



TECHNISCHE  
UNIVERSITÄT  
WIEN

# Dissertation

## Sharing Urban Public Space in Bangkok, Thailand

### The In-Between Space: A Study of the Siam Area

ausgeführt zum Zwecke der Erlangung des akademischen Grades einer  
Doktorin der Technischen Wissenschaften unter  
der Leitung von

**Ao.Univ.Prof. DI Dr. phil. ANDREA RIEGER-JANDL**

E251-01

Baugeschichte und Bauforschung  
Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Bauforschung und Denkmalpflege

**eingereicht an der Technischen Universität Wien  
Fakultät für Architektur und Raumplanung**

Von

**DUANGNAPA SINLAPASAI**

Matrikelnummer: 0828494

Jeneweingasse 17, 1210 Wien

Unterschrift

Wien, .....2019

.....

# Sharing Urban Public Space in Bangkok, Thailand

## The In-Between Space: A Study of the Siam Area

# Sharing Urban Public Space in Bangkok, Thailand

## The In-Between Space: A Study of the Siam Area

Researcher: Duangnapa Sinlapasai; Supervisors: Ao.Univ.Prof. DI Dr. phil. ANDREA RIEGER-JANDL.  
Doctoral (PhD) program, Faculty for Architecture and Planning; University of Technology, Vienna, AUSTRIA.

### Abstract

*The motivation* behind the research was the “in-between” concept that is crucial in order to make the distinction between the place and the concept itself. It provides two ideas 1) equal and free space, and 2) coexistence or sharing i.e. the mall and the Buddhist temple or from houses to workplaces at the city level. Moreover, it is to apprehend the complexities around the usage of public and private spaces by integrating social criteria that reflects the particularity of Thai uniqueness and how it is used to maintain the relationship between them. The in-between concept and how it has interacted with spaces when considering the condition of the diversity at the research site. *The hypothesis* of the spatial concept of ‘in-between space’ can lead to a clearer understanding of seemingly incompatible characters of place and support the development of planning social interventions and experiments/ strategies for a successful coexistence of different target groups within complex spatial configuration. *The objectives* of this research were 1) To understand situations where spaces are clearly overlapping at the research site. In other words, the objective is to understand how these separate entities, different forces and values have been maintained and coexisted in the “in-between” space. 2) To collect accurate information to define a set of factors which, when analyzed, detail how overlaps occur between the living populations at the research site. 3) To collect accurate information in order to define a set of levers to be included in the “in-between framework”. 4) To analyze the spatial situation of the in-between spaces and the condition of the relationship of the places when taking into account local standards and globalization.

This dissertation is based upon empirical research from the research site located in the Siam area/district of Bangkok, Thailand. The surveyed/interviewed population of the study consisted of two main groups: 1) *Siam users on-site*; people who are exposed to the Siam area on a daily basis with the following roles and social attributes: workers, retired, students, tourists, residents, monks, etc. 2) *remote Siam users*; people who went to the Siam area at least once per year with the same roles and social attributes of group 2.1). Supplementary interviews in an Architectural field; *Architects* are in the remote user category as they comprehend the pros and cons of the Siam area from architectural and social points of view. The sampling included 500 answers from users split into three subgroups: 350 answers for the on-site users and 150 answers from the remote users. The interview questions have been developed in an open and narrative way to enable interviewees to give additional information. All interviews were conducted in Thai with the results translated into English. Data collection were paper-based questionnaires. The data was meticulously analyzed with the interviewees’ opinions to eliminate potential data alterations and misinterpretation. In the main, the research data was collected by a literature review, field surveys and interviews of people involved in using places within the research site.

The key findings were as follows: **FIRST FINDING:** The development of an in-between space criteria framework focused in a Thai context and it was found that the model and criteria fits with 1) on-going Thai cultural, economic, and urbanization issues at the research site, 2) inhabitants’ mind-sets, 3) religious constraints, visitors and expert opinions. Specific key criteria and patterns were identified to build an effective and comprehensive in-between space framework as follows (a) definition of public and private spaces (b) urban planning (c) income disparities (d) religion and symbolic representations (e) culture and Thaification (f) behavioral propositions (g) psychological considerations (h) legislation (i) conflict mitigation and critically associated social interventions and experiments/ strategies : (a) position, (b) program and (c) landscape as the suggestion to success the –in-between space in Thai context. **SECOND FINDING:** Qualitative feedback indicated that *the Mall is more public space than the Temple* which is opposite of the original idea that a temple is a real public space for the free usage of all people in Thai society. This reveals that the understanding and meaning between public and private space is opposite from an international or standard meaning. Such ambiguity in certain situations of space between a binary opposite meaning can be produced - called the in between space- that is neither real public nor real private space. **THIRD FINDING:** considering the in-between space, in a Thai context it can be produced on private space while people use it as public space. It presents micro-urban life and living interval realms of constructive associations between incompatible characters of places. The findings were conclusive concerning the benefits of the in-between space framework, as part of the in-between space, in the context of the research area.

**Keywords:** in-between space, public space, urbanization, deterritorialization, thaification, Thailand

## Kurzfassung

**Die Motivation** fuer diese Untersuchung war der Zwischenraumbegriff, der entscheidend ist fuer die Unterscheidung von Raeumlichkeit und Konzept. Der Begriff stellt zwei Ideen zur Verfuegung: **1)** gleicher und freier Raum **2)** Koexistenz oder die Teilung, z.B. ein Einkaufszentrum und ein buddhistischer Tempel oder Wohnhaeuser und Arbeitsplaetze in der Stadt. Weiterhin wird der Begriff zum Verstaendnis der Komplexitaet von der der Benutzung von oeffentlichem und privatem Raum durch die Integration von sozialen Kriterien, die Besonderheit von thailaendischer Einzigartigkeit und die Beziehung zwischen ihnen widerspiegeln. Der Zwischenraumbegriff und wie er mit Raeumlichkeiten interagiert, wenn man die Bedingungen der Diversitaet am Forschungsort bedenkt. **Die Hypothese** des raeumlichen Konzepts von Zwischenraum fuehrt zu einem klareren Verstaendnis von scheinbar unvereinbaren Eigenschaftendes Ortes und unterstuetzen den Planungsentwurf von sozialer Intervention und Experimente/Strategien fuer die erfolgreiche Koexistenz von unterschiedlichen Zielgruppen innerhalb von komplexen raeumlichen Konfigurationen. **Die Ziele** dieser Forschungsarbeit waren **1) Das Verstaendnis** von Situationen, in denen sich Raeumlichkeiten am Forschungsort klar ueberlappen. Mit anderen Worten, das Ziel ist es zu verstehen, wie diese getrennten Einheiten ihre verschiedenen Kraefte und Werte im Zwischenraum beibehalten und damit zur Koexistenz befahigt sind. **2)Die Sammlung** von genauen Informationen zur Definierung von Faktoren, die nach der Analyse zur Erklaerung dienen, wie die Ueberlappungen zwischen den Bevoelkerungsgruppen am Forschungsort zustandekommen. **3)Die Sammlung** von genauen Informationen zur Definierung der Hebelsaetze, die in den Zwischenraumbegriff\* einbezogen werden muessen. **4)Die Analyse** der raeumlichen Situation der Zwischenraeume und die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen den Raeumen in Beziehung auf oertliche und globale Standards.

Diese Dissertation basiert auf empirischer Forschung am Forschungsort im Siambezirk von Bangkok, Thailand. Die Umfagepopulation der Studie bestand aus zwei Hauptgruppen: **1) Vor-Ort Benutzer des Siam-Bezirks**; Menschen die taeglich mit dem Siambezirk in Kontakt stehen, und folgende Rollen und gesellschaftliche Eigenschaften haben: Arbeitnehmer, Ruhestaendler, Studenten, Touristen, Ortsbewohner, Moenche usw. **2) Fern-Benutzer des Siam-Bezirks**; Menschen, die mindestens zweimal im Jahr in derselben Rolle und gesellschaftlichen Eigenschaft der Gruppe 2.1) sie in den Siam-Bezirk gehen; **Architekten** gehoeren in die Fern-Benutzer Kategorie, weil sie die Pros und Kontras des Siam-Bezirks aus einem architektonischen und gesellschaftlichen Blickwinkel begreifen. Die Pobegruppe beinhaltete 500 Antworten von in drei Untergruppen getrennten Benutzern: 350 Antworten von Vor-Ort Benutzern und 150 Antworten von Fern-Benutzern. Die Fragen im Umfragebogen waren in einem offenen Erzaehlstil formuliert, um den Befragten die Moeglichkeit zu geben, weitere Informationen einzufuegen. Alle Befragungen wurden auf Thai durchgefuehrt und die Ergebnisse ins Englische uebersetzt. Die Datensammlung war ein papierbasierter Umfragebogen. Die Daten wurden sorgfaeltig analysiert mit den Befragten abgeklaert, um deren Meinungen klar zu erkennen und moegliche Datenverfaelschungen und Missverstaendnisse auszuschliessen. Im Wesentlichen wurden die Forschungsergebnisse gewonnen durch wissenschaftliche Rezension, Felduntersuchungen, und Befragung von Menschen, die Einrichtungen in diesem Forschung-Bezirk benutzen.

Die Schlüsselergebnisse waren wie folgt: **ERSTE ERGEBNIS** : das Modell des Zwischenraumes und die Untersuchung in einem Thai Kontext zeigen, dass das Modell und die Kriterien in Uebereinstimmung sind mit **I)** den gegewaertigen kulturellen, wirtschaftlichen und Urbanisierungsproblemen am Untersuchungsort in Thailand **II)** der Denkweise der Ortsbewohner **III)** religioesen Einschraenkungen, den Besuchern und Expertenmeinungen. Spezifische Schluesselkriterien und Muster wurden identifiziert, um einen effektive und verstaendliche **Zwischenraum-Rahmen** zu eintwickeln (**a**) Definition von oeffentlichem und privaten Raum (**b**) Stadtplanung (**c**) Einkommensungleichheiten (**d**) religioese und symbolische Darstellungen (**e**) Kultur und Thai-heit (**f**) Verhaltensvorschlaege (**g**)psychologische Beruecksichtigungen (**h**) Gesetzgebung (**i**) Konfliktminderung und damit engverbundene gesellschaftliche Interventionen und **Experimente/Strategien** (**a**) Position (**b**) Programm und (**c**) Landschaft als Vorschlag zum Erfolg des Zwischenraums im Thai Kontext. **ZWEITES ERGEBNIS**: Die qualitative Rueckmeldung weist darauf hin, dass heutzutage die Einkaufszentren mehr als oeffentlicher Raum dienen als die Thai Temple, was der urspruenglichen Idee widerspricht, dass die Tempel der wahre oeffentliche Ort sind, die allen Thai Menschen zur Verfuegung stehen. Diese Ergebnis deckt auf, dass das Verstaendnis und die Bedeutung von oeffentlich und privat in Thailand sich von dem allgemeinen internationalen Verstaendnis unterscheidet. Solche Mehrdeutigkeit in gewissen Situationen koennen durch die Einfuehrung des Begriffs „Zwischenraumes“ geloest werden, der weder wirklich ein oeffentlicher, noch wirklich privater Ort is. **DRITTES ERGEBNIS**: Der Zwischenraum in einem Thai Kontext wird produziert, indem Thai Menschen einen privaten Ort als oeffentlichen Ort nutzen. Der Zwischenraum stellt einen Mikroraum im staedtischen Leben dar.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgement .....	5
CHAPTER I - Introduction.....	8
1.1 Background of the research.....	8
1.2 Hypothesis.....	15
1.3 Research questions .....	15
1.4 Objectives of the research .....	16
1.5 Significance of the research .....	17
1.6 Research Methodology and sampling .....	17
1.7 Definition of terms .....	21
1.8 Translation of Thai words .....	21
1.9 Thai dynasties.....	22
1.10 Limitation of the research .....	22
CHAPTER II – Literature Review.....	24
2.1 Concept of the In-Between Space .....	24
2.2. Bangkok’s Background - Origin, Name and Identity .....	33
2.3 Cultural aspects in an emerging country context .....	38
2.4 Social classes structure in the Thai society .....	49
2.5 Economic Background in Thailand.....	53
2.6 Antagonism of human values – Spirituality vs. Consumerism .....	64
2.7 Thai Political landscape in the last century .....	67
2.8 Concept of public space in the Thai Society .....	73
CHAPTER III - Empirical Study.....	81
3.1. Background of the research site .....	81
3.2 People flows .....	88
3.3 Key places .....	95
3.4 Economic considerations.....	109
3.5 Population dilemma.....	114
3.6 In-Between spaces.....	119
CHAPTER IV – Data Analysis, Finding And Concept.....	131
4.1 In-between space criteria framework .....	131

4.2 from middle way Buddhism to the in-between space for keeping relationship ..... 136

4.3 Sharing urban public space through the in-between space ..... 138

4.4 DESIGN framework of the in-between space as a public space in Thai context..... 140

CHAPTER V– Conclusion, Discussion, And..... 153

Recommendations ..... 153

5.1 SUMMARY of the study ..... 153

5.2 Discussions..... 157

5.3 Recommendations for the future ..... 160

REFERENCES ..... 162

LIST OF TABLES ..... 173

APPENDICES ..... 175

Appendix 1 – Questionnaire for visitors of the research site ..... 175

Appendix 2- A Proposal Design Framework of a Shared Urban Public Space for this research..... 176

A Proposal Design Framework of a Shared Urban Public Space for this research ..... 177

# CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

Thailand's capital city Bangkok has experienced significant urbanization during recent decades. Shopping malls and skyscrapers, in particular, have and are still a major part of the explosive urbanization occurring throughout the city. Today the city of Bangkok looks like any world capital, from Los Angeles to Singapore, with its well-known logos and associated franchise shops and stores. Prior to frenetic urbanization taking place appropriate urban planning had failed to be established as a result of Local Authorities not undertaking an adequate survey of the residents and local businesses. These steps might have reduced traffic congestion avoiding some of the unfortunate consequences including societal conflicts. A significant consequence, from a religious perspective, private space has begun to engulf sacred public spaces. Furthermore, the distinction between public and private spaces has become uncharacterized and vague.

At a glance, it is evident that the complexity and diversity associated with rampant urbanization often slightly dilutes initial postulates of private or public spaces, gradually erasing local and global conceptual lines or lack of a territorial premise amid urban citizens.

According to the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze who published one of the notable ideas, the deterritorialization, "difference is not diversity" but diversity produces a visible form of inequality which affects urban development via a mutation of its relationships between local urbanizations and unstoppable globalizations (E. A. Grosz, 1999, p. 31). Prime examples of the influence of Gilles Deleuze on the urbanization are given by scholars who reignited Deleuze's theories by considering that "unpredictable patterns of self-organization emerge with certain levels of resilience or vulnerability" (Dovey, 2012) or analyzing terms of "assembling" for contemporary human geography (Anderson & McFarlane, 2011). Inequality of urban development has emerged in Bangkok affected the role of public and private space.

In so-called developed countries, the distinction between a public and a private property is often exceptionally clear and supported by effective and uncorrupt laws; i.e. a physical asset (land, building) or an intellectual asset (patent). Due to different levers, history, education, and



religion, people have a far greater understanding when an asset/place is public or private. A “Private” sign specifies that people must not enter without permission, a registered patent specifies you are forbidden to copy that patent without permission from the owner. Sociologic dimensions about phenomenon space (Larice & Macdonald, 2013, p. 272) and their sense, authenticity and character (Jive´n & Larkham, 2003) have also been studied to understand how people react in spaces, even whether a valid question about the sense of a place can be asked if it is the creation of places of the design of spaces (Sime, 1986).

In so-called emerging countries, the notion of public and private property, even from a legal point of view, can seem uncertain and at times vague. In addition, understandings or misunderstandings can be influenced by additional factors. The researcher of this study cannot describe all of these notions of public and private property for emerging countries. However, based on that lack of understanding and misunderstanding, the researcher focused on Thailand and a specific area, called in this dissertation the research site, where public and private spaces are physically and spirituality interrelated, which creates additional complexities in terms of urbanization and architectural challenges.

The Thai culture and its associated ideology is distinctive and directly influences people how they use or how they interact with public and private spaces. That behavioral observation is specifically relevant in the urban context of cities like Bangkok because the Thai culture, how to use public space or space between inside and outside buildings especially, has often led to the creation of incompatible or disruptive activities in either the same area or space. Consequently, such situations often generate frustrations between inhabitants, investors, workers and visitors, with the concomitant risk of social harmony deteriorating in those spaces.

Certainly, it is not an easy task to define and frame a solution due to divergences of interests, but undeniably, it is the duty (subject to planning laws) of the city of Bangkok to give the right to build a mall. However, it is also part of the duty to ensure different societal dimensions are taken into account for efficient and peaceful urbanization.

The deterritorialization of Bangkok provides evidence that Thai social values have collapsed due to business practices and rampant corruption. Furthermore, it has escalated due to inadequate political initiative, inefficient policies and the permanent balance of power between ancestral social classes. The result is visible from an architectural point of view and arguably hazardous urbanization with conflicting cases resulting in the current state of

detritorialization of the city. The unforeseen side effect slowly appears; it constitutes a new form of life and a new type of identity, and even slightly changes the image of contemporary Thai society.

Government authorities for the city of Bangkok failed to organize critical thinking sessions to predict what could or should happen in the space described in figure 1, depicting the “research site” in this current study.

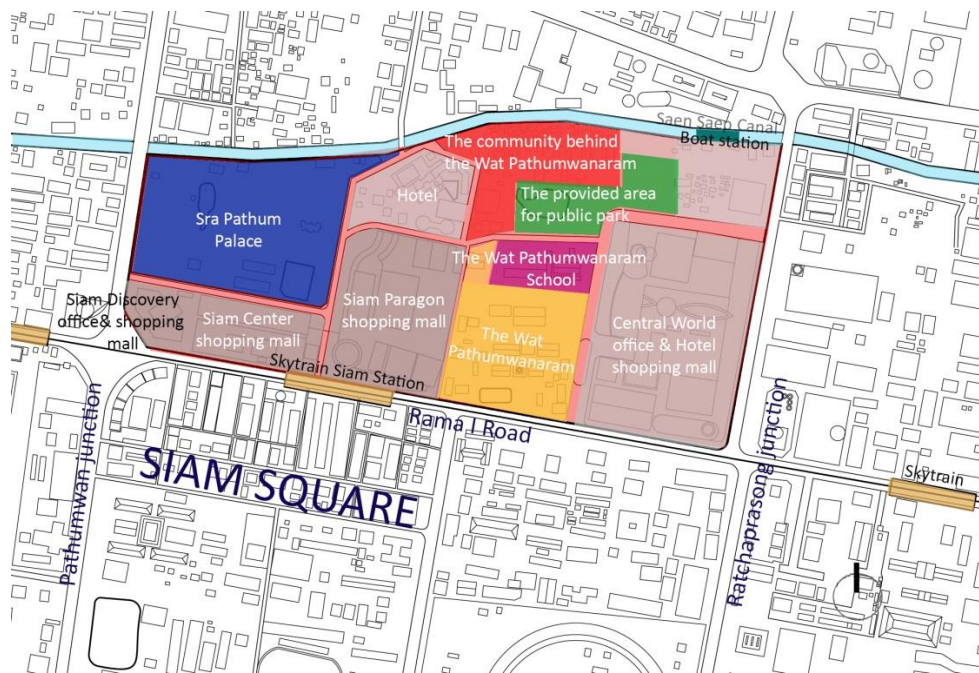
Within the site, the following architectural elements co-exist uneasily within a single area: 1) a Royal Palace 2) one of most-talked about shopping malls in the world 3) a Buddhist temple (Third class Royal temple) 4) the community behind (red) the Wat Pathumwanaram, 5) the Wat Pathumwanaram school (purple), 6) the public park (green).

The research site (Figure 1 - Research site - Siam Area - Bangkok) is called “Siam” by Bangkok. The reason the researcher selected this site is because it is a fundamental area of economy, culture and tourism in Thailand. In addition, it reflects the overlap between the old and new characters in terms of urbanization in Bangkok today, where one of the biggest international malls and a Buddhist temple coexist. The Mall welcomes a significant number of visitors and, according to Facebook, it is one of the most-talked about places in the world<sup>1</sup>, and was representing the ideal place to conduct the data collection of the present research. Moreover, the studied spaces at the research site integrate existing Thai social classes (named as: elite, middle, and low), activities and types of architecture. To zoom-in and clarify the research site, the study focuses on the North side of the Rama Road I and includes the following places:

1. The Pathumwanaram Monastery – a Third Class Royal temple (or Wat: วัด in Thai); orange
2. The Sra Pathum Palace; blue
3. The shopping malls; grey
4. The community behind the Wat Pathumwanaram (red), the Wat Pathumwanaram School (purple), the public park (green) as a single place

---

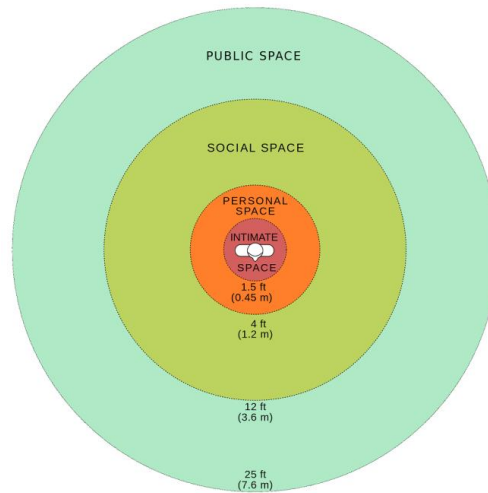
<sup>1</sup> <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/siam-paragon-in-bangkok-ranked-6th-place-as-the-worlds-most-talked-about-places-on-facebook-in-2015-300196831.html> (accessed 8<sup>th</sup> March 2016)



**Figure 1 - Research site - Siam Area - Bangkok**

As is easily identified from Figure 1 - Research site - Siam Area - Bangkok, diverse activities and different neighborhoods exist simultaneously, living in the same surroundings and block of buildings where pedestrians without any notice cross public and private spaces because they have become ordinary to express low-quality of urban daily life which it is accepted.

The shopping malls are focusing on consumerism while monastery/temple is focusing on sustaining the traditional Thai culture through the Buddhism religion, mentally and spiritual speaking. Unquestionably, both places are important to connect the population with its needs as proposed by the Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs and his theory in psychology (Carducci, 2009, p. 245). The researcher considers the research site as a unique combination of factors to study the several complexities imposed by a non-managed urbanization, especially when the present public role of the monastery has been declining constantly over the past years. Another factor covered by the present research are the proxemics, one of several subcategories of the study of non-verbal communication, by understanding populations living around the research site and how they consider their spaces. Proxemics has been coined by Edward T. Hall and defined as "the interrelated observations and theories of man's use of space as a specialized elaboration of culture" (Hall, 1990). The theory of personal and territory spaces has been drawn as follow:



**Figure 2 - Edward T. Hall's personal reaction bubbles, showing radius in feet and meters**

According to the previous explanations and figures, this visible deterritorialization and deterioration has led to the appearance of a *specific mutation of the spaces in the city of Bangkok* where opposite binomials must co-exist such as local/global, public/private, state/civil and domestic/international.

That relationship between the inside and outside with an opposite meaning constantly moving back-and-forth is called by the researcher the “*in-between*” concept; this study is solely focused in Bangkok, Thailand. Some researchers have focused on the inside/outside relationship as public/private dual and have defined this kind of space as an *intermediate area between the public area outside of a house and a private area on the inside* (Maliki et al., 2015). In-betweens occur in public and urban realms as much as in architecture. Commonly *the in-between spaces in public realms are established as the boundaries and/or edges of places*, for example edges of the piazza: arcades, colonnades, niches of a façade, and promenades create the condition of spaces within the space at the transitional zone. Dividing the indoor space from the outdoor space has been done since people first started to make shelters. Consequently, the differentiation of the two spaces has increased gradually by developing different patterns in the buildings for human activities moving from outdoor into indoor spaces.

It is imperative to get the literature review perspective by confirming studies about *the mutation of a place*, involving a community, both in rural and urban areas in Thailand. A few Thai researchers have undertaken some remarkable work, such as Chatthip Natsupa, “Thai Village Culture (1998)” and Kanchana Kaeothep, “Developing of Village and Urban (1989)”;

the conclusion and outcome provide a clear picture of Thai society. Indeed, these researchers underlined how solutions have been established under community agreements, via cohesion and the enthusiasm of community members to be involved in social activities. The vast majority of Thai social classes support the beautiful, patriotic images of the success within Thai society. While their research portrays an ideal world, social movements are often struggling to be completely peaceful on the streets.

The studies mentioned above, voluntarily or not, eluded conflicts, failures, and tough *pre* and *post*-negotiations between the groups of people involved. Research is not fictional; no research can fully represent the public atmosphere at that time. Additionally, the studies mentioned earlier did not account for social disparities: some of the surveyed communities did not have the privilege to be well educated or wealthy. Some surveyed communities were rarely able to participate in full or to understand the problems affecting them in order to resolve connected conflicts. The researchers may not have accounted for marginalized groups of people, namely, the homeless, poor, those with disabilities and those with generational differences such as teenagers. These groups were rarely included in past studies in Thailand.

Of interest, the previous mentioned Thai studies did not consider integrating Bangkok in their work but focused on public spaces and society in the rural Thailand; the current researcher thinks this prior approach was due to the complexity of Bangkok.

Globalization created migration flows and economic changes due to people relocating for employment from the rural areas in Thailand to the capital city. These changes drastically moved the boundaries between public and private spaces. From a private space perspective, people need houses/condominiums, supermarkets, and consumerism possibilities to live in the city. From a public perspective, the city has a conflicting duty to maintain the public space. Thailand has a constitutional monarchy and the King supersedes the decision to set the public status of a place. This known as “Royal Patronage”. As a direct consequence, Bangkok is constantly challenged by the desire of the business community to expand their ‘private spaces’ against ‘public spaces.’ A paradox exists in this context. People who are living in Bangkok do not realize that they directly participate in the flourishing urbanization that does not redistribute public space. Furthermore, the Thai public is not fully aware of its legal rights and holds the false misconception that original public spaces are returned to the city if a breach has occurred. Researchers question these space lines; it generates instability and raises frequent ambiguity between what it is public and what it is private in a Thai context.

Historically, Thais are not the exclusively responsible for fast-growing urbanization. Indeed, the Thai middle-class tends to replicate the Western culture, which was popularized by the successive Thai Kings who studied in Europe and adopted the globalized capital city life-style.

Another factor to consider is the slowness of relevant legislation. It can take many years for legislation to be passed and is often complicated by the various parties involved whose opinion may not be necessarily in the public's best interest. Lobbying is also a prominent factor to consider and once again the lobbyists may have a personal incentive resulting in contradictory forces. Going further in that aspect, the Thai government did not anticipate the growing of international legislation and agreements from various international organizations. The United Nations declared urbanization as one of the most significant global trends of the twenty-first century<sup>2</sup> transformed into concrete actions through the climate change conference in Paris i.e. COP21. Today, Bangkok and the Thai government are often behind and act as followers instead of being innovative and ensuring that urbanization in Bangkok is properly managed via a sustainable approach.

Whilst often self-proclaimed, we usually consider that urbanization offers a better quality of life but the coin of urbanization has two faces. Firstly, we all know that urbanization allows convenient access to consumerism. However, less proclaimed are urban diseases: increased stress, traffic congestion, delays with public transportation, health problems (air pollution, lack of sleep, etc.), and transformation of the social behaviors (impoliteness, criminality, social competition). Another shadowed part, according to this research, is the edge of the coin of the urbanization: as a form of discrimination and division between the different groups of society that influence the uses of public and private space.

To summarize the “in-between” concept later developed and explained in the present research, it is crucial to make the distinction between the place and the concept itself.

Firstly, the “in-between” space, the subjacent part of the concept, provides two ideas 1) equal and free space, and 2) coexistence or sharing i.e. the mall and the Buddhist temple or from houses to workplaces at the city level.

---

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/untaskteam\\_undf/thinkpieces/18\\_urbanization.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/untaskteam_undf/thinkpieces/18_urbanization.pdf) (accessed 28<sup>th</sup> January 2015)

Secondly, the aim of the “in-between” concept is to apprehend the complexities around the usage of public and private spaces by integrating social criteria that reflects the particularity of Thai uniqueness that can be helpful to develop and sustain the coherence of the rapid urbanization in Bangkok. In addition, it is used to lead people to find their way and maintain the relationship between them. The in-between concept has interacted with spaces are already created by vital importance when considering the condition of the research site.

## 1.2 HYPOTHESIS

The researcher considers there is a need to set a hypothesis that can be tested through standardized research methodologies.

The hypothesis of the present research is the following:

*“The spatial concept of ‘in-between space’ can lead to a clearer understanding of seemingly incompatible characters of place and support the development of planning social interventions and experiments/ strategies for a successful coexistence of different target groups within complex spatial configuration”*

## 1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Although the present research includes interdisciplinary approaches (architecture, urban planning, social science, anthropology, economics, philosophy, and Buddhism), the following research questions were taken into account to develop the research instruments and activities.

- 1) What are the causes that have led to producing “in-between” spaces in the research site?
- 2) In which situations for the different targeted groups do the in-between space play a role in Thai attitude(s) towards seemingly incompatible characters of places?
- 3) How can the concept of the in-between space create a successful coexistence of different targeted groups at the research site?
- 4) Which social intervention and experiment/ strategy should be applied to achieve this sustainable basis?

The focus is on understanding the situation of the *in-between* space, as well as considering different interpretations of the various dimensions in different ways from the past. This study will examine the *in-between* space and will establish an opportunity to consider various interpretations of the relationships between different places on the site, including, but not limited to, understanding the identity and spatial features of places. Exploring the possibility of the various differences for maintaining social relationships will become an important view instead of the opposite discourse which cannot truly compromise.

#### 1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The purposes of the study are to investigate and analyze the potential of the “in-between framework” as a part of the urban planning social intervention and experiment/ strategy. The proposed result of the research is to apply the findings to develop a practical urbanization planning tool reflecting the shift of cultural values from residents and visitors in the research area.

In addition, the aims of the research, in order to answer the research questions are summarized as follows:

1. The primary aim is to understand situations where spaces are clearly overlapping at the research site. In other words, the objective is to understand how these separate entities, different forces and values have been maintained and coexisted in the “in-between” space.
2. The secondary aim is to collect accurate information to define a set of factors which, when analyzed, detail how overlaps occur between the living populations at the research site.
3. The tertiary aim is to collect accurate information to define a set of levers to be included in the “in-between framework”.



4. Finally, as far as it is possible, the present research analyzes the spatial situation of the in-between spaces and the condition of the relationships of the places at the research site when taking into account local standards and globalization.

## 1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

From the explanations stated earlier, the researcher proposes to create a concept called “*in-between space*” and a practical framework to study the frequent overlaps together with the complexity when engaging in urban planning at the research site. As a final point, the researcher aims to propose alternative urban planning social interventions and experiments/strategies through an “*in-between framework*”. This will take advantage of coexisting spatial territories for raising and promoting a point of sharing space with the public and minimizing the impact of urbanization from social inequality and related urban diseases, ultimately minimizing inherent social conflicts.

The relevancy has to be clearly stated: “The present research is not to propose another theoretical concept but to propose a practical and ready-to-use framework specifically designed for Thai cities, particularly the planning authorities in Bangkok.”

The researcher reasonably considers that the relevant authorities in Bangkok will listen carefully, as it is now more crucial for them to be able to manage urbanization efficiently. Furthermore, it is imperative to accept, or at the very least consider, alternatives that are more oriented to the needs of the local population and respond promptly to necessary changes.

The results of the study contain input from urban planners, both in public and private sectors, thereby providing valuable insight in situations where an overlap occurs.

## 1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLING

### 1.6.1 TARGETED POPULATION

The targeted population of this research included 3 groups:

1. **Siam users on-site**; people who are exposed to the Siam area on a daily basis with the following roles and social attributes: workers, retired, students, tourists, residents, monks, etc.
2. **Siam users remote**; people who went to the Siam area at least once per year with the same roles and social attributes of group 1.
3. **Architects**; architects who understand the pros and cons of the Siam area from an architecture and social point of views.

### 1.6.2 SAMPLING

Due to the characteristics of the targeted population, the researcher proposes different methodologies to address the needs to ensure due diligence was undertaken before drawing any conclusions from the study.

Indeed, the major characteristics of targeted population, is the researcher knows groups 2 and 3; therefore, a non-random purposive sampling methodology was applied accordingly.

Due to the impossibility to survey all Siam users on-site, the researcher estimated the total population at the Siam area on a daily basis. According to different sources, the density of the population in Bangkok is 13,672 people per square mile<sup>3</sup> and 15,315,000 million people including the metropolitan region.

By considering a transit of 2,500,000 people per day in the Siam Area, it *ipso facto* defines the population size at 2,500,000. By considering a 95% of confidence and 5% margin of error, it is possible to use the classical random size formula published by Krejcie & Morgan in their 1970 article “Determining Sample Size for Research Activities” (Educational and Psychological Measurement, #30, pp. 607-610) to calculate the required sample size:

$$n = \frac{X^2 * N * P * (1 - P)}{(ME^2 * (N - 1)) + (X^2 * P * (1 - P))}$$

n= sample size

---

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.worldscapitalcities.com/capital-facts-for-bangkok-thailand/> (accessed 18<sup>th</sup> November 2018)

$x^2$  = Chi – square for the specified confidence level at 1 degree of freedom

N = Population Size

P = population proportion (.50)

ME = desired Margin of Error (expressed as a proportion).

Then computations give a visibility on how many answers and data the researchers are needed to sustain an acceptable confidence level at 95% and an acceptable degree of accuracy of 5%.

For a transit of 2,500,000 people at the Siam Area, it is required to obtain 384 answers; the present research includes 500 answers from users split into two subgroups: 350 answers for the on-site users and 150 answers for the remote users.

The researcher decided to set the sampling size of the architects at 20 with at least 19 answers to get the same acceptable confidence level at 95% and an acceptable degree of accuracy of 5%.

For the subgroup “Siam users *on-site*”, the survey was conducted on-site with a paper-based questionnaire in Thai between the 10<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> May 2018.

To ensure a correct distribution and a correct diversity of answers, eight different locations were selected:

- a) in front of the shopping malls.
- b) in the shopping malls.
- c) in the Wat (Temple).
- d) in front of the community.
- e) in the community.
- f) in front of the school.
- g) in the school.
- h) on the skywalk in front of the research site.

For the subgroup “Siam users *remote*” and the group “Architects”, the survey was conducted remotely in Thai through emails.

The understanding of the questionnaire was proofed through a pilot phase. A group of 10 participants checked and validated the questionnaire prior launching the survey.

Finally, an Excel spreadsheet was set for the data entry and statistic computations processes. Due to the manual process, the data entry used the data entry controls features offered by Excel to minimize data entry errors.

Dataset 4 : Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4, Q8, Q10, Q14, Q15, Q16, Q19, Q20, Q23, Q24, Q25, Q26, Q27, Q28, Q29, Q34, Q35

Qn	Question	Strongly disagree					Strongly agree					High Lik	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Q1	The Siam Area is an important area from economic perspectives												
Q2	The Siam Area is an important area from historical perspectives												
Q3	The Siam Area is an important area from political perspectives												
Q4	The Siam Area has a lot of traffic congestions												
Q8	The Siam Area is a safe area												
Q10	The Siam Area offers enough workspaces for local people												
Q14	There is adequate information to get access to the Mall												
Q15	There is adequate information to get access to the Temple												
Q16	There is adequate information to get access to the School												
Q19	The Siam Area connects people and its various social communities												
Q20	The Siam Area connects social classes												
Q23	The Siam Area creates lack of co-operation between social classes												
Q24	The Siam Area creates conflicts between the social classes												
Q25	The Siam Area mixes social classes												
Q26	The Siam Area reflects the Thai culture												
Q27	The Siam Area respects the Thai culture												
Q28	The Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a Temple												
Q29	The Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a school												
Q34	The Siam Area should be for pedestrians only – no motorized vehicles over it to be allowed												
Q35	The Siam Area offers local culture activities												

Dataset 4 : Q5, Q6, Q7, Q9, Q11, Q12, Q13, Q17, Q18, Q21, Q22, Q30, Q31, Q32, Q33

Qn	Question	Strongly disagree					Strongly agree					High Lik	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Q5	The Siam Area has a good public infrastructure for pedestrians												
Q6	The Siam Area has good public spaces												
Q7	The Siam Area has adequate public spaces												
Q9	The Siam Area is well designed with access to bus stop and walkways												
Q11	It is easy to get access to the Mall												
Q12	It is easy to get access to the School												
Q13	It is easy to get access to the Temple												
Q17	The Mall is a private space												
Q18	The Temple is a public space												
Q21	The Siam Area offers adequate public spaces for people to gather, meet and discuss												
Q22	The Siam Area provides access to basic people's needs (water, food, electricity)												
Q30	The Siam Area should have a public park between the Malls and the Temple												
Q31	The area in front of the Malls where pedestrians are walking is private												
Q32	The walkways between the Malls and the Temple are public												
Q33	The walkways between the Malls and the School are public												

Figure 3 - Data analysis/integrity from the data collection process

All surveyed individuals for the groups 2 and 3 were directly exposed to the problematic result of the urbanization.

The interview questions have been developed in an open and narrative way to enable interviewees to give additional information. All interviews were conducted in Thai with the results translated into English.

Data was gathered from a literature review, field surveys and interviews of people involved in the making and managing stages of urban planning.

## 1.7 DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Urbanization** – An increase in a population in cities and towns versus rural areas<sup>4</sup>.

**Urban planning** – design and regulation of the uses of space that focus on the physical form, economic functions, and social impacts of the urban environment and on the location of different activities within it<sup>5</sup>.

**“In-between” concept** – it is a concept that includes “in-between” space and “in-between framework” described below.

**“In-between” space** – it is a space where different spatial, architectural, social, and economic concepts of place are bordering and overlapping. It is also characterized by an undefined relation between public and private.

**“In-between” framework** – it is a set of levers to comprehend and minimize negative impacts of rapid urbanization on places consisting of heterogeneous spatial concepts.

**Thaification** – a set of human factors, such as, history, beliefs, traditions, religion, ideology, and behaviors which strongly shape and affect the Thai culture.

**The researcher** – Duangnapa Sinlapasai

**Targeted groups** – includes residents of the Siam research area, monks who are living in the Buddhist temple at the Siam research area, visitors, workers and urban planners.

## 1.8 TRANSLATION OF THAI WORDS

พ.ศ.	B.E.	A.D.+ 543
฿	Baht	Thai monetary unit
บุญ	Bun	Merit
เจ้า	Chao	Prince and Royal family member
เจ้าพระยา	Chao Praya	Main river in Bangkok
จังหวัด	Changwat	Province
เจดีย์	Chedi stupa	Spire-like tower

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/urbanization.html> (accessed 8<sup>th</sup> May 2012)

<sup>5</sup> <http://global.britannica.com/topic/urban-planning> (accessed 8<sup>th</sup> January 2012)

กรุงเทพมหานคร	<i>Krungtep Maha Nakorn</i>	Bangkok
กรรม	<i>Gam</i>	Karma
เกรงใจ	<i>Greng chai</i>	Consideration for others' feelings
คลอง	<i>Klong</i>	Canal
ความมั่งคั่ง		
<i>Kwammangkang</i>	Wealth	
ความมั่นคง	<i>Kwammankong</i>	Stability
ปากซอย	<i>Pak soi</i>	The opening of the alley onto the street
หลวง	<i>Luang</i>	Belonging to the king
ไม่เป็นไร	<i>Mai pen rai</i>	Means: "It doesn't matter"/ "don't worry"
น้ำใจ	<i>Nam chai</i>	A generosity of kindness
แผงลอย	<i>Paengloi</i>	Stall
ผู้เร่ขาย	<i>Phu re kai</i>	Vendors
พระเจ้าแผ่นดิน	<i>Prachao paendin</i>	Lord of the Land (The King)
ไพร่	<i>Prai</i>	Commoner
ศักดินา	<i>Sakdina</i>	Thai hierarchical social system
สาธารณะ	<i>Satarana</i>	Public
ซอย	<i>Soi</i>	Alley
ทำดีได้ดี ทำชั่วได้ชั่ว	<i>Tamdee daidee</i>	Action equals reaction
	<i>Tamchua daichua</i>	
ไหว้	<i>Wai</i>	Thai greeting of respect
วัด	<i>Wat</i>	Buddhist monastery

## 1.9 THAI DYNASTIES

### Kings of Chakri Dynasty (Bangkok Period)

Rama I	Yofa	AD1782-1809
Rama II	Loetla	AD1809-1824
Rama III	Nangklae	AD1824-1851
Rama IV	Mongkut	AD1851-1868
Rama V	Chulalongkorn	AD1868-1910
Rama VI	Wachirawut	AD1910-1925
Rama VII	Prachathipok	AD1925-1935
Rama VIII	Ananda Mahidon	AD1935-1946
Rama IX	Phumiphon Adunladet	AD1946- 2016
RamaX	Maha Vajiralongkorn	AD 2016 – present

## 1.10 LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH

The researcher fully understands the current limitations of the research.

During the data collection process, whilst questionnaires used for interviews were in the Thai language, many factors could influence answers such as personal interests, mood and honesty. There was also a gap between explanations given by the researcher and the final understanding/results from the interviewees; despite physical presence and explanations before the interview started.

Another limitation of this research is in consideration of the research site itself. It represents a demographic limit due to its focus on a specific area in Bangkok that is small compared to the overall urbanization in Bangkok. That snapshot, the research site, represents a fraction only of what is the urbanization in Bangkok.

From a geographic point of view, Thailand is also a limitation of the present research due to the specific culture and set of beliefs resulting in the societal and cultural aspects demonstrated in this research less understood outside of Thailand.

In summary, the limitations of this research are the following:

1. Misunderstanding between the researcher and interviewees.
2. The research site is a fraction of current urbanization in Bangkok.
3. Thai culture that cannot necessarily be applied to others countries.

## CHAPTER II – LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 CONCEPT OF THE IN-BETWEEN SPACE

#### 2.1.1 THE IN-BETWEEN SPACE IN A WESTERN CONCEPT

*“The in-between space was, simply put, a place full of interrelations. In a sense it connotes the meeting of two spatial programs, often the meeting of private and public spaces, something like a threshold which ‘depending on how you interpret it, belong more to the house or more to the street and hence is a part of both.’”*

(M. Kärholm, 2012, p. 120)

From a literature point of view, ‘in-between space’ is a concept initially imported from the work of Martin Buber into an architectural discourse by Aldo van Eyck in 1961. The in-between is proposed as the architectural reciprocity reconciling between different domains: the inside and the outside, one space and another. Opposed to a concept of continual transition and spatial continuity, an in-between space elucidates an articulation between spaces with a transitional realm. It overlaps and reveals juxtaposed domains, a location that presents multiple and associative meanings at once with respect to place and occasion. *The in-between spaces* induce simultaneous awareness of the significance of choice in place, providing a common ground of ‘twin-phenomena’, as a means of articulation of dialectical sets (Eyck, 1968).

Often, the role of the architecture is wrongly confined to the basics of the geometry describing the space between buildings. The conceptual problem resides in the *plethora* of definitions given for both ‘*in-between space*’ or ‘*interstitial space*’ making impossible to be precise about its nature or effects (M. Kärholm, 2012, p. 120).

Nooraddin (2002) defined that the in-between space *is a place created and spatially defined by the relationship between indoor and outdoor spaces. Therefore, in-between space has a form-giving role in any settlement and is a container of different function.*

In terms of the creation of space, complexities should not be observed through the antagonism lens the instead in a way to incorporate differences. Elizabeth Grosz gave



interesting descriptions and explanations of the “in-between” space in terms of conceptual dimension:

*“...The in-between is what fosters and enables the other’s transition from being the other of the one to its own becoming, to reconstituting another relation, in different terms. This in-between is that which is thus shared by politics, by culture, and by architecture, insofar as they are all spaces, organizations, structures, that operate within the logic of identity, yet also require the excess of subversion, of latency, or of becoming that generates and welcomes the new without which the future is not possible. The in-between, formed by juxtapositions and experiments, formed by realignments or new arrangements, threatens to open itself up as new, to facilitate transformations in the identities that constitute it. One could say that the in-between is the locus of futurity, movement, speed; space and time and their intricacies...*

*... The in-between is a strange space, not unlike the choric space that Plato posed as the condition of all material existence. The position of the in-between lacks a fundamental identity, lacks a form, givenness and nurture. Yet it is that which facilitates, allows into being, all identities, all matter, all substance. It is itself a strange becoming. The space of the in-between is not a space, a space without boundaries of its own.... which takes on and receives itself, its form, from the outside, which is not its outside but whose forms is the outside of the identity, not just of another but of others, whose relations of positivity define, by default, the space that is constituted as in-between.”*

(E. Grosz & Eisenman, 2001a)

Following Grosz’s definition above, it can be underlined that the “in-between” definition can be enhanced and the ambiguity be reduced.

