of Yuparajwittayalai school; Right - the second floor plan [20]

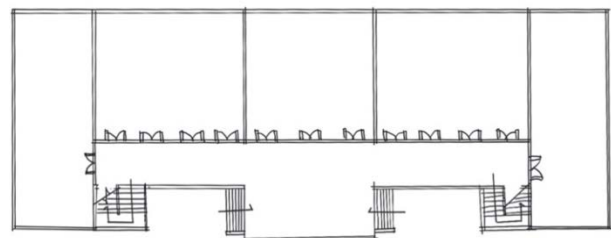


Figure 9. The typical plan of school in Lanna



Figure 10. Ruanpej building was built in 1935. [19]

3.2. The Difference in Education Policies in the Period of King Rama V (1868-1910) and VI (1910-1925)

During the reign of King Rama V and King Rama VI, the two kings both supported modern education reform in Siam. These policies led to the expansion of public schools in Lanna. King Rama V (1868-1910) had the idea to change his kingdom into a nation-state. He attempted to abolish the vassal state and to dismiss the title of the vassal state's lord. In the beginning, the education policy was flexible, which allowed teaching to be done in both Thai Yuan and the central Thai language. However, the use of the Thai Yuan language, the language in Lanna, gradually decreased due to the popularity of the central Thai language.

As a result, teaching focused only on reading and writing in the central Thai language to increase the number of civil servants fluent in central Thai, who could then serve Siam. In the reign of King Rama VI, nationalist policies were promoted and implemented in the schools. Education focused on four important elements: loyalty to the nation, religion, the importance of the king, and making sacrifice for the good of the public.

In this regard, the chancellor of the Ministry of Justice (Chao Phraya Thammasakmontri) had commanded Lanna's civil officers to only teach the central Thai language and information about Siam. In this way, students would become more loyal to the royal court of Siam. The king's portrait and Siam flag were required to hang on classroom walls, and the royal anthem was also taught. King Rama VI also implemented the Primary Education Act in 1921, which allowed children between the ages of seven and 14 to attend primary school. This act increased the number of Lanna's primary students dramatically, from only 9.65 percent to 36.43 within only a year [9,12].

The schools had to follow the rules and regulations of

the Ministry of Education in terms of curriculum, teaching, and discipline to best adjust the attitudes of Lanna's young people. These policies were effective, as the Thai Yuan language declined in popularity, and schools shifted to teaching only the central Thai language.

The required subjects under the new curriculum were morality, the central Thai language, basic math, knowledge of Siam, painting, and boy scout. There were also subjects related to vocation, such as agriculture, handicraft, and commerce.

The development of modern schools (under the new education reforms) in Lanna can be summarized as follows:

1. In the beginning, there was the encouragement of the central Thai language in Lanna; teaching was arranged in the Lanna public spaces, such as monasteries and palaces.
2. In the expansion period, the school designed changed, as the form of the building varied to accommodate the number of courses taught. For example, Yuparajwittayalai school taught only four subjects in the early stage; therefore, it had fewer classrooms. However, in the reign of King Rama VI, the number of subjects increased to over ten. The classroom space had to increase in number and enlarge in scale. Therefore, the increase in size affected the architecture of modern school buildings. Noticeably, in the period of King Rama V, the aim of education was reading and writing the central Thai language only; therefore, the arrangement of the formal teaching space was not necessary at that time.
3. In the late period of King Rama VI (1910-1925) until the Siamese coup d'état, the design plan of modern school was divided into classrooms teaching a specific subject. More classrooms were needed to accommodate both the increased number of students and the new subjects being taught (Figure 11).