The lack of relationship between architecture and activities has been defined under the term “non-place” or “non-lieux” which can be emphasized through the following:

*“If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place.....; .....Whose unprecedented dimensions might usefully be measured before we start wondering to what sort of gaze it may be amenable. We should add that the same things apply to the place. It never exists in pure form; places*

*reconstitute themselves in it; relations are restored and resumed in it; the ‘millennial ruses’ of ‘the invention of the everyday’ and ‘the arts of doing’ ... Place and non-place are rather like opposed polarities: the first is never completed; they are like palimpsests on which the scrambled game of identity and relations is ceaselessly rewritten.”*

(Augé, 1995a, p. 79, 82)

However, above explanations of “place” and “non-place” are *de facto* incomplete because their production process is a never ending story, without giving any definite black or white, positive or negative states. Hence, that kind of intermediate state of continuous productions puts the cursor in a constant gray zone or in an “*in-between*” space or place.

The states of the in-between space or place become ironically abstract too. It variously defines in-between space as an interface, a public/private boundary, betwixt, threshold, soft edge, liminal space, buffer zone, and as a smooth/striated space (Can & Heath, 2016).

As a result, radical differences between a local identities and globalized identities can emerge, although they are often invisible i.e. local culture.

The important cultural factors of globalization which directly affect changes to a locality and its diasporic dimensions are composed of the nation-state, diasporic flows, and electronic and virtual communities (Appadurai, 1996, p. 197). The nation-state appears in different aspects, politics, powers, restriction and control while diasporic flows are related to diverse ethnicity and the electronic and the virtual communities express themselves in terms of cross-cultures, and cultural discourse. Moreover, unlike villages and small towns, a city is artificial by its nature and properties, and often, the shape of a city is based on our imagination; when we try to impose our own personal form upon it (Harvey, 1989, p. 5). Finally, we potentially need a new vocabulary to explain the relationship between 1) the local population 2) and the materiality environment that exist in the continual creativity of the urban living development.

Following the impacts from cultural factors of globalization stated earlier, it is easier to diagnose gaps produced in many neighborhoods of the city; such gaps evolved in different ways, which are not always negative. However, agreed space and time are social constructions (Pearson & Richards, 2003), especially in the urban city, they are not part of a repetitive or identical process but they are persistently altered according to the circumstances. Therefore,

the creation of a locality and its neighborhoods, or the creation of a city, often does not comply with any human common sense or logic behind. Every is out of control.

David Harvey described space and suggested the following:

*“...the definition of objective space and time are deeply implicated in processes of social reproduction. .... Ideological struggles over the meaning and manner of such representations of place and identity abound. But over and beyond the mere act of identification, the assignment of place within a socio-spatial structure indicates distinctive roles, capacities for action, and access to power within the social order. We still instruct children, for example, in the idea that there is a time and place for everything and all of us, at some level of meaning, know what our place is. We all know, furthermore, what it means to be put in one’s place and that to challenge what that place might be, physically as well as socially, is to challenge something fundamental in the social order.*

*More significantly, the class, gender, cultural, religious and political differentiation in conceptions of time and space frequently become arenas of social conflict. New definitions of what is the correct time and place for everything as well as of the proper objective qualities of space and time can arise out of such struggles.”*

(Harvey, 1989, p. 149, 418)

From Harvey’s thoughts above, about how space and time struggle together, it is difficult to set a stable definition of a space because ‘*a space*’, in its abstract or actual forms, is not perceived as fully logical. Indeed, a space is created and spatially defined by the area where it is located and surrounded by spaces and neighborhoods with different social objectives. Neighborhoods, in that context, provide the frame of various kinds of human action such as productive, reproductive, interpretive, and performative (Fardon, 2003, p. 213) and that frame can be initiated and conducted meaningfully. From another point of view, a neighborhood is a context, or set of contexts, within which meaningful social action can be both generated and interpreted. In this sense, neighborhoods are contexts, and contexts are neighborhoods (Brooks-Gunn, 1997; Narvaez & Lapsley, 2009) for various developments.

The “*in-between space*” concept could also be interpreted in many different ways which vary with space-time and activities. The “*in-between space*” also seems to be an open and flexible arena supporting a large panel of activities, offering opportunities for unexpected

exploration and discovery, often unregulated, and spontaneous and risky endeavors from people who are living in the neighborhoods. Hence, the “in-between” can represent a sort of breathing space in the city. Buildings and open public spaces are being the two opposite supports of the urban system. Spaces in between buildings are as interactional interfaces play a role in shaping the relation between the inside and the outside, private and public, as well as the inhabitants and the visitors. Additionally, the “*in-between space*” management does not include: architecture, urbanism, interrelations within social life, economical activities, culture, and ecology.

The *In-between spaces* from a Western concept fall into conditions of between-ness of other dominant spaces and perform as the in-between functionality: spatial relation-making. They can be subdivided into the following spatial conditions: 1) a layer at the edge of spaces; 2) a space lying between or among defined spaces, Stephansplatz is an example of the in-between space in center of Vienna which is directly related with other spaces around (Figure 4); and 3) an overlapping or recessed space at the edge or between different spaces (Figure 5). Within those locales, in-between spaces are necessary to hold the quality of in-between modes: means of articulation of spatial differences as transitional realms (Heidegger, 1971, p. 7).



Figure 4- A space lying between or among defined spaces at Stephansplatz



Figure 5- Overlapping or recessed space at the edge or between different spaces at Stephansplatz

A summary of the in-between significant forms from a Western concept appears on expressions of *intermediary places as vital as layers of neighboring interactions*: separations

and connections and parts and the whole emerge as the follow (Laiprakobsup, 2007, p. 201):

- 1) Interval pauses and a place of refuge and associations
- 2) Detached participations are mandatory to create connective, defined domains in or nearby transitional zones in which people can gradually become involved with neighboring settings.
- 3) Spatial reinforcement strengthening nearby realms.
- 4) Spatial clarification creating sequential-making between places.
- 5) Spontaneous uses: spacious clarity, possession in movement, and lingering on edges.

### 2.1.2 THE IN-BETWEEN SPACE IN THAI CONTEXT

More than two hundred years ago, King Rama I (1782 –1809) founded Bangkok. Historically, commercial and trading activities were mainly concentrated along the river banks of the Chao Praya River and *Klong* (small canals). Logically, the needs increased to build roads and to permanently bridge the main areas of the city. More than a century later, since the transition from feudalism and after Siamese Revolution in 1932, capitalism in Thailand was created resulting in many parts of land being made available and used to accommodate the community's needs. Another factor to point out is during those decades, private lands were unavailable due to the rules of inheritance and legal division of private properties which directly caused the decrease of land parcels and the increase of landowners (Hara, Takeuchi, & Okubo, 2005). Moreover, in Thailand, private landowners are allowed to build small lanes<sup>6</sup> (*soi* in Thai) to get access to their private land from the main roads with few cross-connections to adjoining parcels. From those causal effects, Bangkok looks completely disorganized and resembles a puzzle with numerous lonely parcels, fragments and a myriad of chaotic small roads everywhere in the city.

One result of historic unplanned zoning at the research site are arguable incompatible features next to each other – collocation - in the same block of shopping malls and offices, a sacred place, a 157 years-old *Prathumwanaram* monastery, a 98 years-old *Srapathum* palace and a Buddhist school, a crowded zone of residents, a public school- *Wat Prathumwanaram school*, and last but not least, an incredible presence of narrow lanes and urban niches served by nearness transport infrastructures and all impressively noodled by electric cables.

---

<sup>6</sup> A small lane is called *a Soi* (ซอย) in Thai. It is the official name used to connect the main road to a small street.

The research site is one of the most important economic places in Bangkok. That current situation is the direct consequence of traditional Thai weaknesses: idleness, a lack of regulations and policies in the urban planning process, a lack of collaboration between the actors of the city who are supposedly concerned (officials, property developers, residents, society, etc.).

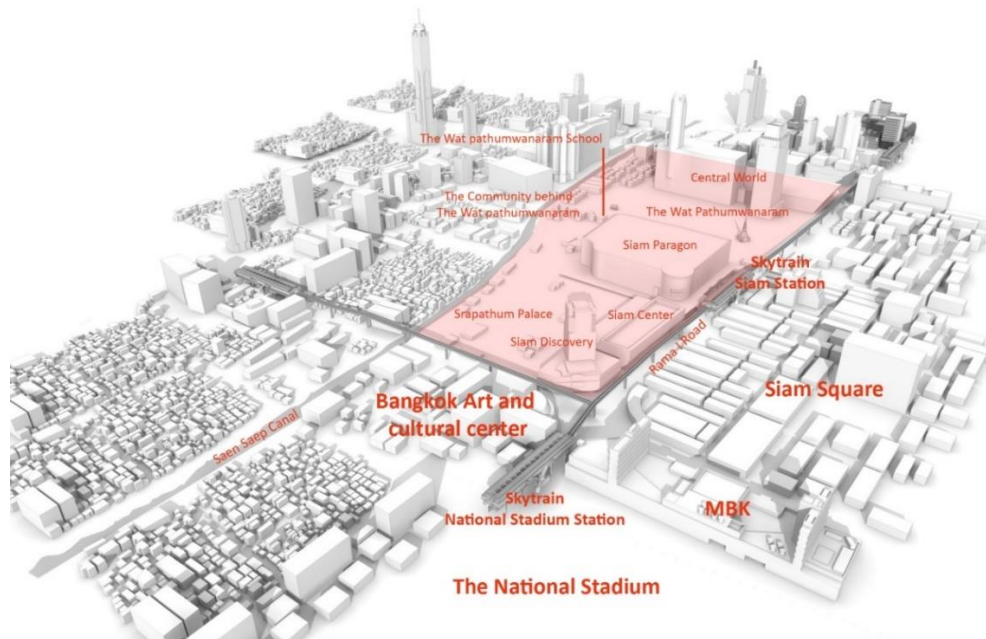


Figure 6 – The overview of the research site

The situation of unplanned zoning has produced a large heterogeneity. That heterogeneity of such radically different places, right next to each other, has inevitably caused incompatible situations in term of functions and results, and consequently these situations produced gaps which are called “*in-between space*.” In-between space can also be known as a connection, transition, border, differentiation, threshold or line of tension. The design of space which is neither internal nor external – may best be described as a third type of space: inside-outside space (Brookes, 2012). Form this point, in-between space is a place for pleasant transition between inside and outside or enjoyable residing between places for both of intentions. Consideration of in-between space of the research site cannot be simply indicated to certain typologies of functional realms such as corridors or pavements, public or private spaces.

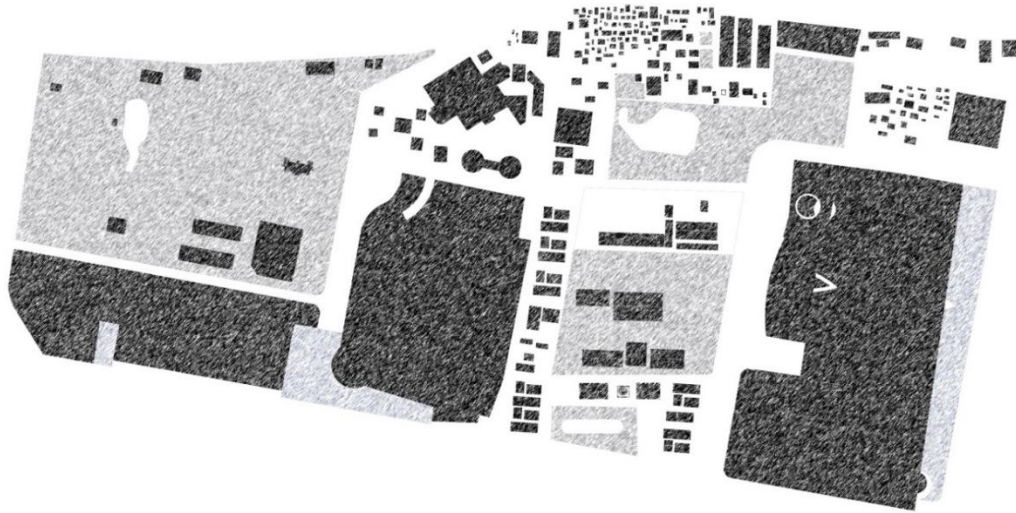


Figure 7 – The Figure –ground of the elements on the research site

The present research focuses on a specific part of the Siam Area in Bangkok. Today, the Siam area looks like a labyrinth of infinite complexity and diversity because of its constant changes.

The researched area is interesting because it contains diverse networks of social interactions between people who are living in different neighborhoods or cities which create a kind of illusion as quoted by David Harvey said about a city:

*“...the city as we imagine it, the soft city of illusion, myth, aspiration, nightmare, is as real, maybe more real, than the hard city one can locate in maps and statistics, in monographs on urban sociology and demography and architecture.”*

(Harvey, 1989, p. 5)

The way Harvey emphasizes the definition of a city is interesting by covering 1) the imagination we develop through beliefs and unconsciousness which are as real as 2) a landing on a city located on a maps and its statistics.

Undoubtedly, it is variably dependent upon individual and a collective experience in each locality, which is not easy to predict and define. It is not only Thailand is in an era where processes and real-time information around us are unpredictably changing and constantly refreshing. Cutting-edge technologies are offering so many convenient features to our modern life that information is ephemeral. Inevitably, when the way of life becomes versatile, long-



lived complexities are spread among localities and its functions, *vice versa*. Those complexities create contradictions which are puzzling localities (Burton, Jenks, & Williams, 2003). Finally in that aspect, contradictions more or less depend on the culture, social classes, history and ecological backgrounds of a city and its citizens (Fincher & Jacobs, 1998; Henderson, 2014). It is real for the research site where has formed by soft conditions; incompatible things are accepted and happened.

Because of unplanned zoning/ spaces, the research site produced the “*in-between space*” which is unrelated with a specific context. Indeed, the “*in-between space*” can be either an open space without necessary relations to the notions of ownership, size, purpose, landscape, characters, and can include all the negative aspects of the city (Lynch, Banerjee, & Southworth, 1995) or as an ill-defined and as the absence of stability and defy a dominant territorial social intervention and experiment/ strategy as well as an easily associated territorial sort (Bettelheim, 1967).

## 2.2. BANGKOK’S BACKGROUND - ORIGIN, NAME AND IDENTITY

Bangkok is a unique city because it is an explicit representation of the Thai style of development where everything can be mingled, replaced and coexist in the same space. This is particularly true for both the old and new, local and global, high and low classes, passive and active, secular places like shopping malls and a sacred place like a monastery, capitalism and spiritualism, the palace and the dense housing community. From an external resident point of view on Bangkok’s identity, Professor Roos King summarized Bangkok as the following:

*“There are difficulties in understanding — reading — Bangkok. It is, at least to the Western eye, a city of chaos, a landscape of incoherent collisions and blurring overlays. It is a city of sharp contrasts, collisions and inconsistencies (juxtapositions), also a space of screens, overlays and surfaces (superimpositions).”*

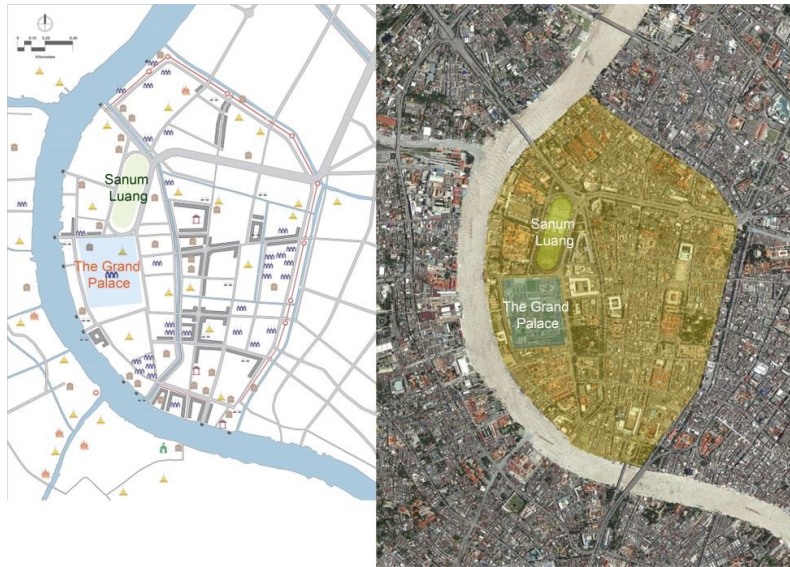
(R King, 2011, p. 1)

Because it is briefly stated from a geometrical analysis, it depicts an image without including spiritual dimensions which might reflect a potential misunderstanding.

Historically, the Kingdom of Thailand was formerly known to Europeans, since the beginning of the Ayutthaya period A.D. 1351-1767, as *the Kingdom of Siam* (Turpin, 2014); *Siam kingdom* was located at the center of the Indochina peninsula in Southeast Asia (Winichakul, 1994). After Ayutthaya, Thai ancestors' settlements, were moved to Thonburi, and then to Bangkok in 1782 (Bowring, 2013). Both cities were located on the banks of the Chao Phraya (เจ้าพระยา) River south of Ayutthaya. Bangkok was first laid out to resemble Ayutthaya and faced the Chao Phraya River. The Royal Palace was built along the river in the area inhabited by Chinese merchants who were relocated to the area outside the walls of the palace (Noobanjong, 2003a; Sathāpitānon & Mertens, 2012).

In 1939, a revolution initiated in Paris, by a foreign-educated Thai intelligentsia occurred (Baker & Phongpaichit, 2009, p. 116), and the name *Siam* was changed to the name *Thailand* under the military-controlled Phibun Songkhram government, known for its fascist and nationalist ideologies. The capital city of Thailand is known worldwide as *Bangkok*, but Thai people say “*Krungthep*” associated with two words *Maha Nakhon*, which means the great city of angels; amusingly, foreigners are often lost when they repetitively hear “*Krungthep*” instead of “*Bangkok*” when they live in the capital city; the name “*Krungthep*” was given by the King Rama I (Ring, Salkin, & Boda, 1994) and is the longest name of a capital city in the world (« The real name of Bangkok is the longest city name on Earth. », s. d.).

The old city, with the Grand Palace (the Royal Palace) and the *Sanam Luang* (the Palace Lawn), is located on the East bank of the Chao Phraya river, on the island of *Rattanakosin*; the name of the island is included within the full name of *Krungthep* and was initially independent as an island but it is officially integrated within Bangkok today.



**Figure 8 - Ratakosin Island – Grand Palace and the Sanum Luang (The Palace Lawn)**

Historically, the name *Krung Thep Maha Nakhon* (the Great City of Angels), was chosen to convince and attract people of all backgrounds, both Thai citizens and foreigners, to establish themselves in the capital city because of its splendor and greatness. The name was intended to signify beauty, splendor, elegance and greatness worthy of the (Hindu-Buddhist) gods. Today, the duplication of names with different meanings given to the same capital city for the same country seems confusing but it looks easier from people origins and ethnical perspectives:

- Non-Thais call the capital city Bangkok, the village of olive trees or the island of olive trees.
- Thais call the capital city “Krungthep”, the Great City of Angels.

The historical meaning of the name Bangkok dates back to the Ayutthaya period in the Kingdom of Thailand; Bangkok at that time was located on both sides of the Chao Phraya River and was the main maritime gate to go to the city of Ayutthaya (14 km in the North). Logically, foreign traders began saying the name of the main gate to refer to the capital as a whole; since, the name became the only internationally agreed reference to name the capital of Thailand despite today in 2018 Thai citizens still use “*Krungthep*.”

Any capital city in the world has its own history built on events gathered over often centuries and in time these events create and shape social, cultural, political and economic identities. Like almost all capital cities in the world, those identities must be understood within the context of their long history. Bangkok is certainly not an exception.

Initially, Bangkok was an old village. Due its strategic place as a maritime gate, the town gradually increased its trading and economic importance. Based on a fast growing trading environment with foreign countries, canals were constructed as shortcuts to reduce the traffic on the river and accelerate the overall shipping process by shortening the trip for merchant ships from the sea to the capital city of Ayutthaya (Reid, 2015, p. 9). After the fall of Ayutthaya, the King Taksin established his new capital city of Thonburi on the river banks of the old village Ban Makok (Bangkok); the change to the name “Bangkok” is unclear today but it is believed that it means “*Village of Olive Trees or Island of Olive Trees*”; based on literature and trading receipts, foreigners wrote Bangkok in different ways: Bancoc, Banckok, Bancock or Bangkok (Maty & Baudrand, 1701; Society, 1931; *Unesco chronicle*, 1957).

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the number of people who were living in Bangkok was unknown but it is known its inhabitants did not have the same ethnical roots: Thais, Chinese, Lao, Cham, Mon, Indians, Europeans, and Makassar, this last group known today as Indonesians. Logically, these various ethnicities spoke their own languages and became Thai citizens by later changing their names into Thai language. Their descendants served under the Crown and a few earned ranks in the aristocracy. Originally, a large group came from Ayutthaya, the first capital city of the Siam Kingdom, destroyed by the Burmese in 1767.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of King Rama III, due to successful trades with Europeans, Chinese and Indonesians, Bangkok became a popular international trading city and generated great fortunes among traders. These newly rich Thai traders initiated the construction of religious buildings both inside and outside of Bangkok in order to make merit (charitable donations) and to comply with King Rama III’s wish of making Bangkok even more attractive for the future. After his reign, King Rama III was recognized as the king who had magnificently achieved the completion of Bangkok and the King who had turned the city into an even greater and more attractive place (Vella, 1957). Finally, one interesting evidence from an architectural point of view, which supports the close relationship between the King Rama III and the Chinese traders, is given by the construction of a temple: Wat Yan Nawa (Thai: วัดยานนาวา). It is located in the Sathon district of Bangkok. It has a unique shape of a pagoda (*Chedi*) and a temple (*Viharn*). Behind the construction, the idea was the King wanted to show the Chinese contribution to the city of Bangkok by building a Chinese junk, and then, to remind Chinese descendants of their ancestor’s success. Implicitly, such construction shows a cultural merge

between Siam and China at that time, not considered as colonialism but as a colonial exposure, and adapted with the Thai architectural style.



**Figure 9 - Wat Yan Nawa (Thai: วัดยานนาวา) is an example of Chinese influences in architecture**

Bangkok's identity is arguably a set of cultural layers combined with past architectural realizations that are the tangible and visible examples of various foreign influences. The development of cultural exchanges and influences also brought potential threats of a foreign cultural *invasion*, which is inevitably an ongoing and a never-ending process with social networks and marketing today. However, cultural change depends on various conditions, such as economic, politic, and social behaviors but we are entering the same globalized culture.

Bangkok has never stopped investing in mega projects such as *MahaNakhon* with US\$620 million for construction, or *Iconsiam*, US\$1.5 billion, which it is now the tallest building in Bangkok and Thailand, for example. The pro-growth contingent the *Pros*, want the city to become the city of trends: fashion industry, real estate, and frenetic shopping. The anti-growth, the *Cons*, want the city to eradicate traffic jam, pollution, and corruption. The daily life of people in Bangkok is shaped by images and processes that are not unique to that metropolis alone. Indeed, transnational flows of people and capital/finance (particularly tourists), technology, commodities and ideas are continuing to transform the life in the metropolis and well beyond (Askew, 2004a, p. 5).

These cultural influences that have been taking place in Bangkok can be seen in the research site and should be taken into consideration as a crucial factor of the city's development.

### 2.3 CULTURAL ASPECTS IN AN EMERGING COUNTRY CONTEXT

In order to understand the following chapter, the researcher wants to define “Western ideology” as the cultural influences/norms from European and North America countries.

According to a book about the Thai history, ‘Where did Thai people come from?’ Sujit Wongthes stated:

*“Thai is not a race but a name of the culture which refers to people who speak the Thai language and who are Buddhists, even though they emphasize the ritual more than the principle.”*

(Wongthes, 2005, p. 188)

Culture is a constant process of producing meanings (Hinds, Motz, & Nelson, 2006, p. 118) which never stops and often changes social routes, particularly to follow the Western ideology; including Thailand, where national policies often depend on international agendas. Such developments have led to the “modern culture” in the Thai society. Originally, despite few exceptions (international trading, wars) culture was slightly and slowly changing due to the time scales constraint; when it was required to travel two years from point A to point B. Today, with the fast adoption of the latest technologies, culture is quickly impacted by the mass-market culture and even superseded by the culture of globalization (Jameson & Miyoshi, 1998; Storey, 2014).

That globalization constantly affects local cultures in different aspects, as quoted by Anthony D. King:

*“What we think of as globalization changes from day to day according to different developments; politically, technologically, economically”*

(A. King, 2004, p. 224)

Culture, from a Thai point of view, and from a famous Thai scholar, Nidhi Eoseewong, summarizes this definition: a culture is an arrangement of social relations, which is expressed in various forms; the idea, social institutions, including Buddhist objects as well. Any change that happens will unavoidably affect the social relationships of people. Identity is not given but is created by all ( Eoseewong, 2005).

Consequently, the way humans live and related society creates layers of cultures that are appending themselves to create a cultural/identity book used by generations. Because a culture is a heritage given by ancestors, it can be considered as cement between people in a nation, who are deeply committed to it, and each state or nation is different because of those cultural identities. As Arjun Appadurai mentioned: “Its main virtue is that it is a useful heuristic that can highlight points of similarity and contrast between all sorts of categories: classes, genders, roles, groups, and nations, when we therefore point to a practice, a distinction, a concept, an object, or an ideology as having a cultural dimension. It can be said that culture is a kind of social tool for understanding and solving problems” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 12-13). In accordance with Nidhi Eoseewong’s observation, Thai cultures are an accumulation of all social parts (Eoseewong, 2005). For many centuries those cultures have intermingled with external cultures which have continually flowed into the country and around South-East Asia.

The significant change of culture in the Thai society appeared from the reign of King Rama V, during British and French protectorates. During his reign, the King canceled obsolete settings and simultaneously pushed the country to a different modernity in order to raise the country as equal to Western countries. Generally admitted in Thailand, the traditional Thai culture, before the rules were changed, was Kingdom-centric. After the Siamese *coup d'état* in 1932, the country changed from an *absolute monarchy* to a *constitutional monarchy*. As a direct result of the Siamese Revolution, the Thai culture –and its destiny– shifted from the royal court to the hands of the population. The radical change of the culture was particularly felt in the period of Field Marshal Plaek Phibunsongkhram, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Prime Minister of Thailand and a military dictator, from 1938 to 1944, and from 1948 to 1957 (Reynolds, 2002; Terwiel, 1980). Phibunsongkhram realized the importance of culture; therefore, he bound together Thai culture and the ideology of the nation-state as a way of keeping his political power. The result of this concept led the Cultural Revolution in the country all the way through the national cultural policy under the concept of nationalism. Later his concept tended to become a caricature making it look as absurd and nonsensical (Suwannathat-Pian, 1995), such as changing the Thai language. Moreover, in public behavior, Thai men had to wear a hat, and women had to wear skirts, pants, stockings and shoes instead of traditional Thai dresses. The following poster below shows the power of a military-ruled state to encourage its people with *DOs* (right) and *DON'Ts* (left), advertising how to dress and behave in public in order to be a *civilized Thai citizen*. Details in the poster clearly discourage holding a load on the head, being bare-chested and to have a shaved head. Finally, a more international dress code was also advised. Such

cultural policy aimed to uplift the national spirit and moral code of the nation and instill progressive Western trends into Thai life. A bunch of cultural mandates was issued by the government and the Field Marshal began to increase the pace of modernization in Thailand and cooperated with Luang Wichitwathakan, the Minister of Propaganda at that time. Phibunsongkhram built a leadership cult in 1938 and thereafter, in 1941, in the midst of World War II, the Field Marshal decreed January 1st as the official start of the New Year instead of the traditional April 13<sup>th</sup><sup>7</sup>. In addition, his successive mandates as Prime Minister also encouraged that all Thai people were to salute the flag in public places, and this is still accepted today.

After 1932, the term *nationalism* emerged.



Figure 10 - Poster from the Marshal Plaek era – left prohibited “uncivilized” dress – right promotes “civilized” dress

The revolution led to a strong cultural change. Firstly, the concept of a progressive or *civilized* country was a part of Phibunsongkhram policy and direction, when he became the Thai Prime Minister. He followed the Western development plan (Numnonda, 2005, p. 31), and then implemented a policy and associated cultural changes that had not happened before in Thai history. Noticeably, Western cultures were only adopted by the ruling high social classes during the reign of King Rama IV. In the era of Phibunsongkhram, Western cultures

<sup>7</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plaek\\_Phibunsongkhram](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plaek_Phibunsongkhram) (accessed 25<sup>th</sup> July 2013)



were forced to be adopted by all social classes (Terwiel, 1980, p. 225) and then became the starting point of Western influences; by exposing the population to the Western culture and modernity, the Siamese running elite planted the seeds of their own demise (Noobanjong, 2003b, p. 330).

Nonetheless, from Phibun Songkram's perspectives, nationalism policies were necessary for Thailand to change foreigners' opinions about Thailand and to prove Thailand was a civilized and modernized country; initially stereotyped as an undeveloped country filled with barbarians.

In parallel with Western culture becoming a trend in Thailand, Phibun Songkram ensured Thai citizens were using and applying the values set so-called *Thaification* in their daily life. Ironically, he used that cultural set to divide and limit the economic power of Thai-Chinese, to exclude them from the political arena. While Thailand was under his leadership, Thai citizens had to accept Phibun Songkram's ideologies of nationalism, the constraints of a military-ruled country, the veneration of the Thaification and the Thai culture. As a contradiction, Phibun Songkram's modernism and culture were not initiated by the royal court but by constant authoritarian principles; the state under Phibun Songkram usurped cultural power from the royalty. Although the concept of Thai identity defined and wanted by Phibun Songkram was different from the concept of absolute monarchy, the reality lied: it was very similar cf. expanding and sustaining the powers of authoritarians.

The Thai identity used as an argument to keep politicians and elite groups in place became impractical, especially after the period of General Prem Tinsulanon who served as 16th Prime Minister of Thailand from 1980 -1988 and who serves today as the Head of the Privy Council of King Rama IX.

Such periods of Thaification, or identity enforcement, were ignored by the local population but that "*identity*" topic became an issue and reappeared as a serious problem after the *coup d'état* in 2006 (« นิธิ เอียวศรีวงศ์ », s. d.). At that time, the state no longer had nearly any role to define Thaification; this role went into the hands of the people who were struggling to rise in social hierarchies.

Furthermore, Mr. Seksan cited "Thaification" as another problematic idea that is used to create conflicts. He said Thaification has been used to justify and support authoritarianism, especially after the coup in 2014 (Prasertkul, 2018).

Unsurprisingly, Thais questioned that legitimacy of these social hierarchies, such as, village headmen, politicians, academics, judiciaries, including their masters or their parents. It also included the Institution of the Monarchy which had previously been perceived as the institute that Thai people have to obediently respect and to honor. In earlier times, they accepted the social hierarchy but today they look upon this hierarchy as an unfair system.

Indeed, a controversy developed between *Elite* and *Peasant*, *Upper* and *Lower classes* in Thai society. Many times, conflicts appeared along with the changes and adaptations within the social structure. These conflicts underline a specific-class ideology: attitudes, behaviors, seriousness, and adequate solutions to resolve conflicts have not been found yet. Those conflicts can also be seen as a wake-up call for social fairness in the current social organization. Considering these questions, it is clear that the Thai society is facing a significant identity crisis. It is not due to ignorance or to lack of understanding about our roots and origins. Instead, the identity crisis is due to the incompatibility between the old and the new concept of *Thaification* in a mutable world which affects economy, society, and related cultural dimensions while the population is not able to support those radical changes.

Another phenomenon that expresses cultural change in the Thai society is this aspect of ‘imported development’, or “modernization” (Kusno, 2014, p. 196), which led to an inevitable ‘clash of cultures’ at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A Frenchman at that time described Bangkok (Tepwongsirirat, 2005, p. 27) as the following:

*‘...people whose spirit no longer has time to reconcile itself amidst the reforms which are introduced to public institutions and every facet of practical life on a daily basis, amidst their crumbling superstitions, their broken traditions, the interesting metamorphosis of their streets where the electric trams make their way in between pagodas and sacred elephants, where bicycles run into the noblemen’s palanquins, upsetting every law of movement known to them...’*

The above statement clearly stresses that incompatible activities were allowed to appear in the same space and time. It is part of the Thai culture, part of the Thaification, accumulated and inherited from the past through to the present.

The current image of Bangkok seems to be confusion and disorder because outside influences have mingled with local culture. It directly reflects the behavior of Thai people, how

Thai people can accept such chaotic and incompatible situations and sometime are even happy to live with these, compared with other cultures.

Admittedly, culture does not suddenly appear, but it is being gradually built on a daily basis, as previously stated, through influences from various cultures. According to the history, Siam or Thailand responded to the “Westernization” and to the “Modernization” in three different ways (Noobanjong, 2003b, p. 36).

Firstly, from the early eighteenth century through to the mid-nineteenth century, there was a period of “*rejectionism*.” Siam rejected westerners and restricted contact with them. Limited contact was permitted after the reign of King Narai of Ayutthaya (1656-1688), and these limits lasted until the mid-nineteenth century.

Secondly, there was an “*embracing*” period when Siam embraced both modernization and westernization based on the assumption that modernization was desirable and necessary. A society must be fully westernized in order to be successfully modernized. In Thailand, this is characterized in 1932 by the change from an absolute Monarchy to a constitutional Monarchy and symbolized by the change of the name of the country.

Thirdly, there was a “*reformist*” period, the most popular alternative for the non-Western ruling elite to cope with Western encroachment. In Siam, King Rama IV (Mongkut 1851-1868) initiated a path of reformation in the 1850s. His main principle was to selectively apply westernization in order to engage a modernization by carefully adopting Western concepts, practices, institutions, knowledge and culture. Mongkut’s descendant, King Rama V (Chalalongkorn 1868-1910), instructed his servants to learn from the West, but tried to use Siamese traditions as their guide.

Although Siam at that time succumbed to the same colonial fate as its neighbors, evidence of Western inclusion is plainly visible. Among the most obvious signs are the architectural styles. While the works in the Euro-centric tradition were celebrated, those in the Siamese tradition were contested and relegated to an inferior status.

The European influence increasingly came up during the stressful period of colonialism. Thailand had to change many aspects particularly in Bangkok in which many modern constructions took place. For example, roads were used instead of canals which were the original way of transportation in the city. Due to reliance on canal traffic, Bangkok was

given its other name ‘the Venice of the Far East’. The architecture of many significant constructions of that time also resulted from this European movement.

A significant example of this architecture obviously influenced by European style, is located at the Grand Palace complex: the Phra Thinang Chakri Maha Prasat (พระที่นั่งจักรีมหาปราสาท) which serves as the throne hall, built on an eclectic blend of Thai and European architectural concepts, specifically with European Renaissance or Italian styles. By carefully looking at, it is possible to differentiate that the lower part of the structure has an European style while the upper part has a Thai style with its green and orange tiled roofs and golden spires or Prasats (ปราสาท: Castle). After a trip to Singapore and Java, in the East Indies (present day Indonesia) in 1875, H.M. the King Rama V brought to Siam two Englishmen, an architect John Clunich and his helper Henry C. Rose. to design and construct the Chakri Maha Prasat Throne Hall. The construction began on May 7, 1876. At first, H.M. the King wanted an entirely European structure with domes. However, at the insistence of Chao Phraya Si Suriyawongse (Chuang Bunnag), his Chief Minister, H.M. the King decided to add the golden spires and Thai roofs. In 1878 H.M. the King personally supervised the raising of the final central spire of the building. The throne hall was completed in 1882, on the centenary of the House of Chakri and the Grand Palace. Thus, the new throne hall was given the name Phra Thinang Chakri, meaning literally *the seat of the Chakri dynasty*.



Building in Bangkok

Building in Vienna

Figure 11 – Western influences and Thaification adaptation in the same building

In 1908, H.M. the King Rama V commissioned the new construction of a reception hall to replace the old building called the “Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall” (Thai: พระที่นั่งอนันตสมาคม). Its architecture mixes Italian Renaissance and Neo-classic styles which have been commissioned to the foreign architects Mario Tamagno and Annibale Rigotti. Luxury materials were imported and used i.e. marble from Carrara, Italy.

Italian sculptor Vittorio Novi and his nephew Rudolfo Nolli were employed to perform the decorative appliances and arts tasks (« Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall », 2015). Implicitly, as quoted by Noobanjong:

*“...employment opportunities for Westerners also arose from high ranking members of the royal family, mostly princes who studied abroad and had learned to appreciate the exotic beauty of Western architecture or those who simply desired to acquire a civilized pedigree by owning Western-style structures and who built their new places in the Western manner...”*

(Noobanjong, 2003b, p. 148)



**Figure 12 – Example of European architecture influence within Bangkok - Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall**

Over the years, such esteem for the Western culture became deep-rooted in Thai society and has since constantly influenced Thai culture.

A lot of Thai attitudes have been adopted from Western attitudes in several forms: way of thinking, behaviors, and expressions, obviously in the middle class and the upper class as a

result of their spending power. They are also expressed in modern aspects that can be represented by architecture such as shopping malls, condominiums, and private residences.

In the same way, behavioral and intellectual patterns were implemented through formal education. Consequently, traditional Thai culture has been abandoned and neglected in favor of Western culture.

Furthermore, the “protection of culture for the public” has historically provided an alibi for a modern imperialism, so that individuals who represent economic interests do not hesitate *to destroy* other cultures in order to bring them into many spheres of capitalism and extend their business network. On the other hand, these individuals have also collected artefacts of those cultures in the name of preserving culture for the public (Deutsche, 1998, p. 290). Movement of contemporary Thai cultures followed the same fate particularly in Bangkok which was, and is, the economic center of Thailand. Implicitly, this recent global movement is linked to the current concept of a new form of colonialism. In terms of neo-colonialism, Abel and Foster offer this perspective:

*“The economic imperatives of neo-colonialism, which make necessary the continuation and expansion of Western cultural hegemony, it is inevitable that we should have, in addition to every other Western culture-form, Western forms of architecture dominating local forms to the point of their virtual extinction. It is all part of that cultural and commercial penetration of local cultures which the former colonial powers now require to maintain their own economic dominance and well-being.”*

(Abel & Foster, 2012, p. 161)

The economic dominance above has taken place in Thai society, especially in Bangkok, where the Western development discourse, in addition to every other Western form of culture, has been supported and promoted by internal and external capitalisms. Cultural changes and integrations can take place in different ways through academic stages (internships), tourism, investments, and both national and international politics in many cities in the world and the same process is visible in Bangkok.

The current development in Bangkok architecture still reflects the power of economy and its associated investments and is linked to the conditions of the globalization. Western architectural styles were found in Thailand in the reign of H.M. the King Mongkut (Rama IV)

1851-1868. Western Imperialism and Colonialism began and established a foothold in Southeast Asia (Noobanjong, 2003b, p. 140). Therefore, the local architectural style is quite noticeably being replaced by mainstream styles: “some of the most dramatic evidence of the complex relations between architecture and human identity may be found in processes of cultural exchange” (Abel & Foster, 2012, p. 149).

An interesting continuation of the Western styles was the recent investments and capital flows from multi-national corporations in the form of a *mega-project*, which was initiated by individuals in a global context, without any local context. The *mega-project* is called “*MahaNakhon*” which means *the great metropolis*. The project included luxury, mixed-use skyscrapers. The construction site is located at the Silom/Sathon central business area of Bangkok. MahaNakhon development was officially announced on 23 July 2009 with a unique design, and a world class team including German Architect Ole Scheeren, partner of the design firm Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA). It was opened in December 2016 and was recognized as the tallest building in Bangkok at 314 meters and 77 floors featuring a hotel, retail stores and residences. The 194 units of The Ritz-Carlton Residences Bangkok inside the building are the most expensive condominiums in Bangkok. Thaification has been completely eluded! It is certainly an outstanding building in a globalized world which fully represents the universalism in architecture (Baumeister & Lee, 2007, p. 358). Consequently, the project was the main topic discussed in the city and was sued by the Architect council of Thailand because architectural profession is kind of prohibited occupation for foreigner architects (« Real Estate Information Centre », s. d.), unfortunately they lost.



Figure 13 - MahaNakhon Project – Globalized and universalism architecture

Another representative building for modern movement of architecture in Thailand is Bangkok Art and Culture Centre (BACC), designed by ROBERT G: Boughey & Associates, and closely located to the Pathumwan intersection, next to the Siam square.

The approach is completely different than the Mahanakhon project.

The aim was to capture the modern appearance of the new architectural style in Bangkok while concept of its design expresses the *Thai spirit*. Indeed, architects got inspirations from various sources: ornaments, ancestral building, and local artifacts to create the overall shape; it does include a traditional bamboo hat and also one of the actions of the *Thai nail dance*. At least, this is the expression of Thaification even if it does not go deeply because those ornaments are considered only for a design perspective but not for a spiritual dimension.



Figure 14 - Bangkok Art and Culture Centre (BACC) – Merge between modern architecture and Thaification

3D designs of the project before it started.



Figure 15 – Shape of the building created from various Thai artefacts.



The key concept of BACC follows and refers to the architectural style created by the conventional Thai architecture. As we can perceive, the building significantly contains artefacts from the Thai culture. Furthermore, the building has to be practical, with strong sense of usability reflecting the dynamism of Thai modern Art. The Western influence that has affected Bangkok is in accordance with thoughts that the Western architecture functioned as an instrument for colonization (Kusno, 2014), in some aspects for both, the Western power over Siam<sup>8</sup>, and the Siamese ruling elite over the indigenous population. The process of their creation and their purpose served as a tool for colonial oppression (Noobanjong, 2003b, p. 146), and could be seen as globalization.

Interestingly, globalization is a contradictory space; it is characterized by contestation (dominant corporate culture), internal differentiation, and continuous border crossings. The global city is emblematic of these conditions. Sharing culture is also one representation of globalization. The contradiction space has become one of the main spaces of authority in today's cities (A. D. King, 1996; Lin & Mele, 2012; Nugent & Vincent, 2008).

To fully understand the impact of the globalization on Thai architecture it has to be noted that the change is accepted by the Buddhist doctrine and a change occurs in every society.

## 2.4 SOCIAL CLASSES STRUCTURE IN THE THAI SOCIETY

In Thailand, the Thai social system is called *sakdi na* and considered as a Thai Feudalism (Nitaya, 1999, p. 136). Historically, the social class structure emerged from various decisions by several monarchies and different governments.

Initially, *Somdet Phra Ramesuan Boromma Trailokanat Bopit*, a King of Ayutthaya from 1448 to 1488, established a great reform within the public administration. He enacted a law which stated that a person's dignity or status is in accordance with that person's land ownership. The Thai society in this era was divided into two social classes: 1) the ruling class including the royal family, nobles and elite 2) peasants or slaves who were under fiefdoms (Mydans, 2001). However, this situation reflected a strong hierarchy, not like the caste structure in India, but was produced to control people by making social differentiations (Dubreuil, 2010).

---

<sup>8</sup> Siam was used as the name of Thailand before 24 June 1939, and again from 8 September 1945 to 20 July 1949.

Indisputably, that system of social class in the society has dominated Thai people over the last centuries. The Thai values system was built upon the historical and cultural heritage of the monarchy system, which believes in the ‘born to rule principle,’ as defined by the Aristotle’s philosophy (Applebaum, 1992, p. 80); master and slaves relation i.e. Thai citizens do not question their rulers.

Those social class structure and cultural systems of values established the reputation of Thai people, by being tractable, docile and submissive people, especially submissive to elders, or to the hierarchical system, to elites and the upper class. Agreed is the idea that the feudalism and the discipline in a monarchical society is linked with the belief that charitable deeds done in the past determine the present status of a person; ‘notably continue to be the dominant ideal in Thai society and office bearers in politics (Nelson & Contributor, 2009).

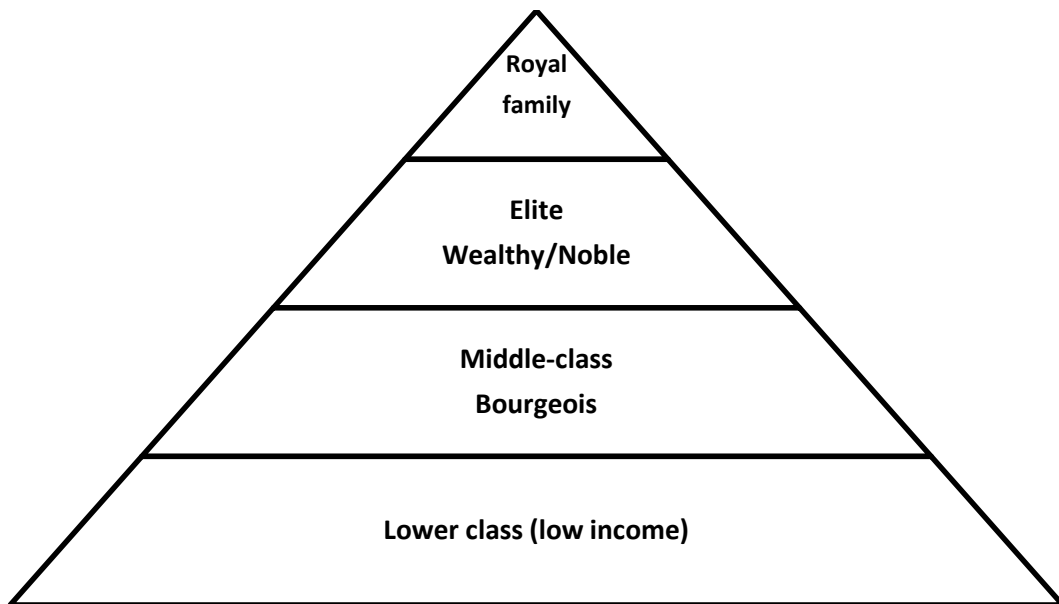
Inequality is the basic idea in Thai society, due to the approach of ‘born to be’ which has shaped peoples’ attitude and emphasized the hierarchical concept. This concept has dominated many aspects of Thai culture. The idea of the hierarchy is observed in the system of seniority such as respect for elders, the upper class, or the wealthy, and for some reasons, rich people do not feel comfortable or safe when poor people come too close, for example. This attitude has become a part of the Thai way of life, and *Thaification*. It can be said that Thai society has evolved under the class system or hierarchy for a significantly long period of time.

Respect for hierarchy is a very important value for Thai people and certainly a part of Thaification. The custom of favor, in Thai *bun khun*, emphasizes the indebtedness towards parents, as well as towards guardians, teachers and caretakers. It describes the feelings and practices involved in certain relationships organized around generalized reciprocity, the slow-acting accounting of an exchange calculated according to locally interpreted scales and measures (Wilson, 2004, p. 4). There are many other examples of hierarchy: it is considered extremely rude to step on a Thai coin because the king's head appears on the coin, even today it is deemed disrespectful. An example of hierarchy is the ritual called paying respect to the teacher on the Teacher’s Day. The principle of hierarchy dominates the interrelation between teachers and students, seen in ranks of seniors and juniors. Students crawl on their knees with a flower tray with pedestal in their hands for paying respect to their teachers. Teachers sit on chairs while students are prostrating on the floor; they pose both at a different physical level and social hierarchy.



**Figure 16 - Ritual of the Teacher's Day - Hierarchical principle**

In Thailand, the traditional hierarchy system has been an important control mechanism to keep people subjugated, which has proved to be very successful. Even though rituals look the same, the spirit seems to have declined with cultural change, and has established a contradiction between the traditional Thai value of hierarchy and the modern Western value of equality; Western equality might be associated with a rejection of the Thai hierarchy. Actually, the Thai hierarchy is seen as an old system of inequality that pushed Thai citizens in a system of social class which does not fit with Western values. The hierarchy in social class can be represented through a classic pyramid:



**Figure 17 - Social class in Thailand**

The Thai bourgeois stood below the ruling class and above the peasants, as dominated by the elite's ideals and culture. Later, when they started to get a slice of political power, they increasingly supported and promoted elites' culture to become the mainstream of the Thai public culture. Additionally, the elite used its ideals and culture for profit-making and the associated benefits. Consequently, they mutually relied on each other, creating a sort of *diaspora* inside the current feudalism resulting in the lower classes considering the bourgeois indistinguishable from the ruling class. For the past few decades, new groups of people started to appear in the modern Thai society, such as the Chinese who succeeded in commerce, because of their skills and their expertise. Afterwards, the Chinese wanted to participate in political activities because they inspired to achieve equality, especially to protect their businesses from the power of the elite. These days, the notion of equality is still not real in the Thai society.

However, the contemporary aristocracy in Thailand is different from the past. Forty to fifty years ago, the role of the elite changed, both in rural and urban areas. One obvious example in this case is a minority group like the Chinese who were initially excluded from the political sphere, and with time, became powerful in politics due to their financial wealth and therefore influence.

Thais have been ingeniously cultivated to recognize and behave within their social class about, especially the lower class. Thais respect to seniority and honor include the powerful, rich and noble people since Thailand had previously been ruled in a feudal system. Although the system of the old hierarchy is not strong as in the past, Thai society is still dominated by the hierarchical system which does not really suit modern economic conditions because it oppresses people. Inequality is a result of such hierarchy which still functions in Thai society. Consequently, social inequality leads to discrimination in the economy and power. In 1932, the inequality of feudalism contributed to the regime change from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional democracy. It was a step towards the democratic world.

Although today the middle class has appeared as a counterbalance in Thai society, feudalism still remains a significant obstacle, trying to preserve the separation of social classes and this has led to the formation and confrontation of differing ideologies. Generally, in Thai society, the state represents the written or formal law, but there is a community law represented by the people, especially the lower class component. The state's constitutional law is a combination of the old hierarchical system and trends brought in by westernization. The civil code is based on rural tradition and also set rules for ceremonies, hidden taboos, and behaviors approved by the community, and the actions that economic pressures force the person to take (Tepwongsirirat, 2005, p. 204). The result of such hierarchy established the route to a power

and the patronage of someone superior like the police or the government. Thai culture also says that to be successful, there should be no conflict, and then the superior person will be benevolent and in favor to inferior person. Therefore, the lower class is oppressed by lacking social chances, especially in a big city like Bangkok which is highly competitive.

The relatively strict structure of the Thai class system does not easily allow the upward flexibility of the poor. Thai society expects that poor people will only have modest ambitions for success rather than seeking great wealth and power, and that the poor will continue to serve those of higher status. Challenging someone of higher status is viewed as inadvisable, and it is far preferable to have the patronage of those above you, in order to remain peaceful and safe (Lao, 2015). As a consequence, the ambition to achieve in business is poorly developed among those of lower status such as inhabitants in a slum. These people tend to stay at their level or space in anything they do. Consequently, the class structure is the significant conditions to produce *the social gap of inequality* that is mainly between poor and rich people. Such social gap has shaped a space between them in a form of declined relationship.

## **2.5 ECONOMIC BACKGROUND IN THAILAND**

### *2.5.1 HISTORY OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*

The introduction of the sufficiency economy movement became the significant turning point of financial and economic history in Thailand. Its introduction was directly related to the financial activities of past economics and political movements because of accumulative problems and failures regarding rice production in the reign of H.M. the King Rama VI called King Vajiravudh; who was the sixth monarch of Siam under the House of Chakri ruling from 1910 -1925; the sufficiency economy led also to insufficient incomes for the state. In that specific context, and to tackle the problem, the state had to subsidize farmers and public servants who suffered from the living costs increase. As part of economic resolution mechanisms, the state had to use the treasury reserve in order to save the country and to give assistance to people until the financial crisis was over. The direct effect of this crisis was tax payers were unable to pay taxes hence reducing state's incomes. Subsequently, H.M. the King Rama VI decided to borrow money abroad to solve the economic crisis and to get sufficient money to cover state costs. This decision led to an immense criticism as people heard that the

state was not managing adequately the state budget and treasury reserve while the country was facing a major economic crisis.

The same crisis continued to influence the reign of Rama VII (ruling from 1925 -1934). This king was the only Siamese monarch to abdicate. He introduced a policy of decreasing the public budgets, the number of state public servants in various ministries, and he also agreed to reduce his private budget. Moreover, at that period, the global economy was in recession, which began in 1929 with “the Wall Street crash.” Inevitably, this Global crisis affected Thailand and pushed the state to strictly control and cut the state budgets by putting public servants out of commission in many positions, and the abolishment of the precincts throughout the country, including stopping the payment of allowances to public servants. In 1932 the state announced tax increases, especially on public servants who had to pay more tax than the ordinary people because they earned salaries from the state. However, these measures were not effective and could not improve the severe financial situation of the country. Consequently, the state was not successful in solving the financial problems, and was not capable of leading the country out of the problem and to a normal situation. The state was placed in an untenable situation, which the People's Party successfully used to overthrow the monarchic regime. It was the most important change, which radically affected both the political and economic systems of Thailand.

Another important period of the economic history in Thailand dates back 40 years before the Thai financial crisis of 1997, which was referred to as the “Tom Yum Kung<sup>9</sup> Crisis” and was eventually considered characteristic of Thai capitalism. The period of time before the 1997 crisis was considered as the golden age of Thai family businesses including the group of elite families. Those businesses were simply a monopoly protected by the state. They had easy access to sources of capital and new technologies in the way of transnational cooperation. Such monopoly belonged to a few elite families that had easy access to land, an important factor for big investments. Moreover, these families established various connections both in the state bureaucracy and politics in the form of patronage relationships – as clearly explained in the previous subchapter. During this period, however, multinationals companies were prohibited from operating local businesses unless they cooperated with Thai capitalists. Consequently, such multinationals became privileged and got better business opportunities leading to investments and profits. For these reasons, the elite group of families also had opportunities to

---

<sup>9</sup> Tom Yum Kung is a shrimp spicy lemongrass soup which is a famous Thai dish.

expand their businesses, more easily than anyone else. Some of families developed their businesses in family conglomerates (*Contagion and Convalescence*, 2007; Unger, 1998).

Generally admitted, the economic crisis in 1997 was an unpredicted and newly event that severely impacted and damaged the Thai economy. As a result, the state had to cancel investment protection measures for Thai capitalists: multinationals were allowed to do some businesses more freely. Consequently, a number of Thai family conglomerates sold their businesses or reduced their capital shares in these multinationals in order to resolving their financial problems. Logically, assets were available on the market, and elite Thais and multinationals took advantage of the circumstance; it was a good opportunity for multinationals to enter into the Thai market!

These groups of multinationals came along with large amounts of capital – mainly due to the Thai currency devaluation – and due to a technological superiority over Thai companies.

Historically, the majority of Thai businesses and groups are family conglomerates which were constantly built up on a yearly basis to succeed. Simultaneously, these groups functioned as a spearhead and significantly accelerated the development and investment in various domains within the country. However, these businesses were still only importing or copying products rather than producing innovation or a new technology in their related areas. In the competitive world of today, therefore, Thai capitalists are still inferior in terms of economic accomplishment in the global arena. The developing process of industries in Thailand falls into the category of a recently industrialized country. Therefore, Thailand still has significant weak points, especially in accessing capital and technology sources. Consequently, these conglomerates have increasingly risked their own capital due to the entry of transnational capital and multinational corporations (Phongpaichit & พงษ์ไพจิตร, 2006, p. 100,139). Especially for Thailand, all political connections are usually related to family businesses because ministers and politicians are owners of large family businesses. In other words, groups of Thai capitalists, or groups of Thai politicians, usually cooperate together forming mutually dependent oligopolies. Progressively, businessmen will directly enter the political arena to form an investing network within domestic and international markets.

Politics gives tangible benefits for Thai businesses. To support the statement, a politician's business is surprisingly successful, whilst also the politician in charge of State's decisions; that is laws and policies to promote the area of its businesses. These political

opportunities, positions and responsibilities, establish a sort of a *decision making monopoly* to dominate or/and to take over other businesses – even competitors. Cases exist where Thai companies' expansion into international markets were possible via treaties between the Thai State and a foreign state. An individual with overlapping authority and interest would sign treaties. The individual might be serving as the chair of a company while also serving as chair for a state role. Thai citizens realized that it was a further example of the conflict of interests in the Thai society.

Obviously, politicians who were also business leaders paved the way to corruption. It is easier to generate a significant personal wealth increase, often hidden to the public – normally impossible for someone without a conflict of interests. Inevitably, this group depleted most of the nation's natural resources. Inequality in accessing these natural resources led to negative effects on Thai society. As a result, the low-income population had significant difficulties to access financial capitals to increase their incomes, and have limited chance to improve their quality of life or to educate their children.

### 2.5.2 SUFFICIENCY ECONOMY

In rural Thailand, the political philosophy “localism” is used via a policy to devolve power from the government to local bodies i.e. negotiate and deal with multi-international corporations like hypermarkets. Local fair-trades are stimulated through relationships, in the form of patronage, but localism ultimately promotes consumption, which gives the same benefits as capitalism. Consequently, many local shops can compete with hypermarkets without solely depending on laws. However, such market conditions occur more readily in countryside areas than in urban areas probably because relationships there are the closest and strongest. The local consciousness, known as sustainability, supports local spending and local consumption has been well understood for generations.

The awareness of the value of local consumption within Thai society is supported by the social intervention and experiment/ strategy of economic sustainability, the opposition of capitalism, a new economy which constantly measures progress by improvements in well-being and not expansion of the scale and scope of market economic activity.

Capitalism is driven by large businesses, both domestic and international, led by a small number of people; it seriously affects the whole society, as happened in Thailand in 1997 (O'Brien, Stapenhurst, & Johnston, 2008). Every time there is a financial crisis, for a particular



country, or even worldwide, failures lead people to rethink and look for alternative forms of economic sustainability and often created *loyalist movements* (Hess, 2009) peacefully or not – protests.

However, the idea of a sustainable economy is not a new concept in the Thai society because such “necessity” is closely related to the way of life of the Thai citizens. Initially, in Thailand, the sustainability was promoted and rekindled by H.M. the King Rama IX always warned about the negative impacts of excessive capitalism before the “*Tom Yam Kung*” (Ho, 2005) crisis happened.

Thai people realized and understood the situation from H.M. words on the occasion of his Majesty’s birthday, on 4<sup>th</sup> December 1974:

*“... We are not a rich country, we are modest enough, we live reasonably and we are not a highly progressive country. We should not want to be a progressive country because if we were highly progressive, it would lead us to go backwards. Those advanced industrial countries have been ominously declining and retreating. But we will use a style of management suiting the attitude of poor people.*

*We should not strictly hold on to textbooks, but we should seek the way of cooperation, unity and compassion this will lead us to live forever...”*

(Puntasen, 2001, p. 558) – *Translated from Thai to English by the researcher*

The concept of H.M. the King wishing Thai people to accept and understand the real condition of the country, and finally applying the concept as a guideline to enable the country to grow in a sustainable way – as an opposition of countries with liberal market-oriented policies. He also suggested that it was not necessary to follow the economic mainstream after the economic crisis. The concept was widely accepted as an alternative economic approach and called the “sufficiency economy.” The term sufficiency generally means moderation and reasonableness. Sufficiency economy can be regarded as a philosophy, which the King provided as a guide for Thai people several years before the economic crisis happened. And following the crisis, he suggested solutions for living in a stable and a sustainable environments and conditions in a rapidly changing world.

Summarily, the philosophy of sufficiency economy (*Sufficiency Economy*, 2007) and its three pillars consist of:

1. *Moderation* – not doing something too little or too much at the expense of oneself or others, for example, producing and consuming at a moderate level.
2. *Reasonableness* –the level of sufficiency must be made rationally with consideration of all involved factors and with a careful anticipation of the outcomes that may be expected from such action.
3. *Risk Management* – cope with the likelihood and associated impact.

This philosophical approach for life and behaviors is meant for the country and its citizens whatever their social classes. In details, it does cover private lives, communities, state administrations, and supposedly helps to increase the stability of the nation amid globalization.

Sustainability of a society generally needs an immunity system to protect it from any impact which could arise from both inside and outside changes. Such changes require expert knowledge and careful consideration using different academic disciplines to cope with and plan implementation processes. Simultaneously, a society needs to strengthen and promote morals and ethics especially those of public officials and businessmen at all levels. Thus encouraging awareness of morality and honesty, and knowledge to organize life with patience, perseverance, diligence, intelligence and consciousness. This consciousness should be a balance for coping with critical changes both in dimensions of social and cultural environments from the outside world.

The sufficiency concept reminds people to deliberately contemplate all conditions before making decisions. The main criteria for achieving sufficiency economy are *knowledge* and *moral* principles 1) knowledge of various academic fields and domains are important for the planning and an efficient implementation 2) strengthening soft skills such as moral, awareness, integrity, patience, perseverance, and wisdom in the daily life. Despite it is an abstract concept, it is something that people can also achieve through the application of Buddhist principles, which are a significant corner-stone of the Thai society.

There are other interesting definitions about the sufficiency concepts that sufficiency strongly relates to culture, not just a tool for harvesting crops, but a moral concept to reduce greed and immorality (Pruetipibultham, 2010) and even poverty (Chalapati, 2009).

In 1994, the King presented a set of ideas entitled “New Theory,” the provision of organizing land for housing and sustainable living. The essentials of the theory are to divide the land into four parts which are a water saving lake at 30%, a rice field at 30%, an orchard and various crops at 30%, and 10% of the area for a house including (animals for food), a small stable for farm animals. It became known as the ratio 3:3:3:1. Significantly, it is a principle of land and water management of a small piece of land to achieve the maximum efficiency. Consequently, life does not completely depend on external capital or economy, it can be said that it is the King’s expectation.



Figure 18 - Concept of land management from the sufficiency economy concept

Inherently, the *new theory* is a kind of sufficiency economy in terms of *having enough to get by* (ความพอมีพอกิน). The theory has been designed for promoting the welfare/wellbeing of the majority who are mostly poor so that they can live with more stable lives. The historical background of the *new theory* came about by the King’s own experience which he got from experiments that he has conducted since 1974 and he has continued to perform for a long time before it was presented to the public; it does coincide with a worldwide conscientiousness about limits to growth from ecological and economic perspectives presented in 1972 to the Club of Rome (Cousins, 2008, p. 1) and screened and criticized more than three decades later (Bardi, 2011, p. 49).

A critical factor of the economic crisis derived from the globalization which H.M. the King called “Trade Economy.” Given recurrent economic problems, he strongly and repeatedly emphasized that Thailand should change and revert back to a sufficiency economy. He said

that the sufficiency economy would only need one-fourth of the capital currently used by the main economy of the country. He expected that Thailand's import and export trade economy would be reduced by 75 percent, which meant that a sufficiency economy would only need 25 percent of the existing capital. Savings would include the agricultural production in rural areas and communities and the local communities would use these products for their own self-support, and sell the surpluses to local markets. If Thai people follow the principles of the sufficiency economy, they will reduce the need for importing foreign products and increase personal savings. Consequently, for local communities this will lead to a reduction of costs arising from buying products from other countries. H.M. the King has seen such potential and believed that it would be possible, strongly emphasized and repeated the same philosophy, unfortunately, many people and economists do not understand. However, sufficiency economy is supposed to be an alternative economic solution and is a possibility in Thai society because it is accordance with Buddhist principles which is the fabric of Thai society. However, for the first step, it should be considered both in individual communities and the whole of society rather than within the confines of an individual or a family.

The 2005 World Summit on Social Development identified sustainable development goals, such as economic development, social development and environmental protection (« Sustainability », 2016). Next was developed a Venn diagram of sustainable development at the confluence of three constituent parts (Adams, 2006):

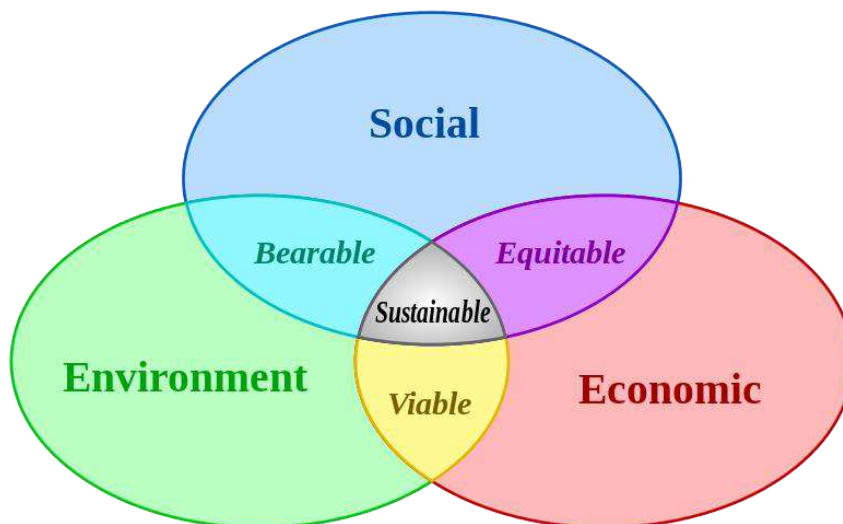


Figure 19 - Venn diagram of sustainable development

After the world summit, in 2009 Nithi Eawsriwong, a renowned Thai historian reminded the sufficiency economy concept as a system of moral regulation and proposed four interesting basic keys which are needed in Thailand.

The first key is *the ecological structure*, which contributes to the reduction in production costs and provides some natural materials such as forests, which are the sources of water and food as long as they are still plentiful. Consequently, people in the agricultural sector do not have to spend a significant amount of money on water, and simultaneously, they live with a guaranteed source of food.

The second key is *the social structure*, in which individuals live, they must try to content themselves with things that they have, in other words they just have to learn to free their minds from passion, which is one of Buddhist principles, even though it is difficult in the current world of consumption. On a social level sufficiency is also more difficult if, for example, society strives to decrease their dependence on the consumer culture. Moreover, society should encourage and provide the basic needs of life: food, clothing, housing and medication. Noticeably, these four needs are important but they cannot be supported by a single person and are required to be supported by the state to provide resources through social agreements; these four needs can be found in the hierarchy of needs developed the last century (Maslow, 1943).

The third key is *the economic responsibility level*: food, for example, depends not only on individuals but also depends on social relationships and networks to produce, to harvest, sell, change or share in their Thai communities. In case of a natural disaster, a community can be destroyed but other community networks are still crucial to offer first aid to people who are injured and suffering.

Finally, the fourth key is *politics*; politics should be an instrument of negotiation which can be flexible for all groups of people. It should not support only one of the stakeholders. Probably, these levels would suffice to construct a real alternative economy in line with the principles of the sufficiency economy.

The kernel of the sufficiency economy depends on various “cultural aspects” in the Thai society. To clarify, the main *culture of sufficiency economy* is a regulatory vision focusing on people and its surrounding eco-system (plants, animals, natural resources, etc.) but the main culture is itself superseded with moral obligations. Globalization and the Thai sufficiency

economies are often perceived as an antagonism, which contributes to the unique character and destiny of the Thai society, but producing strong confusion in the population's minds, despite the constant effort of H.M. the King reminding people of the importance the self-sufficiency principles and the reasonableness of Buddhism.

### 2.5.3 ECONOMIC INFLUENCES ON THAIFICATION

Past economy history directly influenced Thaification!

Both economic movements mentioned earlier demonstrated the economical identity of the Thai society and affecting people's attitude, culture, cities, especially the capital city of Bangkok. Due to constant economic developments, the identity of Bangkok is a result of a mixture of socio-economic changes. As previously mentioned about the city's history, the divine imagery of the King directly affected the architecture of the city. The city's identity, however, was not influenced by the concepts and imagery of the King only, but also substantially influenced by the concept of 'Kingship' itself. In Hinduism, the King was believed to be the reincarnation of god. Historically, Hindu concepts were borrowed and applied to the Thai king. The Thai king was referred to as "Dhevaraja," or "Divine King". As a result, this imagery or ideal has been expressed in various forms through architectural styles and royal rituals. Additionally, as a result of this belief in the Devine King, a socio-economic and political structure of inequalities has emerged and still remains these days. It can be legitimately said that the monarchical system has been an important part of the city's identity creation. Besides the monarchical system, free trade has had the greatest impact on the socio-economic structure and identity of the city *and then the creation of Thaification*.

Aspects of free trade affected the city as far back as King Rama III and IV. Siam, in the form of Bangkok, and the United States of America came into contact during the reign of King Rama III, but did not enter into diplomatic relations until the reign of King Rama IV in 1856. After that the King began diplomatic relations with France, Denmark, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Germany, respectively. The relationship between Siam and the United States led to numerous changes in Thai society at that time in education, medicine, and printing. These changes allowed the general population to have access to information and greater well-being which paved the way towards the modern course of life seen today in the city.

Understanding the socio-economic structural identity of Bangkok dates back to the reign of King Rama IV where a treaty was signed in 1856 with Sir John Bowring who was the ambassador of Queen Victoria of England. The Bowring Treaty was an unequal bilateral contract as Siam was not in a position to negotiate, considering that Britain had demonstrated its military might during the First Opium War with China, thereby discouraging any attempts to prevent Western trade (III, Lamme, & L'Etang, 2014). After H.M. the King signed the Bowring Treaty, other international empires continued with similar treaties that also affected the structure of social classes in Thai society, *its associated Thaification*, and the economic system as a whole.

From a contemporary point of view, the economy is directly and constantly questioning Thaification and its main purpose and can be demonstrated through different examples:

- The leveraging of Thaification for economic advantage was more pronounced under Thaksin governments (Connors, 2007, p. 263).

- Thaification was breached and was perceived in conflict (consumerism) with the economy during the economic crisis of 1997 (Keyes & Tanabe, 2013, p. 221).

- Thaification has been ripped away from its traditional, theatrical, or religious context and deprived of its aura by malicious advertisements: Singha Beer “The pride of the nation” or the Thai life insurance with its slogan “The life insurance company of, by, and for the Thais” (Keyes & Tanabe, 2013, p. 216); it has to be said that sadly the concept of Thaification became the slogan for a commodity (beer).

- Thaification has been significantly weakened the past decades with its adaptation with sexual practices – prostitution – and related sex industries (Altman, 2002) which might be considered as components of Thai economic miracles (Bishop & Robinson, 1998); the topic of Thaification is understandably addressed and analyzed for specific questions in the Thai society when it covers transgender identity and same-sex relationships (Sinnott, 2002).

- During the 1997 crisis, Thaification was completely colluding with the globalized economy, its constraints, and has been used by religious local authorities, asking Thais to give money to reimburse the International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans. With 40,000 monasteries, logically monks said loans can be reimbursed by the local people, via donations, via Thaification: Thais-help-Thais; a vital economic need coupled with the resurgence of nationalism (Taylor, 2008, p. 126).

## 2.6 ANTAGONISM OF HUMAN VALUES – SPIRITUALITY VS. CONSUMERISM

*Consumerism is the death of spirituality* (Chua, 2002).

Typically, the Thai way of life focuses on the concept of living in harmony with nature in accordance with a Buddhist principle of living with non-violence that has accumulated as Thai culture. The passive attitude extends into many aspects of life, including the environment of living beings and especially into the organization of societies. Thai people tend to avoid confrontation and will instead show respect, friendliness or submission. People are often seen sharing and helping each other. This is a way of dealing with one another and for maintaining, at least superficial, harmony (Tepwongsirirat, 2005, p. 189) because maintaining a peaceful atmosphere is important for keeping their own relationships in Thai society. It can be said that, more or less, this character is formed by a Buddhist principle that teaches people to try to live without ego; consequently, it is the way of accumulation of humble character of Thai people.

As part of society, Buddhism is not superficial, the heart of Buddhism, taught and suggested by Buddhadasa Bhikkhu<sup>10</sup>, is living in harmony with one another; to simplify, be socialized not individualist, the key Buddhist principle directly relating to a society. But in terms of Buddhism, socialization *or socialism* should be understood as different from any political ideology. Buddhist socialism is not concerned with the definition of the political system or with any political ideology at all, it is called Dhammic Socialism. Such Dhammic Socialism is composed by two words: Dharma means the true reality, and Socialism, in the Buddhism realm, means a society formed by unselfish people. Dhammic Socialism is a system that creates a *normal* social life, *a spirit* of social justice, and stuck with the reality. Socialism is natural; indeed, people do not like to be alone and mutually depend on one another for their existence; i.e. without water: there are neither animals nor plants. This is the intention, the coexistence, in Buddhism, which is the same as Dhammic Socialism. Buddhism, however, can be an appropriate life style for people in the world because it teaches people to live with unselfishness and harmony with each other in a society.

---

<sup>10</sup> Buddhadasa Bhikkhu (Thai: พุทธทาสภิกขุ, May 27, 1906 – May 25, 1993) was a famous and influential ascetic-philosopher of the 20th century.



The modern world can be coined as *consumptionism* which seems to be an absolute contradiction with Buddhism. A *contrary*, Buddhism is in an absolute contradiction with consumption because of its commercialization (Scott, 2009, p. 157).

Yet, the Buddhist principle of desire is opposite to the principle of consumption. In greater detail about this, there is a split; desires are divided into two categories. One is called *tanha* (ตัณหา); which means passions, or cravings, greed and grasping or unsatisfactory needs, without limitations. The second one is called *chanda* (ฉันทะ); which means diligence for quality of life with limited needs. Both categories lead to different dimensions of value. One dimension of value is called true value ; while the other is fake value (PhraDhammapidok, 2002, p. 23-27). The true value is connected with satisfying the quality of life associated with chanda (ฉันทะ), while the fake value only pampers unimportant things in life mostly for the passions and cravings of tanha (ตัณหา).

For this reason, Phra Dhammapidok<sup>11</sup> explains the concept of “seclusion” (this is the term used in Buddhism to express freeing oneself from greed) and compares it with the lifestyles of different cultures. “*Protestant ethics taught a life in “seclusion” and “saving” (in Buddhism the opposite of extravagance, i.e. a life of austerity).*”

*“Protestants instead of spending all of their money invested their savings into the production of goods and other things for self-support and for sale. They were trained to love their work. Therefore, in the period of the Industrial Revolution, people abided by the principle of seclusion. They paid attention to work rather than consumption, in order to create and improve the prosperity of their industry”*

(PhraDhammapidok, 2002, p. 30-33).

In Buddhism, the concept of seclusion must always be coupled with perseverance. The time used for the seclusion is intended for energy saving and working time in order to enhance the quality of life. Confusions about the concept and the use of the term seclusion has arisen from a negligent understanding and misinterpretation of its definition, believing that if a person

---

<sup>11</sup> Prayudh Payutto (also P.A. Payutto; Thai: พระยุทธิ์ ปยุตฺโต, ป.อ. ปยุตฺโต) (b. 1938), also known by his current monastic title, Phra Bhrmagunabhorn, is a well-known Thai Buddhist monk, an intellectual, and a prolific writer.

lives alone it is because that person does not need others (in a group). Indisputably, it is not the correct understanding of the Buddhist concept of seclusion.

Seclusion in Buddhist terms is better understood as living a life without fictitious needs. Seclusion means to remove or to extinguish the fire from desires. The way of consumption in the solitary concept is called the middle way that it means not too much, not too little and not oppressing someone else. Most people, even Buddhists have often misunderstood the definition of seclusion. A person who goes into seclusion also needs to preserve a certain quality of life. The most significant confusion is many people do not know how to distinguish between wholesome and unwholesome desires. Principally, people who have two choices: one leads to a good quality of life, the other one leads to a poor quality of life. These are two kinds of desires that seem to be hard for people to understand in the consumerism world; even if such principles are good for people's quality of life.

The inherent difference between Buddhist economy and the worldwide economy is rooted in its definition and application. Buddhists do not have the same economy compared with to those of other religions and European countries where the *traditional* economy began. In a consumption context, the Buddhist principles explain 'happiness' or the end of suffering (Ennenbach, 2015; Mishra, 2011), a non-Buddhist would call it 'suffering', and whereas Western conventional consumerism leads to 'happiness' as 'pleasure' or 'utility' which is the concept of hedonism (Pantasin, 2001, p. 448). That is the idea that all people have the right to do everything in their power to get the maximum amount of pleasure. It is also the idea that people's pleasure should far surpass their pain, even if that notion has been analyzed and criticized (Panaioti, 2013, p. 83).

Buddhist economy suggests that non-Buddhist Western 'happiness' and hedonism caused by consumption is not sustainable because that happiness leads to increase suffering: greed and desire in people's minds; following the Buddhist principles, pleasure from greed and desire is not 'real', *vice versa*, and finally leads to suffering.

The initial aim of the traditional economy is to eradicate poverty and make the population happier when they get sufficient income to cover their living costs. In fact, the opposite happens: the population never gets pleasure enough – and becomes Hedonist – while increasing their needs – through Hedonism – and never achieves satisfaction.

In Buddhism, there is a notion called the ‘middle way’; that tries to understand the heart of the human dilemma. It is the attachment – or dependency – on things that bring those pleasures that Buddhism tries to overcome.

Hedonism and happiness are paired in modern capitalism.

Buddha teaches that renunciation brings an end to suffering, but this doctrine does not mean the renunciation of happiness, harmony, or enlightenment. Buddhism is most definitely not an iteration of nihilism or any sort of radical relativism. Renunciation in Buddhism focuses on the renunciation of craving; the usual Buddhist metaphor is the quenching of fire. Suffering is rooted in our desires, and our desires are rooted in our selfish and self-centeredness attitudes

The problem is that we become attached to our desires, and when they cannot be fully met, we feel discouraged, abandoned, and resentful. Every moment of “happiness” eventually passes into regrets, and we often become greedy and fearful that we haven’t had our fair share.

Meanwhile, contemporary Thai people like to show their money like “*nouveaux riches*,” but they are not happy! It is an improper manner. They are even willing to pay more to show their snobbism. This behavior within contemporary Thai society is not totally different from Western people’s behaviors. Related to this trend, some western economists tried to help resolve economic problems in Thailand but they did not fully succeed because they did not fully understand Thai behaviors. They agree it is difficult to change any behaviors in a country. The number of *coup d’état* in Thailand is evidence of a *recurrent non-pacifist behavior attitude* occurring over the last decades. On the other hand, the ‘consumer attitude’ is obviously associated with beliefs, as parts of Thaification, that eventually lead these individuals to face unhappiness, despite Thai people having the knowledge to overcome the dilemma. This is also part of Thai upbringing.

## 2.7 THAI POLITICAL LANDSCAPE IN THE LAST CENTURY

Thai politics changed considerably after the administrative and educational reformation that took place in the reign of King Rama VI, (the sixth monarch of Siam under the House of Chakri who ruled from 1868 -1910). He thought these democratic reforms would move the government away from an absolute monarchy and would bring a democratic system that would

allow people to increasingly participate with a constitution that would work as the supreme law in the country, with a parliament being the key institution.

The application of the democracy was delayed because a group of soldiers started the Palace Revolt of 1912 (Thai: กบฏ ร.ศ. 130) and moved against the absolute monarchy. Even though their aim was to implement the same ideology as the king, they were arrested before achieving their aim. Later, such ideology of democratic change in the regime appeared many times in local newspapers, but did not affect the entire political system, except some modernization of *Politik Buro* which was holding power. During that period, the constitution, which was representing the highest expectations at that time, was not created. Until 1932, during the reign of King Rama VII, a Siamese group of military and civil officers called *Khana Ratsadon* (Thai: คณะราษฎร; meaning "People's Party") succeed in implementing their ideology to change the country from an absolute monarchy to a *better* democratic system with a democratic ideology. Later historians agreed that the Siamese Revolution of 1932 was the most important even in the history of Thailand and created the foundations of the current political system (Surhone, Timpledon, & Marseken, 2010, p. 25).

The Thai political system has significantly changed and adapted over time, according to the circumstances and conditions, the notion of power cannot be eluded and it has been analyzed and explained under macro-social terms by conflict theorists (Stringer, Agnello, Baldwin, Christensen, & Henry, 2014, p. 194). One of the well-known theories is proposed by Foucault who considers dimensions of “*scrutiny of the micro-politics of power relations in different localities, contexts, and social situations*” (Crane, 1997, p. 303) and leads to “*conclude that there is an intimate relation between the systems of knowledge (discourses) which codify techniques and practices for exercise of social control and domination within particular localized context... and no relations of power without resistance*”. He concluded that “*no utopian scheme can ever hope to escape the power–knowledge relation in a non-repressive way*” (Harvey, 1990, p. 45).

From the above, and from a Thai perspective, politics is always exercising its power to impact social conditions, as well as underlining its lack of naivety. It discloses complicated and interrelated social interactions that the society has been coping with in unstable situations and unpredictable events.

The first political power in every society is the *culture*, which is an effective social lever. It can be proposed that politics in the cultural domain is considered as a *political culture*, which is a matter of understanding: the allocation and distribution of resources, or budgets, under different conditions. Crucially, cultural resources/budgets should not be allocated and distributed arbitrarily but should be equally distributed.

The second political power in every society is what the researcher calls the “idea of *justice*”. The idea of *justice* tends to believe in fairness in the allocations of resources and budgets to support democratic activities and needs to protect the population. However, the idea of social justice differs and varies on cultural backgrounds. Interrelations exist where the political culture is guiding – or forcing – justice and the freedom of individuals in the society.

Political ideas always change and are adapted according to social conditions, time period, and the impact of the globalization, in the same way as cultural being.

Like many countries in the world, Thai politics usually has multicultural dimensions and is multi-faceted. Considering one facet only is a serious mistake because Thai politics constantly change. Thai political history can mainly be divided into three time periods:

- 5) The period before the reign of King Rama V can summarily be called the *old Thai period*.
- 6) The period after the reign of King Rama V, to the 24th of June 1932, and this can be called the *period of absolute monarchy*.
- 7) The period after 1932, which can be called the period of a *political system* with democratic elections and with *coups d'état* – constituting the strong ambivalences of the two sides of the same coin.

In brief, during the old Thai period, the Ayutthaya kingdom (Thai: อาณาจักรอยุธยา) was a Siamese kingdom that existed from 1351 to 1767. Thai Kings had limited royal authority. They did not have troops of officers in service and they did not have bureaucratic systems, as they exist today. The kings, therefore, had royal authority that was limited in a practical way. The power of the kings, however, is often misunderstood in the Thai society. Some people wrongly think that the Kings held absolute power to decisively allocate resources in all areas. In fact, their power was pragmatically and practically limited. Political power at that time was scattered amongst the *ruling class* or groups, in a form of old law called the *feudal official*. It can be said that political power was held by whoever was classified as a ruling official. These people did not address the bureaucratic system as in the present, where deputies of ministries carry out

their duties in their respective bureaus. Therefore, it was a type of power which was decentralized in various places. Such power can be thought of as constituting a smaller locality, such as a community, a village, or a local district. Obviously, people were not all of the same class, or equal, there were rich and poor – not much different from the present – and they had unequal access to resources; originally, the so-called *patronage system* was created by this unequal access.

The same *patronage system* exists and became rooted in Thai society, especially in the political culture. Interestingly, the political culture in the Thai society is influenced by the middle class: getting the power to negotiate and to determine the direction of Thai politics (Walker, 2012). Indeed, many publications demonstrated that the Thai middle class can control the media (Goonasekera, Servaes, & Wang, 2003, p. 97) and the educational system – by being more educated (Jackson, 1989, p. 32); ironically, middle-classes are clashing through media, whatever the color of the party i.e. Red Shirts (Askew, 2010).

The power of the middle class is crucial to understand the current political culture in the Thai society.

The Thai middle class believes in the freedom of democracy, however, such freedom is not equal to everyone because they believe only a few people are able to use it in an efficient way. This thinking reveals an inconsistency by holding that the democracy works better if it is restricted to a group of people only because they have better knowledge than the others. As a result, on 25 January 1997, a coalition of rural villagers and urban slum dwellers from every region of Thailand commenced a mass demonstration in front of the Government House in Bangkok. This became a defining moment in the struggle of the Assembly of the Poor to mobilize and sustain people in their nonviolent attempt to force the government to address their grievances (Missingham, 2003).

Probably, the middle class adopted an ideal of *Peace and Order* from an absolute monarchy, which believed in *absolute power*. This power is distributed today through centralization that people accept as legitimate with an absolute and sudden power that can eventually solve social conflicts and associated problems. Consequently, they do not think *out of the box* to solve problems. From a middle class perspective, this ideal heads towards a schizophrenia explained by 1) *internationalism*, where they exercise the international standard to explain their identity 2) while they still believe in their own unique way.

The important issue today is the inequality; represented by the political party called *Red Shirts*, representing non-urban citizens i.e. farmers generally located in the North East of Thailand. Indisputably, Thailand is facing recurrent conflicts. These clashes should be seen as a step in democratic development, which is difficult to avoid, just as in other countries that experienced political conflicts in different circumstances before they became fully democratic and developed. This issue will exist as long as Thai society cannot adapt itself to changes and because the political and social organizations have continually used the same mechanism to reconcile conflicts.

Another critical aspect of the Thai politics is that Thai society and its politics are completely corrupt; different research studies were conducted to conclude that Thai citizens recognized corruption as part of the daily life and as part of the culture (Bhargava & Bolongaita, 2004; Phongpaichit & Phiriyarangsarn, 1996).

Corruption is a parasite in the Thai society (Teixeira, Pimenta, Maia, & Moreira, 2018, p. 211); it explains why Thailand is ranked 36<sup>th</sup> amid 180 countries (from zero is highly corrupt to 100 is very clean) - in the 2018 Corruption Perception Index (« Transparency International - The Global Anti-Corruption Coalition », s. d.). Corruption is not accepted by citizens of any nations. Indeed, rampant corruption impacts the well-being of a nation, as suggested by the IMF's report and its authors that corruption in Thailand is "*essentially the hypocritical abuse of public power for private benefit*" (Schneider & Enste, 2002).

In Thailand, a key foundation of corruption is directly related to the patronage system (Neher, 1979, p. 301) and it is vital to understand it.

Ideally, the concept of the patronage claims that a subordinate – often blindly – helps the hierarchy and must show respects – often perceived as indebtedness. Simultaneously, the hierarchy understands the play-role game with subordinates, especially if they are fully dependent and impoverished; rarely the hierarchy suffers embarrassment as well. From a psychological point of view, the heart of the system depends on the level of loyalty expressed by the subordinate and its sense of indebtedness.

Regardless of its complexity, the *patronage system* became the foundation of political attitudes, which are expressed in several behaviors; one of them is coupled with corruption: buying and selling votes.

Such improper behavior became effective due to a strong bias – *the patronage* – in the political system. A politician is always perceived with a hierarchical position, a person with power who encourages village developments and modernization: new roads! It is an expression of progress and it represents an ideal for the population – it is something that politicians know well; it is the reason why non-Thai citizens often ask why roads are annually rebuilt even twice per year.

By receiving that notion of “ideal,” people are obliged to give their vote – with money – to the politician as a sign of gratitude. In the view of the villagers, accepting money is not perceived as a corruption, at least *in-between*, but perceived as a normal compensation; it is where complexity and ambiguity are at their highest peak through a win-win corrupt situation (Stachowicz-Stanusch, 2010, p. 263) where the final excuse or argument is “The system made me do it” (Karklins, 2005).

The final political factor is that Thailand has always been a Buddhist society.

Consequently, political power had two kinds of power: 1) secular power 2) religious power. Such powers are like two sides of the same coin. That is to say, people who were in the secular arena of power, such as ruling power, usually came along with the religious power and *vice versa*.

It has to be highlighted that the religious power had also the power to guide the society at the same time generating controversy:

On one side, people expect that the politicians who hold the power recognize the Dharma of Buddhism and lead the country under its moral guidance, while the other side of the coin says that they should be completely separated – because they cannot go together, as a form of secularism (Heng, 2010, p. 102)

As a summary, Thai politics is incredibly complex and might not be well understood from an external point of view. Thai politics have to integrate different factors such as the following:

- 1) The (constitutional) monarchy.
- 2) Social middle-class; essentially composed of middle and low-ranked state employees, lawyers, etc. who control the main parts of the government and the main companies in strategic sectors i.e. media.



- 3) Low income social class; essentially composed by farmers (and poor Thai citizens); farmers constitute the Red Shirt political party today.
- 4) The Buddhism religion and its principles which affect daily political decisions.
- 5) Thaification; including contradictory beliefs (with schizophrenia) and conflicting behaviors (corruption, recurrent *coup d'état*).

## 2.8 CONCEPT OF PUBLIC SPACE IN THE THAI SOCIETY

The use of public spaces by Thai communities has evolved to a logical congruence between the notions of actual and abstract spaces which in terms of “*abstract public space design may enable new perspectives to be opened up in our times to reinforce the public dimension of the contemporary city*” (Cicalo, 2013, p. 219), mainly due to either permanent or marginal interactions between individuals. Contrary with countries in a cold climate, Thai citizens are willing to spend time a lot of time outside, in public spaces depending on their activities: streets, public parks, monasteries, etc.