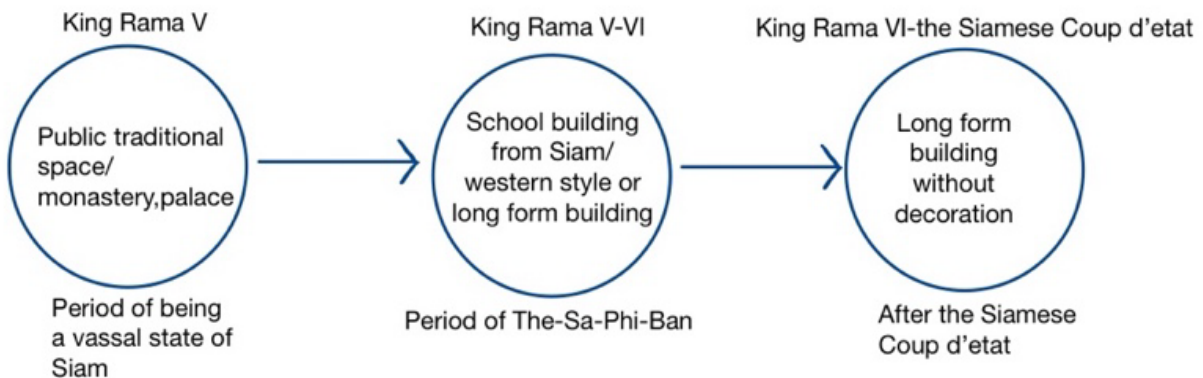


Figure 11. Diagram for the development of modern schools in Lanna

3.3. From Traditional to the Modern Education Buildings and the Changing Sense of Place and Style

3.3.1. The Changing of Sense of Place

Considering the development of educational spaces in Lanna, the sense of place in the traditional world laid the framework for the use of space in the monastery. In the transitional period, education reform was made by the royal court of Siam, leading to the development of the modern educational space. The traditional school was initiated for teaching the central Thai language, which was usually done in monasteries or the palace. One of the reasons for using the palace was to teach the children of the royalty.

Local Lanna people attended the monastery to learn Thai. The sense of place was tied with the use of the monastery in the traditional world. When modern education began, its rules and regulations came from the royal court of Siam. The new education atmosphere created a new study space. Modern education required the purposive public buildings for teaching particular subjects, as classrooms were needed for one specific subject.

3.3.2. The Changing of the Education Building Style

The architecture of the school building could present modern education policies more obviously and could show the civilization of Siam to the western countries. During the 19th century, western countries came to Southeast Asia to colonize it. To avoid being colonized by the British or French, Siam had necessarily united Lanna for several purposes. First, Lanna bordered Burma, which was a British colony. The British would have taken Lanna, if Siam had not. Second, Lanna's forest was valuable, and the British desired it. The British even requested the Siam state to grant it a concession to exploit the forests [10,21].

To avoid colonization, Siam promoted its civilized state to Britain and other western countries. Its modern education policies would consequently be presented through modern architecture and modern urban fabrication, starting in Bangkok.

Lanna needed to accept the western-style buildings from

Siam for many reasons. First, the lord of Phare was overthrown due to the coup d'état in Phare. The other Lanna lords were, therefore, afraid of Siam and tried to comply with its policies. Second, the Sa-Phi-Ban system allowed the governor and civil officers from Siam to monitor and manipulate Lanna. This system gradually diminished the absolute power of the Lanna rulers. Third, the demotion of the Lanna lords resulted in their losing absolute power [8].

The modern education movement in Lanna also emerged for a similar reason. The design of the Yuparaj building was built in the western style by the Ministry of Justice of Siam. Yuparajwittayalai school in Chiang Mai was the first school building made of bricks with a stone foundation. The construction began early in the reign of King Rama VI, and it finished in 1915 (2460BE) [22].

Considering the renovation period, it can be seen that the Yupparaj building renovation represented Siam's colonization of Lanna. Yupparai building shared the popular style commonly found in Bangkok during the reign of King Rama VI. It was originally built in 1912. The building was influenced by the western style, including symmetry plans, arches on the ground floor balcony, and the decoration on the roof above the porch. The second floor had a surrounding balcony, which was also popular for colonial buildings in India). The roof is in gable form. Moreover, the entrance was found in the middle of the building through a gable porch (Figure 12). This design showed the influence of Palladio and the so-called neo-classical style, which was trendy in Europe at that time.

After the Siamese coup d'état, the building was renovated in 1942. The renovation was made on the second floor by adding arch decorations on the balcony. This style of building in Bangkok was usually designed for wealthy people or diplomats, since it had more usable space than a common building. It was built as a typical building for people who could afford it to show their incredible wealth. Unsurprisingly, the Ministry of Justice chose this style for the first public school in Chiang Mai to show the civilizing influence of Siam on Chiang Mai and Lanna.