According to the Thai legislation, except on a private island, a forest or a lake are considered as public and represent a natural places and resources for populations who are living nearby. Obviously, those natural resources require adequate management from the government to ensure they are shared equally. Traditionally, there is always a plaza – with different sizes/dimensions – located in a temple, agreed as a public space, where spiritual and entertain activities are performed; admittedly this particular form of personal appropriation of a plaza, as a public space, is slowly but surely stacked through these social activities. For a temple, the management of the public space is pretty simple: the Abbot in charge of the temple manages the plaza in accordance with the Buddhist calendar and in conjunction with the headman of the village for any non-religious social activities.

Today the behaviors of the Thai society sadly highlight preferred public spaces are shopping malls (Waites, 2014) instead of temples due to the lack or adjustment of policy coordination, especially noticed in the present research, when congruence exists by 1) the creation of an antagonism between individual desires: consumerism vs. spiritualism and 2) a decadent urban planning by its juxtaposition in the same block of the shopping malls and the temple where finally new temples are nowadays shopping mall (O’Grady, May, & Schüttke-Scherle, 2007).

Above and beyond, the ownership – the landlord – of a public space and its management are not really questioned by Thai citizens and it is generally accepted that public spaces have to be managed by government offices.

Additional vagueness emerged amid the population. Indeed, a public space is seen by many Thais as a no-man’s land without any controls and not supported by laws.



Figure 20 – Public space in a Wat and social activities

Ambiguities result in local residents not understanding the differences between public and private spaces. The root cause might be the definitions of terms themselves: before the term of public or สาธารณะ (*Satarana*) was used in a formalized way, the Thai word used for ‘public’ was หลวง (*Luang*) which literally means *belonging to the king*. According to the Thai culture, Thai people believe areas not owned by the king or the government are public spaces, such as forests, natural pools or canals; generally believed by the population those public spaces are controlled by spirits – strong beliefs.

In addition to the existing confusion, some public buildings and government areas have signs displaying messages “Government Area/Do not enter” or “Government Areas/Please dress appropriately”; As many countries in the world, policies exist to rule *intermediate spaces*, forcing the population to comply with laws.

By studying the research site and the aforementioned statements, plazas in a temple are considered as public spaces, monks living in Wat Pathumwanaram corroborate<sup>12</sup> with the literature review and confirm the concept that a temple is a public space. One explanation can

---

<sup>12</sup> Interview – August, 2018.

be given because the research site has a public school, attracting parents, students and bonding social endeavors.

Today, some public activities in the Wat have faded away: many public activities have moved away from the Wat to shopping malls: 1) temporary market 2) entertainment activity (cinema).



**Figure 21 - Cinema activity moved from a public space to a private space**

However, through the lens of available definitions of public spaces from developed countries, it has to be concluded Thai people have limited knowledge about the concept of what is really a public space. This form of ignorance is understandable for non-well educated citizens who do not perceive the complexity of offered rights inherent in a modern legislature, but less understandable for well-educated Thais who are not able to map out their relationships with their physical surroundings.

When considering the root concept about public space from a western perspective or other developed countries, there are three key different conceptions of public space that correspond to three main currents of western political thought. The first conception is from Hannah Arendt who views public space as common to the “republican virtue” or “civic virtue. The second is provided by liberals who beginning with Kant look public space of a “just and stable public order”. The final conception of public space was that of Jürgen Habermas' work where it was imagined as “discursive public space.” (Benhabib, 1992, p. 89)

Furthermore, existing definitions of public spaces are proposed by Ali Madanipour who understands the impact between the presence of humans and their interpersonal relations/interactions (Madanipour, 2003, p. 110). Additionally, public spaces in cities have been places outside the boundaries of individuals or small groups' control, mediating between

private spaces that are used for a variety of often overlapping functional and symbolic purposes. Urban, open public spaces, therefore, have usually been multi-purpose spaces distinguishable from, and mediating between, the demarcated territories of households and individuals (Madanipour, 2003, p. 112-113). Moreover, public space defined as the co-visibility of individuals belonging to different groups is, evidently, one aspect of a public space only. An important function of co-visibility is to enable serial collectives to gather, and to set an arena for the negotiation of what goes in and what goes out (P. D. M. Kärrholm, 2013, p. 126).

According to Boja's approach, public space is one possible response to the difficult and novel challenge of articulating the neighborhoods (or more or less homogeneous urban settings), the city-agglomeration and the metropolitan region. The continuity of great axes of public space is one condition for visibility and accessibility for each of the urban fragments, and an essential element in civic integration. In brief, what is required of public space is nothing more or less than contributing towards giving sense to our urban life (Borja, 1998).

Thai concepts and definitions of public space are not identical with international concepts or definitions which might not be fully qualified and applied within Thailand. Traditionally, the Thai concept of a public space is that any public space has its restrictions and rules because someone has a full control of it; it is different from few international concepts where public spaces have been either an expression of powers or politically controlled i.e. Latin America (Irazabal, 2008) or where public spaces are used for different purposes i.e. animal fights or public execution (Afary & Anderson, 2010, p. 42). From European history and perspectives, medieval monarchies used public spaces where political power was staged, displayed, and legitimized (Henaff & Strong, 2001). In specific countries with either *pseudo* democracy or totalitarian regimes, public spaces are often used for military parades – a raw display of power to impress citizens as well as enemies (Hou & Hou, 2010; Podeh, 2011). In so-called *modern* democracies, the power has shifted to people giving them the legitimated right – upon approval from local authorities – to use public spaces for protests and demonstrations.

Modern Asian cities are fully controlled by the states (Lim, 2013; Limin, Liang, & Kiang, 2010); for Bangkok, it gives a contrasting situation between a vibrant shopping life and fully controlled public spaces, as witnessed in the research site.

With the execution of a few countries worldwide, which applied strict laws in public spaces, behaviors play important factors: Thais, as well as citizens from many countries, consider a public space belongs to the state, show a lack of responsibilities and do not have any qualms about littering garbage in the streets. Often mass media influence the perception of public spaces by slightly changing those behaviors i.e. TV series, the Internet.

The research site is a significant location in Bangkok where both old and new diverse activities, architecture, and public spaces were allowed to be juxtaposed as a paramount goal. Luckily, Thai traditions also set the norms to protect traditional buildings: the temples, the Pathumwan Palace, the Old Pagoda, are classified as first priority monuments. An invisible traditional belief still exists by considering skyscrapers taller than religious or royal buildings unpleasant and often stigmatized by people in charge of the Thai cultural heritage; tallest buildings do not pay respect to Thai traditions. Evidence is given at the research site where a modern high-rise building was built over the Wat and the Palace.



**Figure 22 – Thai heritage conflictual case – Research site.**

The opinion above suggests that the actual definition of a public space is biased by a lack of understanding of public life; educational system still instructing Thai people about history, cultural norms, and democracy but avoiding critical thinking, to challenge ideas or the authority (Tepwongsirirat, 2005, p. 140).

The lack of critical thinking and knowledge has severely impacted Thaification as a whole resulting in Thai minds becoming trapped in closed labyrinth rather than awakening

them to gently organize their surroundings. It can be anticipated that creating *a real* public space for Thai people by the Thai Government is not an easy task, including bitter negotiations and compromises because public spaces are controlled by, and for the benefit of, the private sector and private-owned businesses – i.e. shopping malls, popular as the spaces where Thai people spend their free time.

A correct definition of a modern public space in Thai society might be to “allow people to mutually share and plan social rules.”

By postponing the creation of public space in the Thai society, and the creation of an un-breathing atmosphere linked with those difficulties, reconciliation amongst Thais will be jeopardized.

A public space is a kind of social accumulation in accordance with Norberg Schulz’s model of *man-made place*: “*the man-made environment where he lives is not a mere practical tool or the result of arbitrary happenings, it has structure and embodies meanings*” (Norberg-Schulz, 1980a, p. 50). Following that model, a place is created by people within a society who collect and accumulate their spirit of a place and by reproducing people’s understanding of their existing environments.

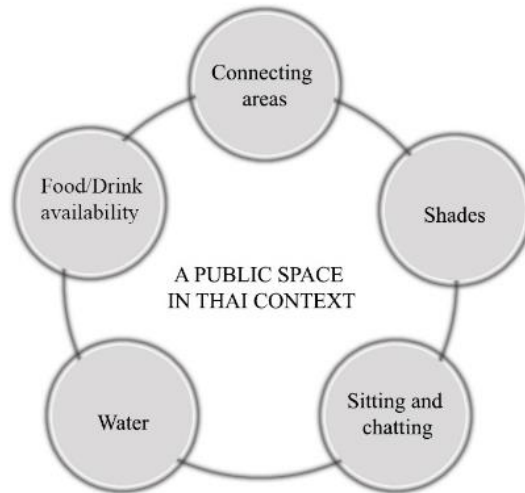
In addition, the concept of Thai public spaces was given<sup>13</sup> by Assistant Professor Kwansuang Atipoti from the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Chulalongkorn University. Such concept is referenced by many Thai scholars that:

1. A small space which is sophisticated and fluid but can link to other public spaces.
2. Providing a seating area where people can sit and chat (in a circle).
3. Shade
4. Food and drink availability.
5. Riverside or nearby a pond because water is one of significant elements

This allows for the creation of the following *wheel of success* including the golden criteria:

---

<sup>13</sup> Interview, September, 2011



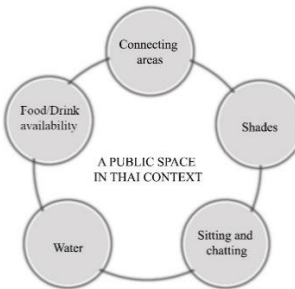
**Figure 23 - Thai public space – Golden criteria**

By considering the criteria above, it is possible to collect evidences from a public space at the research site: the small lane belonging to the temple is used to walk from Rama I road to the community behind the temple (Wat), and the Wat Pathumwanaram School.

An open public space between Siam Paragon and the Wat Pathumwanaram School



A tiny grocery on the way



A small lane (Soi) Walking from Rama Road I to the community behind the Wat.



The shade from the trees and the pond inside the Wat

**Figure 24 - A scenario of Thai sense of public space on the research site**

To conclude the literature review chapter, there are obvious differences on how urbanizations have been created worldwide, via European influences and obvious impacts resulting in the merger of basic foreign and traditional Thai architecture. The root cause is found with Thai origins and agriculture. Cities were developed through an agricultural logic! Forests were transformed into rice fields, rice fields became villages, and clusters of villages erected cities.

The growth of Thailand is seen as the growth of Bangkok, almost 30 times larger than the country's second largest city. Bangkok grew too fast and its urbanization is uneven and disparities exist amid all the noise, confusion, and traffic congestion.

The lack of urban planning is the direct consequence of the small amount of public spaces available in the city of Bangkok, according to realities that the traditional Thai way of life and Thaification were eroded by the current globalization, and finally pushed Bangkok citizens to be effectively globalized-standardized-labelled as any Capital City people or customers in the world; such way of life has rearranged the Thai culture by producing and using public spaces in the city (*Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 2006, p. 82-83).

Thai urbanism was mainly and arbitrarily produced by unstructured and informal needs based on economic interests while urbanisms in developed countries were created through various approaches: critical thinking, methods, efficient planning, and effective implementation of urbanization social interventions and experiments/ strategies.

Those differentiations were highlighted by the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements, its report *Regional Development Planning and Management of Urbanization: Experiences from Developing Countries*, and its analysis about the urbanization in Thailand: "...Thailand is vastly different compared to several other developed countries" (*Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 2006, p. 90). Differentiations of the country and capital city like Bangkok, are collected and accumulated by its background which was described in this chapter.



## CHAPTER III - EMPIRICAL STUDY

### 3.1. BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH SITE

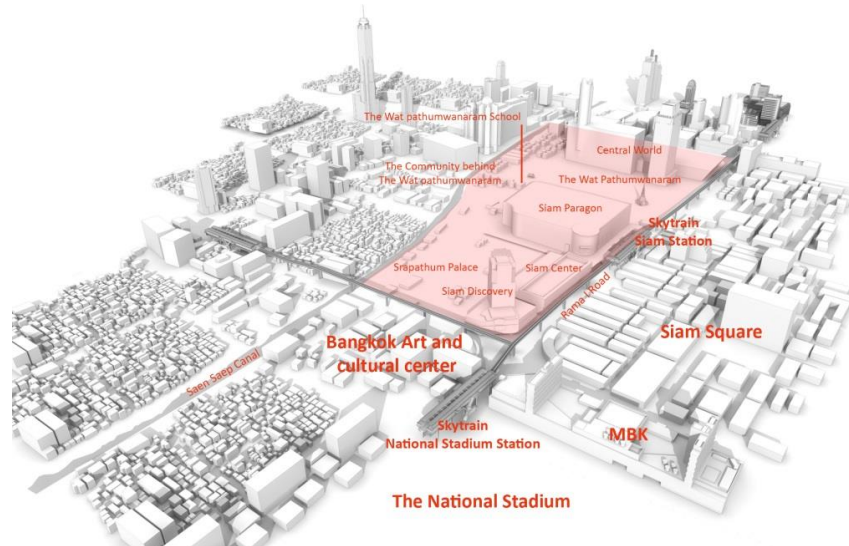


Figure 25 - The research site on the north of Rama I Road

This chapter aims to analyze conditions and criteria that created “*in between spaces*” and examines associated antagonisms of those spaces at the research site, located in the North of Rama I Road, Siam Area in the Pathum Wan district, Bangkok, Thailand.

Local Thai people call the area "Siam" (Thai: สยาม, RTGS: *Sayam*). As stated in the preceding chapters, the name is a reference of the former name of the nation, Siam, but from 1939 known as the Kingdom of ‘Thailand’. Today it is a popular shopping district for urban activities and serves as an important business center; additionally, it was the original site for important Royal events.

The research site is opposite Siam Square which is also popular as the center of the fashion industry and the associated modern lifestyle activities. Due to the diverse selection and the various possibilities, people are continuously attracted and the number of visitors increases year-by-year.

Because the research site is located in a popular area, it is important to first gain an overall view of the history of that area, in order to understand the research site, both in terms of territory and activities which are closely related.

Dating back 150 years ago, the Siam area was developed during the fourth reign (1851–1868) of the present Thai dynasty, when King Mongkut (Rama IV) ordered the construction of a small palace as a present for Queen Thepsirin in 1857. The palace for the Queen was built in the area and named "Pathumwan Palace" which means "Lotus Palace." Later the land and the properties were inherited by Prince Mahidol of Songkhla, father of King Rama IX, who had built the pond – translated as *Sra* in Thai – in the palace (SraPadumaPalace, 2012). After the pond was built, the name of the palace was renamed from *Pathumwan* Palace to *Sra Pathum Palace*. That palace is located in the North of the Rama I Road and is part of the research site.

From a contemporary point of view, the Siam Area is a different place recognized for having several large international shopping malls located on vast lands: roughly 170,000 m<sup>2</sup> of Thai Royal Family estate, 110,000 m<sup>2</sup> are leased on both side of the Rama I Road where Siam Discovery, Siam Center, Siam Paragon and Central World are located.

The Siam area sprawls into neighboring shopping areas such as the Ratchaprasong Road (Thai: ราชประสงค์, Thanon Ratchaprasong) and MBK shopping mall on Phaya Thai Road (Thai: ถนนพญาไท, Thanon Phaya Thai) with the creation of a number of footbridges.



Figure 26 - Bridges connecting the Rama I Road with Siam neighbourhoods.

Legally, only one district can be named Siam. The name has a resonance in Thai history which suggests that area is the heart of Thailand from economic perspectives. Even though many properties in Siam Area, as well as the Pathum Wan District, are held by the Thai Royal Family and leased for investing businesses by the Crown Property Bureau, there are current

plans that some lands of the Siam Area will be donated by the Royal Family to the public to be transformed into public parks; one donation covers the land of the community behind the Wat Phatumwanaram is a Third Class Royal temple at the research site. The park will be established beside Pathumwanaram Temple and between Central World shopping plaza and Siam Paragon shopping center (Annual Report: THE CROWN PROPERTY BUREAU, 2011: 62-65). The visible effect is the current community will unavoidably be forced to leave and will be moved elsewhere. However, after 8 years the project is still at the design stage.

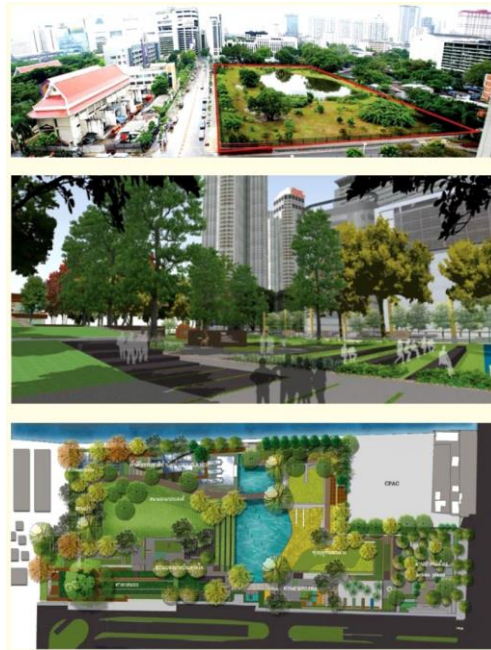


Figure 27 - The future public park (opposite to the Wat Pathumwanaram) with associated layouts

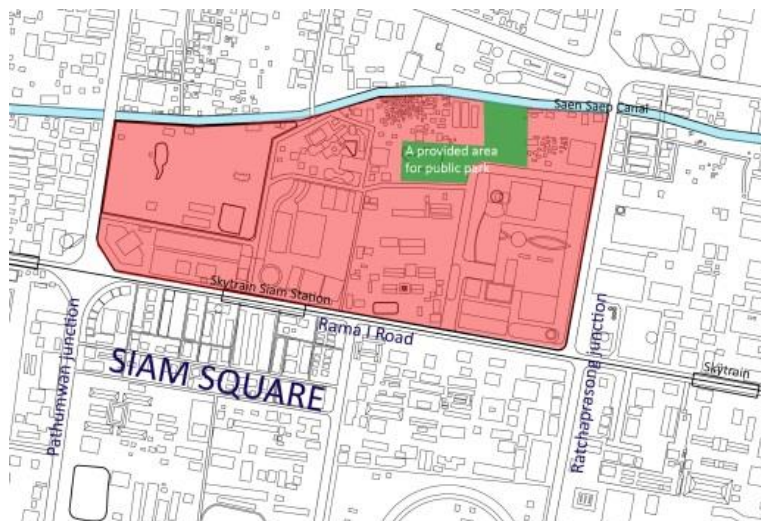


Figure 28 – 2D view *post* project after the resettlement of the community

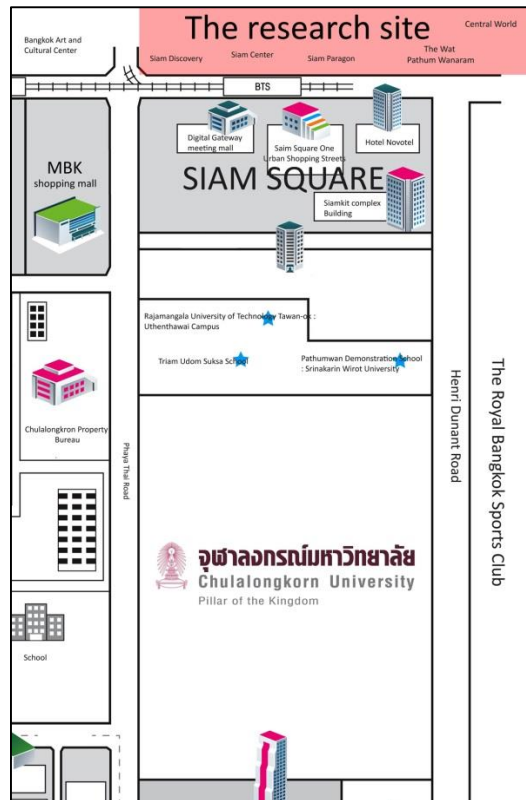
Either state departments or public and private companies in the area often used – and are still using – the word “Siam” to name their legal entities. It began with the Siam Intercontinental Hotel in 1964, the Siam Square in 1965, the Siam Theatre in 1967, the Siam Bowl, the Siam Center in 1973, the Siam Discovery in 1997, and finally the Siam Station in 1999 (the main public transportation BTS Skytrain station). The Siam Intercontinental Hotel did not resist amid the business pressure and was demolished accordingly to be replaced by a luxury shopping mall named Siam Paragon in 2005; at least the word “Siam” survived.

Not all land in area, together with a few shopping malls in the district, belongs to the Crown Property Bureau. A clear example is the Siam Square and MBK shopping center which are owned by the Chulalongkorn University on behalf of the Chula Property Bureau; the university is currently leasing lands to private companies to receive income.



Figure 29 - MBK shopping center next to Siam neighborhoods

Chulalongkorn University is not far from the Siam area and the research site; it is interesting to position its buildings on the following map:



**Figure 30 - Area of Chulalongkorn University**

The imbrications between the university and the royal family are not new as they have had a close history since the university was founded. As a brief summary, the Chulalongkorn University was the first recognized Thai institution of higher education. However, it took decades to become the Chulalongkorn University as we know today. It officially began with H.M. the King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) who had a royal policy to strengthen and improve the skills of the nation and then to successfully resist the tide of colonialism in Asia during that time. One of the major parts of this policy, which would later prove to be deep-rooted and highly effective, was to improve the Siamese educational system to release skilled staff to efficiently work either in the public or private sectors. The outcome of this policy was a school founded in 1871.

Followed by the first school, on March 26<sup>th</sup> 1917, during the reign of H.M. the King Vajiravudh (Rama VI), his H.M. transformed the school to become the Chulalongkorn University, named in honor of his father H.M. the King Chulalongkorn (Rama V). He also gave a large plot of land, adjacent to the palace in the Patumwan district, measuring about 523 acres, for its present and future expansion.

H.M. the King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) granted the land to the university mainly for two purposes:

- To build the educational buildings

- To get income (leases) from additional lands to fund the University related learning activities; H.M. the King did not want the university to solely rely on the annual government budget. In conclusion, the prediction of H.M. the King was correct because today the Siam area is a successful golden-nugget for both: the Chulalongkorn University and current businesses (real-estate valuation, localization, and branding (Chula Property Bureau, 2012).



**Figure 31 - Shopping streets at Siam Square**

Siam Square, on the opposite side of the research site, is the significant and famous part of the Siam Area. It is the oldest shopping street with an open market linked with a shopping center in Bangkok; it shows the development in terms of economic, social, and cultural movements. Construction began around 1964 and the Square was originally named Pathumwan; the origin of the name came from the district Pathum Wan, exactly where it is located. At that time, the project owner considered the name was not powerful enough for the most important shopping project in Thailand due to its insignificant recognition.

Most people who visit the Siam Square are students who are studying in the neighborhood; it is also known students in that area are wealthier than the average Thai students. Customers vary from school pupils and college students to office workers and foreign tourists because the Square is surrounded by a lot of office buildings connected by public

transportation to the Silom business district, the Ratchaprasong shopping district, the Platinum Fashion Mall, and the MBK shopping mall. Moreover, it is also linked to the National Stadium and Bangkok Art & Cultural Center which are providing additional selection of activities.

From a business perspective, Siam Square offers various products and services; companies often check the popularity of their brands and often launch and promote new products to increase their market shares. Particularly, the targeted customer groups are urban or young people from the middle-upper classes who have higher purchasing power. Consequently, Siam Square is highly competitive for products and services i.e. intensive marketing activities. It is agreed by marketers that the reactions from surveyed customers in this area give accurate predictions of whether a product will be successful or not.

The success of the Siam Square is essentially based on its capacity to attract investors who have the capabilities to enhance the modern lifestyle in the Siam Area and generally in Bangkok. Consequently, land has been constantly developed over recent decades. All of these factors support and promote the economic growth in the Siam Area. Logically, the Siam Square became an important social place where modern lifestyles and trends are created by the urban youths such as the fashion industry, food selection, social interactions and entertainment etc.

Both foreigners and local citizens consider the Siam Area as the most famous shopping and economic area in Thailand (Siam Square, 2012), with many famous shopping malls and their associated globalized brands.

Despite the area being not so different from others international cities, another market but same brands, it is not completely the same due to its specific ‘placeness and people’, according with an interesting concept quoted and clearly described by Norberg Schulz:

*“Similar functions, even the most basic ones such as sleeping, eating, take place in different ways, and demand places with different properties, in accordance with different cultural traditions and different environmental conditions. The functional approach therefore left out the place as a concrete here having its particular identity”.*

(Norberg-Schulz, 1980b, p. 7)

The Siam Area, including the research site, does comply with Schulz’s concept of the identity of a place.

Regarding the concept above, different criteria affect the development of places with the same similarities – but it cannot be said that “everything” is absolutely the same. Combined criteria include languages, dialects, religions, cuisines, attitudes and clothes. A strong example of a biased similarity can be given by the way people are dressing themselves: in a hot climate, people wear different attires based on their social roots, beliefs, personal experiences, and finally the culture – the final criterion is the so-called *Thaification* for Thais.

### 3.2 PEOPLE FLOWS

The changing urban landscape in Bangkok began in the reign of King Mongkut (1851-68); road construction stimulated a number of key changes in the urban system including commoditization of land, and initiated the trend towards a land-based city. The traditional canal and river-based transport infrastructure of Bangkok supported the commercial expansion, served as a link between provinces and the capital city as well as various districts of the city. This ecosystem dominated the daily lives of Bangkokians during the twentieth century and clearly formed a grid which determined much of the city’s modern road layouts today (Askew, 2004b, p. 30).

Sadly, Bangkok is one of the most notorious cities in the world for severe traffic congestion, especially the Siam Area, where the research site is located. Travelling in this area is very difficult and it is getting worse day-by-day. The traffic congestion can be explained from flows and routes taken by motorized vehicles:



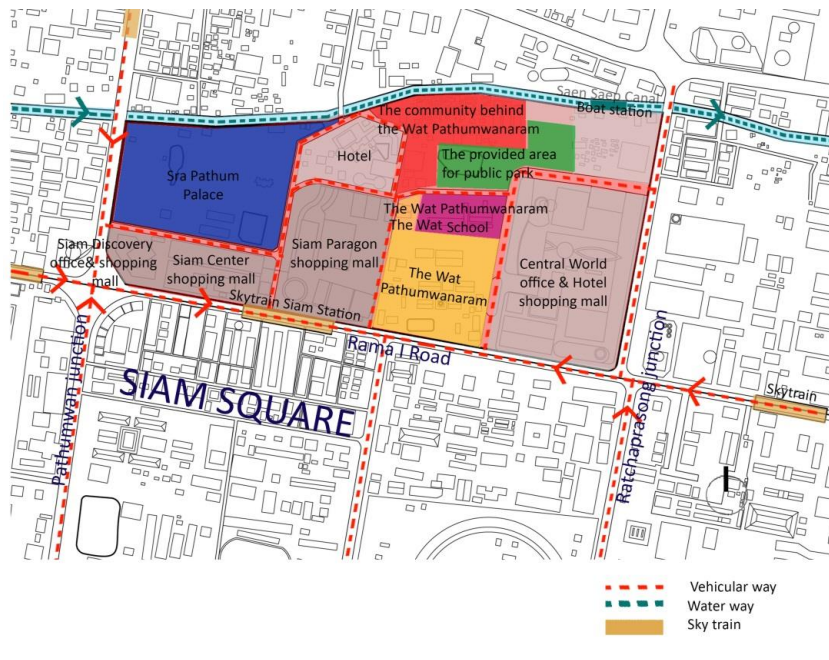


Figure 32 - Circulation (motorized vehicles) around the research site

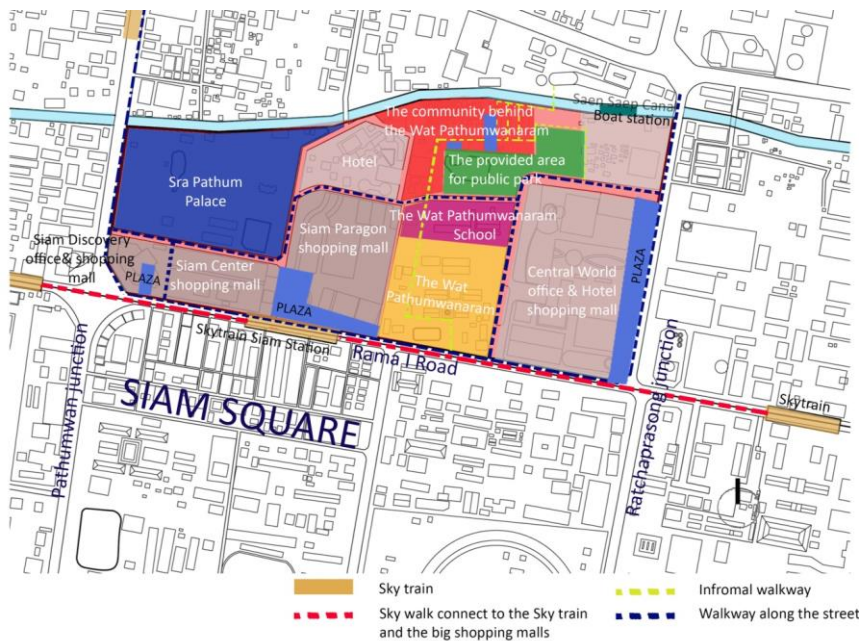


Figure 33 - Walkways around the research site

One example of the populist policies conducted by the government which clearly only demonstrates the economic goal is the introduction of the *Tax reduction for the first car*. The policy expresses a short-term political expectation but in reality directly and negatively impacts the traffic in Bangkok. Before the introduction of this policy, few critics gave different hypothesis indicating that the policy could double the number of new cars on roads from 20'000 to 40'000 cars per month.

Unfortunately, the capacity of the roads to absorb such doubled traffic is limited and cannot be extended without physical adjustments. This policy aggravated the crisis in place from traffic and financial perspectives. One tax management policy failure is what happened six years ago when 10 billion dollars was used to subsidize first cars, despite investing in public transportation by increasing the number of existing routes.



Figure 34 – Snapshot of motorized people flows at the research site

Public transportation capability is especially important in the business neighborhood within the Siam Area where various groups of people come to participate for different *business* activities. Consequently, it has become one of the areas where the traffic is the worst in Bangkok.



Figure 35 – Snapshot of pedestrians at the research site

Based on different marketing flyers, it is confirmed there are at least 13,000 parking spaces at the research site divided into: 1) Siam car park – 2,000 spaces, 2) Siam Discover-

Center-Paragon – 4,000 spaces and 3) Central World – 7,000 spaces. The increasing number of parking spaces on the research site and the construction of new places in the Siam Square give a paradoxical situation: there are a lot of parking spaces available but cars cannot easily park due to the traffic.

Another paradoxical situation to manage the people flow is the amount of public transportation available in the area: the BTS Skytrain (an overhead railway) provides interconnected routes to different destinations; the most important is the Siam Station (Thai: สถานีสยาม) which is the main hub to different cross-platforms with 40,000/50,000 passengers per day<sup>14</sup>.

Because Siam Area is the main economic area, it represents the junction of both modern life styles and mass transit interconnected systems.

Amid private and public transportations many walking routes called ‘Sky walk’ or elevated walkways were built from the Siam Station to the shopping malls. Their purpose is, again, to provide easy access in the area; it is considered to be the longest walk way in the country<sup>15</sup> and there is no equivalent elsewhere in Thailand. The efficiency of walkways has not to be proofed against traditional pavements – users are protected (rain, sun, shade). However, resistance from pavements is visible in the front of the Wat, in particular by street vendors and small groups of people who take public buses. Implicitly, and ironically, both walkways are presenting current social classes in Thai society: poor people take the cheaper buses whereas wealthier people can afford Sky train tickets.



Figure 36 - The pavement in front of the Wat along with the ‘Sky walk’

---

<sup>14</sup> Siam BTS Station, 2017

<sup>15</sup> Siam BTS Station, 2017

From that social class difference, it is worthwhile to consider the following quote from Jane Jacobs:

*“...a growing number of planners and designers have come to believe that if they can only solve the problems of traffic, they will thereby have solved the major problem of cities. Cities have much more intricate economic and social concerns than automobile traffic. How can you know what to try with traffic until you know how the city itself works, and what else it needs to do with its streets?..”*

(Jacobs, 1989, p. 7).



**Figure 37 - The Skywalk from the Siam Station connects the Siam Paragon shopping mall on the right hand side**



**Figure 38 – Skywalk between places at the research site**

Jacobs’ statement reflects the complicated relationship between the urbanization and its effect on people in every modern city although she wrote it decades ago; obviously, it is not a problem only reserved to Bangkok.

The same problem can be underlined elsewhere and for all problems where political decisions about urban planning are crucial to sustain an urban coherence in the city. Politics seem to be an efficient powerful tool to negotiate and make compromises for the conservation of benefits among people who are concerned with spaces, according to the interesting concept

developed by Foucault about power. Indeed, he demonstrated that if power is to function as a mode of coercion and constraint, it can be done only through the establishment of micro-linkages, capillary relations that are primarily productive, enabling, and positive. Power, in short, is the force directed to securing a future in the face of its inherent openness (E. Grosz & Eisenman, 2001b, p. 101).

Because citizens are using their neighborhood and are exploiting the research site for different purposes, they get more or less benefit depending on the negotiating power is their hands. In the case of the Siam Area, business is business, it has never stopped to promote and attract people by cars and ‘Skytrain’. Consequently, the traffic jam is recurrent and seems unsolvable today without real intervention from political or consumption power/motive.

Transportation problems in the neighborhood and the research site are also indicative of “a kind of” power, especially with the power of the economy to control and to manage the places starting from the parking spaces, the Skytrain, the Skywalk; all of them are tangible results from business pressures, or from the economic power. Unfortunately, it is just only one dimension and avoids social dimensions: the constructions of the BTS Skytrain and the skywalk have resulted in an unsightly view in the neighborhood but residents don’t want to generate any conflicts, or risk losing related benefits.



Figure 39 – The overall view of the territory of Pathum Wan district, Bangkok, Thailand

The heart of the district lies at this area because it is the shopping district and the center of the fashion world in Bangkok, Thailand.

The research site contains the following key places:

- The Sra Pathum Palace

- The Wat Pathumwaram (monastery)
- The community behind the Wat Pathumwaram
- The Wat Pathumwanaram School,
- Four shopping malls – Siam discovery, Siam center, Siam Paragon and the Central World, a hotel and an office tower.

The research site can be considered as a formal representation of extreme developed neighborhoods. The result of such development is an action that is called ‘developing’: it demonstrates transformation from the old situation to a new situation. All throughout the time of any development of an event/situation, it is constantly changing. Therefore, when considering such situation, researchers in urban planning have to think about the existing environment or the existing context which is related to the subject of such development. That environmental context is linked to Norberg Schulz’s statement that:

*“The structure of place becomes manifest as environmental totalities which comprise the aspects of character and space. Such places are known as ‘countries’ ‘regions’ ‘landscapes’, ‘settlements’ and ‘buildings’”.*

(Norberg-Schulz, 1980b, p. 15)

As seen below:

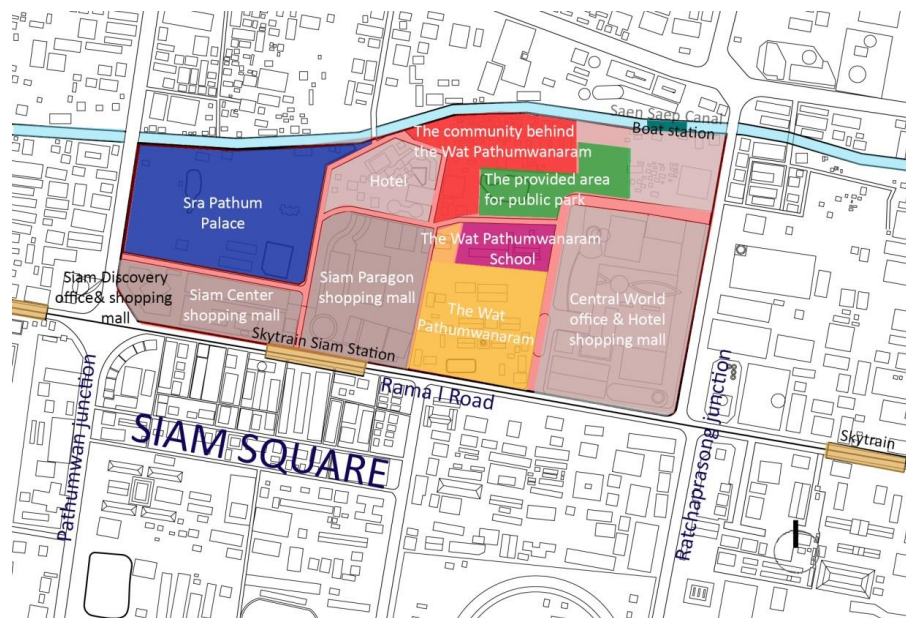


Figure 40 - The area of the research site on Rama I Road

Norberg Schulz's statement implies that a place or a neighborhood is manifesting its identity in different places and officially exists for people who understand the content. For any development, it is important to consider that notion during the decision making process, not in that specific research site, but for all places.

The understanding of the structure in neighborhoods is important to acquire additional knowledge about the research site; avoiding that task could lead to gaps, ignoring vital elements, and to miss relevant criterion/criteria in the present research and avoiding questions can lead to arbitrary development.

Describing the situation in such way indicates that each action will have a defined meaning when it is coded by a determination or a series of determinations. A meaning is related between one thing and others in a context; in other words, it is a system of relationships rather than a simple root cause or side effect relationships.

By considering that relationship criterion and because the research site is well-known and popular, occurrences are not often natural but are accumulated in many ways within the research site. Possibly, relationships occurrences between various "elements" might be demonstrated with their relevant relations that produce the in-between space on the research site. These "elements" are: *the atmosphere, attractive place and architecture* in terms of placeness, *the economic domain*, and *diverse groups of people*.

### 3.3 KEY PLACES

The atmosphere is one of the significant elements in constructing perception of the identity of the research site, including its history, people, and styles of architecture both in tradition and modernity, which has created the research site's atmosphere. Each place has diverse dimensions to create *placeness*, slightly identical to what Marc Augé says about a place:

*"These places have at least three characteristics in common. They want to be- people want them to be places of identity, of relations and of history."*

(Augé, 1995b, p. 52)

According Augé's concept about a place, that *placeness* emerges due to the atmosphere of the research site. However, it is not easy to either categorize or classify with three common

characteristics only, because complex thin and thick layers of uncommon characteristic influence neighborhood too. In some aspects, the places of the research site are expressing which are acknowledged by architecture and public spaces in various aspects.

In the past, there were significant urban elements in conformity with a plan known in the Thai language as Bann: บ้าน (Village), Wat: วัด (Monastery), and Wang: วัง (Palace); agreed in the preceding chapter these urban elements are expressing a hierarchical system between lower to upper level incomes in the Thai society. That urban system was the old traditional organization of a Thai community in the past even if a palace was not located in every village; normally a palace was constructed for a specific purpose and location as at the research site.

According to the concept of the traditional Thai community above, such organization is visible and can be described in the research site. Indeed, the relationships among the various elements such as the monastery, community and the palace have changed becoming deeply transformed. In that context, Leach attempts to go beyond the dialectic through its introduction:

*“Architecture is a product of a way of thinking. If the problems of architecture are to be traced to their roots, then attention needs to be focused on the thinking and considerations that inform its production”.*

(Leach, 2005, p. Introduction)

The structure of a traditional Thai community is no exception to the rule that such thinking, consideration and production can be drawn as the following:

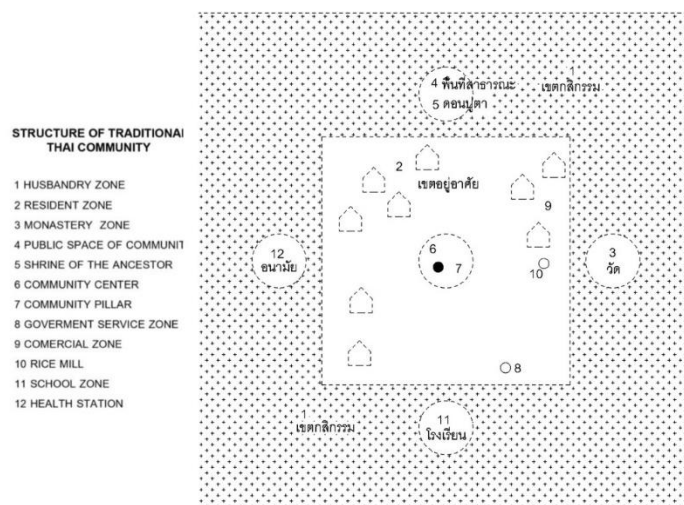


Figure 41 - Traditional Thai community



The above diagram represents a traditional structure of a Thai village over the last centuries. Nowadays, that structure and organization is still valid for some rural areas in Thailand. Based on the last decades GDPs (Gross Domestic Product) generated by Thailand<sup>16</sup>, the Thai society was focused on agriculture in the late 1970s and has changed significantly to be an industrial society to respond to industrial needs; exports have been impressively raised due to foreign capital goods investments<sup>17</sup> in industrial areas.

Undoubtedly, agriculture is still important of the local economy/exportations but initially agriculture shaped the architecture and traditions in rural areas, completely in contrast with the research site.

Although the research site has been highly developed, a paradigm is offered by the capillarity of old and new elements at the same place and the same time and by the modern lifestyle of people in the community who are living in the neighborhood, and as well as by merchants, businessmen and visitors who come back and forth.

It can be concluded that visible tensions exist between traditional and international architecture due to the incongruous combination of elements in space and time, which are socially constructed and the dominant factors to create in-between spaces in the research site.

### *3.3.1 THE SRA PATHUM PALACE*

Historically the Sra Pathum Palace (Thai: วังสระปทุม), was completed in 1916, built successively by different Kings and used by Queens. Today it is occupied by H.R.H. the Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn. From the research site, the palace is located near the Siam Square as follow:

---

<sup>16</sup> <https://tradingeconomics.com/thailand/indicators> (accessed 16<sup>th</sup> November 2018)

<sup>17</sup> Manufacturing sites, machines, and tools. (accessed 15<sup>th</sup> November 2018)

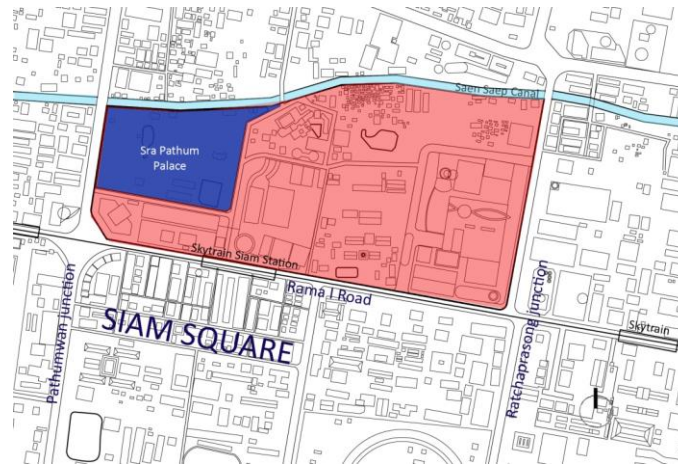


Figure 42 - The position of Sra Pathum Palace and the Royal estate

The Sra Pathum Palace consists of a 69,000m<sup>2</sup> estate located on an area of 170,000 m<sup>2</sup>, where important Thai historical events took place. Indeed, the Sra Pathum Palace, also referred to as the Lotus Pond Palace, was the place where both the grandparents and parents of the current Thai King were married. Part of the Royal Estate, up to 101,000m<sup>2</sup> has been allocated for business purposes and is muddled and combined with a hotel, a temple/monastery built 100 years ago and the community behind the temple.

### 3.3.2 THE MONASTERY: WAT PATHUMWANARAM

The Wat PathumWanaram (Thai: วัดปทุมวนาราม) is a Buddhist monastery in Bangkok, Thailand. It is categorized as a Third Class Royal temple. It is located on Rama I Road between the two shopping malls Siam Paragon and Central World, and across the street from Siam Square.

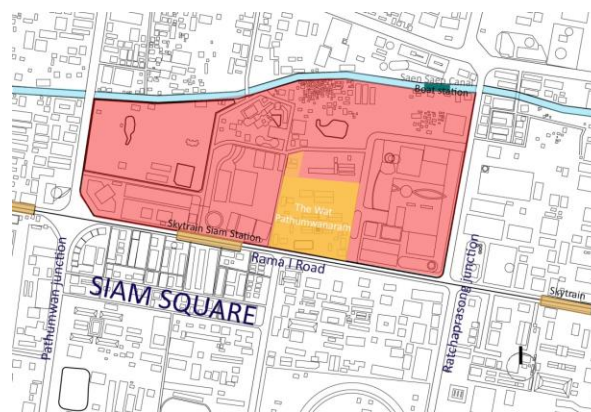


Figure 43 - The position of the Wat Pathumwanara

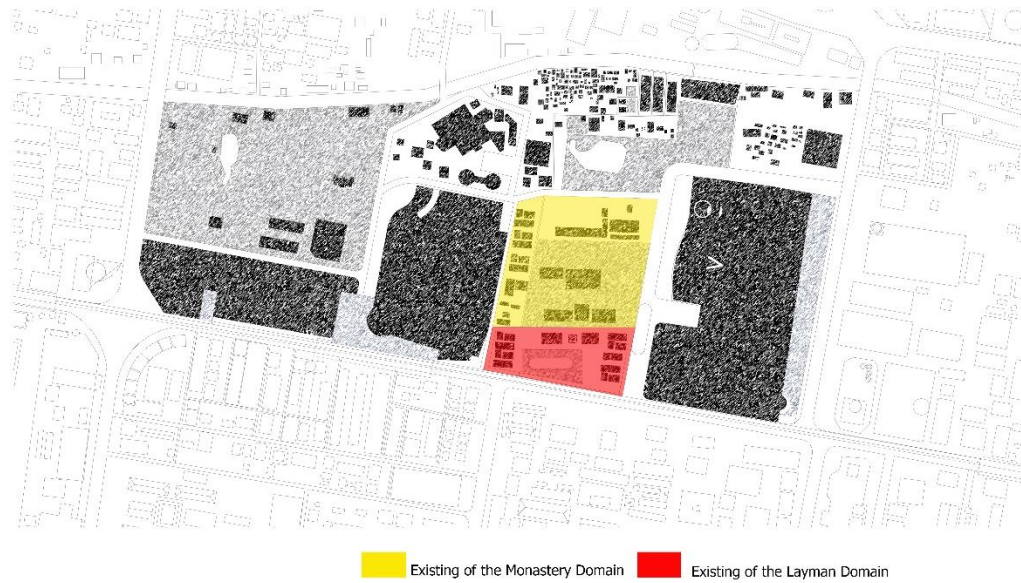


**Figure 44 - The Wat surroundings**

The Wat Pathum Wanaram was completed in 1857 by H.M. the King Mongkut (Rama IV) who decided to build a temple, as a place of worship, near *his* Sra Pathum Palace, for Thammayut monks, a reformist branch of Buddhism that he had helped to emerge. The first abbot was a Laotian from the Chamapasak region located in Laos today. At that time, most monks came from poor districts in the Northeast (Isan) of Laos controlled by the Siam Kingdom; people who were well fitted culturally with the local population. Two cherished Buddha images were finally housed at this temple, which were originally brought from Vientiane (Laos) along with the Lan Chang.

Traditionally, the used spaces of Wats are separated mainly into two domains. According to the map above, the yellow area is the monastery domain provided mainly for monks to practice the Dharma and live. Normally, religious activities take place in the domain occupied by monks and people who temporarily come to take a peaceful rest and practice the Dharma. Another domain is provided for general activities like parking space, retail, religious shops, monks offices, for example. Wat Pathumwanaram is also the same structure. The yellow space on the map is the existing domain of monastery with a peaceful atmosphere for both monks and people to practice Dharma. While the red space is located near RAMA I, it is the layman domain where people are allowed to come and rest whilst admiring images of Buddha and buildings. Moreover, the red area is multipurpose space for complex activities, such as

parking spaces for rent, retail shops, an office and a plaza for the Wat's celebrations throughout the year.



**Figure 45 - The drawing shows the position of the Wat in which is the in-between elements of the research site and context. The Wat is divided mainly into two domains; the monastery and the layman domains.**

South of the Wat is an old lotus pond which existed prior to its construction. As described in the preceding chapter, water is a key element in Thai architecture. In this context H.M. the King Mongkut, or Rama IV, tried to build two big lotus ponds in the neighborhood. The first, which no longer exists, was located to the North of the Wat and the second is the existing pond located to the South; the original purpose of the current lotus pond was to allow the public to use it as a public space for relaxing and boating activities.



**Figure 46 – Remaining lotus pond in the Wat**

There are murals depicting the life of Buddha on the walls of the Wat Pathum Wanaram's *wiharn* (the building used by the Buddhist lay community for worship). These paintings were perhaps the first ‘textbook’ known for these illiterate villagers. Monks taught moral and cultural topics by pointing arts with their fingers while telling stories and Lan Chang residents (Laos today) became gradually literates.

Later, a modest wooden school named Pariyathitham was built outside the boundary walls for novice monks to study Dharma (cosmic law and order), the doctrine of Buddhism. Through the acquired knowledge, poor residents were able to lift their spirits while toiling in rice fields later during their daily routine; at the time the area was still merely a rice field, only accessible via the Khlong Saen Saeb – a water canal.

Young children played at Wat Pathum Wanaram in the afternoon or worked as ‘dek wat (เด็กวัด)’ (temple boys) as revealed by the 65-year-old Vice abbot (interviewed, 27<sup>th</sup> January 2012). All those social interactions nurtured a sense for the community and the main outcome was a healthy environment to improve education.

### 3.3.3 *THE SLUM COMMUNITY (BEHIND THE WAT PATHUMWANARAM)*

The literal name of ‘The community behind the Wat Pathumwanaram’ (Thai: ชุมชนหลังวัดปทุมวนาราม), comes from itself, a quiet location behind the Wat. It was erected 100 years ago during the reign of the King Rama III. Formerly, there were only few families of the former Thai-Lan Chang group who were captured in the rebellion of Chao Anouvong, who was the last king of the Lao Kingdom of Vientiane (1805 - 1828), and they were settled along Klong (Thai: คลอง «canal») Saen Saeb or Sean Seap canal, which was used to irrigate crops in this area.

In the slum community, there are two words: slum and community. The origin of the community behind the Wat Pathumwanaram has been described above although communities are often generating Thai national and migrant workers.

The additional noun, slum, is dramatic from a human perspective: overcrowded, dirty, damp, swampy or unhealthy areas with potential immoral activities.

It does indicate how hard the life is for people who are living under precarious existences in that area. There are hundreds and hundreds slum communities in and around Bangkok (Johnson, 2009a, p. 29) representing millions of daily wage earners often squatting private lands (Development, 1994a, p. 26) and living on wetlands and/or railroads tracks. It has to be mentioned that the majority of slum communities in Bangkok consist of informal housing constructed over areas of constant flooding, which have no sewerage or public garbage services (Evans, 2002, p. 37). Figure 46 depicts the position of where the Wat Pathum Wanaram community is located:

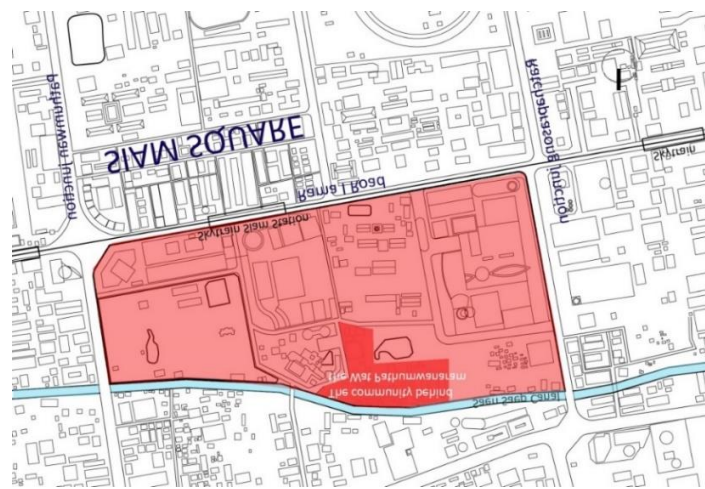


Figure 47 - The location of the community behind the Wat Pathum Wanaram

Today, the land where the community is housed belongs to The Crown Property Bureau (the Royal family). The land area is approximately 70,400 m<sup>2</sup> with 2959 residents and is officially classified as a slum by the Pathumwan District of Bangkok. The congestion and the growth of citizens have been caused by the lower classes from rural areas that moved thinking that they could achieve a better standard of living in the expanding economy. The population living in slums desire to live in the community due its close proximity to economic activities and constant demand for workers. The only reason is the possible monetary advantage. In Bangkok, the real estate rental is incredibly expensive for workers who are unable to pay expensive rent but *a contrario*, the slum, offers inexpensive housing.

Due to the reputation of the business area, land in this district is extremely expensive. A land survey value was conducted between 1985 and 2012 and discovered that one of the

most valued land is the Siam Paragon and nearby surroundings (« การเปลี่ยนแปลงราคาที่ดินและที่อยู่อาศัย พ.ศ.2528-2555 », s. d.). That survey includes the community's land which belongs to The Crown Property Bureau but today they want to rezone the area as a park project. It means that inhabitants in the community are facing evictions and various forms of pressure to move somewhere else. Business is business. Investors want the land to be used for a different purpose: a high value project instead of a slum community.

The urban development on this area is solely focusing on business and is forming city streets without – logically – considering any agricultural livelihood; layers of pavement covered so much the area that even a patch of grass became a surprising comfort.

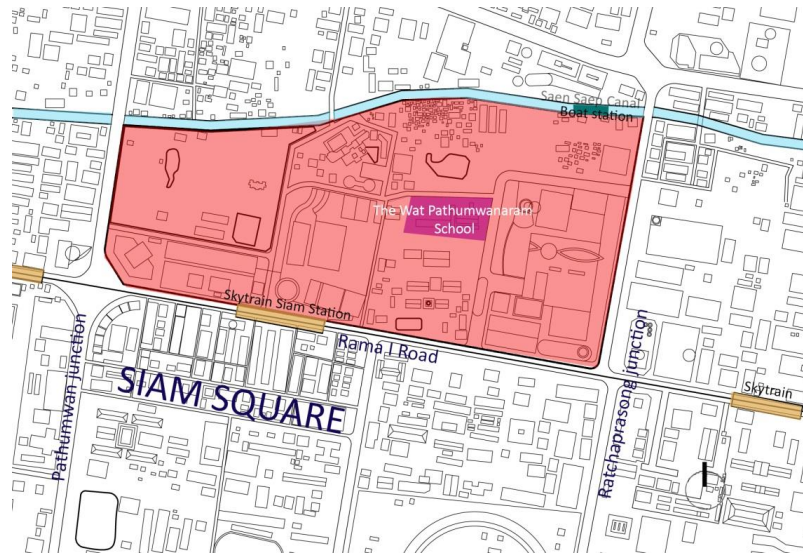
Klong Saen Saeb or the Sean Saeb canal is no longer irrigated for crops as it was done in the past. Instead, water remains and Express Boats are racing on an hourly basis, through the polluted black water, which was once a tranquil canal. A Bangkok Transport System (BTS) line is slicing the past Thai-Lan Chang community and bleeding away the last traces of its agricultural history. Additionally, amid this unfortunate luck, the community is now sandwiched between the Central World and the Paragon shopping mall.

But the poverty is hidden behind large concrete walls and premium real estate.

### 3.3.4 THE WAT PATHUMWANARAM SCHOOL

The Wat Pathumwanaram School is *a type of* elementary school under the Royal Patronage of the H.R.H. Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn and under the department of education in the Bangkok metropolitan administration (BMA).

Initially, the school was constructed in 1933 on land of the Crown Property Bureau that was once part of the Wat Pathumwanaram. The school is opposite the Thai-Lan Chang's community.



**Figure 48 - The position of the Wat Pathumwanaram School**

When the absolute monarchy was replaced by a constitutional monarchy in 1932, the monastery's abbot was granted by the government to build the first building of the Wat Pathum Wanaram School, a simple wooden structure without any walls. The enrolment at the Wat Pathum Wanaram School's was so successful that the school expanded its premises by adding a second storey to get a total of eight rooms. During that period, the rising cost of education strained the government's budget while the poverty of the community remained the same, despite greater learning opportunities.

Although the Bangkok Metropolitan Authority (BMA) supplied an annual budget to cover the school expenses, the amount was not enough to cover students' basic needs. The school did not require poor students to pay tuition but the limited funding meant that they did not have sufficient money to provide all meals. It was decided to tackle this problem by making the impoverished school a tourist attraction for visitors and clear a sign was placed in the entrance of the school announcing that children were receiving education first and meals second, therefore donations and contributions were appreciated!

While the community's poverty remained constant, Thai-Lan Chang's sense of community was rapidly changing (Johnson, 2009b, p. 29).

The skills of villagers who now live in the community have changed, as well as the education system that supplied them. The school provides for pupils aged seven to sixteen, who come from derelict homes and poor working class backgrounds. The children, whose families



no longer sufficiently grew their own food, were weakened from the lack of nutrition and many failed to attend class due to bad health. Therefore, school administrators and teachers have to take responsibility about student's diets. Such problems cannot be solved by the Governments' annual budget; however it was helped significantly with the creation of the Royal Patronage.



Figure 49 - Wat Pathumwanaram School - New school building and students

Recently, the BMA built a seven-storey cement school with 48 classrooms and demolished the old wooden schoolhouse. The students inside the school tend to be prepared for rampant globalization ahead while their parents struggled to earn adequate income. Today, the only two components holding the community together are 1) its strong connection to the Wat and 2) the presence of its school. There is also strength to be found in the Royal family. On that fateful day, when HRH Princess MahaChakri Sirindhorn went for an inquisitive walk, curiously traipsing across the property that had once been abundant with rice fields and impoverished farmers, an entire community paused and looked. HRH Maha Chakri Sirindhorn noticed a community that had been missed by the eyes of tourists. She stepped closer and listened. What she learned from these villagers was that they needed to improve their lives with a better school. On 18<sup>th</sup> June 2007, an opening ceremony was held at the new schoolhouse. The Princess oversaw its construction from beginning to end and affixed the finished building with her Royal insignia. The new school was constructed with state-of-the-art technology and two libraries. Many classrooms were equipped with computers, visual aids and furniture of top quality. English is now taught to students from Kindergarten onward. Chinese and Japanese – two languages formerly banned in Thailand's education system - will be added to the curriculum in the future.

At present there are more than 40 teachers and over 700 students. The school Director, Dr Predawan Intavimolsri, says that these students are so happy with the new school that “they

*don't rush to return home*”. The school provides free uniforms and school lunches to all students. The Wat, the school, and the Royal family are the footholds that have kept this community together despite hardships.

### 3.3.5 SHOPPING MALLS

As it is recognized, this district is the most important shopping area in Bangkok and top-ranked by the social media Facebook (« Siam Paragon tops Facebook globally - The Nation », s. d.). Large shopping malls and luxury shopping malls are located in the research site:

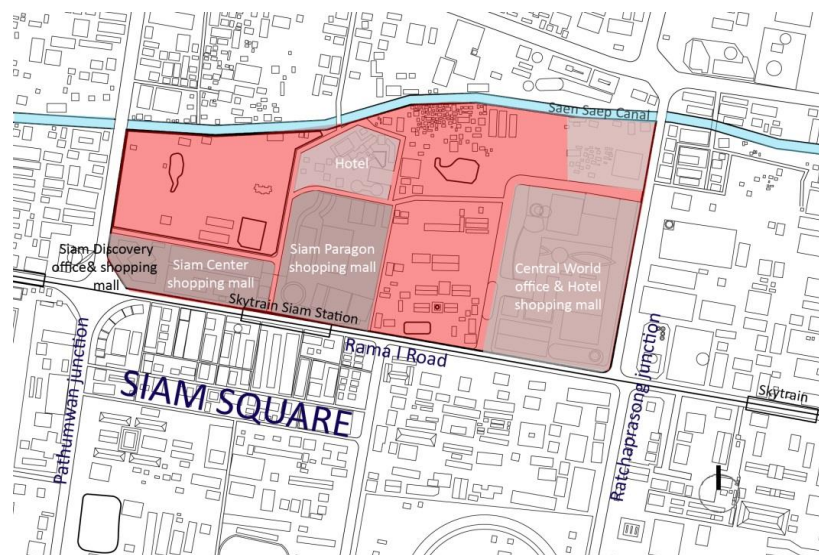


Figure 50 - The position of the Shopping malls

**Siam Centre** (Thai: สยามเซ็นเตอร์) is located on the right of Rama I road opposite from the Siam Square and next to Siam Paragon. Siam Centre was built in 1973 and was one of the first shopping malls. It has undergone renovation several times, including after a fire in 1995. In 2013, Siam Centre established the new phase re-branding itself as Siam Center ‘The Ideaopolis’. The Siam Center has famous local and international brands/stores; Siam Center is very popular among tourists as it houses many Thai brands unavailable in other countries. There are numerous premium shops with limited stock per product; it explains its success amid fashion victims. From an architecture point of view and linked with the preceding chapter regarding flows of people, the Siam Centre has bridges connecting others malls.



Figure 51 - Siam Centre (left) and the Tower of Siam Discovery (right)

*Siam Discovery* (Thai: สยามดิสคัฟเวอรี) opened in 1997. It is a 36 storey-building of 40,000 sqm<sup>2</sup>. The architectural layout consists of six floors for the shopping mall and 30 floors for business offices. It is regularly a spot for concerts and fashion showcases. However, its main attraction is probably the large gift and house decorations store inside. The mall is also connected with the skywalk, an elevated pedestrian bridge along the BTS line, which connects the center with BTS national Stadium Station and the famous MBK mall, which is one of the largest shopping malls in Bangkok.



Figure 52 - Siam Discovery in the evening surrounded by SraPathum Palace (left) and Siam Paragon/Central World (right).

*Siam Paragon* is the only upscale mall in the area. It is located on the right of Rama I road, opposite Siam Square. It is a luxurious mall mainly focused on upper class Thais and tourists with high incomes with premium international brands/stores also attracting the segment

market with high purchasing powers i.e. teenagers. Siam Paragon was built on the former location of the Siam Intercontinental Hotel, which was demolished in 2002 at the end of its lease. The site, leased for 30 years, is part of the Bureau of the Crown Property; previously the area was Royal parkland of the Srapatum Palace. From business perspectives, the Siam Paragon is a result of a joint venture by Siam Piwat, the company that owns the adjacent Siam Centre/Siam Discovery shopping malls, and The Mall Group.



Figure 53 - Siam Paragon - Entrance and in-between spaces

*Central World* (Thai: เซ็นทรัลเวิลด์) is a place including, a shopping mall, hotel and offices; it is owned by Central Pattana and considered as the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest shopping mall in the world (Pickett, Cadenasso, & McGrath, 2013, p. 248). In 2006, after three years of renovation, Central World expanded to 550,000 sqm<sup>2</sup> its shopping mall, topping its nearby rival Siam Paragon in terms of size. Unfortunately, on 19 May 2010, Central World was one of the many properties set on fire when the Red Shirts anti-government protestors were forcibly removed after months of demonstrations which included complete blockage of the Rachaprasong shopping district. On 28 September 2010, a portion of the shopping complex reopened after months of repair work.



Figure 54 - Central world shopping plaza (left) - View from Ratchaprasong Intersection (right)

### 3.4 ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

The current situation of the Siam neighborhood can be accepted as *advanced* and *developed* in the education, fashion, and technology areas. There are many factors leading to the perception that the research site and its neighborhood are a pivotal economic place where heartbeats can be heard to reveal economic conditions of the city, and even the nation.

Inflows of domestic and international capitals have set the Siam neighborhoods and the research site as a ‘cross-road junction’ of diversities in terms of products and services adapted to different segment markets. Indeed, there is an average of 20,000 people on the research site on workdays and more than 50,000 people during the weekends.

The average spending is 33 dollars or 38 euros (about 1,000 baht) per basket/person<sup>18</sup>, which represents an important amount by putting that number into the perspective of the average income across the country. Visitors are young people, office workers, and foreigners from diverse economic backgrounds, different customer behaviors and taste however they logically affect the shares of the entire market based on the simple demand and supply purchasing concept.

The business condition at the research site is highly competitive amid stores that struggle to attract and retain customers. Business owners tried to create point of sales for their respective brands, through different styles, because their customers have the same behavioral purchasing similarities: they like the same product/service even if they have to pay extra charges. The selection of products and services in the neighborhood is adapted for every social class, except the slum community.

By giving the opportunity to international and luxury brands to open their stores, the shopping malls were able to attract foreign investments and foreign customers i.e. Chinese, Japanese, Europeans, and Arabic. The result is clearly visible with every reputable or new brand worldwide from different market segments want a piece of the cake and are currently fighting to get promoted within one of the shopping malls located at Siam square.

---

<sup>18</sup> Source: Siam Square 2018

There is an interesting shift between brick-and-mortar malls/businesses in 1950 and 2016. In the 1950s shopping malls were offering their own product while current malls mainly offer rental places for incoming brands.

The economic condition is important because it influences stakeholders who live and spend most of their daily life/time in the area such as inhabitants of the community behind Wat Patumwanaram, street vendors, office workers, monks and tourists.

These diverse groups of people have produced *placeness* which coincides with the following summary of the Neumeier's concept:

*“In a consumer driven economy, branding isn't just for companies, cities, or celebrities; people in all walks of life need to use marketing strategies to get ahead in life.....Architecture, as people's most immediate environment, is a central component of self-branding, allowing individuals to explore their own identity in three dimensions and build their own customized lifestyle in a designed setting”.*

(Neumeier, 2005)

Consumption fully drives economic activities at the research site and the neighborhood through mutual and interactions. Logically, different factors reciprocally shape individual's characters/disposition and their economic environment and structure. As pointed out by Pierre Bourdieu, those characters have different forms, different relationship between their dispositions, durable habits, schemes of appreciation and action with which agents are endowed (the habitus) and the tendencies of social fields (Susen & Turner, 2013, p. 352). Because consumption plays an important role in the present society, some researchers refer to this situation as 'postmodern society' (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner, 2006). Individuals in the present time use culture as the foundation to create their identities and follow their personal choices rather than a collective consciousness. The various activities at the research site reflect how conflicting identities can be used for a dominance of the economic space by people who are seeking to capitalize/manipulate those identities.

The current highly competitive condition does not directly affect malls because their market segments are different and are not fully overlapping from the 4Ps marketing theory and

perspective: Product, Price, Place, and Promotion. Here following a representation of the market segments by malls in the research site<sup>19</sup>:

**Table 1 - Market segments comparison - Malls - Research site (except MBK)**

	Central World	Siam Discovery	Siam Paragon	Siam Centre – MBK
Customers – Thais	50%	65%	50%	80%
Customers – Foreigners	50%	25%	50%	20%
Targeted social class	Elite/Middle	Middle	Elite	Low income

Generally, the MBK center attracts Thai citizens (especially young office workers) which accounts for 80% of the customer base and the remaining 20% are non-Thais (tourists).

Their targeted groups are both Thai people and foreigners. For example, the Siam Paragon is strong brand itself. Since its opening, it became *the place to be* and *to be seen* for Thai upper classes, tourists, and locals who come to be part of the “spectacle”; it remains the most popular shopping mall for the small number of Thai elite – and the huge number of elite candidates.

Siam Paragon is interesting because it is a space for luxury products which are not easy to successfully market in the Thai society – but it officially works despite the customer profile. The Thais vs. Non-Thais percentage ratio would not be disclosed by luxury shops.

Thailand is an upper middle income country that has reduced poverty from 21.9% in 2006 to 8.6 % according to the latest assessment in 2016<sup>20</sup>. There are, however, still many people living below the ‘Poverty Line’. In Thailand, various sources are posting different figures and small discrepancies in amounts and rankings for the GDP per capita:

**Table 2 - GDP per capita - Thailand – Source**

	International Monetary Fund (2017)		World Bank (2017)	United Nations (2016)
GDP per capita	6,590\$		6,594\$	5,911\$
Rank	84 <sup>th</sup>		83 <sup>th</sup>	88 <sup>th</sup>

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.bangkok.com/top10/top10-shopping-siam.htm> (accessed 5<sup>th</sup> November 2018)

<sup>20</sup> <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.NAHC/countries/TH?display=graph> (accessed 5<sup>th</sup> August 2017)

The wealthiest class – large majority are of Sino-Thai origin – is a miniscule portion of the current Thai population of 69.52 million. However, that elite possesses many parts of the active economy, in all sectors: agriculture, manufacturing, banking, finance, construction and real estate (Richter, 1999, p. 193). The income discrepancies exist due to the large numbers of people who have lacked an opportunity to access to the education system and national resources, most of which are mainly held by small groups of Sino-Thai capitalists.

One visible influence that accompanies consumption is people's tastes which have been dominated by a modern discourse of luxury and prestige. Bourdieu (1986) proposed an interesting explanation about taste, arguing *taste* is not individualistic choices of the human intellect but socially conditioned. The objects of consumer choice reflect a symbolic hierarchy that is determined and maintained by the socially dominant in order to enforce their distance or distinction from other classes of society. This fits perfectly with Thai social classes and unavoidably it still exists today. Brand names and luxury items play a symbolic role in the social hierarchy through the purchasing power.

However, there are the other groups of people who are excluded from competing with the groups of great capitalists who exploit the research site and associated neighborhood with such marketing social interventions and experiments/ strategies.

First, from an observation during the research, there are many street vendors who come with limited capital compared to the owners of businesses at the shopping malls. They, *at least*, have an opportunity to join an economic movement or social interaction. The street vendors sell various kinds of food, beverages, and flowers for religious rituals. They stand to sell such goods around the area because their prices are cheaper than those provided inside the shopping malls. The street vendors have their own targeted groups who mostly are cash-strapped workers in the neighborhood. However, street vendors usually confront evictions by landowners who use the arguments that there is disorder and it creates rubbish left on the walkways. The direct effect is their selling spaces/ places are not permanent. Fortunately, they are mobile.

Secondly, a significant group has been formed by people who cooperate with or play a main role in the Wat Pathumwanaram's business activities. Thai people do not expect a monk to deal with business activities due Buddhist principles and ascetic rules and policies. In other words, a monk should not become a businessman with donations or in any form such as real-estate. However, these are ideal expectations in reality and may not exist as a monk can assign representatives to perform business activities, especially if he is in a high position in the Wat.



Sell religious items, managing a shop, receiving money from parking spaces, etc are known examples

Many products are available in the Wat's shop to make merit (donation) to the monks. One point often eluded is the fact that the item, the merit, is automatically returned to the shop after the monk has received it; that life cycle is restricted to Buddhism. From an economic perspective, it is a virtuous cycle because it means less investment but greater return and profit.

Most people are aware of the practice but they don't focus on that magic cycle-formula and make charitable donation for their own personal satisfaction.

Such businesses above are popular in many Wats in Thailand, especially famous Wats that are well-located. The Wat Pathumwanaram is certainly in this category as it contains both a famous Wat and is in a prime location. It is hard to deny that this is a kind of business but in a different form to other businesses such as the shopping malls. Undeniably and arguably the overriding objective, it is a source of jobs for some people and has driven the economy in this neighborhood.



Figure 55 – Wat – Point of sales (left) / Merit (right)

Because of its good location, the Wat Pathum Wanaram is fully part of the economic activities in the research site. Its space is divided into a convenience store, a souvenir shop, and parking spaces, all to make profits. The monks work towards the aim of achieving good sales and profit, like their business contemporaries.

Interestingly, business activities between the Wat and the Malls are identical and consumption theories could be applied for both.

### 3.5 POPULATION DILEMMA

#### 3.5.1 LEARNING FROM/WITH DIFFERENCES

The diversity of individuals and their different profiles, purposes and needs confirms the interest at the research site. In that context, on-site observations were conducted and related categories were created with specific time and place attributes (decided/undecided, permanent/temporary), graphically represented as follows:

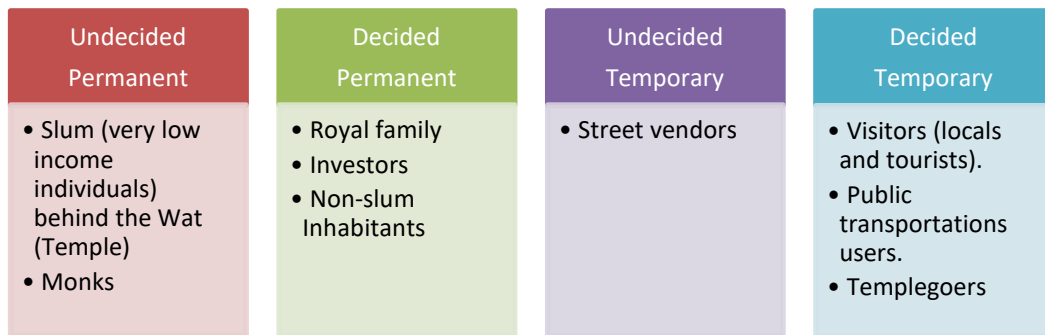


Figure 56 - Categories/attributes of individuals at the research site

**Undecided permanent category** – represented poor individuals economically forced into a slum area or religious representatives “forced” to live in a sacred place created *ex nihilo*.

**Decided permanent category** – represented wealthier individuals belong to the royal family, business representatives (investors), and middle income inhabitants. In the previous chapter, *elite* was used to name a social class but in this chapter “elite” sets a transversal attribute given to the royal family and the business representatives, or investors. The elites own land and invest (or ask for external funds from external investors) in shopping malls and become partners through legal joint-venture structures.

**Undecided temporary category** – represented low individuals economically pushed to open mobile and temporary point of sales to survive. They do not directly decide their location but are influenced by different factors and criteria: seasonal activities, customer flows (walking streets, public transportation infrastructure). Those individuals are typically located in “*in-between spaces*.”

**Decided temporary category** – represented individuals who decided to come in an area temporarily: visitors (customers, tourists) in shopping malls or Temple-goers who decided to go to the temple to pray or to make charitable donations.

Those categories of individuals are often passing-by on a daily basis. The primary reason is a lack of transitive interdependences among individuals. Indeed, as a reminder, the decline of relationships started when a small village was transformed into a city and when a community shifted to an individualistic society.

### 3.5.2 VALUE AND BEHAVIORAL PROPOSITIONS

A changing scenario in the Thai urban society was observed at the research site and its surroundings since traditional values were replaced by economic developments. From collected data, such wealth discrepancies clearly unbalance relationships amid individuals and noticeably affect behavioral propositions. It can be perceived in the empirical study that it reflects people's perspective about local value. The data shows that *the Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a Temple by 49%*. It is below 50 % and can be interpreted that the majority don't mind that Mall and other buildings are higher than an important spiritual place like the Wat. Traditionally, Thai people will follow and respect the hierarchical system. They respect that Buddhist symbols are higher than secular world and it should not be disparaged. Moreover, *the Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a school by 45%* is not good for students to see and learn the main stream of consumption that is really hard to resist every day. But most people did consider this as necessarily a significant temptation and the effects it may result in.

A further point is that *The Siam Area changes the Thai culture by 66%* expressing that global culture and influence has meant Thai people accept the new culture to their daily life. Currently, Thai value and behavioral proposition has changed.

### 3.5.3 CONFLICTS ANALYSIS

First of all, a distinction has to be made between a tension and a conflict, as proposed by researchers:

*“Tension is not always conflictual..... Tension is not necessarily bad. Through the tensions generated by informal activities, we are made aware of the ways in which public space mediates the relations between different groups of people and different ideas of the public interest. Various forces, ideals and actions give shape to space”*

A. Franck, and Quentin (Eds) 2007: 29

Undoubtedly, the place behind the Wat PathumWanaram is very crowded. Currently, the population is more than 3,000 people with 500 households living in a compact area.

The research inhabitants of the community can be classified into two main groups:

1 – *Local* individuals and urban families who have lived in the area since they were born, often at the same location where their parents lived/are living.

2 – *Outsiders* individuals and urban families who came from other provinces and who are temporarily living in that area to be closer to workplaces (*Housing Finance Mechanisms in Thailand*, 2008, p. 39). Statistically, they became the majority of people in the community and find employment (building construction, manufacturing, etc.).

In recent decade, conflicts arose at the research site and in the slum. Surprisingly, at the beginning of the research the reasons behind the conflicts were not clear and residents were not keen to talk about those issues. As reiterated many times, it is still the Thai culture and to refrain hurting others, but through the lens of the economy they are passed-by because they represent the visible results of economic failures which leads to conflicts between social classes resulting in bloody political conflicts.

The research site is a coin with two faces: the *recto*, the front, the opulence and a frenetic consumerism for the middle and upper social classes in the malls, and the *verso*, the back, workers who are often living in – inhuman – conditions.

During the research, conflicts were highlighted as the following:

- 1 – Eviction.
- 3 – Cultural considerations/frustrations.
- 2 – Disparities with living conditions/ incongruence

## ***Eviction***

The research corroborated various studies conducted about this recurrent eviction conflict (Development, 1994b; Igel, 1992; Korff, 1986; Phonchokchai, 1992). Basically based on juicy-profit objectives and for marketing constraints by eliminating the dark side of the coin, evictions were conducted in many slums in Bangkok although rural individuals temporarily stayed in the slum; temporarily became permanent via the constant flow of migrants. From a lucid analysis perspective, the research underlined that those migrants are avoiding the economic policies/realm, hence do not pay taxes, and households are built without complying with urbanization policies. Therefore, the root causes of eviction come from various sources: capitalism (optimization of the facilities management), brands (sustainable luxury image/impact), and governments with its intention to apply nationwide standards and rules. From human perspectives, uprooting individuals and families who have been living there for generations is emotionally comparable to migrants who are escaping a war and its associated battle fields. Both are left with the same subjacent and terrible questions: where to relocate? How to start a new life?

### ***Cultural considerations and Living conditions***

During the research, cultural conflicts were raised through different lenses:

- 1 – Religion.
- 2 – Living incongruence.
- 3 – Social behaviors.

From a European point of view, an analogy can be made with Christians priests decades ago in Europe when they were full actors of society before the secularism (laic concept) removed the strong hold of the Christianity on European governments/monarchies. It has to be said priests were listening and were able to absolve Christian sins at that time; they were officiated, from a listening point of view, as contemporary psychologists today.

The identified problem during the research was often individuals did not know there was a temple next to the shopping malls, and whether they knew it, they ignored the temple by not taking the time to enter into it. However at the same time nobody can force someone to pray or to make charitable donations and religion is part of everyone's privacy.

The similar blindness occurs with regards to the slum community behind the Wat (temple) and confirms either a lack of information or the ignorance of the surrounding area.

## **2 –Living conditions/ incongruence**

The present research accentuated that the poverty in the community living behind the Wat is a key factor which led to conflict resurgence.

As established above, the community lives in a high living costs area. Influenced by the consumerism society, they are subliminally forced to have necessary and unnecessary products/services.

Food, as basic needs for life, is a good example. Inhabitants buy ready-made food or raw materials for their daily life at the markets at the same price as the people in the neighborhood, which is more expensive than in other neighborhoods. The research did not identify common initiatives or projects to grow vegetables or fruits or breed animals – except chicken and eggs. The rampant urbanization did not allow people to investigate alternatives to branded supermarkets such as Tesco or 7/11.

The lack of available alternatives mainly influenced the in-between space framework proposed in the present dissertation. Indeed, the living congruence was perceived as a key criterion to build an efficient and relevant in-between space framework.

## **3 –Social behaviors**

As in any modern society, the research confirmed inhabitants feel the wave of the individualistic trend. Furthermore, the relationship between parents and children is eluded by the constant basic needs: working to get money and to maintain an acceptable standard of living. The absence of the parents shifted the working conditions. Previously, parents were working hard from early in the morning to late evening but today the new generations are social networked, TV *aficionados*, and think money is easier to get today than decades ago. When the reality comes, they naturally turn to criminal activities, as confirmed above. Globalization inevitably pushes individuals to change their consumerist mind set.

### 3.5.4 CONCLUSION

The outcome of the present research shows latent conflicts among different groups of individuals that should be resolved in a neutral place dedicated to mediation; root causes of any conflict have to be shared first to be understood and mitigated.

This conceptually neutral and intermediate mediation place proposed extends current features of *in-between* places where specific social purposes and needs are opaque. Indeed, because in Thailand public and private spaces have direct owners as mentioned in the preceding chapter, social features of *in-between* spaces cannot be easily changed but can be improved to sustain social interactions and to minimize associated conflicts.

Generally admitted, a public space of reconciliation does not mean a physical space; it is a social concept which incorporates various social institutions which provide opportunities for people to participate in a decision-making process and to live together in peace, accordingly with the Thai culture.

For those reasons, the proposed *in-between* space framework tends to offer a different alternative by merely adapting features of the *in-between* spaces in a way to understand the spirit of place and differentiation between places can help to establish a proper relationship and resolve social conflicts in the research site.

## 3.6 IN-BETWEEN SPACES

### 3.6.1 CREATION CRITERIA

Outcomes of the present research clearly reveal constant development in the Siam area. Few areas became a *becoming* situation as in *in-between* spaces.

After data collected was reconciled, it was obvious physical and symbolic – religious or beliefs – dimensions are influencing the pattern and the overall identity of *in-between* spaces in Thailand as precisely stated by Rieger Jandl, 2002 “*The extremely varied conceptions of space are mirrored in the dwelling and must be understood in their relationship to other aspects of social life. The built world is not only a matter of shapes, volumes, tools and know-*

*how, but also of socio-logical and symbolic content. The ideal is interconnected with the material, the symbolic with the technical.*” Rieger Jandl (2002: 93)

Although the above statement can be interpreted in many ways i.e. a symbol can represent an ideology, the Nazi cross, the researcher deduced from the main message that the conception of a place combines two dimensions of architecture: physical/ sciences and spiritual/symbolic, which have driven peoples’ way of life. The results of the present research demonstrated that an additional dimension was slowly impacting those two with known and visible consequences of cultural inequalities and cultural discriminations.

From interviews, an obvious acknowledgment was the current fight in progress amongst individuals, whatever social classes, to preserve and protect rights to which they are entitled. Explanations can be suggested by the failure of the government authorities to efficiently manage the urbanization, the immigration in the slum and to propose instead a brute-force approach, eviction, rather than proposing relevant alternatives or mediation.

Indeed, the Thai government can fully legislate on the ownership of a land i.e. title deeds and can legislate on its usage i.e. to restrict the use of land for a specific purpose. It is not the Thai culture the researcher wants to clarify but in Thailand land can be used for any purpose without requesting approval. By comparison, in Europe land is categorized into agricultural or building purposes while in Thailand land is categorized into agricultural and building purposes; the *and* makes the difference!

What surreptitiously appeared during interviews, except the notion of rights clarified above, were psychologist considerations of 1) desire and 2) power control among individuals. The abundant flow of money creates a sense of hoping for items displayed in luxury shops and eventually that sense is excited by the enjoyment which creates unsuccessful actions – combining hindrance and frustration – to obtain their goals. It is assumed that they are still refrained by Buddhist principles.

The desire is an emotional state, amplified by marketing advertisement campaign located around the research site; self-confessed marketing uses psychological rese arches to induce consumers to buy a product thereby stimulating consumption. Thai marketing is similar to globalized marketing where a product is associated with a Thai celebrity, enhancing desirable attributes by being part of the success of privileged individuals. Those aggressive campaigns increase the desire of individuals living behind the Wat (temple) and generate a kind



of fake dream; the legendary statement “*to be or not to be*” was written centuries ago. The creation of desire could also reveal the subjacent and the second psychological consideration: the power control.

A distinction has to be made between ‘power’ and ‘control’. Power is not always associated with control and can be either positive or negative depending upon the situation and context.

In the context of the present research, power control means small groups who are leading Thailand, capitalist elites, acquired the rights to impose their appetite for profits without plainly considering the side-effects on neighborhoods and redistributing profits to assist individuals in need. Economists can legitimately argue shopping malls create jobs reducing unemployment and help a city to collect associated taxes.

The researcher remains skeptical about collected taxes because they were not visibly optimized in recent decades in order to improve lives of individuals in the slum forsaken by all. This reinforces the principle that power exists in all relationships.

The feeling extracted from interviews denoted opposite polarities by restricting choices for inhabitants in the Siam area whilst consumerism is increasing selection (choices) via shopping malls.

That restriction can be considered as a lever to manipulate the mass; it was clearly stated and confirmed that shopping malls employ low-income employees who are living in the slum – an easy non-voiced unskilled labor market to control. Whether it creates a win-win situation is questionable.

After reconciliation of collected data, *in-between* spaces creation criteria are the following:

1 – Ambiguity between public and private spaces due to improper definition among involved individuals: inhabitants, Temple-goers, visitors, customers, businesses, government and authorities.

2 – Inexistent urbanization planning (deterritorialization consequences).

3 – Income disparities among individuals.

4 – Inexistent model to embrace behavioral propositions.

5 – Inexistent model to integrate cultural considerations i.e. Thaification, Monarchy.

6 – Inexistent model to comply with – omnipresent – religious respects through its symbolic representations.

7 – Inexistent model to consider psychological side-effects i.e. desire, power control.

8 – Inexistent model to legislate business activities and associated lobbying vs. social impacts.

9 – Inexistent model of how unclear roles mitigate conflicts and favoritism among involved populations.

The concept of *in-between* spaces, in the Thai context, is clearly and solely enforced by the Thai criteria listed above. The context was crucial because it did delimit or extend boundaries of those criteria. By reviewing researches conducted worldwide on *in-between* spaces, it was evident *in-between* spaces properties (criteria to consider) are different based on those studied in-delimited boundaries.

The researcher implicitly assimilated that the difficulty of this research, covering the *in-between* spaces creation, was to make a distinction between subjective-interpretation and objective-observations with associated criteria to ensure they were part of the *in-between* spaces creation process; that aspect has been covered in the limitation of the research subchapter. Indeed, with qualitative research methodology, the error margin is biased due to the researcher's interpretation compared to quantitative research with numbers; error – or potential statistical noises – graphically visible through a Gauss bell.

However, answers from interviews were precise enough to build a criteria list as expressed above. Additionally, conditions of the *in-between spaces* creation were analyzed, as far as possible, with existing research methodologies i.e. evidence-based through the lens of material (objective) and abstract (subjective) dimensions – as part of the architecture.

### 3.6.2 DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS

By using created criteria explained earlier, it is possible to emphasize and clarify them in the lens of collected data:

*1 – Ambiguity between public and private spaces due to improper definition among involved individuals: inhabitants, Temple-goers, visitors, customers, businesses, government and authorities.*

From interviews, and in a Thai context, public and private spaces were challenged by individuals who do not understand the definition of ownership. Except for businesses (they have an army of lawyers), legal constraints are not fully understood by individuals who do not have adequate educational awareness to understand the definitions. Another factor is the survival mode: legal considerations are logically wiped out! Therefore, efforts to educate individuals on how to comply with laws could be perceived as useless and vain. Education is still the key to get a harmony but it has to be accompanied with a balanced and fair approach with strict DOs and DON'Ts for all involved i.e. a Wat is able to remove street vendors under specific conditions by offering alternatives via surrounded businesses.

*2 – Inexistent urbanization planning (deterritorialization consequences).*

The development of the criterion comes from the main question: Why efficient urbanization planning is not applied today? Bangkok was not created 10 years ago! Numerous questions could be raised about whether the authorities' employees are adequately skilled? Are they independent enough in the decision making process or are they influenced by external lobbying? What is the current corruption index for those employees? Who has the final decision? All of these questions can be raised without any official answer which leads to potential speculation. On the other hand, despite legal considerations, they cannot be fully considered as slums or squats exist on land for which owners are clearly identified – official title deeds with or without nominees. As stated at a crime scene, who gets the benefits? A potential clue can be given: it is difficult to imagine businesses or authorities converting the slum into residential areas, where existing *cheap* labor could not afford to live.

*3 – Income disparities among individuals.*

From a research perspective, income disparities could not be avoided. Business is as usual. However, as pointed out above, why maintain those disparities in the same area? Logically, candidates of ideal democracy could argue to relocate them to a better place, listen and answer against direct evictions from governmental authorities. However, in that aspect, it merely moves the same problem to a different location. It is specifically a condition where the government has a role to play by legislating and balancing policies to ensure benefits are shared

and are redistributed in such a way to improve daily lives for all inhabitants. Isn't it possible to set aside public space for inhabitants to enable them to make an adequate income? Adequate income means above the minimum wage across the city based on shopping malls' benefits.