Figure 12. Left - Yupparaj building renovation original style built in 1912 [19]; Middle - renovated in 1942 [23]; Right - current style in 2020.

Meanwhile, the typical long wooden building was specifically built for schools in the period of King Rama VI, VII, and after the Siamese coup d'état. It represented the modern style. The building material was wooden, since it was cheaper than concrete at that time. Moreover, when the colonialism period in Southeast Asia ended, the western style was no longer considered as civilized as before. The school building was designed based on function, with a low budget. Noticeably, since then, the building has shared a common style in every province of the country. The buildings no longer show the sense of place or specific context of the place. To settle in any place could only refer to the civil buildings built by the government of Siam.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

There were three main reasons causing the change in education building related to the country's political revolution. The first reason was Lanna's unification with Siam. Since 1905, the Lanna cultural identity could not be seen in the school buildings. There was a typical building plan for schools, which was designed by Siam and implemented in Lanna, such as Yuparaj buildings and long wooden buildings. The Sa-Phi-Ban system centralized Siam's political power. Five independent Lanna cities were eventually absorbed into Siam. Lanna lords during the reign of King Rama VI lost most of their power and were on the same level as Siam's civil officers. The rank of the Lanna nobility was also abolished. When the Lanna nobility lost their power, they also lost much respect among the local people, who gradually turned their respect to Siam in Bangkok.

The second reason was to represent Siam's civilized nature to the western countries colonizing the region. The Lanna aristocracy saw Siam's style as civilized. Bangkok's architecture styles were used to construct buildings in Chiang Mai. The Lanna people who could access Siam's resources and copy Siamese's style belonged to the higher classes. Therefore, architecture style often symbolized Lanna's subordination to Siam in terms of civilization. Yupparaj building was a good example, as it represented Lanna's defeat to Siam. However, the long wooden style, brought about during the last age of the colonization in Southeast Asia, represented the nation-state, not ideas of civilization. The typical long wooden school buildings were built in all five Lanna cities to make people feel part of Siam.

The third reason related to changes in building had to do with promoting the idea of the nation-state throughout the country. After the Siamese Coup d'état in 1932, the absolute monarchy changed to a constitutional monarchy, leading to a change in the county's the Sa-Phi-Ban system, a Siam adopted a province system. All policies were governed by the Siam government, including education policies. Consequently, the education building built to

support these policies had to be built with the national character in mind, when it came to modern compulsory education, including the details about tuition fees and books, and the nation-state united activities arranged by the government's policies. Thus, the local people could not access this modern education, only the offspring of Lanna's aristocracy could.

Therefore, these aristocrat children accepted "Thainess" as well as the idea of the nation-state more than the common local people did. For national unification, promoting the idea of only one idea was important, and compulsory education was necessary to promote the idea of one Thai nation. The school was the fastest way, since it could easily reach all children and their family members. To reach the maximum number of children, schools needed to be built easily, fast, and cheaply. After this period, the number of decorations found on school buildings decreased, and they looked much simpler.

In conclusion, Lanna's educational buildings changed with the territory's unification with Siam. The important factor was the changing of Siam's political system as it became more centralized. Most of the education building characters were brought from Bangkok. In the beginning, the buildings imitated the Bangkok style, such as more western style buildings. Later, the buildings were designed specifically for education purposes. Finally, the long wooden house buildings were built to be the typical building for compulsory education. In its traditional period, education in Lanna happened in the monastery.

When the government system became an absolute monarchy, it forced Lanna to accept the power of the royal court in Bangkok. The influence of Siam caused Lanna to adopt a similar architectural style. Consequently, the traditional functions of Lanna's buildings were adapted to the new forms coming from Bangkok. This change was further emphasized after the Siamese coup d'état, when Siam tried to instill the idea of one country, one nation-state, throughout its territory. Compulsory education then worked as an instrument for promoting this idea of one nation-state. The typical educational building, with no local identical characteristics and which could be easily built anywhere, was transferred to Lanna, which had important effects on Lanna's educational policies as well as on their architectural style.

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