*4 – Inexistent model to embrace behavioral propositions.*

It might be one of the trickiest criteria of the *in-between* space development in the research. Indeed, although behavioral propositions can be formally listed from interviews, many others were collected to tackle behavioral concerns. Because behavioral propositions are covering changes in attitude, the remaining question was: Is the researcher able to propose a sociologic relevant approach adapted to the Thai context? That problematic is too complex that a suggestion can be given by applying an obvious process: understanding behavioral changes first and by understanding their root causes. One factor requires particular attention, Thai families. Indeed, the individualistic context should push Thai families to have a role by leveraging Thai values; neither with biased nationalism nor with blinded politically oriented considerations.

*5 – Inexistent model to integrate cultural considerations i.e. Thaification and the Monarchy.*

Thais are constantly embracing dictated values such as Thaification and continually supporting the Royal family. The development of that criterion came from a lack of coordination between various governmental authorities to jugulate inappropriate or contradictory steps in architectural processes: *pre*-consultation with inhabitants, design, construction and *post*-check validation. Another issue raised during the research was who has the full rights and decision capabilities today within the decision-making process. An architectural project automatically includes a plethora of actors such as companies, businesses, and governmental authorities, but there is no centralized Project Management Office (PMO) above those entities to validate cultural considerations.

*6 – Inexistent model to comply with – omnipresent – religious respects through its symbolic representations.*

Interviews show the religious criterion was not totally evaluated during the pre-consultation phase with religious authorities and businesses. Buddhism is a cornerstone of Thailand. Others religions (Muslim, Christians) are tolerated but represent the minorities;

European and American foreigners often forget that South provinces in Thailand are 50% Buddhist and 50% Muslim as a result all religious respects and symbolic representations have to be taken into consideration during architectural projects. The researcher proposed to include religious concerns as part of the project portfolio managed by the PMO.

*7 – Inexistent model to consider psychological side-effects i.e. desire, power control.*

It might be another problematic area when creating the criterion of the *in-between* space development. Although human aspects i.e. behaviors have to be considered, it is often complex to exactly determine, measure, or validate root-causes of psychological symptoms. Indeed, has the architecture been considered as the root cause? For specific cases, it can be efficiently measured by independent third-parties: a roof with asbestos of a low-cost house leads to potential illness/cancers when the number of particles in the air goes over the accepted limit determined by national health authority. Mercury contained in paint can also be measured by samples directly taken from painted walls. In the context of the present research, evidence of discontents were collected from inhabitants and visitors who knew the existence of the slum. However, it does not completely suffice to elaborate a model to tackle this issue: objectively, a desire could not be eliminated except if the poor are living away from luxury zones. By moving the poor into specific areas, *ghetto* arguments might be given but the desire is mainly created from income disparities.

It is the same complexity for power-control: has the architecture be considered as the root cause?

The researcher thought the desire and power-control issues were still relevant enough to integrate them into the proposed *in-between* space framework.

*8 – Inexistent model to legislate business activities and associated lobbying vs. social impacts.*

The research highlighted an absence of legislation specifically designed to prevent social impacts of low-income surroundings during an architectural/construction project. The researcher suggested a legislated idea that a portion (%) of financial benefits from shopping malls surrounded by slums be annually redistributed as a donation to improve livelihoods of the community. That social impact criterion should be managed by the same PMO (Project

Management Office). Obviously, being required to give money is always unwanted news for businesses and therefore the researcher proposed to transform that portion (%) as a new concept in Thailand, named **CSR** (**Corporate Social Responsibility Donation**), because a donation is coupled with tax deduction incentives. The aim is to get achieve a win-win situation between companies, government and inhabitants. Companies get tax deductions/incentives from its CSR, the government does not have to spend its budget (or to collect additional taxes) and inhabitants in the slum get improvements in their daily lives. Cash will not be directly distributed to inhabitants in the slum but improvements can be made i.e. access to drinking water and directly managed by the PMO through project portfolios.

*9 – Inexistent model and unclear roles to mitigate conflicts and favoritism among involved populations.*

During interviews, the research gathered hidden unsaid truths associated with deep-rooted conflicts. As indicated in the previous criteria, *pre*-consultation with inhabitants who are living in the surrounding were not conducted before architectural projects. That lack of listening is due to inefficient project management for which a PMO can help to mitigate by imposing *pre*-consultations and *post*-check validations, as milestones during the project. The researcher found conflicts were generated by opposite poles of interests and needs without an authority overseeing and acting as a mediator.

A legitimate and a capable authority needs to involve all parties in order to get the full picture of those puzzled needs and concern with strong negotiation skills coupled with a full understanding of cultural Thai constraints. Because the selection of the authority can be motivated for political reasons, which is often the case in Thailand, the researcher proposed to have the PMO audited by the highest independent and constitutionally created Parliament and Anti-Corruption Offices.

### 3.6.3 INTRICACIES IN EXPRESSED OPINIONS

*“A successful city neighborhood is a place that sufficiently keeps abreast of its problems so it is not destroyed by them”*

(Wall & Waterman, 2010)

Following the empirical study with various groups of people they expressed convergences of opinions despite the interviewees having different backgrounds and different interests.

Indeed, the researcher fully understood incompatible characters of places in the Siam area and expressed their opinions in a way that the researcher was able to categorize, per criteria, allowing to underline particular idiosyncrasies expressed in people's opinions:



## 1 Definition of public and private spaces

Table 3 - Definition of public and private spaces

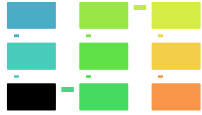
<i>The Mall is a private space</i>	40%
<i>The Temple is a public space</i>	30%



## 2 Urban planning

Table 4 - Urban planning

<i>Siam Area has good public spaces</i>	35%
<i>Siam Area has enough public spaces</i>	30%
<i>Siam Area is a safe area</i>	40%
<i>Siam Area has many traffic congestion</i>	87%



### 3 Income disparities

Table 5 - Income disparities

<i>The Siam Area is an important area from economic perspectives</i>	92%
<i>The Siam Area offers enough workplaces for local people</i>	45%
<i>The Siam Area provides access to people's basic needs (water, food, electricity)</i>	20%



### 4 Behavioral propositions

Table 6 - Behavioral propositions

<i>The Siam Area should be for pedestrians only – no motorized vehicles ought to be allowed</i>	54%
<i>Siam Area should have a public park between the Mall and the Temple</i>	75%

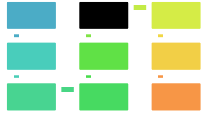


### 5 Cultures and Thaification

Table 7 - Cultures and Thaification

<i>The Siam Area reflects the Thai culture</i>	24%
<i>The Siam Area changes the Thai culture</i>	66%
<i>Siam Area offers cultural activities</i>	32%





## 6 Religion and symbolic representations

Table 8 - Religion and symbolic representations

<i>Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a Temple</i>	49%
<i>Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a school</i>	45%



## 7 Psychological considerations

Table 9 - Psychological considerations

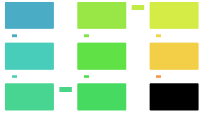
<i>The Siam Area connects people and its various local communities</i>	65%,
<i>the Siam Area creates lack of co-operation between social classes</i>	65%,
<i>The Siam Area connects social classes</i>	65%.



## 8. Legislation

Table 10 – Legislation

<i>The Siam Area is an important area from political perspectives</i>	66%
<i>The Siam Area creates conflicts between the social classes</i>	44%



## 9. Conflicts mitigation

Table 11 - Conflicts mitigation

<i>Siam Area should have a public park between the Mall and the Temple</i>	75%
<i>The Siam Area offers adequate public places for people to gather, meet and discuss.</i>	30%

## CHAPTER IV – DATA ANALYSIS, FINDING AND CONCEPT

*The street design practice shows the necessity of establishing new methods to study, design and manage the relationship between indoor and outdoor spaces in the city (Nooraddin, 2002).*

The aim of the data analysis and the results chapter is to adequately support and then potentially answer the research questions. Furthermore, the analysis of *qualitative research* involves aiming to uncover the meaning of the collected data and to highlight associated findings. Involving literature in many fields, architecture, landscape architecture, philosophy, and human geography allows an interdisciplinary paradigm to arise. In addition to part of the findings, the in-between space criteria found the empirical study led to the creation of frameworks to consider before giving any suggestion during the urban planning design. These frameworks have to be considered from a *Thai context only* as stated in the limitation of the research.

### 4.1 IN-BETWEEN SPACE CRITERIA FRAMEWORK

#### *THE CAUSES THAT HAVE LED TO PRODUCING “IN-BETWEEN” SPACES IN THE RESEARCH SITE*

While the *social and economic* structure in Thai society has more power to direct development than social dimension there is a gap in development. However, it is the lower class, particularly, who are oppressed by the lack of social chances, especially in a big city such as Bangkok and the research site which is highly economically competitive. Low-income people have significant difficulties in order to access financial capital to increase their income resulting in a limited chance to improve their quality of life or to educate their children. The problem of structures are the key criteria resulting in an atmosphere of inequality caused by the in-between space both in visible and invisible forms at the research site despite that *the Siam Area is an important area from an economic perspective (92%)*. But *the Siam Area offers enough workplaces for local people (45%)*. One finding is the income disparity from the empirical study. Workplace availability is insufficient given that it is a key economic area. The

empirical study demonstrated the narrow chance for local people to obtain jobs, particularly a prosperous job in the district. Highly-educated people can reach job opportunities more readily than the lower-educated. Usually, highly-educated people come from wealthy families and they have the social privilege to obtain jobs with higher incomes. By comparison it is the same point for the lower class, but in reverse. The result is income disparity in the Thai social class system where clear discrimination of job opportunities exists.

*Politics* is also a significant criterion as it dominates every aspect of Thai society. Politics is completely corrupt; different research studies were conducted to conclude that Thai citizens recognized corruption as part of the daily life and as part of Thaification. The result of corruption affects everyone beginning with basic facilities such as road and building construction, medicines, education, school lunches, enacted laws/legislation, land use and planning and public spaces. Complex manipulation is also rife in elections but the notion of people receiving money to vote for a certain politician is not perceived as corruption but as a sign of thankfulness. This is more so in the villages where it is not considered corruption but “*in-between*” and is perceived as a normal reimbursement, hence a win-win corrupt situation.

In an economic area such as the research site, politicians use legislation to control the benefits and usage over the land. Consequently, some laws support the eviction of the local inhabitants’ solely for business reasons. Furthermore, it can be said that politics is behind the disputes over the land ownership and the links to benefits as supported by *the Siam Area is an important area from political perspectives at 66%*.

The criterion above relates, unavoidably, to public life/atmosphere and public places. The empirical study agreed that both *the Siam Area connects people and its various local communities together with social classes by 65%*. The research site contains diversity in terms of people and places. It is paradox about connections in the Thai attitude above when the empirical study also reveals that *the Siam Area creates lack of co-operation between social classes by 65%*, which is about the social criteria. Connection is in a sense one of privilege that has been in the system of patronage in Thai society for a significant period of time. Those who have more connections will find social opportunities and support in different aspects whether they are legal or not. Implicitly, cooperation is the same sense as helping and can be referred to as sharing in certain situations. It is a unique Thai character or Thaification and being part of what is perceived as a generous society, which some may also describe as a smoke-screen. Yet, they are not silent when others have problems and will help as long as they can. Therefore, the connection and cooperation is not the same as attitude from the mindset of Thais.

The research site is a highly important area from an economic perspective, different groups of people and investors come to exploit the area. Such benefits are not for all stakeholders and depend on social class and economic status in accordance with the empirical study that *the Siam Area offers adequate public places for people to gather, meet and discuss at only 41%*. The atmosphere of equality in a Thai context is different from the developed societies supported by the statement *when the Thai economy began to change from one based on agriculture to one led by manufacturing, a significant change occurred in economic structure. When looked at in terms of occupational structure, the agricultural population continued to account for as much as 47 percent of the civilian labor force until 1990. This unevenness between the economic and occupational structures aggravated another imbalance....* (Funatsu, 2003, p. 247). The empirical study indicated that *the Siam Area creates conflicts between the social classes by 44%*. The data demonstrates the Thai attitude about social dimensions and the notion that cooperation and connection is weak. In the urban area, inequality in an economic dimension is the key point that effects and results in social conflict.

*Buddhism* is an important key which affects daily decisions in many dimensions, including political decisions. Interestingly, Thai politics integrates itself into various cultural dimensions like Buddhism including *the constitutional monarchy, social class* - especially the middle and lower class. The Wat (temple) gives a concrete example of unequal access of benefits in the area, asking for help from shopping malls, donations, parking spaces, specific activities, etc. Obviously, those social interactions, like any, generate different human reactions and feeling and humbleness amongst the population. The data from empirical study showed *the Siam Area creates conflicts between the social classes by 44%* including the fact view that *the Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a school at 45%*. In addition, *the Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a Temple 49%*. While real-estate developers play lobbying games to acquire publicly owned land, whether legitimately or not, in order to develop their businesses this results in the community not trusting anyone and even sadly consider the Wat as capitalists due to eviction threats. Due to unequal access of the resulting benefits this naturally conflicts with the local inhabitants' consciousness. These dimensions express a psychological consideration which is one of the criteria in order to produce the in-between space. However, Thai society has its own forms to avoid the conflicts that are derived from Thai cultural norms and form part of what is sometimes characterized as *Thaification* in order to decrease the conflicts from a psychological consideration.

The idea of public space at the research site is also affected by the aforementioned criteria as ensured by the empirical study. The data collection interestingly demonstrated peoples lack understanding of the difference between public and private; 23% consider the *Mall is a private space -77% is public-* whereas 37% consider that *the temple is public- 63% is private*. This indicated that *the Mall is more public than the Temple*. It is opposite of the original perspective that a temple is a real public space for all people in Thai society. The data reveals the understanding and meaning between public and private space are the opposite meaning from international or standard meanings. Due to such ambiguity some situations of space between the binary opposite meaning can be produced - called the in-between space which is neither real public space nor real private space. It is an important point of finding because it shows ambiguity between the understanding of public and private space. Consequently, the in-between space is produced by such ambiguity.

The in-between space in Thai context can be produced on private space while people use it as public space. This is supported by research in Bangkok of King and Dovey who found, *Bangkok as being first a space of intersecting, incompatible, yet always interdependent economies—formal versus informal*, (King & Dovey, 2013, p. 1037). Moreover, the *interstitial practices arising in the cracks and gaps that such confrontations produce; informal economies emerge, spaces and practices are intertwined and intersecting ... ..The informal practices can invade even the most emblematic spaces of state and formal economy* (King & Dovey, 2013, p. 1022).

In the case of the in-between space in a developed country, such as, Stephanplatz in Vienna it is a famous plaza surrounded by commercial spaces which has the same economic purpose of the research site. The Stephansplatz is an intermediary place that is as vital as layers of neighboring interactions, separations, connections and parts emerge. As an occurrence of environmental effects, living form, and buildings, each place identified the in-between space at the Stephansplatz is based on the characters of interval pauses and a place of refuge and associations which detached participation which people can gradually become involved with neighboring settings. Moreover, it is the spatial reinforcement strengthening and nearby realms which include spontaneous uses: spacious clarity, possession in movement, and lingering on boundaries. As such the in-between space in a developed context is produced and managed by the government with the aim of being suited to serve a purpose in practicality or functionality together with people recognizing public life at public spaces.

The in-between at the research site is produced without local government planning but people are increasingly constructed by social needs. They lack real public spaces in a dense area like the research site. Therefore, small spaces can be gradually built as a public space which supports different kinds of activities in accordance with Thaification/ Thai disorder of public life such as eating, chatting and private transportation like motorcycles.

The in-between space at the research site in Bangkok where high density of narrow lanes/ passages/ streets has been formed by micro urban life. In addition to it reveals a micro-urban life with its micro culture, micro social interactions, micro trades, micro businesses, and its micro governance and micro rules. Spaces between buildings in Bangkok is different from spaces between buildings in low dens cities due to the absence of those in-between spaces and associated phenomenon.

However, the distinction between a developed and developing country is not compared in this dissertation or whether one is greater than the other. The in-between space has indeed its own distinctiveness for example, Stephansplatz in Vienna and the research site in Bangkok.

For some identified conditions, urban planning in a developed city is more systematic than in Thailand in accordance with King & Dovey statement that *in cities of the developing world, the most prominent instances of interstitial spaces and practices relate to questions of urban informality* (Heng, 2010, p. 1022), especially, cultural and political dimension. In accordance with the empirical study the analyzed data exposed their own identity at the research site and Thaification as a whole resulting in the in-between space criteria framework below:

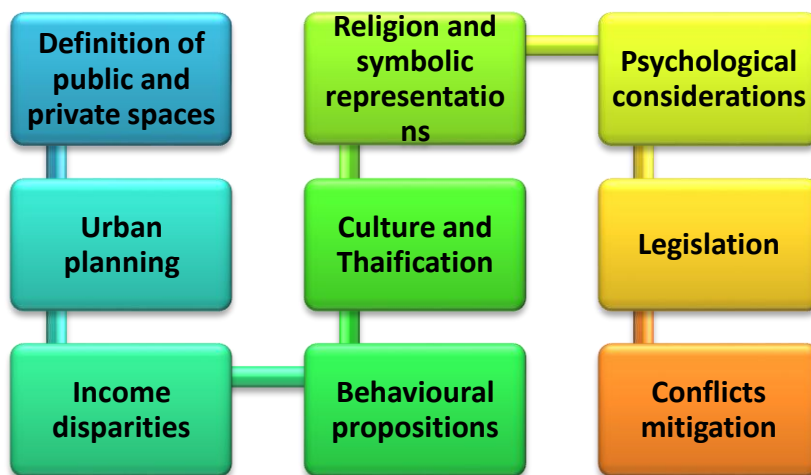


Figure 57 – In-between space criteria framework in Thai context

The above criteria of the framework are considered in context at the research area. They are convergence of inequality and corruption which are behind the in-between space criteria framework. Subsequently, lower class inhabitants in the community cannot reach the social opportunities such as good education, jobs etc, in turn this also includes public spaces.

The potential of the in-between space, especially, in terms of public space can create an opportunity for understanding the identity and spatial features of a place and social aspects. Such a kind of public space could support the people and maintain a relationship amongst them, despite conflicts and differences. The in-between space can allow different events to take place if they articulate suggestive living choices to occupy between juxtaposition. In addition to the in-between clarity leads them to inhabit interval places, thereby responding to their contexts (Laiprakobsup, 2007).

#### **4.2 FROM MIDDLE WAY BUDDHISM TO THE IN-BETWEEN SPACE FOR KEEPING RELATIONSHIP**

##### *SITUATIONS FOR THE DIFFERENT TARGETED GROUPS OF THE IN-BETWEEN SPACE PLAY A ROLE IN THAI ATTITUDE(S) TOWARDS SEEMINGLY INCOMPATIBLE CHARACTERS OF PLACES*

As explained in the empirical chapter, the study of *the in-between space* in terms of urban public space at the research site has been composed by incompatible and different elements/places and activities, which has led surveyed people to occupy spaces via puzzled antagonisms. However, Thai people naturally escape confrontation and instead express respect, friendliness or submission. They are often seen sharing and helping each other. This is a way of dealing with one another and for maintaining harmony in their relationship. This humble character is accumulated by Buddhist principle.

Furthermore, as also highlighted, while interconnections between elements and associated activities exist, they do not avoid important social gaps among the local population. In terms of social class, the data shows that *only 20% consider it provides access to basic needs such as water, food and electricity*. The data indicated gaps that created disparities, and dissimilar social layers which today are linked by *in-between space* where various people use it as public space. It should be considered the potential for serving the people in an urban area as an urban public space like the research site.

Urban public spaces are living organisms that respond to the varying socioeconomic conditions and cultural patterns of cities. The meanings of what are public spaces have varied



with time, culture and social context. Stating the in-between space is a key factor of success merely depends on the interpretations among surveyed participants. From a data analysis point of view, the researcher discovered *in-between spaces* produce an ecosystem with unsaid/unofficial permanent rules or/and unintended uses; often disconnected from nationwide policies released and applied by state offices. According to the dictionary, an ecosystem<sup>21</sup> is a system or a group of interconnected elements, formed by the interaction of a community of organisms (in the present research – people) with their environment. The researcher discovered that the main attribute of interactions between elements at the research site is fundamentally tainted by economic benefits.

The research reveals that different and diverse groups of people come to use this area both in terms of *gender, age, occupation, and education*, because it is a significantly unique area. They visit the research site for many reasons; *shopping, tourism, religion, and working*, for instant.

The empirical study revealed physiological considerations and *the area in front of the Mall where pedestrians are walking is private by 52%*. The data showed a degree of public and private realms on the pedestrians in front of the malls is not much different between 52 % private and 48% public, people think they can use the pedestrians in front of the malls as if a public space even when they may not be. It is interesting to make a comparison between two questions, *the walkways between the Mall and the Temple are public by 59%* and *the walkways between the Mall and the School are public by 67%*. The walkways between the Mall to the Temple are less public than the Mall to the School. Originally, a temple is a real public space in Thai society, it is open for everyone to come and use. The empirical study shows the present attitude on public spaces in Thai society. The Buddhist temple is difficult to keep in the middle of the principle between capitalism and spiritualism if people do not recognize that the Wat is there anymore.

A peaceful atmosphere is important for keeping its own relationships in Thai society. It is more or less this character that has been formed by the Buddhist principle that teaches people to live without ego; consequently, this is the accumulation of the humble character of Thai people. Therefore, people expressed their attitude about activities on the incompatible characters of places. *The Siam Area reflects the Thai culture by 24%*, and *The Siam Area*

---

<sup>21</sup> [www.dictionary.com](http://www.dictionary.com)

*changes the Thai culture by 66%. They are not negative with the incompatible characters of the places at the research site found in this research.*

Characteristically, Thai people are open to accept the incompatible characters of places as long as, they can access and be a part of this area as supported by the empirical study that *the Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a school by 45%. The Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a Temple by 49%.* The data conflict is below 50% and it is assumed that people are not aggrieved by cultural conflict even it is an unequal atmosphere. Unfortunately, the key to developing at the research site are business benefits. The malls want the public land for new investment projects, whereas, the people in the community want it kept for living and working. For this reason, the in-between space is a kind of mediator to keep and compromise the living relationship of differences at the research site.

#### **4.3 SHARING URBAN PUBLIC SPACE THROUGH THE IN-BETWEEN SPACE**

##### *THE CONCEPT OF THE IN-BETWEEN SPACE CREATE A SUCCESSFUL COEXISTENCE OF DIFFERENT TARGETED GROUPS AT THE RESEARCH SITE*

Meticulously analyzing the data, the research site gives abundant clues to take into consideration and redefine associated urban plans in a *Thai context* with an efficient ecosystem.

It is well known that the research site is a key area of the economic movement in Bangkok. Consequently, it is a dense area and mostly dominated by benefit terms. It is now difficult to find an empty space to build a public space for all groups of people in the area. Therefore, the in-between space is a solution of a successful coexistence of different targeted groups at the research site.

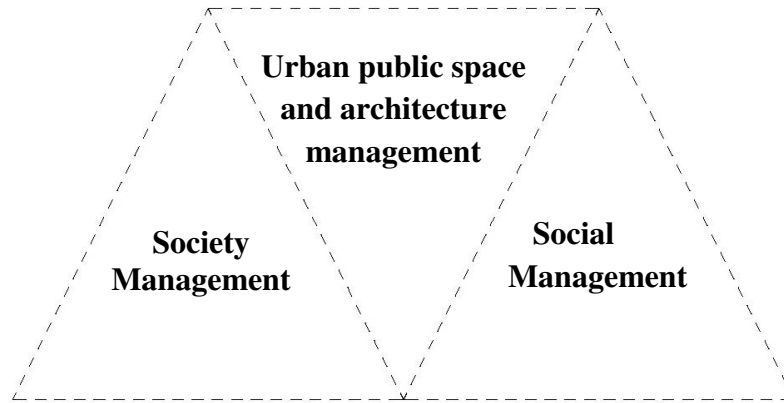
Inequalities of urban development affect the role of public and private space and create a conflicting atmosphere. As is well known, the research site is the foremost significant economic area in Bangkok which accommodates high-end shopping malls as the empirical study demonstrated; *The Siam Area is well designed (with access to buildings and walkways) by 66%.* The opposite side, however, showed that *The Siam Area offers adequate public places for people to gather, meet and discuss by 41%.* Inequality on public space can be observed by this finding. Even though it is an indirect concern, it is interesting data, *The Siam Area provides access to basic people's needs (water, food, electricity) only 46 %,* the area has the highest

development area in Thailand but basic utility is lower than 50%. It is not surprising to assume that wealthy people not only can reach the basic utility level but they can also comfortably visit a luxury mall and shop more often than other people in the community even if the mall is considered open to the public. It is close to the community but far from the social class, therefore in terms of psychological considerations it includes behavioral propositions together with income disparities.

The above data reveals an atmosphere of inequality around the area and the research site particularly when considering this fact in order to promote an equal atmosphere instead of achieving coexistence of difference. The sharing of public space is a concrete way to bring living together in a cohesive manor. It can be said that the social inequality has been built by the community never drawn into sharing benefits within their places and never promoting a place belonging to them.

More than half of the people think and signal their opinion about equality of living in sense of management and sharing in the area; *the Siam Area should be for pedestrians only – no motorized vehicles ought to be allowed by 54%*, for example. Planning with meaningful understanding would lead to effective management if following the associated urban plan. Thereby taking advantage of existing in-between space and drawing the associated architecture programs, urban plans with the ecosystem out:

- **Society management:** identities, diversity, attributes, and cultures, etc. This management is directly concerned with understanding of *Thaification*.
- **Urban public space and architecture management:** purpose an opportunity for taking advantage of coexisting feature of places, etc. Economic atmosphere is a key management role at the research site and in Thai society. Local inhabitants should have more opportunities in economic sharing on *the in-between spaces* as public spaces, or at least, build equal atmospheres on public spaces.
- **Social management:** behaviors, conflict mediation and mitigation, etc. To encourage equal atmosphere at public spaces- *the in-between space*- in the city is an important way to reduce the conflict from inequality in a Thai context.



**Figure 58 – An analytical diagram of the associated urban plans with the ecosystem from a Thai context**

Even though the research site is highly dense there are potential spaces between places or elements called the in-between space which can be used by everyone as public space. The in-between space is proposed as the reconciling among difference: the inside and the outside, one space and another. The in-between space can be used for containing different usages between buildings to promote sharing public activities. The in-between space is a kind of built environment to establish relationships amongst inhabitants/stakeholders who are concerned by the between places in juxtaposition by experiential resources of sequential making.

Respectively, urban planning, public spaces, activities and architecture need a vision of management and interpretation in accordance with Thai context in overall dimensions. This cannot be from only formal perspective, such as laws or regulations, but also from an informal perspective, for example.

#### **4.4 DESIGN FRAMEWORK OF THE IN-BETWEEN SPACE AS A PUBLIC SPACE IN THAI CONTEXT**

*SOCIAL INTERVENTION AND EXPERIMENT/ STRATEGY SHOULD BE APPLIED TO ACHIEVE THIS SUSTAINABLE BASIS*

From the management criteria analyzed above and in part of the professional role as an architect, the researcher aims to suggest a design framework for demonstrating a dedicated *the in-between space* as a public space. The design framework tackles Thai complexities associated

within the Thai context; an analogy could be made with DMZs (demilitarized zone) / Non-Conflict zone when there is a conflict.

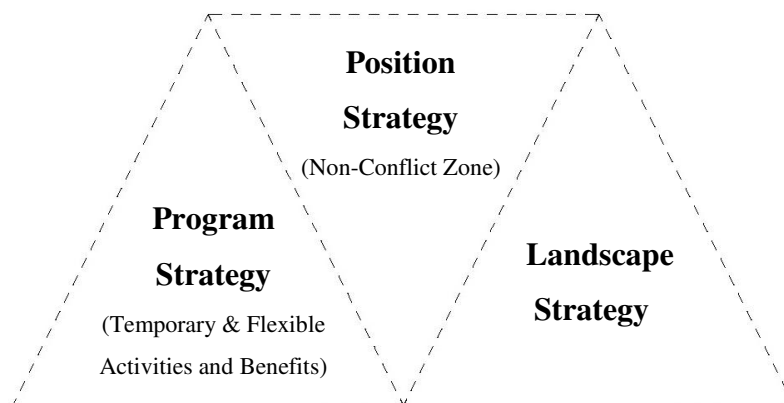
The aim of the design framework proposes conceptual social interventions and experiments/ strategies in advance to take advantage of the vision of sustainability, which it is not only applied to achieve *the in-between space* but to support people enabling them to have a quality of life in dense urban areas. The design framework is considered to be appropriate for Thai requirements and Thaification. This is in part a conceptual problem, since ‘in-between space’ or ‘interstitial space’ has been given too many broad meanings, making it is impossible to be precise about its nature or effects (Kärrholm, 2012). The elaboration of design framework starts with a capacity check to anticipate constraints related to any modifications and/or (creative) transformations.

An effective design framework is always an original response to a question or problem from the data obtained from the empirical study and signaled from people perspectives and requirements, *the Siam Area has good public spaces by 36%*, and *the Siam Area has adequate public spaces by 24%*. Obviously, the data indicated that public space is insufficient for people who utilize the research site and surrounding neighborhood. This illustrates that public space could be designed in accordance with the in-between space criteria framework in a Thai context. In addition the data also indicates that *The Siam Area offers activities in both global and local cultures by 32%*. This is a significant gap at the research site which suggests discourse of internationality and inadequate available space to be used by the public. Subsequently the meaning of the in-between space is a solution for public spaces in dense urban areas like the research site.

An architect’s point of view gives a suggestion for applying the associated urban planning management into the design framework, Appendix (2). Analytically, a conceptual social intervention and experiment/ strategy is suggested to elaborate the design framework. The aim of the conceptual social intervention and experiment/ strategy is to promote many activities inviting people/inhabitants/stakeholders in accordance with an opinion that *well-designed and considered the in-between spaces manifest positive, potential uses and transition with the “distinct and definite shape of a room* (Christopher Alexander, 1997, p. 518) following the research site data deep analysis arises.

There are three social interventions and experiments/ strategies elaborately analyzed from the empirical and theoretical study to suggest and consider applying into the design framework of the in-between space based on the key information:

1. Position social intervention and experiment/ strategy (Non-Conflict Zone): *The Siam Area should have a public park between the Mall and the Temple - 64%.*
2. Program social intervention and experiment/ strategy (temporary & flexible activities and benefits): *The Siam Area offers adequate public places for people to gather, meet and discuss - 41%*
3. Landscape social intervention and experiment/ strategy (based upon the sufficiency economy in Thai context): *Siam Area offers cultural activities - 32%, Relevant with: The Siam Area should have a public park between the Mall and the Temple - 64%.*



**Figure 59 – The social intervention and experiment/ strategy diagram of the in-between space in Thai context**

An architect's point of view gives a suggestion for applying the associated urban planning management into the design framework, Appendix (2). Analytically, a conceptual social intervention and experiment/ strategy is suggested to elaborate the design framework. The aim of the conceptual social intervention and experiment/ strategy is to promote many activities inviting people/inhabitants/stakeholders in accordance with an opinion that *well-designed and considered the in-between spaces manifest positive, potential uses and transition*

with the “distinct and definite shape of a room (Christopher Alexander, 1997, p. 518) following the research site data deep analysis arises.

#### 4.4.1 POSITION SOCIAL INTERVENTION AND EXPERIMENT/ STRATEGY

The aim of the position social intervention and experiment/ strategy concept is to take selecting ‘the best’ position of public space which is missing. These two words ‘the best’ mean in that context appropriateness, concern with cultural background, social perspective and access. The economic and social movements have caused incompatible elements on the research site. The concept of the position social intervention and experiment/ strategy is fully integrated into Thai public spaces where there is a medium of the Buddhist way or Non-Conflict zone. This research aims to demonstrate the position social intervention and experiment/ strategy at the research site. As supported by the empirical study that reflected people’s perspectives, *the area should have a public park between the Mall and the Temple by 64%*. Unfortunately, access to public places such as the Wat and the school are not adequate as found by the empirical study that *it is easy to get access to the Temple by 34%*, and *it is easy to get access to the School by 31%*. They are all below 50 %, therefore they should be reconnected becoming a real public space for sharing basic needs in this area in accordance with the in-between criteria framework. It should not be *well designed (with access to buildings and walkways) by 66%* for private spaces only.

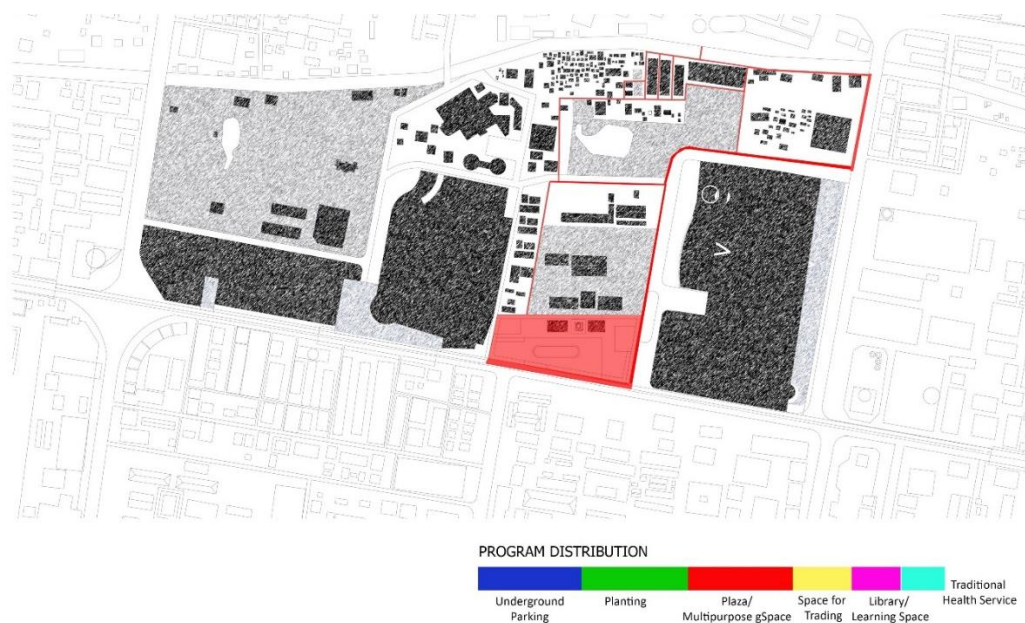


Figure 60 – The position social intervention and experiment/ strategy demonstration at the research site

At the research site, the ideal position should be part of the Wat on the Layman domain, in accordance with the data analysis. The Wat is depicted and accepted as a kind of public place in ‘Thai culture’ even if its role is ambiguous. However, the Wat is still a valuable space for Thai people and also the research site. It has to be considered in a median position. As explained in the present research, Thailand is a Buddhist society and a Wat or monastery has been known as a kind of public space for centuries although its role seems to continually decline because of other fascinating public spaces like the shopping malls. Historically, part of the Wat Pathumwanaram’s land was used for a different purpose, a study place for monks. Currently, the Wat is used as a place for annual celebrations based on the Buddhist calendar, they are traditional public events. From a finance viewpoint, the Wat is also a place with less business critical domination.

As the Wat has a green environment with plants and trees, a peaceful atmosphere, old temples and an old lotus pond, it has the potential to attract people in order to pray, rest and relax, which is in total opposition to the surrounding consumerist structures. Unfortunately, such potential space is not considered to be managed for all groups of people. The current environment provides parking spaces for rent. It is a significant benefit but it is narrow benefit for people who are close to temple, particularly given the view that the Wat is a public space belong to the government and public.

Furthermore, a Wat is a valuable digest of Thai architecture, traditions, history and philosophy. Logically, Wat Prathumwanaram offers the best position to share urban public spaces in coherence with the *in-between space*” ecosystem through both physical and abstract dimensions. Finally, the Wat is a significant mediator because it is in between secular and spiritual worlds where people can learn about the way of harmony with the social organization of a traditional Thai community.





Figure 61 – Greenage and peaceful atmosphere in the Wat



Figure 62 – The old lotus pond in front of the Wat

#### 4.4.2 PROGRAM SOCIAL INTERVENTION AND EXPERIMENT/ STRATEGY/DISTRIBUTION

The aim of the program social intervention and experiment/ strategy is also a part of the design framework. The program demonstrates the potential use of the in-between space which *can connect people and share some benefits* at the research site. However, this social intervention and experiment/ strategy is flexible depending on details/factors of each space and time. The program social intervention and experiment/ strategy is to fully integrate with the concept of *Thaification* - the new concept is proposed as an experimental image detailed in Appendix (2).

According to the concept of Thai public space, social activities and the cultural way of life are the key fundamental. Indeed, attractive activities like street (food) vendors support the neighborhood and visitors at the research site. This program will provide more workplaces for local people. Activities have to be attractive, cheap, useful, and correctly guided by considering

cultural aspects of the different communities (inhabitants, slums). Activities are necessary to glue social interactions and have to be considered as a non-coercive solution to avert lack of social interest and to sustain a certain level of coexistence and satisfaction among the population.

Giving details of the program social intervention and experiment/ strategy has a holistic approach by considering inherent factors such as ensuring the access to the place where activities are available i.e. capacity and access constraints.

The program social intervention and experiment/ strategy is from data, theoretical input and conceptual analysis to fully open integrated social /public activities for people to share the in-between space, complying with Thaification. It should respond to the needs of a basic criterion for public space in accordance with the empirical study and consist of: *easy to access to the School and the Temple, adequate public infrastructures for pedestrians, a public park between the Mall and the Temple and offer activities in both global and local culture*. As stated above, access to the activities has to be solved in advance to allow inhabitants or visitors to be part of the new program social intervention and experiment/ strategy for promoting unity and quality of life. Programs are proposed for the following:

**1. Community parking – key benefit space as the permanent activity**

Car parking spaces are a permanent activity that generates an income for the Wat. It is an existing activity of the Wat that should be conserved particularly as traffic congestion has already hit crisis levels. This program can be managed as a part of the Wat which must be a fundamental factor given that the empirical study shows that the research area *has a lot of traffic congestion*. The program is also a workplace for inhabitants in the community behind the Wat.

**2. Urban community trading space - temporary & flexible - benefit activity**

Discrimination in the economy is one key point in Thai society. It is a dedicated place allowing street vendors to sell their goods without fear of eviction and a place for visitors to buy food at a convenient place with easy management and cleaning etc. Moreover, it reduces discrimination when various stakeholders have more opportunity to access and share public spaces even if the in-between space. This program is convergent on activities based on the cultural background that they can sustain both

inhabitants/sellers and visitors/customers in the Thai way of consumption. Even, it is a temporary and flexible activity with space depending on supply and demand. It is substituting value exchange.

### 3. **Urban community gardens** – *unintended use/Thaification*

The concept of this program aims to allow inhabitants to gain experience and knowledge by having gardening rights: growing vegetables and fruit trees even if it is not a large area. In addition, unintended uses can take place in this program, such as a different style of meeting space and relevant activities in Siam district. This concept also complies with the sufficient economy as proposed by H.M. the King IX of Thailand, giving the opportunity to inhabitants of the slums to be self-efficient: no-one needs to buy expensive food when they can grow their own. Originally, the concept has been derived by Thai vegetable garden- *Thaification*. It is a part of the King's philosophy about *home-grown vegetables* so we are able to provide our food anywhere in accordance with the slogan: *back kitchen vegetable garden and edible fence*. It is self-sufficiency and people do not need to spend significant amounts of money, just keep it in mind and do it.

### 4. **Urban community academy** – *temporary & Flexible activity/Thaification*

Knowledge acquired outside school is also important for promoting a learning society and conservative local wisdom. Thailand does not have many museums and learning centers because they are not basic needs. Most public investment focuses on basic facilities, such as, public transportation, roads, electricity and waste treatment. Therefore, this program is neither a school nor a library because the space provides information in a flexible activity related to the locality/country and information used by the Wat to teach history, especially to students. An urban community academy might be helpful to remind/explain Thai traditions to all generations of inhabitants, visitors, and foreigners who are visiting Thailand. This program is to promote and conserve Thai wisdom before they are abandoned or lost forever.

### 5. **Urban community ancestral health center** – *temporary & Flexible and benefit activities/Thaification*

It is a dedicated space as a center - *but not a permanent space* - to promote alternative medicines based on ancestral knowledge from herbalists. This valuable knowledge was

traditionally contained in the Wat as they used to be a center of knowledge in a community. Later such knowledge moved from the Wat to the new market because it is contained by the identity of traditional medicine for healing. Thailand has a well-known reputation in alternative medicine. The herbalist awareness is a dedicated space where workshops can be conducted. The herbs gardening service is a dedicated process integrated with the concept of urban community gardens. This social intervention and experiment/ strategy is designed to support both inhabitants and visitors in terms of economic and spiritual value.

#### **6. Urban community Hub – temporary & flexible activity and unintended use**

This is perceived to be a dedicated space in the front area to act as a welcoming space where people can meet and organize different promotional activities encouraging *public life*. The hub is a multipurpose space according to sharing perspectives. This program is another way to promote understanding about public space.

Data analysis of the research site substantiates the potential of the programs social intervention and experiment/ strategy. The over-arching goal of this social intervention and experiment/ strategy is to show a demonstration of the proposed design program in order to achieve the goal of the in-between space becoming an urban public space for all people due to the ambiguity of public space. The data indicated that people think public space as private space and vice versa. It is important point because it leads to unawareness in their public life and role. In accordance with the data people in the research area require public space that *offers activities in both global and local culture and offers adequate public places for people to gather, meet and discuss*.

#### *4.4.3 LANDSCAPE SOCIAL INTERVENTION AND EXPERIMENT/ STRATEGY*

This social intervention and experiment/ strategy was based on Thai culture, background, and the philosophy of the sufficiency economy of H.M. the King Rama IX of Thailand. The aim of the landscape social intervention and experiment/ strategy is to ensure coherence between the position and the program social interventions and experiments/ strategies. This social intervention and experiment/ strategy aims to apply a concept into reality in an urban context because Thai people know that the sufficiency economy is the sustainable

way and it is achievable no matter where they live. However, they need more encouragement so that it is possible to succeed even in dense urban areas. The concept of the landscape social intervention and experiment/ strategy integrates with the position and program social interventions and experiments/ strategies and applies to *'the in-between space.'*

Moreover, the landscape social intervention and experiment/ strategy aims to promote safety because *the empirical study indicated that the Siam Area is a safe area by 40%*, noting that the area is not as safe as perceived due to the economic conditions. If the landscape social intervention and experiment/ strategy is integrated with the sufficiency philosophy it is a way to decrease economic tension and competition for people in an urban area. The truly safe area contributes from inside not from outside as Jacob (1989) commented. *"It is kept primarily by an intricate, almost unconscious, network of voluntary controls and standards among the people themselves, and also nor is it illuminating to tag minority groups, or the poor, or the outcast with responsibility for city danger. There are immense variations in the degree of civilization and safety found among such groups and among the city areas where they live."*

Indeed, creating community gardens to grow local herbs and vegetables redesigns spaces and changes the image of associated landscapes. The concept of landscape social intervention and experiment/ strategy is using *the in-between space* to share both ideal and real benefit that it is not about business. It is about spirit of locality. As a reminder, the intention of the landscape social intervention and experiment/ strategy is in accordance with the idea that spatial actions can also reconfigure economic processes. Hijacking or borrowing urban spaces for unintended uses, substituting use value for exchange value can temporarily remove land from its market context and question its status as a commodity. We have seen the appearance of multiple alternative economies: recycling, bartering, gift exchange, methods of redistributing and remaking goods, information-sharing, and experiences based on generosity, usefulness, and pure play (Crawford, 2012).

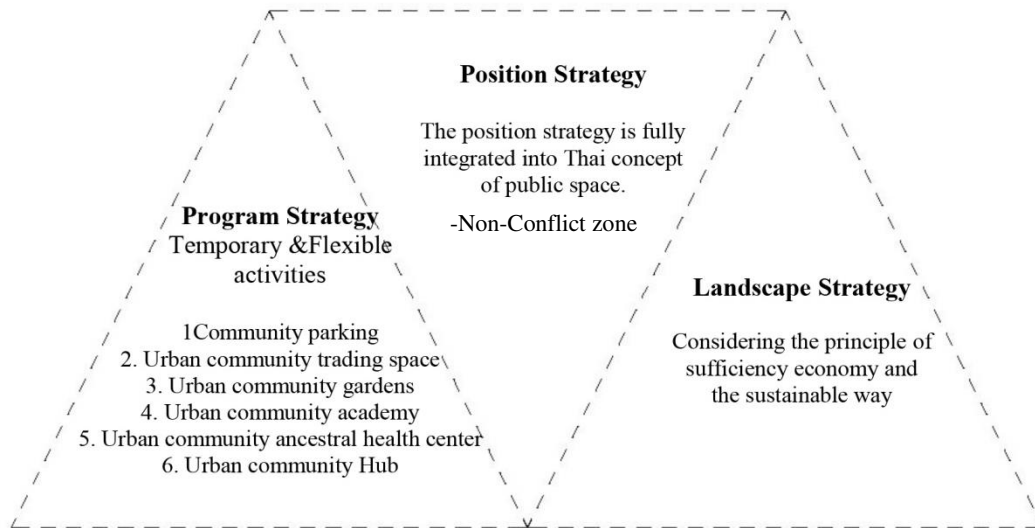


Figure 63 - An analytical diagram of the design framework of the in-between space in Thai context

Critically, the three social interventions and experiments/ strategies are a guideline to provide a proposed concept to create a sharing public space that is available for a range of activities, events, phenomena and encourages a strong response in users. Defining *the in-between space* as public is not figment because it is based on data collection, analysis and synthesis. It is well known that activities produce cultures in a society and culture-driven developments which acknowledge diversity and promotes the ability of individuals to freely participate in cultural life and access cultural assets.

People will significantly contribute to the building of a ‘living together’ culture and thus contribute to peace and human security. It is the intention of the proposed design framework to assemble various activities that can take place in *the in-between space* as a new kind of public space at the research site in Bangkok accordance with Thaification in accordance with Jan Gehl (1987) who suggests *life between buildings* that are well-designed shelters can provide opportunities for resting, stationary, and spontaneous activities. Suitable edges allow it to be private and part of the street or public and for events. The establishment of edges as transitional zones in small units belonging to someone scales with lingering functions which can be applied in all settings: buildings, neighborhoods and cities in order to support “life between buildings.” However, well-designed shelters for supporting life in life between buildings - the in-between space - are a different translation; they depend on factors in each social and cultural background. In the case of *life* in the in-between space in a Thai context it

is not the same from Western concepts in many aspects. The following expressions King (2011) mentioned in ‘Reading Bangkok’ were; *there are difficulties in understanding — reading — Bangkok. It is, at least to the Western eye, a city of chaos.* Unplanned zoning produces uncontrolled, fragmental or informal spaces like *the in-between space* at the research site. Notably, developed countries are more efficient in urban management than in Thailand. In many Asian cities, public spaces have been synonymous with spaces that are representing and controlled by the state. The everyday and more vibrant urban life tends to occur in the back street and alleyways, away from the official public domain (Hou, 2010, p. 4). This includes Thailand and the shopping malls, whilst open for the public, some groups cannot participate for economic reasons and they turn to use the in-between space instead.

The design framework can be applied to achieve the in-between because it is a positive example of urban management with a mixed program - based on the data collection and the empirical study - in an urban public space to minimize social differences and conflict of the inhabitants. Both the in-between space criteria and design framework can build and provide a new kind of urban public space performance as the common denominator to accelerate social interactions. Intentionally, the framework understands the research site as it contains *the in-between space* of old/new, global/local, spirit/capital and benefit/sharing. It justifies a new kind of public space where it would invite people to share *lives and benefits* in accordance with *Thaification*. The in-between space is succeeded when it is profoundly considered based on the urban structure and social relations in accordance with the empirical study.

In conclusion, the findings in terms of urban structure the data indicated that *41% of the Siam Area offers adequate public places for people to gather meet and discuss, 44% of the Siam Area has good public infrastructure for pedestrians, and 46% of the Siam Area provides access to basic needs (water, food, electricity).* Whereas, social relation is indicated by *43% of the Siam Area mixed social classes.* The data reflects basic public needs because they are all below 50 %, which can be assumed that people do not only want the shopping malls but also want public space where supported and appropriate to their social cultural needs in accordance with the frameworks and suggestions that apply in three social interventions and experiments/strategies. Therefore, the in-between space is an effective solution in a dense area such as the research site where a large area is not possible to be use as a public space.

*The in-between space criteria framework and the design framework of the in-between space must reflect spatial conditions of places of adjacent spaces and transitional functionality.*

The in-between space conveys different forms: interval layers, edges of place, or overlapping intersections. Therefore, the in-between space has indeed its own distinctiveness compared with the in-between space in a different context and different background. However, managing an urban area and space with deep understanding is crucial and fundamentally should have a clear set of guidelines which are adhered to. It makes people noticeably understanding and is certainly a starting point for future development in Thailand.



# CHAPTER V– CONCLUSION, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

## 5.1 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

From the main aim of this research an attempt is made to comprehend the causes of producing the in-between space. It identifies the criteria to determine spaces and activities which are overlapping at the research site together with those which occur between the population and Thai attitudes at incompatible places. Moreover, finding a solution for the concept of the in-between space can be successful coexistence of incompatible characters of places, which include applying the sustainable social intervention and experiment/ strategy for public spaces in order to promote living together in a dense city such as the research site. To achieve the concept of the in-between space it is necessary to determine the fundamental urban structure and characteristics of *Thaification*. Analyzing the conditions of the in-between space and the situation of the relationships are paramount to the places at the research site. The research suggests the following conclusion in accordance with the research questions:

### *5.1.1 THE CAUSES THAT HAVE LED TO PRODUCING “IN-BETWEEN” SPACES IN THE RESEARCH SITE*

The in-between space at the research site is produced by the criteria framework 1) *Definition of public and private spaces* 2) *Urban planning* 3) *Income disparities* 4) *Behavioral proposition* 5) *Cultures and Thaification* 6) *Religion and symbolic representations* 7) *Psychological considerations* 8) *Legislation* 9) *Conflict mitigation* in a complex but organized approach based on place background. Particularly inequality of access to social resources in a Thai context does not only enable people to remember its significance. The in-between space also induces people to pause and stay at intervals between places and to appreciate the environmental presence in juxtaposition. Interval pauses that are spontaneous have the potential to connect the context results from concrete and living forms of the in-between space.

Remarkably, the concept of in-between space in Bangkok can be understood through micro urban life where high density of narrow lanes/ passages/ streets. In addition to a micro space is often run between high-rise buildings reveals *micro-urban life* with its micro culture,

micro social interactions, micro trades, micro businesses, and its micro governance and micro rules. It is difficult for people who live in low dense cities to perceive and understand the identifiable living in-between space due to the absence of those in-between spaces and associated phenomenon.

*5.1.2 THE SITUATIONS FOR THE DIFFERENT TARGETED GROUPS OF THE IN-BETWEEN SPACE PLAY A ROLE IN THAI ATTITUDE(S) TOWARDS SEEMINGLY INCOMPATIBLE CHARACTERS OF PLACES*

Thailand and its unique *Thaification*, a cluster of values, habits, beliefs, strongly influences Thais. The coin of *Thaification*, like any coin, has two sides. The strengths are the cultural identities become slogans promoted by the Tourism Authority of Thailand, “Land of smiles”. By comparison the weaknesses are the capacity of a population to resist and not to embrace globalization; straddling worlds, tradition or modernity. The public does not feel negativity with the incompatible nature of spaces even if they have an unequal atmosphere as long as they can join and access some sort of this area for their survival and sustainability. Some of data from the empirical study showed *the Siam Area* creates conflicts between *the social classes* by 44% including the fact view that *the Siam Area* creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a school at 45%. In addition, *the Siam Area* creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a Temple 49%, for example. It is significant for the public if equality is promoted in this area as it is such a fundamentally important area from all dimensions in Bangkok. Consequently, the public have damned the Bangkok authorities for not being fully *Thaification* compliant and ultimately consider their inactions and inability to elaborate adequate urban planning as insidious blasphemy.

The researcher found from the research data that local people can manage their small spaces in incompatible places as shown in the in-between space criteria framework. Normally, Thai attitudes naturally escape confrontation and instead express respect, friendliness or submission. They are often seen sharing and helping each other. This is a way of dealing with others and for maintaining harmony in their relationship. This peaceful atmosphere is required in order to maintain personal and public relationships of living together in a Thai society, which is a dependent society from each other. This is the Thai attitude for living together even amongst difference. Potentially, the research site represents one historical place in Bangkok

that has been dominated by imported modern life and modern public spaces. The shopping malls and global culture are not an identity which is considered as a non-place which is close to the Wat Pathumwanaram where is the Third Class Royal temple and the old community/slum. Local knowledge of the community is valuable because they know how to manage in a small urban area to survive. This is observed by trace over, adjustment, change and improvement throughout the in-between space, even if there is informal management. Therefore, public spaces, in terms of *the in-between space* in a Thai context, is the ability to adapt, adjust and to utilize spaces in order to respond to their needs and social criteria in accordance with cultural character/Thaification which is humble and compromising with different incompatible elements.

### 5.1.3 THE CONCEPT OF THE IN-BETWEEN SPACE CREATE A SUCCESSFUL COEXISTENCE OF DIFFERENT TARGETED GROUPS AT THE RESEARCH SITE

The research denoted that harmony and co-existence is possible provided a relevant criterion is considered up-front with urban planning social interventions and experiments/strategies based on the in-between criteria framework. This criterion should be applied for a successful coexistence of different groups at the research site in Bangkok. The research is analyzed and suggested without the intention to be overly optimistic.

Unplanned zoning at the research site produces coexistence which creates significant gaps in various dimensions amongst difference. In this context, a paradox of coexistence is consumerism /Buddhism, old/new, local/global, and luxury/indulgence at the research site. It is a paradox of a successful and unsuccessful coexistence at the same time. In this situation the in-between space is an important coexistence which creates activities that differ from those within the research site.

Taking advantage of existing spaces at the research site, the in-between place becomes a critical situation in order to develop systemic relationships between incompatible elements that need to be connected to adaptive social layers of space for harmonic coexistence. The concept is to create a successful coexistence of difference at the research site with an ecosystem comprising of 1) *Society Management*, which is directly concerned with the understanding of *Thaification*. 2) *Urban Public Space and Architectural Management* is a key management role

at the research site and in Thai society building equal atmospheres at public spaces. 3) *Social Management* encourages equal atmosphere at public spaces- *the in-between space* in the city.

The concept of associated urban planning management has to be considered in terms of successful coexistence of differences at the research site. The in-between space is an important way of micro-urban life to reduce the conflict from inequality and encourage sharing of public life within public spaces in a Thai context.

#### 5.1.4 THE SOCIAL INTERVENTION AND EXPERIMENT/ STRATEGY SHOULD BE APPLIED TO ACHIEVE THIS SUSTAINABLE BASIS

Those criteria helped to articulate three comprehensible social interventions and experiments/ strategies in terms of temporary & flexible activities called the design framework of the in-between space: 1) *Position* 2) *Program and distribution* 3) *Landscape*.

The program for social intervention and experiment/ strategy proposes six main social components and social activities: a) *community parking* b) *urban community trading space* c) *urban community gardens* d) *an urban community academy* e) *an urban community ancestral health center* and f) *an urban community hub*. They are concepts of flexible and temporary activities which still keep the character of the in-between space, which is informal public space and social intervention and experiment/ strategy creation of a shared public space.

The three sets of criteria and social interventions and experiments/ strategies - *the design framework of the in-between space*- consist of I) *Program strategy: temporary & flexible activities* II) *Position Strategy* III) *Landscape strategy*. they were experimented in this research in order to recommend a design proposal for the sharing of urban public space in terms of the in-between space. The design proposal is an example of a practical solution at the existing Siam area proposed by designs in appendix (2). Because of definite, intimate sub-domains on adjacent edges and visual connections, the in-between space can provide urban shelter/relaxation for the urban community and learning for building a sustainable society. The programs of the design proposal in sort of public space have been lost from the area. The survival, of which, being dependent on the different activities from a social context.

The overall scenario of the three social intervention and experiment/ strategy aims to guide building public spaces of experiential interactions in organized complexity play an

important role to shape identifiable living in-between. This is in addition to the sense of intimate relationships and environmental incidences; the in-between space conveys the communal quality which can be public. The in-between space gathers the essence of defined containments depicting us to connect with the situational context and background at edging domains of environmental contiguity.

In conclusion, the finding of this research verifies the hypothesis as following: *the spatial concept of the in-between space* explicitly presents micro-urban life and living interval realms of constructive associations between *incompatible characters of places*. The concept enables us to progressively *understand* the potential of spaces between places in terms of sharing urban public spaces in the dense area. Moreover, it supports that *social interventions and experiments/ strategies* need to be contemplated in accordance with place background from a Thai context. Therefore, the in-between space performs as the third articulating space of edging layer as a critical bridge to bond *coexistence of different target groups within a complex spatial configuration*. The in-between space reduces inequality resulting in a balance between the upper and lower classes in addition to local and global social atmospheres.

## 5.2 DISCUSSIONS

The results highlighted major considerations and the criteria to be taken into account by architects and urban planners. If effective, an efficient framework of the in-between space can be successfully applied to a coherent architectural proposal based on Thai economic, social, cultural, political, and religious dimensions - *Thaiification*.

The empirical study contained observations and interviews that comprised of 1) *users on-site* 2) *remote users or visitors, architects and urban scholars* who are educated people that understand the pros and cons of the Siam area from an architectural and social point of view. Interestingly, the results of the interviews are not significantly different between the general public and the architects. The research was not conducted to interview a Royal representative or authority because the researcher aimed to use a bottom-up instead of a top-down perspective of development which is the regular way of development in Thailand. The potentially most significant reason is that the image of the authorities not only illustrates but is considered to be biased and corrupt.

Before being ensnared in the details, it is crucial to understand complexities of the current state on what is happening in the Siam area/district.

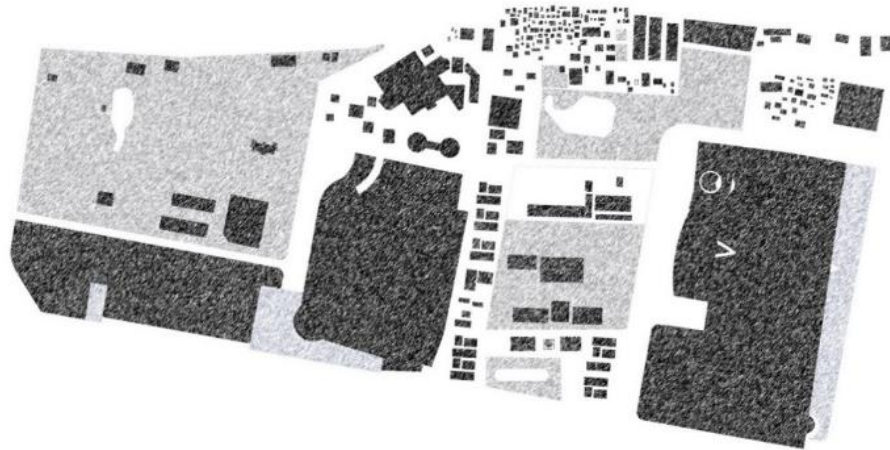
Noticeably since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the economy leads the development of Bangkok. By reviewing the current state of the world, globalization is an inevitable reality. The root cause is essentially *making profit*. Companies logically extend their businesses where customers can afford their products and services, irrespective of the religion and/or the nationality. A natural human and political reaction would be for Bangkok authorities to abundantly legislate by releasing numerous policies. At the same time, the poverty stricken people in the slums are struggling to find work but the market is mainly regulated by supply and demand. Without any shopping malls, thousands of indirect workers and direct employees would be unemployed. Without shopping malls, receivable taxes would be lower than expected by the city. All governments in the world rely on taxes to finance their investments. The enormous gap between incomes pushes social acceptance to its limit: conflicts appear, social classes clash during protests and temptations arise to adopt the globalized life style that is often associated with debts. The unequal atmosphere is raised and dominated in broad social dimensions including public space which may not be provided because it has never been seen to be advantageous compared to business requirements.

The data was analyzed and interpreted to reveal specific criteria and patterns of the extent to which the research objectives have been achieved through the elaboration of 1) *the in-between space criteria framework* 2) *the design framework of the in-between space*. The frameworks are to be applied at the research site based on urban structure.

<b><i>The In-Between Space As a kind of Sharing Urban Public Space</i></b>	<i>The in-between space criteria framework</i>
	<i>The design framework of the in-between space</i>

**Table 12 - The sequential framework of the in-between space essence of the research**

From an architectural and urban planning point of view, in the Siam area, these compatible elements in the different categories of place and social class exist in close proximity to one another: monarchy, a slum, a temple and its school and luxurious shopping malls. It indicates city development as a way of *Thaification* - economic, social, cultural, political, and Buddhist criteria - consequently the overlapping condition of spaces is produced, the in-between space, like the city of collage which opens to combine relevant incidents. From a socio-ethnic point of view, in the Siam area, there is a human collage combining people from all Thai social classes, from the poverty stricken to high-net worth individuals; This is representing the majority of inhabitants in the surroundings and slums.



**Figure 64 - Development on the research site without planning created the city like a piece of collage in an artwork**

This dissertation was to understand the overall criterion that produces *in-between spaces* in the important politics, economic and cultural area in Bangkok. The research illustrates that improper urban planning; relevant social relations economic inequality, and Thai culture/ *Thaification* are the key criteria in order to produce the in-between space. The research also suggests practical frameworks can be used efficiently to apprehend and compromise social polarization. The frameworks are useful to take into consideration a design or concept during the urban planning creation to become an urban public space for the public can share in the future. As intentionally restricted by this study, data was only collected in the Siam area, Bangkok.

### 5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

This research aimed to comprehend the in-between space in a Thai context - the synthesized relationship between both theories and the diverse backgrounds of places at the research site. The researcher attempts to understand the notion of the in-between space from a cluster of different places and social complexity by looking forward to the challenges of being able to extend the public space boundary in the form of the in-between space. There are still complications that need to be addressed both theoretically and professionally. As the research results of the in-between space are open-ended some definitions of public space in other developed countries can assist in understanding the criteria and theory, but this is not applicable in all cases. As long as places include spaces in-between places have evolved creating movement and greater perspective which directly concerns spaces between places. They should impose a new concept to refine the in-between space appropriate in a different context and time.

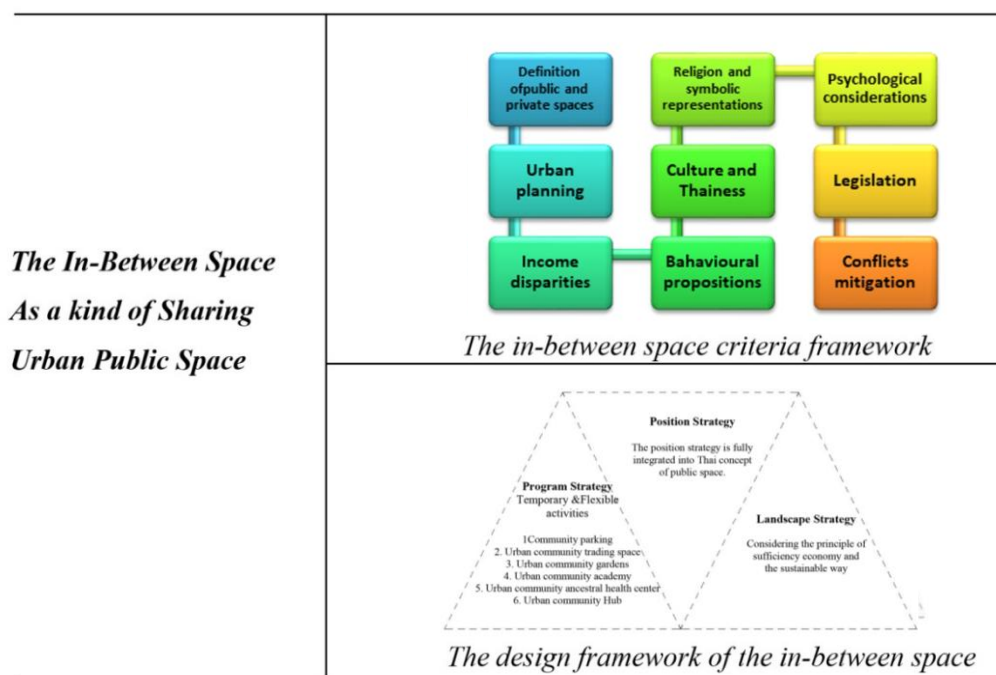
A further aim is to apply the in-between space concept into *public spaces* in terms of architectural practice and urban planning. The in-between space creates another critical, fundamental layer to reciprocally bond environmental juxtapositions as the whole. Therefore, the proposed question is, how developing the in-between space in a Thai context will establish a systemic interconnected fabric network within the entire dimensions of each place as part of environmental design in the form of architectural and urban design. Moreover, how the in-between space will improve a cast-off space to become a meaningful public space in accordance with the criteria. With more information of the in-between space, it may be possible to promote design education and professions with the aim of enhancing the physical environment we live in so as to support and increase our quality of life in urban cities or/and dense areas. The comprehensive concept of the in-between space can create successful coexistence of different targeted groups.

The role of architects is important in the development process of any city. Many points should be considered as the role of architects that can support achieving *the in-between space* in *public spaces*. For instance, the criteria of a design framework of *the in-between space*. Deep understanding of the conditions whether they are cultural, economic or social are still the issues that affect social discrimination between inside and outside connections of spaces between places in dense areas of the city and their effective use. Including political poles this has never



stopped to be a point in Thai society including their beliefs in religion, which is the same as Buddhism. These are the fundamental overall points that architects should integrate and consider.

Further consideration has to be made to the fact that Bangkok is not the same throughout Thailand. Bangkok has its own local mentality and culture. Consequently, what has been observed in the Siam Area might not be observed in a different city, such as, Chang Mai in the North or Phuket in the South, where additional criteria could be found and used accordingly.



**Figure 65- The essence of the associated frameworks of the in-between space in Thai context**

Finally, understanding ourselves is the essence of the associated framework of the in-between space. This is part of the research and does not require the development of new architectural styles but the rethinking of urban planning and the interaction of urban public spaces even in a dense area such as the Siam Area. Such frameworks have never been suggested in Thai society before, therefore it is a more challenging approach than has been adopted in the past.

## REFERENCES

- Abel, C., & Foster, N. (2012). *Architecture and Identity*. Routledge.
- Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., & Turner, B. S. (2006). *The Penguin dictionary of sociology* (5. ed). London: Penguin.
- Adams, W. M. (2006). The Future of Sustainability: Re-thinking Environment and Development in the Twenty-first Century. Present to IUCN Renowned Thinkers Meeting. Retrieved June 20, 2014, from [http://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/iucn\\_future\\_of\\_sustainability.pdf](http://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/iucn_future_of_sustainability.pdf)
- Afary, J., & Anderson, K. B. (2010). *Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism*. University of Chicago Press.
- Altman, D. (2002). *Global Sex*. University of Chicago Press.
- Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall. (2015). In *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*. Retrieved June 14, 2015, from [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ananta\\_Samakhom\\_Throne\\_Hall&oldid=666874537](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ananta_Samakhom_Throne_Hall&oldid=666874537)
- Anderson, B., & McFarlane, C. (2011). Assemblage and geography. *Area*, 43(2), 124-127. Retrieved June 20, 2014, from <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2011.01004.x>
- Andrew, D. P. S., Pedersen, P. M., & McEvoy, C. D. (2011). *Research Methods and Design in Sport Management*. Human Kinetics.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press.
- Applebaum, H. A. (1992). *The Concept of Work: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern*. SUNY Press.
- Askew, M. (2004a). *Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation*. Routledge.
- Askew, M. (2004b). *Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation*. Routledge.
- Askew, M. (2010). *Legitimacy Crisis in Thailand*. Silkworm Books.
- Augé, M. (1995a). *Non-lieux*. Verso.
- Augé, M. (1995b). *Non-lieux*. Verso.
- Ayyub, B. M. (2001). *Elicitation of Expert Opinions for Uncertainty and Risks*. CRC Press.

- Azlan, N. I. (2013). *Research Methodology in Landscape Architecture*. Trafford.
- Baker, C., & Phongpaichit, P. (2009). *A History of Thailand*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ballantyne, A. (2005). *Architecture Theory: A Reader in Philosophy and Culture*. A&C Black.
- Bardi, U. (2011). *The Limits to Growth Revisited*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Baumeister, R., & Lee, S. (2007). *The Domestic and the Foreign in Architecture*. 010 Publishers.
- Benhabib, S. (1992). Models of public space: Hannah Arendt, the liberal tradition and Jürgen Habermas . In C. Calhoun, *Habermas and the public sphere* (pp. 89-120). London: MIT Press.
- Bettelheim, B. (1967). *Love is not enough: the treatment of emotionally disturbed children*. New York; London: Free Press; Collier Macmillan.
- Bhargava, V. K., & Bolongaita, E. P. (2004). *Challenging Corruption in Asia: Case Studies and a Framework for Action*. World Bank Publications.
- Bishop, R., & Robinson, L. S. (1998). *Night Market: Sexual Cultures and the Thai Economic Miracle*. Psychology Press.
- Borja, J. (1998). Citizenship and public space. *Ciutat real, ciutat ideal. Significat i funció a l'espai urbà modern*, 56.
- Bowring, J. (2013). *Margaret Crawford and People of Siam: With a Narrative of the Mission to that Country in 1855*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brooks-Gunn, J. (1997). *Neighborhood Poverty, Volume 1: Context and Consequences for Children: Context and Consequences for Children*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Brookes, T. R. (2012). *INSIDE / OUTSIDE and the [inbetween]*. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, School of Architecture.
- Burton, E., Jenks, M., & Williams, K. (2003). *The Compact City: A Sustainable Urban Form?* Routledge.
- Can, Is, in, Heath, Tim. (2016). In-between spaces and social interaction: a morphological analysis of Izmir using space syntax. Volume 31, Issue 1, pp 31–49. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*.
- Carducci, B. J. (2009). *The Psychology of Personality: Viewpoints, Research, and Applications*. John Wiley & Sons.

- Chalapati, S. (2008). Sufficiency Economy as a Response to The Problem of Poverty in Thailand. *Asian Social Science*, 4(7). Retrieved May 10, 2009, from <http://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v4n7p3>
- Chua, B.-H. (2002). *Consumption in Asia: Lifestyle and Identities*. Routledge.
- Christopher Alexander, S. I. (1997). *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cicalo, E. (2013). Designing public spaces and constructing public spheres: a Manifesto. In *City Project and Public Space* (p. 219). Springer Science & Business Media.
- Connors, M. K. (2007). *Democracy and National Identity in Thailand*. NIAS Press.
- Contagion and Convalescence: Capital Liberalization, Capital Controls, and the East Asian Financial Crisis. Case Study: Thailand and Malaysia*. (2007). ProQuest.
- Cousins, D. P. A. K. (2008). *From Resource Scarcity to Ecological Security Exploring New Limits to Growth*. Academic Foundation.
- Crane, G. T. (1997). *The Theoretical Evolution of International Political Economy: A Reader*. Oxford University Press.
- Abel, C. &. (2012). *Architecture and Identity*. Routledge.
- Abercrombie, N. H. (2006). *The Penguin dictionary of sociology (5. ed)*. London: Penguin.
- Adams, W. M. (2006). *The Future of Sustainability: Re-thinking Environment and Development in the Twenty-first Century. Present to IUCN Renowned Thinkers Meeting*. Retrieved June 20, 2014, from [http://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/iucn\\_future\\_of\\_sustanabilit](http://cmsdata.iucn.org/downloads/iucn_future_of_sustanabilit)
- Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall*. (2015, December 25). Retrieved June 14, 2015, from Wikipedia:  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ananta\\_Samakhom\\_Throne\\_Hall&oldid=666874537](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ananta_Samakhom_Throne_Hall&oldid=666874537)
- Anderson, B. &. (2011). *Assemblage and geography*: . Retrieved June 20, 2014, from <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2011.01004.x>

- Benhabib, S. (1992). Models of public space: Hannah Arendt, the liberal tradition and Jürgen Habermas . In C. Calhoun, *Habermas and the public sphere* (pp. 89-120). London: MIT Press.
- Chalapati, S. (2008, July 8). *Sufficiency Economy as a Response to The Problem of Poverty in Thailand*. *Asian Social Science*, 4(7). Retrieved May 10, 2009, from <http://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v4n7p3>
- Christopher Alexander, S. I. (1997). *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Crawford, M. (2012). *Urban Interventions and the Right to the City*. Retrieved from <http://www.spontaneousinterventions.org/reading/an-essay>
- Deming, M. E. ((2011a)). *Landscape Architectural Research: Inquiry, Strategy, Design*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Deming, M. E. ((2011b)). *Landscape Architectural Research: Inquiry, Strategy, Design*. . John Wiley & Sons.
- Deutsche, R. (1998). *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*. MIT Press.
- Development, I. I. for E. &. (1994a). *Evictions*. IIED.
- (1994b). *Development, I. I. for E. &. Evictions*. . IIED.
- Dovey, K. (2009). *Becoming Places: Urbanism / Architecture / Identity / Power*. Routledge.
- Dovey, K. (2012, March 23). *Informal urbanism and complex adaptive assemblage*. *International Development Planning Review*, 34(4), 349-368. Retrieved April 20, 2014
- Dubreuil, B. (2010). *Human evolution and the origins of hierarchies: the state of nature*. . Cambridge [u.a.]: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Eawsriwong, N. (2005). *Pen & Sail*. Silkworm Books.

- Emmel, N. (2013). *Sampling and Choosing Cases in Qualitative Research: A Realist Approach*. SAGE.
- Ennenbach, M. (2015). *Buddhist Psychotherapy: A Guide for Beneficial Changes*. . Lotus Press.
- Evans, P. B. (2002). *Livable Cities?: Urban Struggles for Livelihood and Sustainability*. (n.d.)(2013). 1022. University of California Press.
- Eyck, A. v. (1968). *Team 10 Primer*. (A. Smithson, Ed.) Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Fardon, R. (2003). *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge*. . Routledge.
- Funatsu, T. K. (2003). The middle classes in Thailand : The rise of the urban intellectual elite and their social consciousness. *The Development Economics*, XLI-2, 243-63.
- Goode, L. ( 2005). *Jürgen Habermas: democracy and the public sphere*. London : Pluto Press.
- Heidegger, M. (1971). *“Building, Dwelling, Thinking” in Poetry, Language, Thought*. New York: Harper Colophon.
- Heng, S. H.-M. (2010). *State and Secularism: Perspectives from Asia*. (C. T. Liew, Ed.) Singapore: World Scientific Publishing.
- Hou, J. (2010). (Not) your everyday public space : Public space: democracy, exclusion, and politic control. In J. Hou, *Insurgent public space: Guerrilla urbanism and the remaking of contemporary cities* (pp. 1-17). London and New York: Routledge.
- King, R. D. (2013, volume 31). Interstitial metamorphoses: informal urbanism and the *Environment and Planning : Society and Space* , 1022 – 1040.
- King, R., & Dovey, K. (2013). 1037.
- King, R., & Dovey, K. (2013). 1022.
- Kleinsasser, W. (1981). *Unpublished course manuscript, Department of Architecture* . Eugene: University of Oregon.

Laiprakobsup, N. (2007). *Inbetween Place: The emergence of the essence*. Texas A&M University: Dissertations .

Prasertkul, S. (2018, March 10). *Seksan blasts divisive politics*. Retrieved March 12, 2018, from Bangkok post: 'Thainess'

<https://www.bangkokpost.com/news/politics/1425439/seksan-blasts-divisive-politics>

Wattanasukchai, S. (2017, August 24). *Pedestrians, once again, get raw deal*. Retrieved January 15, 2018, from Bangkokpost:

<https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/1312031/pedestrians-once-again-get-raw-deal>

Laiprakobsup, N. (2007). *Inbetween Place: The emergence of the essence*. *Dissertations available from ProQuest*, 1-228

Lao, R. (2015). *A Critical Study of Thailand's Higher Education Reforms: The culture of borrowing*. Routledge.

Lo, R. (1986). *Between Two Worlds: The window and the relationship of inside to outside*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University of Wellington.

Larice, M., & Macdonald, E. (2013). *The Urban Design Reader*. Routledge.

Leach, N. (2005). *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*. Routledge.

Lim, W. S. (2013). *Public Space in Urban Asia*. World Scientific.

Limin, H., Liang, L. B., & Kiang, H. C. (2010). *On Asian Streets and Public Space*. NUS Press.

Lin, J., & Mele, C. (2012). *The Urban Sociology Reader*. Routledge.

Lynch, K., Banerjee, T., & Southworth, M. (1995). *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch*. MIT Press.

Madanipour, A. (2003). *Public and Private Spaces of the City*. Psychology Press.

Maliki, N.Z, Abdullah, A., & Bahauddin, A. (2015). Recalling the Transitional Space: City home and Kampung. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences (ISI)*,170, 605 – 612.

Martini, C., & Boumans, M. (2014). *Experts and Consensus in Social Science*. Springer.

- Maslow, A. H. (1943). A Theory of Human Motivation. *Psychological Review*, (50), 370-396.
- Maty, C., & Baudrand, M.-A. (1701). *Dictionnaire géographique universel ...*
- Mishra, P. (2011). *An End to Suffering: The Buddha in the World*. Pan Macmillan.
- Missingham, B. D. (2003). *The Assembly of the Poor in Thailand: From Local Struggles to National Protest Movement*. Silkworm Books.
- Mydans, S. (2011). New Rule of Law in Thailand May Be a Leader's Downfall. Retrieved December 3, 2013, from The New York Times.:  
<http://www.nytimes.com/2001/07/30/world/new-rule-of-law-in-thailand-may-be-a-leader-s-downfall.html>
- Narvaez, D., & Lapsley, D. K. (2009). *Personality, Identity, and Character: Explorations in Moral Psychology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Neher, C. D. (1979). *Modern Thai Politics: From Village to Nation*. Transaction Publishers.
- Nelson, M. H. (2009). Political reform in Thailand: Structural and ideological issues. Retrieved June 20, 2011, from  
<http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/newmandala/2009/05/18/political-reform-in-thailand-structural-and-ideological-issues/>
- Neumeier, M. (2005). *The Brand Gap, Revised Edition*. Peachpit Press.
- Nitaya, O. (1999). THAI WOMEN: Changing Status and Roles During the Course of Thai Modernization (1). 3, 133–152.
- Noobanjong, K. (2003a). *Power, Identity, and the Rise of Modern Architecture: From Siam to Thailand*. Universal-Publishers.
- Noobanjong, K. (2003b). *Power, Identity, and the Rise of Modern Architecture: From Siam to Thailand*. Universal-Publishers.
- Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980a). *Genius loci: towards a phenomenology of architecture*. Academy Editions.
- Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980b). *Genius loci: towards a phenomenology of architecture*. Academy Editions.
- Nooraddin, Hoshiar. (2002). In-between space: Towards establishing new methods in Street design. GBER Vol. 2 No. 1 pp 50 -57. University of Oslo, Norway.
- Nugent, D., & Vincent, J. (2008). *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*. John Wiley & Sons.



- Numnonda, T. (2005). เมืองไทย สมัยสงครามโลกครั้งที่ สอง: ยุคเชื้อผู้นำชาติพันธุ์. สายธาร.
- O'Brien, M., Staphenurst, R., & Johnston, N. (2008). *Parliaments as Peacebuilders in Conflict-affected Countries*. World Bank Publications.
- O'Grady, J., May, J. D., & Schüttke-Scherle, P. (2007). *Ecumenics from the Rim: Explorations in Honour of John D'Arcy May*. LIT Verlag Münster.
- Panaïoti, A. (2013). *Nietzsche and Buddhist Philosophy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pantasin, A. (2001). *Buddhist economics: Evolution Theory and Applications to various fields of Economics*. Bangkok: Amarin.
- Pearson, M. P., & Richards, C. (2003). *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*. Routledge.
- Phaya Thai Palace. (2015). Retrieved May 6, 2016, from In Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia: [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Phaya\\_Thai\\_Palace&oldid=687421260](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Phaya_Thai_Palace&oldid=687421260)
- Phornchokchai, S. (1992). *Bangkok Slums: Review and Recommendations*. School of Urban Community Research and Actions Agency for Real Estate Affairs.
- Phongpaichit, P., & Phiriyarangsarn, S. (1996). *Corruption and Democracy in Thailand*. Silkworm Books.
- Phongpaichit, P., & พงษ์ไพจิตรผาสุก. (2006). การต่อสู้ของทุนไทย: การปรับตัวและพลวัต. สำนักพิมพ์มติชน.
- PhraDhammapidok. (2002). *Buddhist Economics* (5th ed.). Bangkok: KomolKrem Thong foundation.
- Pickett, S. T. A., Cadenasso, M. L., & McGrath, B. (2013). *Resilience in Ecology and Urban Design: Linking Theory and Practice for Sustainable Cities*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Planning, Reporting & Designing Research*. (2001). Pearson South Africa.
- Podeh, E. (2011). *The Politics of National Celebrations in the Arab Middle East*. Cambridge University Press.
- Prasertkul, S. (2018, March 10). Seksan blasts divisive politics. Retrieved March 12, 2018, from Bangkok post: 'Thainess'  
<https://www.bangkokpost.com/news/politics/1425439/seksan-blasts-divisive-politics>
- Preiser, W. F. E., Davis, A. T., Salama, A. M., & Hardy, A. (2014). *Architecture Beyond Criticism: Expert Judgment and Performance Evaluation*. Routledge.

- Pruetipibultham, O. (2010). The sufficiency economy philosophy and strategic HRD: a sustainable development for Thailand. *Human Resource Development International*, 13(1), 99-110. Retrieved October 15, 2012, from <http://doi.org/10.1080/13678861003589073>
- Puntasen, A. (2001). *Buddhist Economics: evolution, theories and it's application to various economics subjects*. Amarin Publishing Companies.
- Real Estate Information Center. (s. d.). (2017). Retrieved July 21, 2018, from [http://www.reic.or.th/news/news\\_detail.asp?nID=269s11&p=1&s=15&t=12](http://www.reic.or.th/news/news_detail.asp?nID=269s11&p=1&s=15&t=12)
- Reid, A. (2015). *A history of Southeast Asia*. Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Reynolds, C. J. (2002). *National Identity and Its Defenders: Thailand Today*. Silkworm Books.
- Richter, F.-J. (1999). *Business Networks in Asia: Promises, Doubts, and Perspectives*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Ring, T., Salkin, R. M., & Boda, S. L. (1994). *International Dictionary of Historic Places: Asia and Oceania*. Fitzroy Dearborn.
- Roller, M. R., & Lavrakas, P. J. (2015). *Applied Qualitative Research Design: A Total Quality Framework Approach*. Guilford Publications.
- Sathapitanon, N., & Mertens, B. (2012). *Architecture of Thailand: A Guide to Traditional and Contemporary Forms*. Editions Didier Millet.
- Scherer, M. (2013). *Beyond Church and State: Democracy, Secularism, and Conversion*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, F., & Enste, D. (2002). Hiding in the Shadows: The Growth of the Underground Economy. International Monetary Fund. Retrieved May 3, 2013, from <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/issues/issues30/>
- Scott, R. M. (2009). *Nirvana for Sale?: Buddhism, Wealth, and the Dhammakaya Temple in Contemporary Thailand*. SUNY Press.
- Siam Paragon tops Facebook globally - The Nation. (s. d.). (2016). Retrieved March 3, 2017, from <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/breakingnews/Siam-Paragon-tops-Facebook-globally-30274815.html>
- Sime, J. D. (1986). Creating places or designing spaces? *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 6(1), 49-63. Retrieved August 7, 2017, from [http://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-4944\(86\)80034-2](http://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-4944(86)80034-2)

Sinnott, M. (2002). *Transgender Identity and Same-sex Relationships in Thailand: Tom-Dee*. University of Wisconsin--Madison.

Society, S. (1931). *Journal of the Siam Society*.

Stachowicz-Stanusch, A. (2010). *Organizational Immunity to Corruption: Building Theoretical and Research Foundations*. IAP.

Storey, J. (2014). *From Popular Culture to Everyday Life*. Routledge.

Stringer, E. T., Agnello, M. F., Baldwin, S. C., Christensen, L. M., & Henry, D. L. P. (2014). *Community-Based Ethnography: Breaking Traditional Boundaries of Research, Teaching, and Learning*. Psychology Press.

*Sufficiency Economy: A New Philosophy in the Global World: 100 Interviews with Business Professionals*. (2007). Thai Chamber of Commerce.

Surhone, L. M., Timpledon, M. T., & Marseken, S. F. (2010). *Siamese Revolution of 1932*. VDM Publishing.

Susen, S., & Turner, B. S. (2013). *The Legacy of Pierre Bourdieu: Critical Essays*. Anthem Press.

Sustainability. Retrieved February 16, 2016, from In Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia: <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Sustainability&oldid=706258950>

Suwannathat-Pian, K. (1995). *Thailand's durable Premier: Phibun through three decades, 1932-1957*. Oxford University Press.

Taylor, J. (2008). *Buddhism and Postmodern Imaginings in Thailand: The Religiosity of Urban Space*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Teixeira, A. A. C., Pimenta, C., Maia, A., & Moreira, J. A. (2015). *Corruption, Economic Growth and Globalization*. Routledge.

Tepwongsirirat, P. (2005). The vendor and the street: The use and management of public spaces in Bangkok. *Dissertations available from ProQuest*, 1-292.

Terwiel, B. J. (1980). *Field Marshal Plaek Phibun Songkhram*. University of Queensland Press.

The real name of Bangkok is the longest city name on Earth. (s. d.). Retrieved July 10, 2018, from <https://theculturetrip.com/asia/thailand/articles/bangkoks-full-name-is-the-longest-city-place-name-in-the-world/>

*Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments*. (2006). The Association.

Transparency International - The Global Anti-Corruption Coalition. (s. d.). Retrieved November 20, 2018, from <https://www.transparency.org/cpi2018>

Tschumi, Bernard. (2000). *Event-Cities 2*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Turpin, F. H. (2014). *History of the Kingdom of Siam and of the revolutions that have caused the overthrow of the empire, up to A. D. 1770*. American Presby. Mission Press.

*Unesco chronicle*. (1957). United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Unger, D. (1998). *Building Social Capital in Thailand: Fibers, Finance and Infrastructure*. Cambridge University Press.

Vella, W. F. (1957). *Siam under Rama III, 1824-1851*. Published by J.J. Augustin.

Waites, D. (2014). *CultureShock! Bangkok*. Marshall Cavendish International Asia Pte Ltd.

Walker, A. (2012). *Thailand's Political Peasants: Power in the Modern Rural Economy*. University of Wisconsin Pres.

Wall, E., & Waterman, T. (2010). *Basics Landscape Architecture 01: Urban Design*. AVA Publishing.

Wattanasukchai, S. (2017). Pedestrians, once again, get raw deal. Retrieved January 15, 2018, from Bangkokpost: <https://www.bangkokpost.com/opinion/opinion/1312031/pedestrians-once-again-get-raw-deal>

Wilson, A. (2004). *The intimate economies of Bangkok: tomboys, tycoons, and Avon ladies in the global city*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Winichakul, T. (1994). *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. University of Hawaii Press.

Wongthet, S. (2005). กรุงเทพฯ มาจากไหน? Matichon.

การเปลี่ยนแปลงราคาที่ดินและที่อยู่อาศัย พ.ศ.2528-2555 (s. d.). (2018). Retrieved November 25, 2018, from [http://www.treasury.go.th/download/PDF\\_Price\\_assessment/bkk\\_New\\_01.pdf](http://www.treasury.go.th/download/PDF_Price_assessment/bkk_New_01.pdf)

นิธิ เอียวศรีวงศ์ (2015). ความเป็นไทยที่เคลื่อนคลาย. Retrieved February 7, 2016, from [http://www.matichon.co.th/news\\_detail.php?newsid=1373779415](http://www.matichon.co.th/news_detail.php?newsid=1373779415)

## LIST OF TABLES

Figure 1 - Research site - Siam Area - Bangkok .....	11
Figure 2 - Edward T. Hall's personal reaction bubbles, showing radius in feet and meters ....	12
Figure 3 - Data analysis/integrity from the data collection process.....	20
Figure 4- A space lying between or among defined spaces at Stephansplatz.....	28
Figure 5- Overlapping or recessed space at the edge or between different spaces at Stephansplatz .....	29
Figure 6 – The overview of the research site .....	31
Figure 7 – The Figure –ground of the elements on the research site.....	32
Figure 8 - Ratakosin Island – Grand Palace and the Sanum Luang (The Palace Lawn) .....	35
Figure 9 - Wat Yan Nawa (Thai: วัดยานนาวา) is an example of Chinese influences in architecture .....	37
Figure 10 - Poster from the Marshal Plaek era – left prohibited “uncivilized” dress – right promotes “civilized” dress .....	40
Figure 11 – Western influences and Thaification adaptation in the same building.....	44
Figure 12 – Example of European architecture influence within Bangkok - Ananta Samakhom Throne Hall .....	45
Figure 13 - MahaNakhon Project – Globalized and universalism architecture.....	47
Figure 14 - Bangkok Art and Culture Centre (BACC) – Merge between modern architecture and Thaification .....	48
Figure 15 – Shape of the building created from various Thai artefacts.....	48
Figure 16 - Ritual of the Teacher’s Day - Hierarchical principle .....	51
Figure 17 - Social class in Thailand.....	51
Figure 18 - Concept of land management from the sufficiency economy concept .....	59
Figure 19 - Venn diagram of sustainable development .....	60
Figure 20 – Public space in a Wat and social activities.....	74
Figure 21 - Cinema activity moved from a public space to a private space .....	75
Figure 22 – Thai heritage conflictual case – Research site.....	77
Figure 23 - Thai public space – Golden criteria .....	79
Figure 24 - A scenario of Thai sense of public space on the research site .....	79
Figure 25 - The research site on the north of Rama I Road .....	81
Figure 26 - Bridges connecting the Rama I Road with Siam neighbourhoods.....	82
Figure 27 - The future public park (opposite to the Wat Pathumwanaram) with associated layouts .....	83
Figure 28 – 2D view <i>post</i> project after the resettlement of the community .....	83
Figure 29 - MBK shopping center next to Siam neighborhoods .....	84
Figure 30 - Area of Chulalongkorn University.....	85
Figure 31 - Shopping streets at Siam Square .....	86
Figure 32 - Circulation (motorized vehicles) around the research site .....	89
Figure 33 - Walkways around the research site .....	89
Figure 34 – Snapshot of motorized people flows at the research site.....	90
Figure 35 – Snapshot of pedestrians at the research site .....	90

Figure 36 - The pavement in front of the Wat along with the ‘Sky walk’ .....	91
Figure 37 - The Skywalk from the Siam Station connects the Siam Paragon shopping mall on the right hand side .....	92
Figure 38 – Skywalk between places at the research site .....	92
Figure 39 – The overall view of the territory of Pathum Wan district, Bangkok, Thailand....	93
Figure 40 - The area of the research site on Rama I Road.....	94
Figure 41 - Traditional Thai community .....	96
Figure 42 - The position of Sra Pathum Palace and the Royal estate .....	98
Figure 43 - The position of the Wat Pathumwanara .....	98
Figure 44 - The Wat surroundings .....	99
Figure 45 - The drawing shows the position of the Wat in which is the in-between elements of the research site and context. The Wat is divided mainly into two domains; the monastery and the layman domains.....	100
Figure 46 – Remaining lotus pond in the Wat .....	100
Figure 47 - The location of the community behind the Wat Pathum Wanaram .....	102
Figure 48 - The position of the Wat Pathumwanaram School.....	104
Figure 49 - Wat Pathumwanaram School - New school building and students.....	105
Figure 50 - The position of the Shopping malls .....	106
Figure 51 - Siam Centre (left) and the Tower of Siam Discovery (right).....	107
Figure 52 - Siam Discovery in the evening surrounded by SraPathum Palace (left) and Siam Paragon/Central World (right). .....	107
Figure 53 - Siam Paragon - Entrance and in-between spaces .....	108
Figure 54 - Central world shopping plaza (left) - View from Ratchaprasong Intersection (right) .....	108
Figure 55 – Wat – Point of sales (left) / Merit (right).....	113
Figure 56 - Categories/attributes of individuals at the research site .....	114
Figure 57 – In-between space criteria framework in Thai context .....	135
Figure 58 – An analytical diagram of the associated urban plans with the ecosystem from a Thai context .....	140
Figure 59 – The social intervention and experiment/ strategy diagram of the in-between space in Thai context .....	142
Figure 60 – The position social intervention and experiment/ strategy demonstration at the research site.....	143
Figure 61 – Greenage and peaceful atmosphere in the Wat .....	145
Figure 62 – The old lotus pond in front of the Wat .....	145
Figure 63 - An analytical diagram of the design framework of the in-between space in Thai context.....	150
Figure 64 - Development on the research site without planning created the city like a piece of collage in an artwork.....	159
Figure 65- The essence of the associated frameworks of the in-between space in Thai context .....	161

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1 – QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VISITORS OF THE RESEARCH SITE



### Sharing urban space in Bangkok, Thailand: The In-between space: A Study of the Siam area

**Gender:**  Male  Female   
**Age:**  -25  26-35  36-45  46-55  +55  
**Occupation:**  Student  Worker  Retired  Unemployed   
**Education:**  Primary  Secondary  University  
**Method of travel:**  Walking  Car  Bus  Boat  SkyTrain   
**Purpose:**  Shopping  Working  Tourism  Religion  
**Frequency:**  Once only (i.e. tourism)  Everyday  once or more than once a week  once or more than once a month  Once a year

(1) Strongly disagree (2) Disagree (3) Neither disagree nor agree (4) Agree (5) Strongly Agree

GIVE YOUR OPINION ON THE FOLLOWING	1	2	3	4	5
The Siam Area is an important area from economic perspectives					
The Siam Area is an important area from historical perspectives					
The Siam Area is an important area from political perspectives					
The Siam Area has a lot of traffic congestions					
The Siam Area has a good public infrastructures for pedestrians					
The Siam Area has good public spaces					
The Siam Area has adequate public spaces					
The Siam Area is a safe area					
The Siam Area is well designed (with access to buildings and walkways)					
The Siam Area offers enough workplaces for local people					
It is easy to get access to the Malls					
It is easy to get access to the School					
It is easy to get access to the Temple					
There is adequate information to get access to the Malls					
There is adequate information to get access to the Temple					
There is adequate information to get access to the School					
The Mall is a private space					
The Temple is a public space					
The Siam Area connects people and its various local communities					
The Siam Area connects social classes					
The Siam Area offers adequate public places for people to gather, meet and discuss.					
The Siam Area provides access to basic people's needs (water, food, electricity)					
The Siam Area creates lack of co-operation between social classes					
The Siam Area creates conflicts between the social classes					
The Siam Area mixes social classes					
The Siam Area reflects the Thai culture					
The Siam Area changes the Thai culture					
The Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a Temple					
The Siam Area creates a Thai cultural conflict when a Mall is built next to a school					
The Siam Area should have a public park between the Mall and the Temple					
The area in front of the Mall where pedestrians are walking is private					
The walkways between the Mall and the Temple are public					
The walkways between the Mall and the School are public					
The Siam Area should be for pedestrians only – no motorized vehicles ought to be allowed					
The Siam Area offers activities in both global and local culture					

Thank you for participating in this questionnaire

## Appendix 2- A Proposal Design Framework of a Shared Urban Public Space for this research

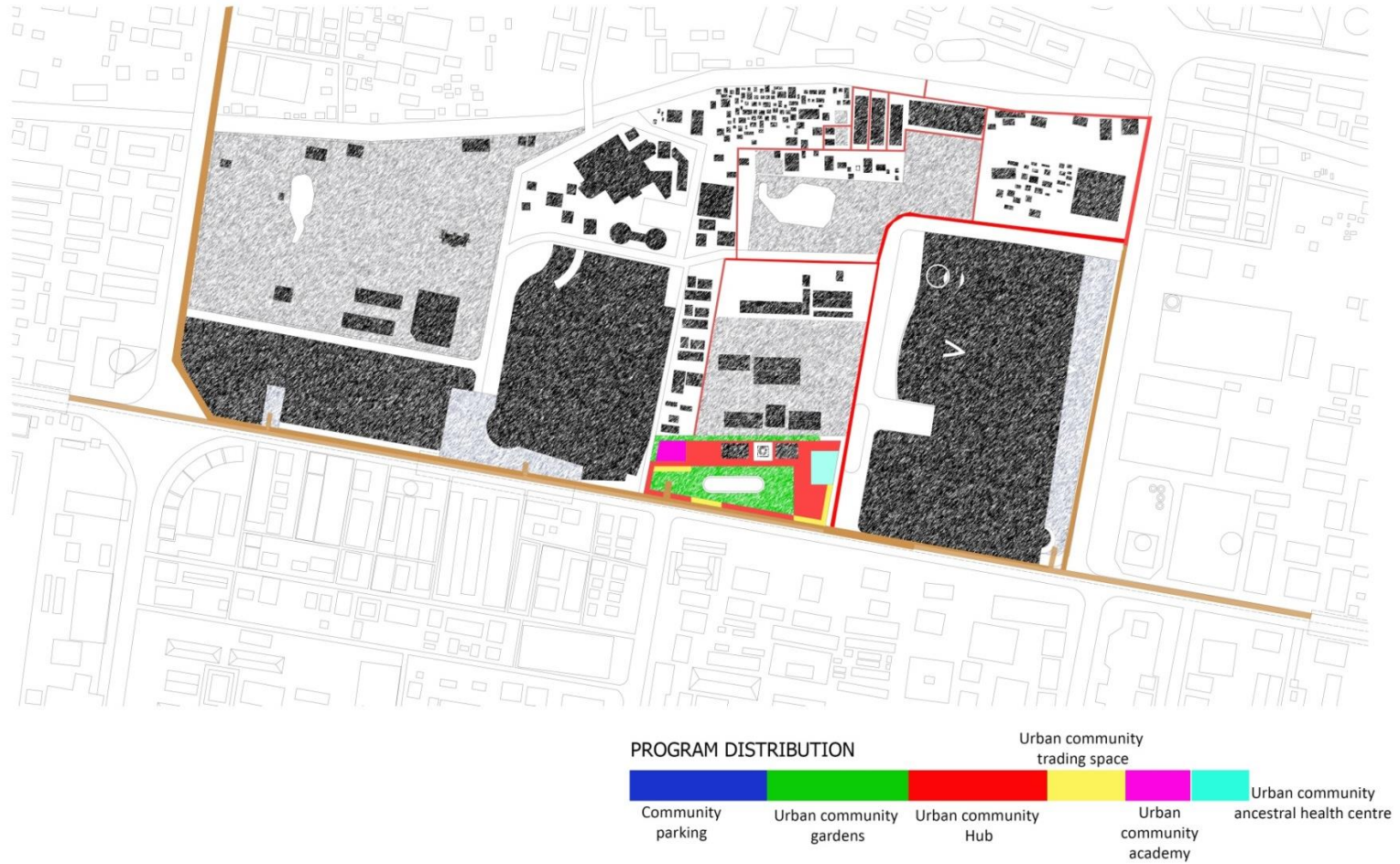
An effective design is always an original response to a question or a problem. The style, or the look and feel, integrates different parameters based on professional approach in architecture and urban design. The design approach will be highly customized and based on specific conditions and events. Furthermore, the proposed designing program/framework does not transform any specific – targeted – buildings but simply lets the diversity of the site to reveal itself.

The aim of a *neutral* public space (Appendix 14) might be helpful to manage the society, architecture or public space, and inherent social concern. Indeed, the main objective to the creation of a *neutral* public space could be to remove the key attribute – or motive – between social interactions: economic benefits. Another side-effect could be again, by creating a *neutral* public space, to potentially create a demilitarized *in-between space* which serves as a *social hub* promoting social interactions without any financial agenda; individually or from a group. The in-between domains can allow many events to take place if they articulate suggestive, living places for choices to occupy between juxtaposition.

Ideally, by eliminating this key financial attribute, conflicts should be reduced. Practically, and finally, a *neutral* public space could to be used by all Thai citizens whatever their social classes and has to be attractive enough to encourage the mixed nature. It is the last aspect the researcher took into consideration to elaborate a proposal design in the research site. Indeed, a *neutral* public place is almost impossible to design due to Landlord and legal constraints, without annexing a piece of a land in the research site, by the Royal or state offices; undoubtedly a root cause for severe conflicts.

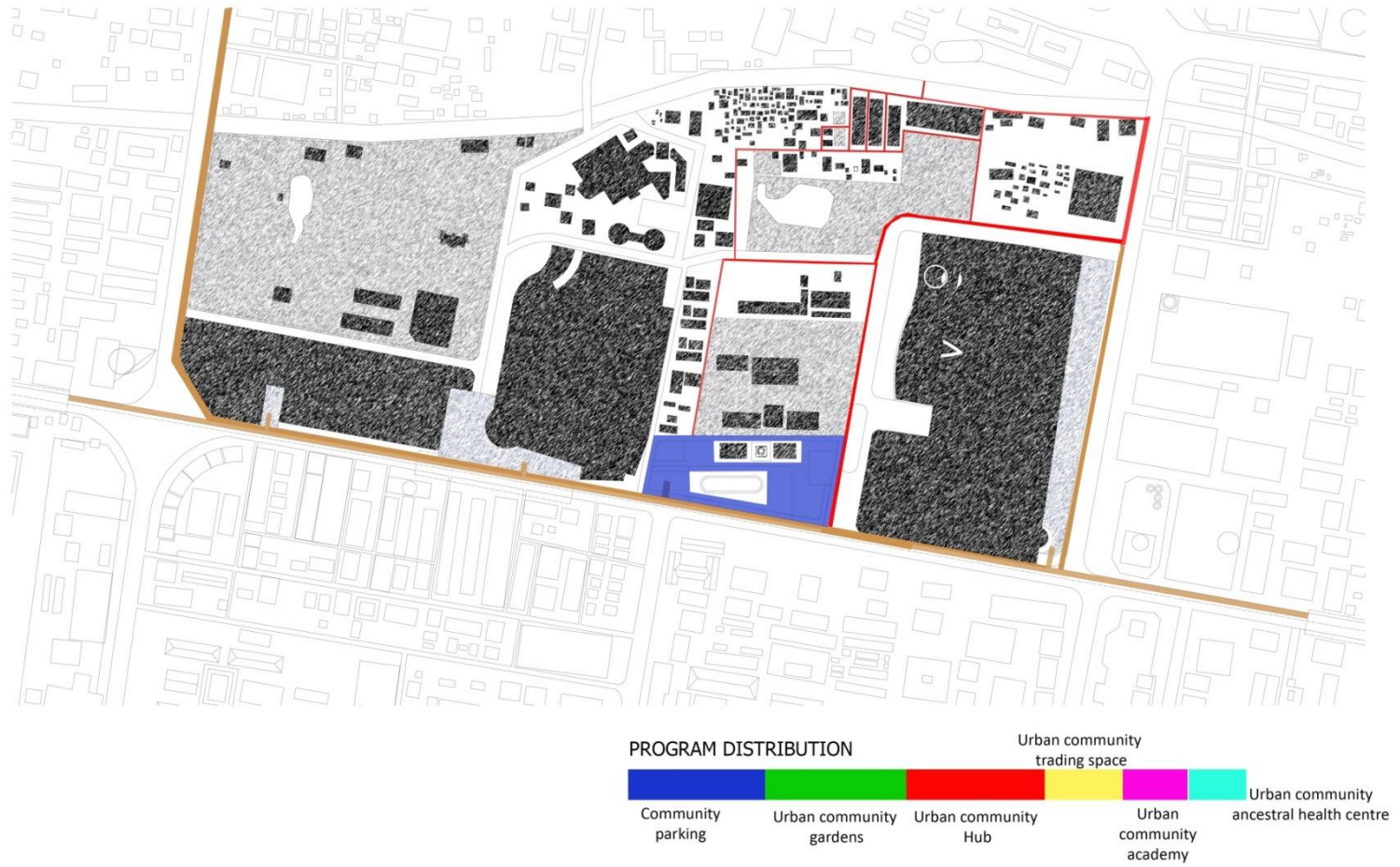


### A Proposal Design Framework of a Shared Urban Public Space for this research



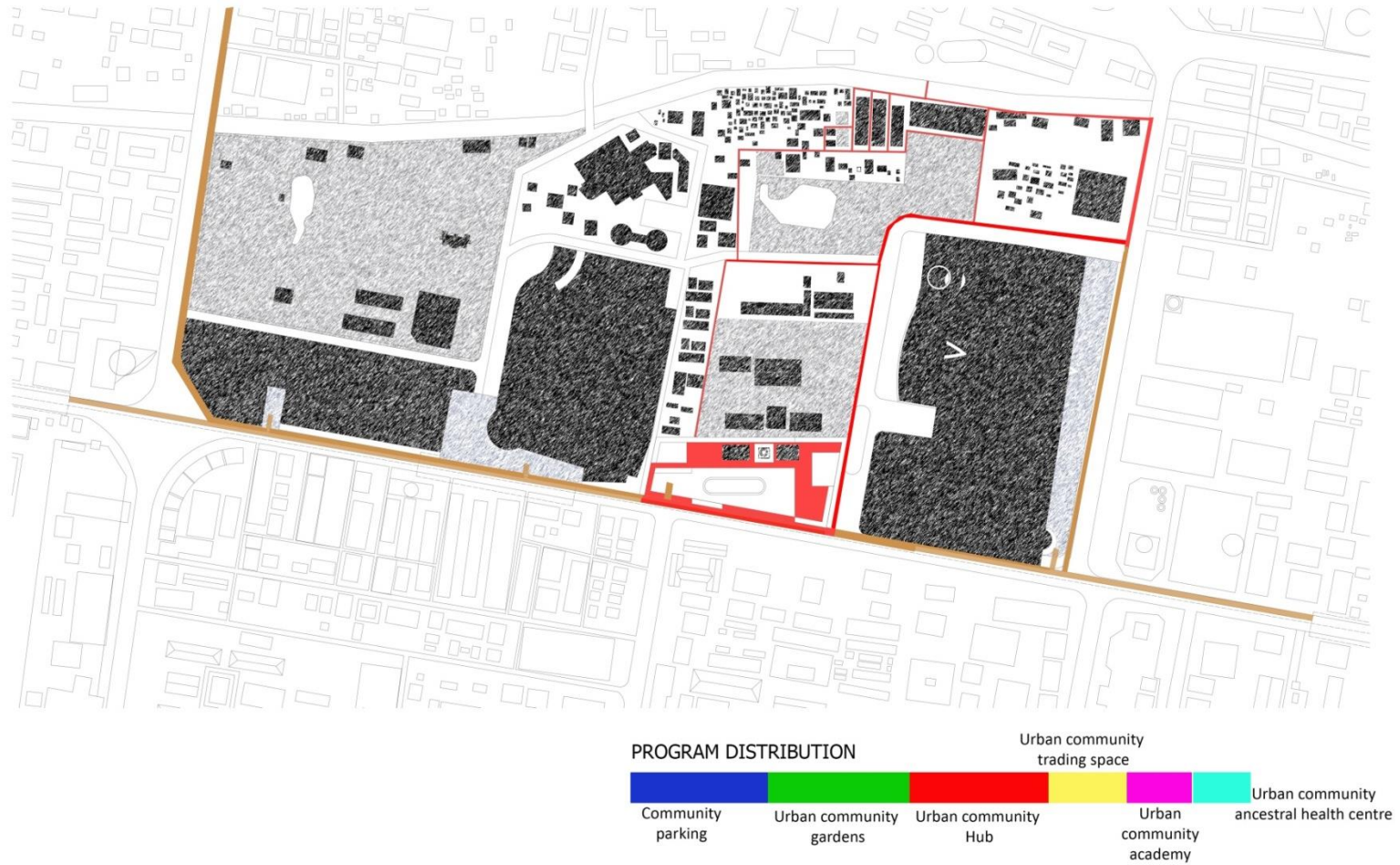
**Figure A14-1-** Overall view including 6 social activities/programs for taking advantage from the in-between space on the research site

*DESIGN OF A SHARED URBAN PUBLIC SPACE – COMMUNITY PARKING*



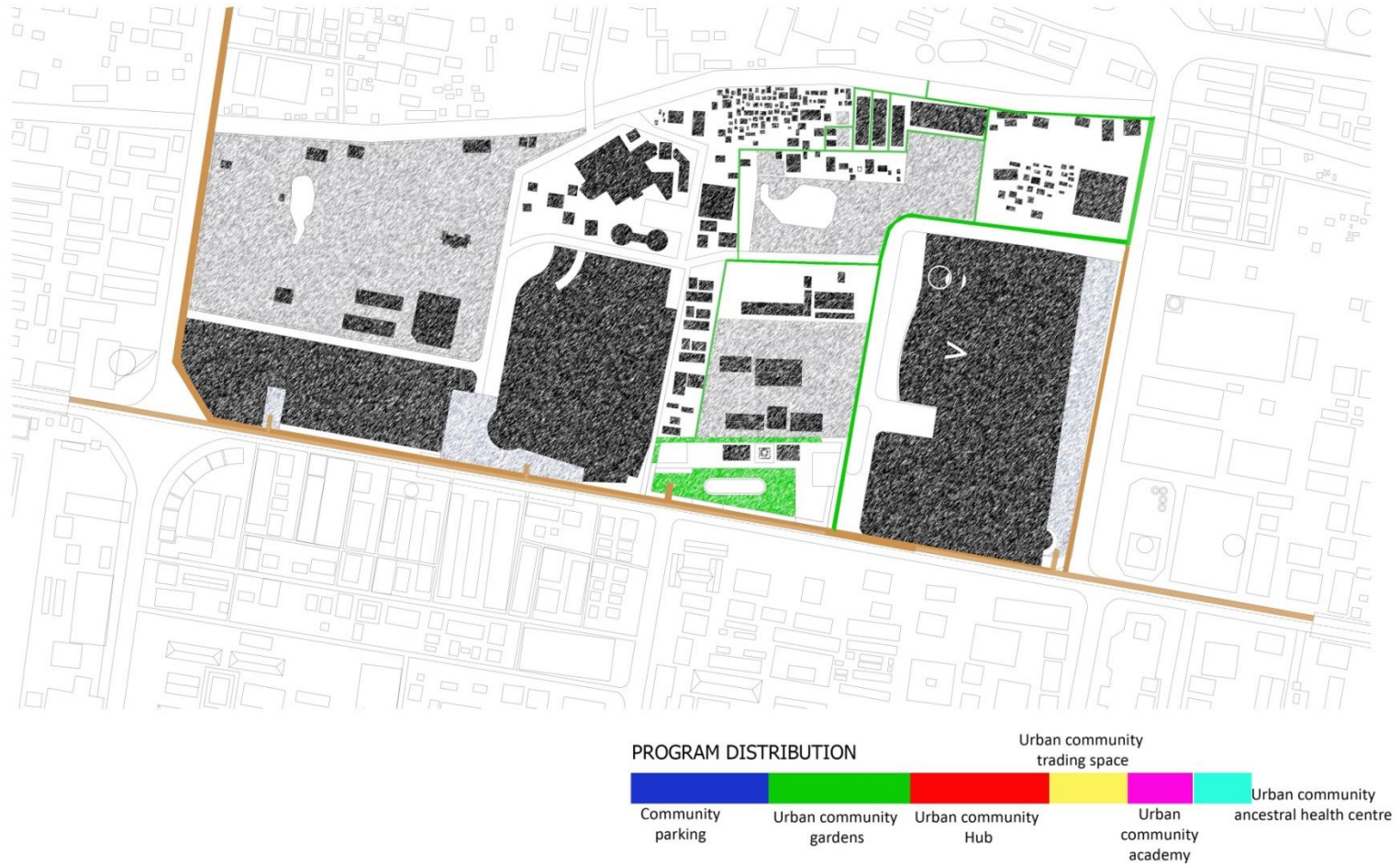
**Figure A14-2-** Design of a shared urban public space – Community parking

*DESIGN OF A SHARED URBAN PUBLIC SPACE – URBAN COMMUNITY HUB*



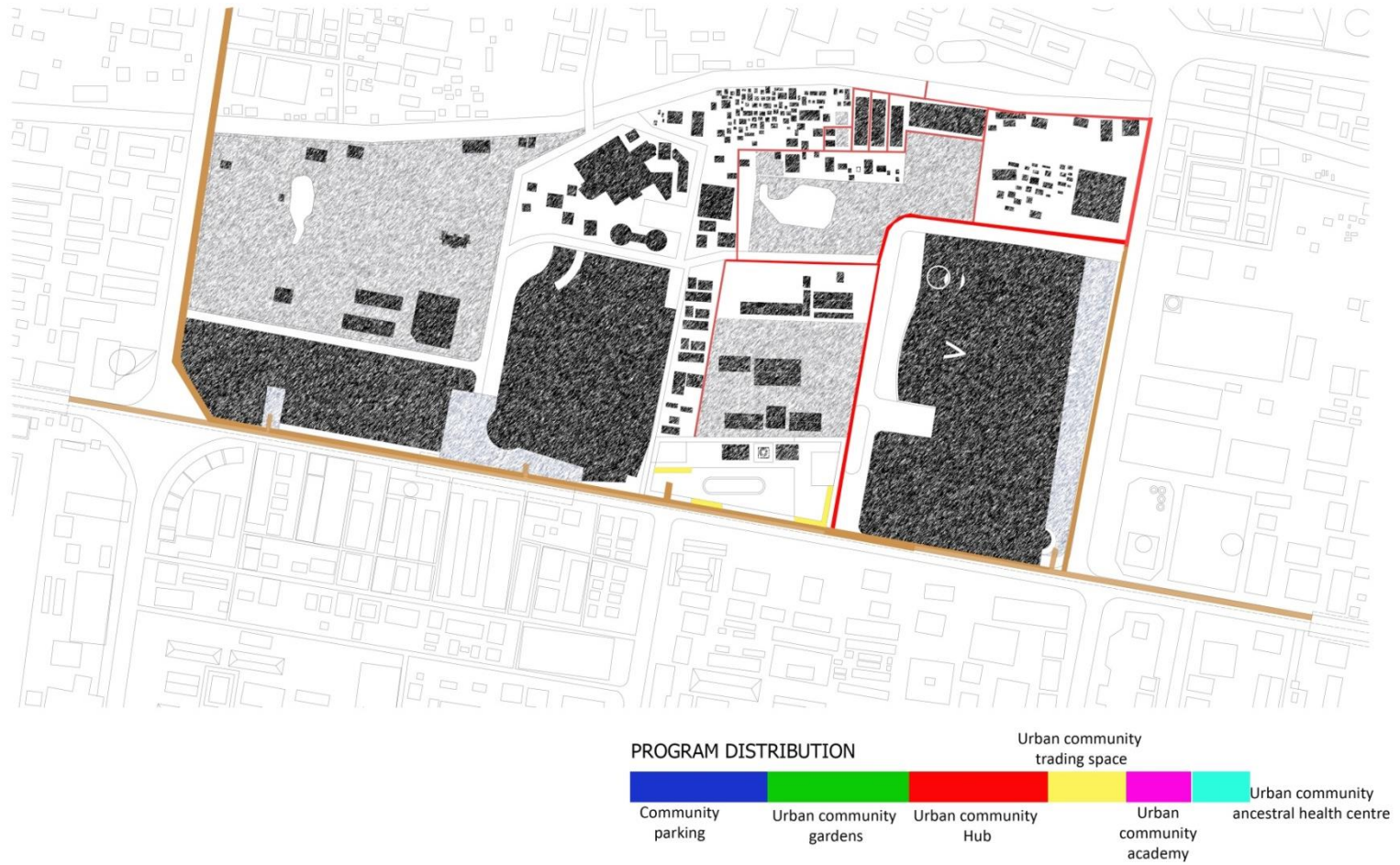
**Figure A14-3-** Design of a shared urban public space – Urban community hub

*DESIGN OF A SHARED URBAN PUBLIC SPACE – URBAN COMMUNITY GARDENS*



**Figure A14-4-** Design of a shared urban public space – Urban community gardens

*DESIGN OF A SHARED URBAN PUBLIC SPACE – URBAN COMMUNITY TRADING SPACE*



**Figure A14-5-** Design of a shared urban public space – Urban community trading space

DESIGN OF A SHARED URBAN PUBLIC SPACE – URBAN COMMUNITY ANCESTRAL HEALTH CENTER

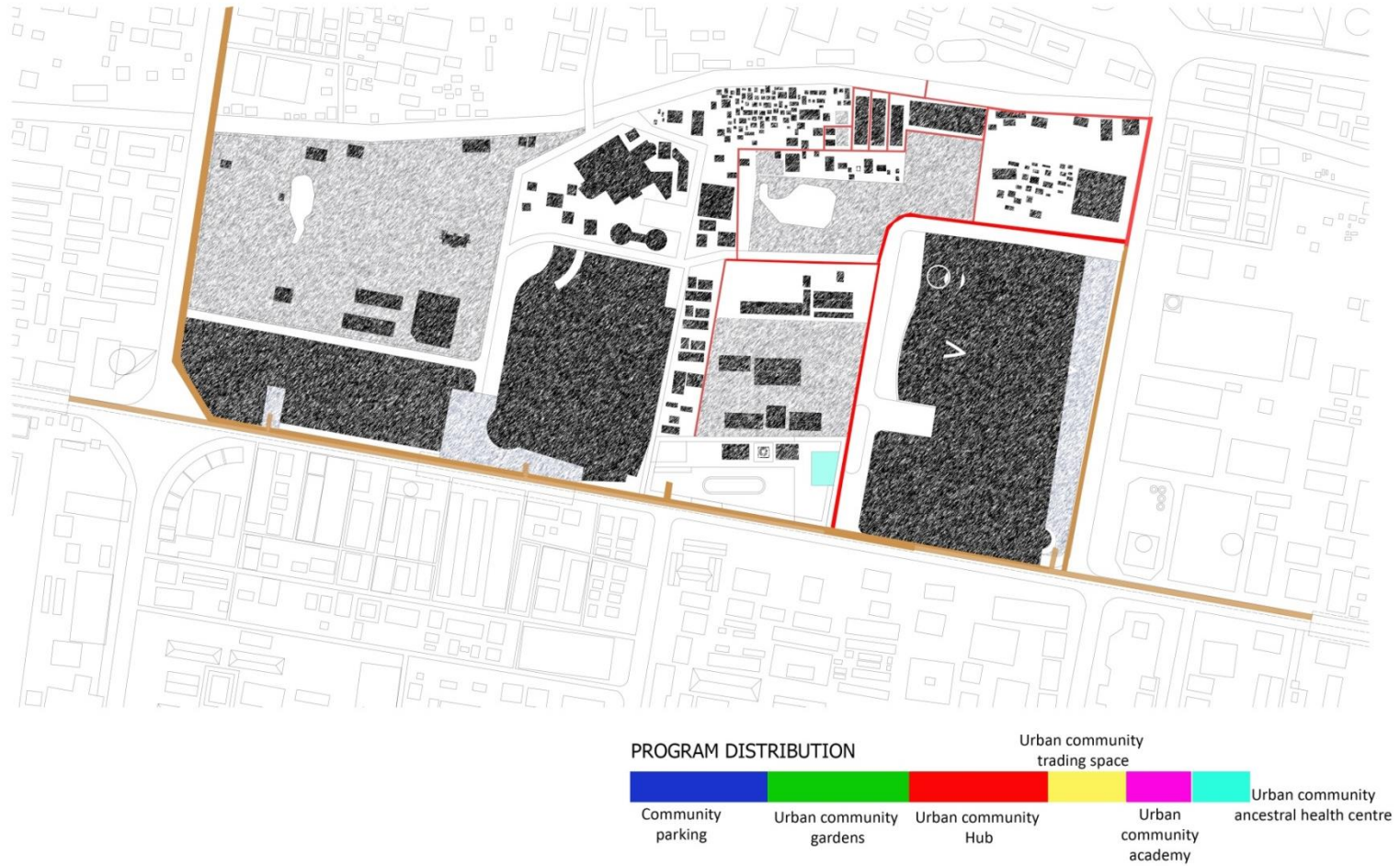
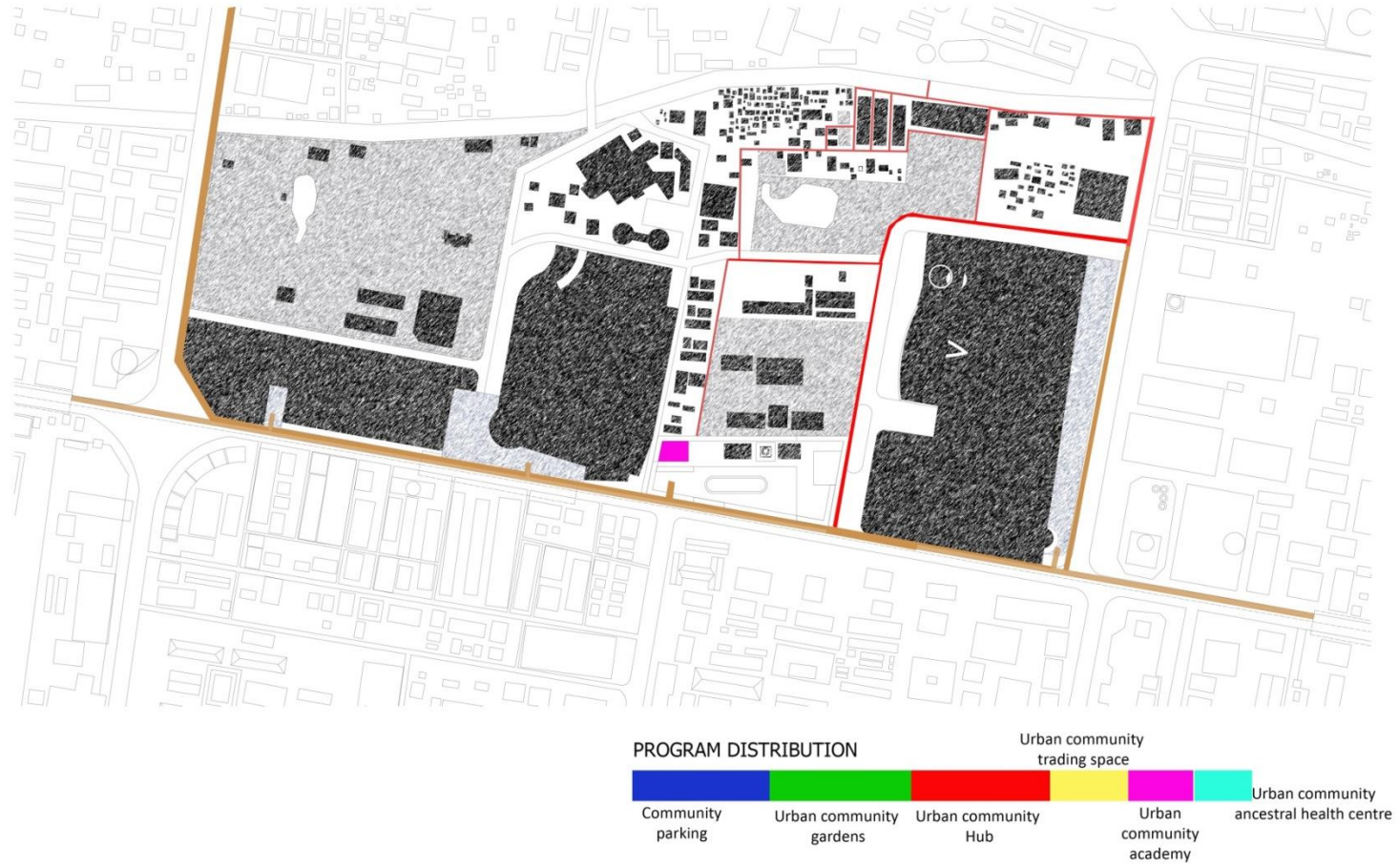


Figure A14-6- Design of a shared urban public space – Urban community ancestral health center

*DESIGN OF A SHARED URBAN PUBLIC SPACE – URBAN COMMUNITY ACADEMY*



**Figure A14-7-** Design of a shared urban public space – Urban community academy

PROGRAM SOCIAL INTERVENTION AND EXPERIMENT/ STRATEGY LAYOUTS

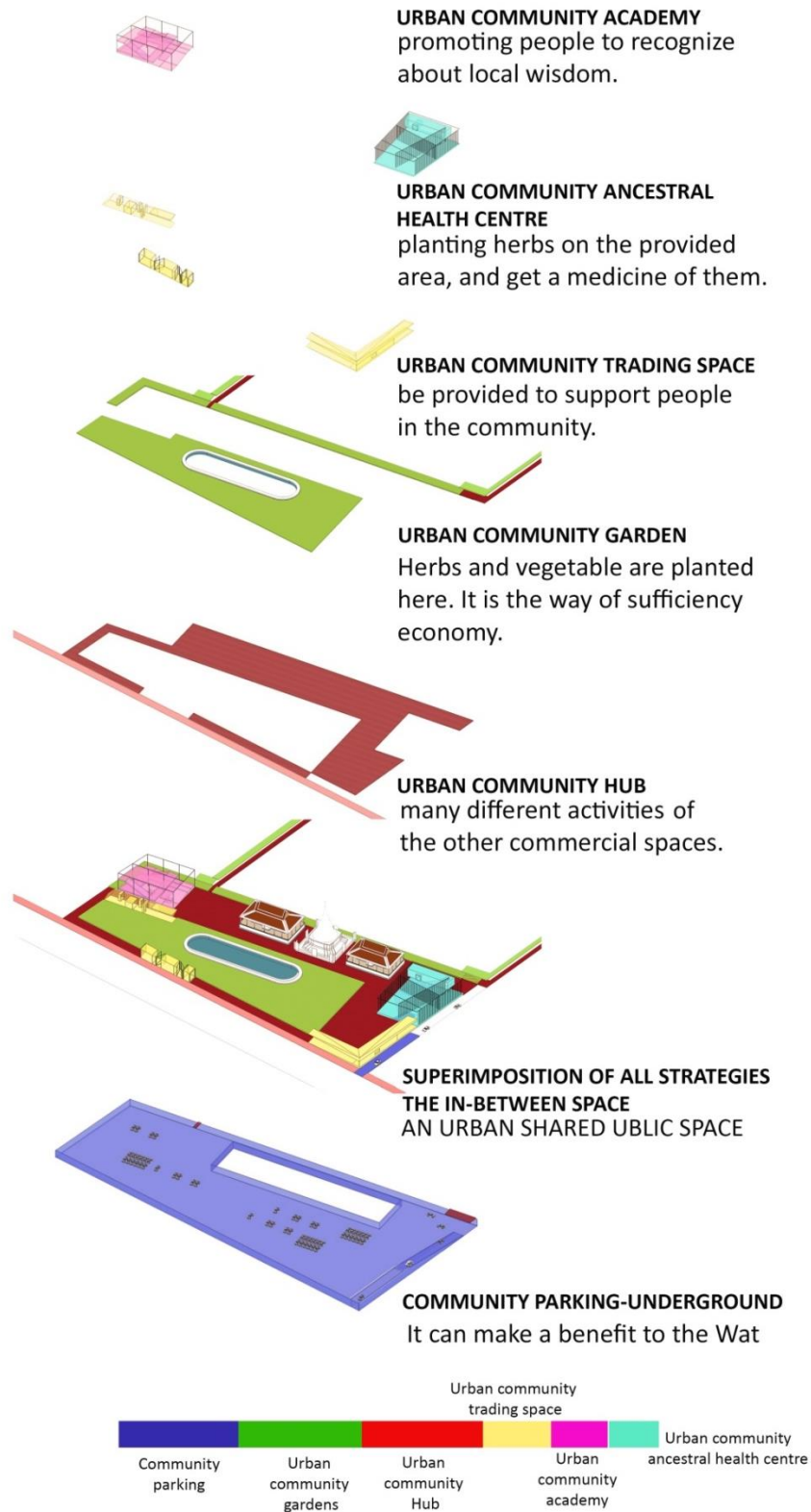
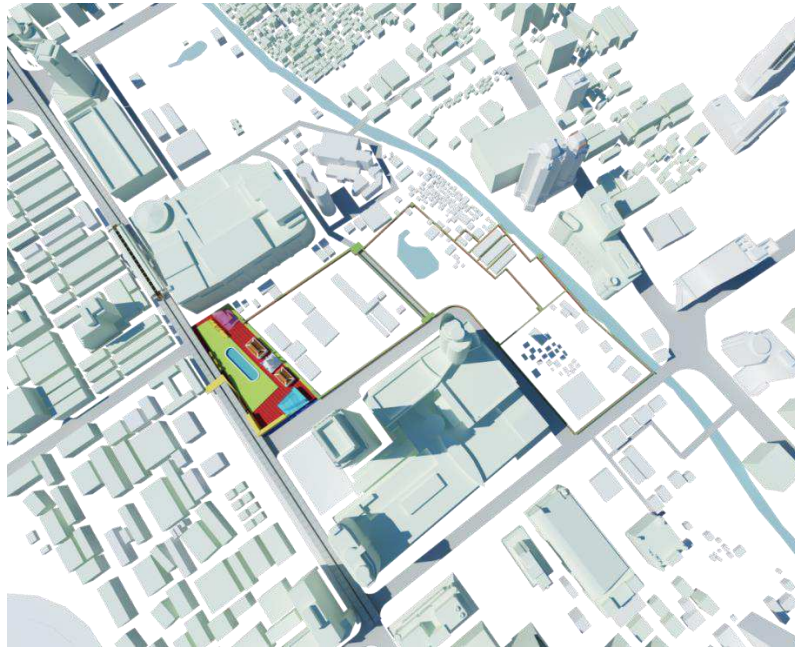


Figure A14-8– the Program social intervention and experiment/ strategy layouts

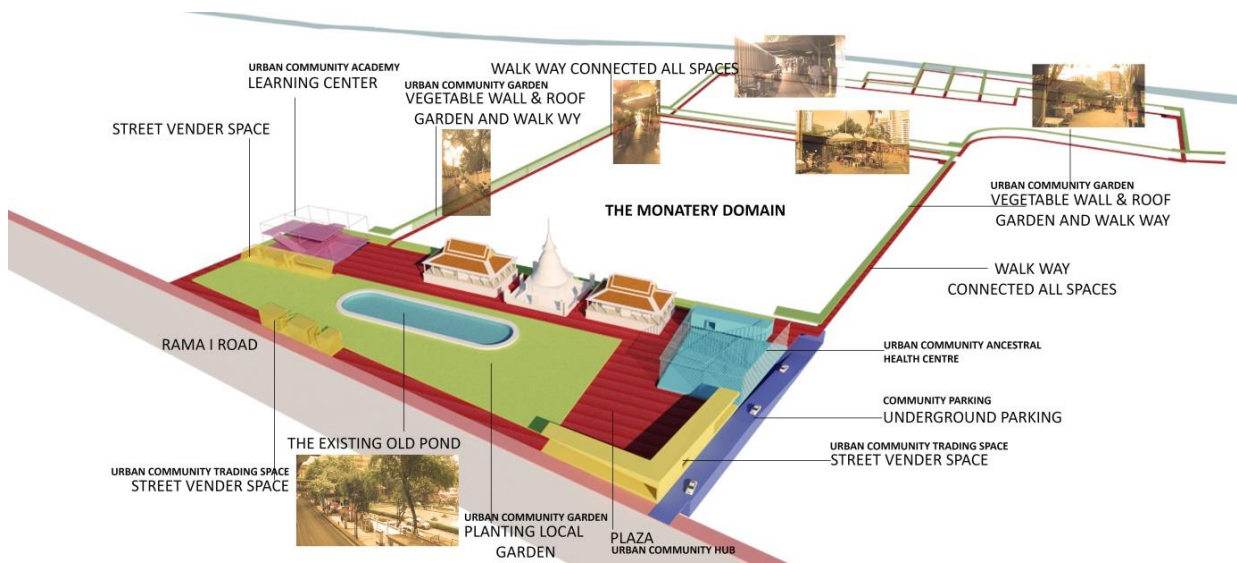


*OVERALL VIEW OF THE PROGRAM SOCIAL INTERVENTION AND EXPERIMENT/ STRATEGY IN THE RESEARCH SITE*



**Figure A14-9-** Overall view of the program social intervention and experiment/ strategy in the research site

*NARRATIVE OF THE PROGRAM SOCIAL INTERVENTION AND EXPERIMENT/ STRATEGY IN THE RESEARCH SITE*



**Figure A14-10-** Narrative view of the program social intervention and experiment/ strategy in the research site

## CURRICULUM VITAE

### DUANGNAPA SINLAPASAI

**BORN** 29 April 1972, Nakhon Ratchasima, Thailand

#### EDUCATION

2010 Doctoral study at TU Vienna  
2002 - 2004 M.Arch (Architecture), Silpakorn University,  
Bangkok, Thailand  
1993 - 1996 B.Arch (Architectural Technology), Rajamangala  
University of Technology, Pathomthanee, Thailand

#### WORK EXPERIENCE

2010- Present Senior architect in THstudio Architects, Nakhon Ratchasima,  
Thailand  
1997- Present Head of Architecture department at Faculty of Architecture,  
RMUTI, Nakhon Ratchasima, Thailand

#### ARCHITECT EXPERIENCE

2010- Present <https://thstudioarchitect.wordpress.com/>

Datum: 25-03-2019

Unterschrift:

