



รายงานวิจัยฉบับสมบูรณ์

"ปลูกบ้าน" : การตีความของความหมายและ พื้นที่ของ 'บ้าน' ผ่านมิติของ การอยู่อาศัยของคนไทยช่วงหลังแผนพัฒนาเศรษฐกิจแห่งชาติฉบับที่ 1 ถึงปัจจุบัน, กรณีศึกษากรุงเทพมหานคร

"Cultivating the Home": A Study of Thai Dwelling Place with Reference to Domestic Interior from the First National Development Plan (1961-6) to the Present, A Case Study of Bangkok

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สาขาสถาปัตยกรรมภายใน
คณะสถาปัตยกรรมศาสตร์และการออกแบบ
มหาวิทยาลัยเทคโนโลยีพระจอมเกล้าธนบุรี

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Abstract

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"Cultivating the Home": A Study of Thai Dwelling Place with Reference to Domestic Interior from the First National Development Plan (1961-6) to the Present, A Case Study of Bangkok

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Research Abstract

The Thai word *baan*, "home," embodies a complex interplay of personal subjectivity and personal ideal. Given its huge significance in Thai Culture, comparatively little work has been done on its meaning. As in other cultures, home certainly cannot be defined by any of its functions. Its meaning, rather, appears indeterminate and saturated by cultural history. Given this lack of empirical research on the meaning of home in Thai culture, the research first analyses the concept of dwelling by dealing with semantic field within which are grouped a number of terms which in English might be translated as signifying house, home, dwelling, inhabiting, residence, and compound. From semantic analysis, the research unfolds the idea of home as a realm cultivated by its architecture, its interior and life in that place.

Since the domestic interior first emerged as an area of study in the context of modernized (westernized) domesticity, academic interest has emphasized how such interiors have been decorated and what they represent. What has been missing is the study of the relation between ideal domestic interiors and actual living conditions. This becomes the main area of investigation in the research.

The photographic evidence from the research documents differences between the lived domestic interiors and the ideal ones. They illustrate physical outlook, orientation, how people use interior space and how such space are an important aspect of home life. When Thais say that "home is cultivated" rather than built, they acknowledge an interweaving of cultural ideology, personal identity and lived relationship. From this perspective, the research argues that although the modern era ended the physical apparatus of the traditional Thai house, the traditional ideology continues to be inscribed in the Thai mentality through language and other articulations. In other words, although *baan* is no longer a space of traditionality, tradition helps maintaining the idea of it. The research findings, on the on hand, reveal original resources and insights into contemporary home lives in Bangkok. It reflects not only the home life experiences of 40 individuals, but also the diversity of domestic interior as it is lived. On the other hand, the complexity the research reveals is overwhelming, leaving many issues concerning Thai domesticity unresolved.

Keywords Thai Domestic Interior, Domesticity, Contemporary Thai Domestic Architecture

Executive Summary

1. Background and Problems (ความสำคัญ และ ที่มาของปัญหา)

1.1 The lack of understanding of *'baan'* (บ้าน) in contemporary Thai cultural context

Since Bangkok celebrated its bicentennial in 1982, Thais have been enthusiastic in 'getting to know' what Thai culture is. Concerns regarding Thai identity ignited immense interest in recovering the 'genuine' Thai. However, Srisak Wallipodom stresses that although interest has been immense in the past few years, in fact very few studies attempt to provide an analysis of contemporary Thai culture. According to Srisak, the thirst to know 'Thai culture' is geared towards preserving the 'art and cultural heritage' more than the sociological aspects of everyday life. Such academic researches aim to recover the 'real' Thai identity as a valuable model and to find methods to preserve the 'real' culture. In this sense, Thai culture connotes a frame, which is fixed, bounded and unchanging in respect of identities and practices. 'Thai culture' becomes one homogenous entity to be appreciated, preserved and eventually displayed as a valuable heritage. This idea of culture is not what this research is interested in.

If we turn our attention to the 'Thai home' - be it 'baan' as a space within which domestic lives are lived out - on the Thai home of 'here' and 'now,' on the urban rather than the rural, and on the mass society rather than small communities, and we ask this set of questions:

(1) บ้าน (Baan) :What is a place where Thais live in?

(2) อยู่บ้าน (Yoo Baan) :In what way do Thais live in such a place?

What is the experience of 'living' in the urban domestic domain like

or Thais in contemporary society?

(3) ปลูกบ้าน(Plook Baan):In what way do Thais cultivate (not a mere 'construct') such a place?

In order to answer the posted questions, there is comparatively little work on what 'baan' is in the contemporary Thai cultural context. The problem of trying to understand what 'baan' is in contemporary Thai cultural context is no different from trying to gain a better understanding of sociological aspects of everyday life. The unpublished PhD thesis by the researcher investigating the ways in which traditional Thai belief influences contemporary domestic architectural orientation and the use of space confirms that 'baan' as a Thai 'home' in contemporary context is at the core of Thai perceptions of conformity and assurance. The thesis's findings show that 'baan' remains a central element in our socialization into the world. We know that we spend much of our lives in the home, our primary emotional connections are shaped in the domestic arena of the home. Where we live and how we live are important determinants of our social position, physical health, and individual and family's well-being.

A strange paradox, given the huge significance of 'baan,' rarely do Thai or Western scholars, whose interests are in the architectural studies of Thai domestic architecture, feel impelled to engage in

the investigation of 'baan' as a space within which domestic lives are lived out. The meaning of 'baan' relies significantly on what constitutes 'baan' in the traditional Thai society. Recent studies of 'baan' often fail to recognise the aspects of domestic life and look at 'baan' as a house for which its form and stylistic development of its outer surfaces can be discussed. What lacking is the study of contemporary Thai 'domestic interior' which not only focuses on the contemporary domestic architectural design but also looks at how domestic spaces are used and lived out. The research then raises five fundamental questions:

When lifestyles of Thais have changed:

- (1) What happen to the space (or sphere) that hosts the living?
- (2) Does 'baan' still carry the ideology and meaning as it used to do in the past?
- (3) To what extent have the meaning of 'baan' survived the process of modernisation? When there are changes in the form of 'baan':
- (4) What has happen to the architectural programme and domestic space inside the house?
- (5) What are the objects and procedures new to the contemporary Thai domestic interior?

1.2 The appearance of contemporary Thai domestic architecture is problematic.

The appearance of Thai domestic architecture has pushed the limits of what Thais understood as the 'image of modernity.' This obsession with the 'image of modernity,' understood by many Thais as synonymous with 'civilisation,' has a profound influence on the way in which Thai homeowners decorate their households. Since the administrative reformation, the house has been used as an image or 'a face' that signifies social status in the Thai society. The will to resist western subjugation eventually turned into a fascination with the image of Western civilisation. The early eighties were a golden era for architecture and the real estate industry. There were private housing estates filled with luxury-detached houses for the high income upper class. These houses, especially in Bangkok, were built as Classical Greco-Roman houses, Mediterranean villas, Swiss Chalets declaring its passionate desire to follow Western architectural fashion. On the other hand, we see there the beginnings of new 'places for living' that have grown to accommodate the needs of people who live and work in Bangkok. Conditions of everyday life in Bangkok are different from the rest of Thailand in many ways. Since the First National Development Plan, an increasing proportion of Thais have been able to buy their home. Housing estate businesses (known in Thai as Mubanchatsan) have been successful because they respond directly to the urban middle class Thais obsession with 'the commodity-driven image of modernity.' These urban middle classes are obsessed with displaying affluence and well-being through consumption. Design, size, and private facilities (such as leisure centres) became icons of 'exclusivity' to attract homebuyers.

As most studies agree, the mark of 'progress' and 'development' of Thai domestic architecture have to do with the architect's ability to produce designs and structures that are determined by Western architectural trends. For Thais, this 'house' has become a statement of 'being modern.' Consequently,

the crisis of Thai architectural identity directly raises the issue of these physical appearances of contemporary Thai domestic architecture.

The significance of this proposed research lies on the fact that the crisis of Thai architecture-specifically in this case of Thai domestic architecture -- is due partly to the lack of awareness and understanding on the transformation of the concept of 'baan' from the rural to the urban and from the small communities to the mass society; on the ways we use and organize ourselves in domestic space in contemporary Thai society; and how contemporary domestic architectural design can contribute to the formation of the Thai home. Such a lack of awareness is particularly true concerning the disciplines of architecture, interior design and behavioural/ environmental psychology that we begins to see the problematic gap between architectural production and the ways in which Thai householders actually dwell in such space. A study of contemporary Thai domestic interior is much needed hence these resources will be useful to the architects and designers' works in this sense. With the proposed objectives, the research hopes to provide an interpretation of the concept of 'baan' in contemporary Thai cultural context which can be significant resources for the design language for architects and designers whose works involved designing and constructing Thai domestic architecture.

2. Objective (วัตถุประสงค์)

- 2.1 The research intends to focus on the home in contemporary Thai cultural context; in the here and now; on the urban rather than the rural; and on the mass society rather than small communities. It intends to make the concept of 'baan' in the contemporary Thai cultural context intelligible through the study of domestic interior: the transformation of the concept of 'baan'; on the ways we use and organise ourselves in domestic space in contemporary Thai society; and how contemporary domestic architectural design can contribute to the formation of the Thai home.
- 2.2 It is important that the research studies and resonates 'baan' as a dwelling, a lived space that it aims to provide an analysis of the use of such space and the experience of homelife. Rather than looking for the familiar in the exotic, the research intends to search for the exotic in the familiar. The proposed research is an attempt to understand how and why people in contemporary urbanised Thailand relate to things in their immediate environment in the formation of the home. Objects and things that are taken for granted, like entrance, door's threshold, exterior and interior decoration, and familiar activities like the installation of the principal column, and arranging a position of the bed and toilet, are looked at anew.
- 2.3 This research is an inquiry into the domestic architectural design, the use of domestic space and domestic homelife focusing primarily architectural evidence and the experiential aspects of such place. The investigation on the concept of 'baan' relies on the evidence that it is a place where Thais dwell: as a unit of the complex relationship implicated by a house, its construction, and people who

inhabit it. The research uses Bangkok as an area for the investigation to unfold the complexity of contemporary Thai domestic architecture and its interior. The research is aware of the diversity of a 'place for living' for different lifestyles in Bangkok: a detached house, then a townhouse or semi-detached house, shop-house or commercial row-house, flat, apartment, and condominium depending on needs and income. Nonetheless, the research aims to explore such diversity but specific case studies will be selected for an in-depth analysis.

3. Research Methodology (ระเบียบวิจัย)

- **3.1 Theoretical research will base it primary sources in the architectural theory and philosophy concerning the subject of dwelling.** It will also look at architectural studies concerning the meaning of domestic space. Moreover, the anthropological and sociological studies of the home, domestic homelife, domesticity will also be reviewed. The theoretical research will not only provide the background discussion and framework in order to elaborate the concept of *'baan'* in Thai culture, but also provide a framework to which selection of the case study can be elaborated.
- **3.2 Historical research on 'Baan Thai'** with specific framework to the domestic interior of Thai home in the Central Region of Thailand is a pretext for this research in order to provide theoretical background to the concept of 'baan,' and in order to study social, cultural, political drives which affect the architectural design of the domestic architecture.
- 3.3 Architectural surveys of contemporary domestic architecture and unstructured interviews are the key evidence to this research. There is no existing Thai academic research involving in the study of Thai domestic interior by means of architectural surveys of the contemporary Thai households. The research aims to gain the insight into Thai domestic interior and their homelife. The task cannot be simply achieved by an observation from outside of the house. The research will employ the method of architectural survey consisting of photographic documentation and measurement. It also adopts an anthropological open-minded point of view. It borrows ethnographic research strategies and techniques such as the unstructured interviews and participant observation. It involves the study of groups and people as they go about their everyday lives, and trying to identify the subjective meaning people attribute to things or events as much as looking at the objective characteristic of such events. However, the interpretation made from this analysis is not an aim for a universal objective meaning. The research focuses on the empirical details, providing an insight into Thai domestic interior and hence sketching out the meaning of 'baan.' As address earlier, the research is aware of the diversity of a 'place for living' for different lifestyles in Bangkok: a detached house, then a townhouse or semi-detached house, shophouse or commercial row-house, flat, apartment, and condominium. Initially the research aims to explore such diversity of domestic architecture and its interior in Bangkok, but specific case studies will be selected for an in-depth analysis.

3.4 Synthesis between philosophical and theoretical framework and surveyed materials

As the two parallel methods serve as the basic framework for this research, the final outcome will be a synthesis of the physical survey and the theoretical study. One the one hand, the theories concerning the subject of dwelling and domestic interior will act as a fundamental reference for our understanding of 'baan' in Thai culture which can also be compared with other culture in the Southeast Asian regions. On the other hand, the contemporary Thai domestic interior based on case studies in Bangkok area will be used to elucidate the concept of 'baan' or dwelling in contemporary Thai culture.

4. Research Schedule for Every 6-Month Period

	Y1, M 1-6	Y1, M 7-12	Y2, M 1-6	Y1, M 7-12
In depth literature review of				
related theory and philosophy				
on the subject of dwelling and				
Thai domestic architecture				
Initial Survey and selection of				
case studies				
- Detailed survey of case				
studies				
- Analysing surveyed materials				
- Research findings				
- Research report, Public				
Presentation and International				
Conference				

5. Proposed Publication

Year 1: Proposed Topic

Proposed Journal

Journal of Architectural/Planning Research and Studies (Thailand)

and/or Silpakorn University International Journal (Thailand)

Year 2: Proposed Topic

Proposed Journals

Cultivating the Home: A Study of Thai Dwelling Place

Journal of Architectural/Planning Research and Studies (Thailand)

and/or Silpakorn University International Journal (Thailand)

Changing Culture: A Note on the Making of Thai Homes

The Journal of Southeast Asian Architecture (Singapore)

and/or Home Cultures: The Journal of Architecture, Design and

Space (United Kingdom)

CHAPTER 1 RESEARCH INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1 Research Background

The research "Cultivating the Home: A Study of Thai Dwelling Place with Reference to Domestic Interior from the First National Development Plan (1961-6) to the Present, A Case Study of Bangkok" is concerned with the relationship between the idea of home, the organization of space and domestic architecture in contemporary Thai society. Apart from historical and theoretical studies on the home, the research is structured to investigate the 'home' as a space within which domestic lives are lived out in the contemporary Thai cultural context: on the Thai home of 'here' and 'now,' on the urban rather than the rural, and on the mass society rather than small communities. The research evidence then relies on studies of the space of the 'home' and the experiences of home life by participants from different disciplines including architects, designers and students who live and work in Bangkok.

The Thai word *baan*, "home," embodies a complex interplay of personal subjectivity and personal ideal. Given its huge significance in Thai Culture, comparatively little work has been done on its meaning. As in other cultures, home certainly cannot be defined by any of its functions. Its meaning, rather, appears indeterminate and saturated by cultural history. Moreover, since the domestic interior first emerged as an area of study in the context of modernized (westernized) domesticity, academic interest has emphasized how such interiors have been decorated and what they represent. What has been missing is the study of the relation between ideal domestic interiors and actual living conditions.

A strange paradox, given the huge significance of 'baan,' rarely do Thai or Western scholars, whose interests are in the architectural studies of Thai domestic architecture, feel impelled to engage in the investigation of 'baan' as a space within which domestic lives are lived out. The meaning of 'baan' relies significantly on what constitutes 'baan' in the traditional Thai society. Recent studies of 'baan' often fail to recognise the aspects of domestic life and look at 'baan' as a house for which its form and stylistic development of its outer surfaces can be discussed. What lacking is the study of contemporary Thai 'domestic interior' which not only focuses on the contemporary domestic architectural design but also looks at how domestic spaces are used and lived out.

The problem of trying to understand what 'baan' is in contemporary Thai cultural context is no different from trying to gain a better understanding of sociological aspects of everyday life. The findings of unpublished PhD thesis by the researcher show that 'baan' remains a central element in our socialization into the world. We know that we spend much of our lives in the home. Our primary emotional connections are shaped in the domestic arena of the home. Where we live and how we live are important determinants of our social position, physical health, and individual and family's well-being.

Similar to other societies, changes from the extended family to the nuclear family often reflects changes in the economy, i.e., from agricultural production to industrial production. This is a result of the migration of rural people to the city seeking work opportunities and economic prosperity, and therefore leaving their extended families. Marc Askew indicates that the 'Bangkok-centred trends of development' have given rise to a particular class of Thais: 'the urban middle class'. The urban middle classes consist mainly of Thai, Chinese-Thai, and include a population that has migrated from rural to urban areas. They have benefited from development and have become major element of Bangkok society. For them, the city is a site of 'better opportunities': higher income resources, conspicuous consumption, social mobility and improved social status.

The obsession with the 'image of modernity,' understood by many Thais as synonymous with 'civilisation,' has a profound influence on the way in which Thai homeowners decorate their households. Since the administrative reformation, the house has been used as an image or 'a face' that signifies social status in the Thai society. The will to resist western subjugation eventually turned into a fascination with the image of Western civilisation. The early eighties were a golden era for architecture and the real estate industry. There were private housing estates filled with luxury-detached houses for the high income upper class. These houses, especially in Bangkok, were built as Classical Greco-Roman houses, Mediterranean villas, Swiss Chalets declaring its passionate desire to follow Western architectural fashion. On the other hand, we see there the beginnings of new 'places for living' that have grown to accommodate the needs of people who live and work in Bangkok. Conditions of everyday life in Bangkok are different from the rest of Thailand in many ways. Since the First National Development Plan, an increasing proportion of Thais have been able to buy their home. Housing estate businesses (known in Thai as Mubanchatsan) have been successful because they respond directly to the urban middle class Thais obsession with 'the commodity-driven image of modernity.' These urban middle classes are obsessed with displaying affluence and well-being through consumption. Design, size, and private facilities (such as leisure centre) became icons of 'exclusivity' to attract homebuyers.

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the small communities to the mass society; on the ways we use and organize ourselves in domestic space in contemporary Thai society; and how contemporary domestic architectural design can contribute to the formation of the Thai home. The research then raises five fundamental questions:

When lifestyles of Thais have changed:

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- (2) Does 'baan' still carry the ideology and meaning as it used to do in the past?
- (3) To what extent have the meaning of 'baan' survived the process of modernisation?

When there are changes in the form of 'baan':

- (4) What has happen to the architectural programme and domestic space inside the house?
- (5) What are the objects and procedures new to the contemporary Thai domestic interior?

A lack of awareness is particularly true concerning the disciplines of architecture, interior design and behavioural/ environmental psychology that we begins to see the problematic gap between architectural production and the ways in which Thai householders actually dwell in such space. A study of contemporary Thai domestic interior is much needed hence these resources will be useful to the architects and designers' works in this sense. With the proposed objectives, the research hopes to provide an interpretation of the concept of 'baan' in contemporary Thai cultural context which can be significant resources for the design language for architects and designers whose works involved designing and constructing Thai domestic architecture.

1.2 Research Objectives

- 1.2.1 The research focuses on the home in contemporary Thai cultural context; in the here and now; on the urban rather than the rural; and on the mass society rather than small communities. It intends to make the concept of 'baan' in the contemporary Thai cultural context intelligible through the study of domestic interior: the transformation of the concept of 'baan'; on the ways we use and organise ourselves in domestic space in contemporary Thai society; and how contemporary domestic architectural design can contribute to the formation of the Thai home.
- 1.2.2 It is important that the research studies and resonates 'baan' as a dwelling, a lived space that it aims to provide an analysis of the use of such space and the experience of home life. Rather than looking for the familiar in the exotic, the research intends to search for the exotic in the familiar. The research is an attempt to understand how and why people in contemporary urbanised Thailand relate to things in their immediate environment in the formation of the home. Objects and things that are taken for granted, like entrance, door's threshold, exterior and interior decoration, and familiar activities like the installation of the principal column, and arranging a position of the bed and toilet, are looked at anew.

1.2.3 This research is an inquiry into the domestic architectural design, the use of domestic space and domestic home life focusing primarily architectural evidence and the experiential aspects of such place. The investigation on the concept of 'baan' relies on the evidence that it is a place where Thais dwell: as a unit of the complex relationship implicated by a house, its construction, and people who inhabit it. The research uses Bangkok as an area for the investigation to unfold the complexity of contemporary Thai domestic architecture and its interior. The research is aware of the diversity of a 'place for living' for different lifestyles in Bangkok: a detached house, then a townhouse or semi-detached house, shop-house or commercial row-house, flat, apartment, and condominium depending on needs and income. Nonetheless, the research aims to explore such diversity but specific case studies will be selected for an in-depth analysis.

1.3 Research Methodology

Although this research is an architectural research, it employs an interdisciplinary approach to the ways in which evidences are collected and analysed. Interdisciplinary research provides more alternatives with which to collect and to view data. Awareness of different disciplines allows one to introduce novel approaches not considered before and to have access to a different data base which may enhance a discipline's pre-existing one. Theoretical and historical reviews provide details on the architectural theory and philosophy concerning the subject of dwelling. In collecting data, the research adopts an anthropological open-minded point of view. It borrows ethnographic research strategies and techniques such as the unstructured interviews and participant observation. The evidence in this research demonstrates precisely how architectural studies can use other disciplines' data, especially photography, in a productive manner. The research methodology is divided into 4 parts: (1) Theoretical research bases it primary sources in the architectural theory and philosophy concerning the subject of dwelling, (2) Historical research on 'Baan Thai' with specific framework to the domestic interior of Thai home in the Central Region of Thailand, and (3) Architectural surveys of contemporary domestic architecture and unstructured interviews, and (4) Synthesis between philosophical and theoretical framework and surveyed materials.

1.3.1 Theoretical research bases it primary sources in the architectural theory and philosophy concerning the subject of dwelling. It will also look at architectural studies concerning the meaning of domestic space. Moreover, the anthropological and sociological studies of the home, domestic home life, domesticity will also be reviewed. The theoretical research will not only provide the background discussion and framework in order to elaborate the concept of 'baan' in Thai culture, but also provide a framework to which selection of the case study can be elaborated.

- 1.3.2 Historical research on 'Baan Thai' with specific framework to the domestic interior of Thai home in the Central Region of Thailand is a pretext for this research in order to provide theoretical background to the concept of 'baan,' and in order to study social, cultural, political drives which affect the architectural design of the domestic architecture.
- Architectural surveys of contemporary domestic architecture and unstructured interviews are the key evidence to this research. There is no existing Thai academic research involving in the study of Thai domestic interior by means of architectural surveys of the contemporary Thai households. The research aims to gain the insight into Thai domestic interior and their home life. The task cannot be simply achieved by an observation from outside of the house. The research employs the method of architectural survey consisting of photographic documentation and measurement. It also adopts an anthropological open-minded point of view. It borrows ethnographic research strategies and techniques such as the unstructured interviews and participant observation. It involves the study of groups and people as they go about their everyday lives, and trying to identify the subjective meaning people attribute to things or events as much as looking at the objective characteristic of such events. However, the interpretation made from this analysis is not an aim for a universal objective meaning. The research focuses on the empirical details, providing an insight into Thai domestic interior and hence sketching out the meaning of 'baan.' As address earlier, the research is aware of the diversity of a 'place for living' for different lifestyles in Bangkok: a detached house, then a townhouse or semi-detached house, shop-house or commercial row-house, flat, apartment, and condominium.

"The Bangkok Home Lives Project" functions as key evidence to this research. The project, which is based on photography, grew from (1) great difficulty finding original and current resources on domestic interior in Thailand, and from (2) a reading of Kamina Walton's essay on a Blackfriars Photography Project. In a similar approach to the Blackfriars Photography Project where photography was used for primary school children in Blackfriars area in order to reflect the diversity of cultures and family structure represented within the school, the Bangkok Home Lives Project gives opportunity for the householders themselves to produce resources by recording their home lives by using disposable camera. Each participant used a twenty six exposure color disposable camera to photograph what he/she felt expressed his/her home life with a written caption for each photograph. As a result, photographs taken by 25 participants become key evidences providing an insight into home environment and family life in urban Bangkok, and they are quite unlike the representations that we are used to seeing.

3.4 Synthesis between philosophical and theoretical framework and surveyed materials, as the two parallel methods serve as the basic framework for this research, the final outcome will be a synthesis of the physical survey and the theoretical study. One the one hand, the theories concerning the subject of dwelling and domestic interior will act as a fundamental reference for our understanding of 'baan' in Thai culture which can also be compared with other culture in the Southeast Asian regions. On the other hand, the contemporary Thai domestic interior based on case studies in Bangkok area will be used to elucidate the concept of 'baan' or dwelling in contemporary Thai culture.

1.4 Sources: Photographic Surveys, House Surveys and Interviews

The first and direct source would have to be Thai householders, their houses and their experience of dwelling. Documenting what goes on within one's home becomes crucial. Houses and the experience of dwelling told and documented by Thai householders are material for the analysis on the concept of home. A variety of contemporary domestic architecture is also surveyed to give wider sources for interpretation. It is important to recognise the diversity of contemporary domestic architecture that accommodates modern lifestyles. From a detached house, a semi-detached house, a townhouse, a commercial row-house, condominium, rental flat and student accommodation, all give the research details on how one relates to the concept of 'baan' or home in Thai cultural context.

Interviews are also conducted through unstructured interviews. Respondents include homeowners (parents) and other family members (children and relatives). Interviews conducted among the research participants ask for opinions regarding the concept of 'home' as they understood. As much as the stories are recorded, plan drawings, field notes and photographs are taken as archival evidence. A survey called "the Bangkok Home Lives Project" has been carried out from May 2007 onwards. The pilot study consists of a photographic record of 25 homedwellers aged between 20-40 years old, most of whom is in design related professions. The study is carried out by distributing disposable cameras to 25 volunteers to document home life-experiences in terms of anything they felt best expressed their 'home life.' Because of there is no existing Thai academic research involving in the study of Thai domestic interior by means of architectural surveys of the contemporary Thai households, this study serves as an initial survey of contemporary domestic interior in Bangkok. The photographic records are already reflecting the diversity of domestic culture which cannot be simply achieved by an observation from outside of the house.

This final report is structured in 4 chapters: Chapter 1 Introduction and Overview; Chapter 2 Theoretical and Historical Reviews on the Concept of Home; Chapter 3 Bangkok Home lives, and Chapter 4 Research Summary. The final research report also includes researcher's publications published in relation to this research.

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn, PhD

Chapter 1 Endnote

¹ P. Tiptus, *House in Bangkok: Characters and Changes During the Last 200 Years (1782 A.D.-1982 A.D.)* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, 1982).

² M. Askew, *Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation* (London: Routledge, 2002): Marc Askew (2002) names the social and economic changes that have been geared towards benefits of Bangkok as a capital over the rest of the country, whether in terms of the number of schools, universities, hospitals, medical practitioners, wages or salaries as the 'Bangkok-centred trends of development.'

³ K. Walton, "Home lives" in T. Putnam and C. Newton (eds.) Household Choices (London: Future Publications and Middlesex Polytechnic Print Unit, 1990) pp. 66-73.

CHAPTER 2

BAAN: (DOMESTIC) INTERIORS

Home is both a space we inhibit and a place where we imagine. When we say that 'homes are made' rather than built, we acknowledge an interweaving personal imagination, lived relationships and shaped surroundings. Homes are made from material, social and cultural resources and are bound up in the relationships which sustain those resources. Not surprisingly, therefore, 'the home' is an elusive subject to study. It is something about which nearly everyone feels confident to speak, and yet there is much which, in the ordinary run of things, remains unexpressed. Important changes have taken place in houseform and tenure, norms and patterns of household living and the choice of goods for domestic consumption. This research is very much interested in the contemporary home sparked by these changes which mark an important shift in the Thai culture.

The research draws together several theoretical and historical background and documentation exploring the issue of home and home lives to discuss the issue of home in Thai cultural context. The chapter provides an overview on theoretical and historical background which this research is based on and is organized in to 4 main parts:

2.1 On the Concept of Dwelling

2.2 'Baan': Home as a Cultivated Realm

2.3 Studies on Thai Domestic Architecture

2.4 The Emergence of Domestic Interior in Thai Cultural Context

2.1 On the Concepts of Dwelling

To Dwell and a Dwelling

The meaning of the term 'dwelling' relies heavily on the philosophical tradition of phenomenology. The research does not intend to identify Thai concepts of dwelling with that of the West. Western phenomenological points of view on the category of dwelling prove to be relevant in making an analysis of the Thai dwelling place intelligible. In order to achieve possible understanding of the term dwelling, a brief account of the essential characteristics of a dwelling will be rehearsed as followings.

In his writing: *Building Dwelling Thinking* (1951), Heidegger indicates that a building is considered a dwelling only when it permits one to dwell. "To dwell," according to Heidegger, means "to remain and to stay in place"; "to be set at peace and to be preserved from harm and danger." To dwell establishes a well-balanced gathering between things (man, a particular environment between earth and sky, and divinities) under the condition of being safeguarded. A building defined as a dwelling is a site where man comes to associate with a particular place and nature that all unfolds in a state of harmony. A dwelling, according to Heidegger, functions as a refuge. It protects man from danger. It sustains a harmfree and peaceful condition. Heidegger calls this condition "the free sphere" where man is let be in his essence as long as his surroundings remain undamaged. Depending on the specific means and methods of each culture, in times of danger and destruction, a dwelling is also made capable of defending and rescuing man from danger.

The notion of dwelling is, according to Heidegger, prior to and circumscribed by the activity of building. "Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then we can build," says Heidegger. The way a dwelling is constructed, as Christian Norberg-Schulz indicates, implies a unique and meaningful relationship between man and a given environment. This relationship consists in an act of identification and orientation. According to Norberg-Schulz, identification is a sense of settling and belonging to a certain place in such a way that the place becomes meaningful to man, and hence his being-in-the-world is determined. On the other hand, orientation sets out the spatial interrelationship between man and his environment. Orientation apprehends spatial order, and configures how man orientates himself among things in the environment. In sum, the safeguarding becomes a fundamental quality of a dwelling. Not only does it enable man to realise his 'being-in-the-world,' but it enables man to settle in a certain place in a manageable manner without conflict.

Baan as a Dwelling Place for Thais

Baan can be understood as a complex but coherent system of Thai domesticity. For Thais, a house is at the core of this system, and domestic life evolves from within and around this house. It is clear that Thais in traditional society attached overwhelming importance and values to their domestic life. The domestic domain in traditional society, with its emphasis on a house, was the embodiment of its dweller's self and ideology. On the other hand, we have seen that now functional and material aspects of the Thai residences are the main interest of Thais in contemporary society. Certainly contemporary Thai houses bear very little resemblance to the traditional house in terms of its architectural features.

Traditionally, Thais believed in the prosperity of their agricultural production as much as in their domestic life. The process of housebuilding contained symbols and myths as much as did the cultivation of rice in the paddy. Thais designated and constructed a certain place as their

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home. The strength of this place was characterised both by its physical apparatus and its symbolic aspects that animated the place with auspiciousness. This place was a domain where family and domestic intimacy was governed by respect to those who were seniors, especially parents, ancestors, guardian spirits, nature and supernatural powers. The construction of traditional Thai house was associated with the householder's maturity: "to be a householder is to be fully adult." The semantic analysis suggests that the Thai house was not merely constructed but was cultivated. To cultivate is "an act of causing 'something living' to exist." The cultivation of the Thai house, interpreted with reference of semantic analysis, implies that the house brought the householder and his family into being. Living in the cultivated house, the notion of care became central in order to promote the growth or progress of domestic life.

In addition, *baan* was a domain made up by gathering and harmonising different animate resources: householder, trees, soil, and the spirit of the place. The traditional rituals of housebuilding governed the gathering of these animate resources When these animate resources were united, 'the luck measurement' was central in all calculations (timing and dimensions). Turton indicates that the traditional rituals of housebuilding in traditional Thai society were a reproduction of the ideology that the house represented social categories including social and individual identities, the relation between man and nature, metaphysical and cognitive categories. These categories were represented by orientation, alignment, hierarchy, height, interiority, timing, number, shape, size, colour and sound. The rituals of housebuilding were to ensure that *baan* and its householder achieved a state of equilibrium and auspiciousness. Therefore, at the core of the sanctified domestic domain, the strength, stability and well-being of the Thai family were promoted.

As much as the strength of the house, the traditional rituals of housebuilding were the key elements in creating *baan* as a dwelling place, as a home. Although the rituals of housebuilding relied greatly on the animistic belief or the belief in supernatural power, the traditional rituals of housebuilding established a meaningful relation between the householder and his house. The rituals provided Thais with a reasoning mechanism for making one thing purposeful for the other. This mechanism appropriated the establishment between the domestic domain, its householder, nature and supernatural powers: calculating the luck measurement; selecting the right month for the gathering of materials; selecting appropriate natural materials without destroying natural resources; neutralising any wicked supernatural powers; paying respect to spirit of the place and calling forth spiritual support; and determining the time when the construction is commenced. Therefore, a union of a certain place and a particular person became meaningful and unambiguous.

Thais believed that this harmonising state of union brought about the sense of auspiciousness which was particular to the householder. In the auspicious domain, the

householder felt certain (free from doubts), and hence he belonged to the place as much as the place belonged to him. The auspiciousness (goodness) also reinforced the strength of the domestic domain and enabled the domain to stand against dangerous and wicked forces. Finally, by living in such domain, the confidence of the householders was strengthened in a way that it permitted him and his family to grow and develop properly and successfully. In this sense, *baan* in the traditional Thai society can be identified as a dwelling place, a home.

If dwelling is a basic principle of human existence, our ability to dwell distinguishes humans from other animals. 12 Without a dwelling, man would be a dispersed being. 13 The concept of Thai dwelling is at once the most taken-for-granted and overlooked aspect of Thai everyday life. Previous architectural studies of Thai domestic architecture have said very little about Thai concepts of dwelling. Studies and criticisms of contemporary Thai architecture have not permitted Thais to ponder their concepts of dwelling. Thai architectural studies today have been formed under the sign of modernisation. Officially, anything to do with animistic belief and the belief of supernatural power is 'superstitious' and hence has been assumed to be irrelevant for modernised ways of living. In contemporary Thai society, domestic architecture has been studied with utilitarian and pragmatic principles. At the same time, discussions of traditional ways of living and the traditional Thai house often focus on its symbolic function with the assumption that what has been designated as having a symbolic representation may serve no other purpose. Consequently, the traditional Thai house has been studied as a history ends in itself, while the contemporary Thai house has lost its connection with tradition.

2.2 'Baan': Home as a Cultivated Realm

There is comparatively little work on the meaning of home in Thai cultural context. This makes it difficult to trace back how home was and is defined. Given the lack of studies of concepts of *baan* or home, the research starts by investigating Thai terminology. This research deals with a semantic field within which are grouped a number of terms which in English might be translated as a field signifying house, home, dwelling, inhabiting, residence, compound etc. The task in the elucidation of certain important Thai terms is to deal with what exceeds the grasp of a translation.

The selected terms have initially been taken from daily usage among Thais in both traditional and contemporary society, with specific reference to the Central region of Thailand. The research bases its semantic analysis on the dialect of the Central region of Thailand because its argument is situated around changes of domestic architecture in Bangkok and its vicinity. It is not the case that the research disregards regional differences as to the ways in which domestic architecture has been constructed. Despite the fact that houses in different regions have different physical characteristics, the research argues that Thais share a similar idea about the ways in which the Thai dwelling place can be understood through the common use of language.

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Thais in contemporary society live in a place called 'baan.' Common definitions of baan revolve around it being a house, a home, or a habitation. The meaning of baan interweaves a series of ideas and things that make up a place where Thais live. In traditional society, there were two distinct terms involved for where Thais lived: ruen and baan. Thais called their house ruen, and called their domestic domain baan. The term ruen has become restricted to it use as signifying a house in the traditional context. On the other hand, the term baan came to designate what the Thai Dictionary records as: 'a house or a building to live in. It is also a domain, where domestic activities take place. It is a family, a village, a home, a place of refuge.' As the definitions suggest, baan implies the establishment of meaningful aspects of the Thai domestic life.

Apart from *baan* and *ruen*, there are three other terms involved in the construction of Thai traditional house that are worth mentioning in this semantic analysis: *plook*, *prung* and *prap*. As much as the strength of the house, the processes of constructing a house governed by rituals of housebuilding were the key element in creating *baan* as a dwelling place in the traditional society. According to Andrew Turton, the rituals of housebuilding in traditional Thai society are "*among the most important and elaborate rites de passages: to be a house dweller is to be fully human and to be a householder is to be fully adult."*

Phraya Anumanrajadhon's *Custom of Housebuilding* states that rituals of housebuilding consisted of three phases: material preparation, construction, and dwelling (Fig.2.1).¹⁷ After gathering materials to build a house, *prung* was an act of preparation in making each component ready for assembly. The act of *prap* took place in the preparation phase. Unattended domain was believed to be dangerous in the sense that it might be a place where curses and spells were hidden. *Prap din*, or directly translated as 'domesticating the soil,' began with an analysis of the existing traits of this piece of land before finding a strategy to handle it. After the components were fabricated, the land was domesticated and the auspicious time of assembly of these components was calculated, the process of assembling the Thai traditional house began. The act of *plook* began with the act of digging holes in the ground and securely setting the bases of the house-columns into the holes. Then the rest of the structural components were fixed together before finishing with the necessary non-structural components.



Figure 2.1: Process of housebuilding performed on traditional Thai house (Source: Jaijongrak, 2002)

The semantic analysis of the construction of Thai house suggests that the domestic realm or *baan* was not merely constructed but was cultivated. Traditional rituals of housebuilding provided Thais with a reasoning mechanism for making one thing purposeful for the other. This mechanism appropriated the establishment between the domestic domain, its householder, nature and supernatural powers. Therefore, a union of a place, a particular person and a family became meaningful and unambiguous.

According to Phraya Anumanrajadhon, the contemporary meaning of *baan* has shifted from its meaning in traditional society. This shift, he argues, is due to the rapid development of Thai society. Three things have influenced the changes. Firstly, *baan* has become equated with a house because of the disappearance of the large household compound due to cultural and economic changes. The household compound which was so important for Thais in an agricultural society is not part of the urban scene. Secondly, the extent to which the term *ruen* had been restricted to the traditional Thai house has now given way to the use of *baan* to signify a house. Although *ruen* used to be an accurate translation of a house, yet Thais do not use this to signify their houses in contemporary society. Nowadays, *ruen* is rather used to designate a house which belongs to the traditional context or a vernacular house, while the term *baan* possesses a more

neutral entity towards time. Thirdly, architectural studies of Thai residence have privileged the building where Thais live. In his study on the literary meaning of the term *baan*, Santi Chantavilaswong observes that most Thai architectural studies have used the term *baan* as if it is reducible to a house as a building as such. With few exceptions, previous studies of *baan* have been geared towards the architectural features of a house focusing on archival surveys of the traditional Thai house or stylistic developments of the contemporary Thai house. These three pressures have shaped the contemporary view of the place where Thais live.

The word *baan* has endured several shifts in meaning. Although meanings of *baan* extend to a more abstract and emotional quality of domestic life, majority of academic discussions on *baan* often fail to recognize these other aspects of domestic life and focus on a house, its architectural features and stylistic interior decorations. With few exceptions, Santi Chantavilaswong, an architect and scholar, suggests that contemporary Thais are more likely to understand the meanings of a place where they live by reference to Western concepts of home. A doctoral research and a current research on the issue of Thai domestic interior also confirm that almost 95 percent of the interviewed respondents have associated the term *baan* to an abstract idea of home. Moreover, the way Thais continue to use the term *plook* to signify the construction of the house reflects a very important and specific quality of home: home as a cultivated domain. Some parts of the traditional ritual of housebuilding that survived the process of modernization would ensure that this domain will continue to grow with assurance and prosperity.

2.3 Studies on Thai Domestic Architecture

Since Bangkok celebrated its bicentennial in 1982, Thais have been enthusiastic in 'getting to know' what Thai culture is. Concerns regarding Thai identity ignited immense interest in recovering the 'genuine' Thai. However, Srisak Wallipodom stresses that although interest has been immense in the past few years, in fact very few studies attempt to provide an analysis of contemporary Thai culture. According to Srisak, the thirst to know 'Thai culture' is geared towards preserving the 'art and cultural heritage' more than the sociological aspects of everyday life. Such academic researches aim to recover the 'real' Thai identity as a valuable model and to find methods to preserve the 'real' culture. In this sense, Thai culture connotes a frame, which is fixed, bounded and unchanging in respect of identities and practices. Thai culture becomes one homogenous entity to be appreciated, preserved and eventually displayed as a valuable heritage. This idea of culture is not what this research is interested in.

Few studies of the Thai house offer an argument that transcends a form-oriented and symbolic interpretation. Previous studies of Thai domestic architecture focus mainly on archival studies of form and stylistic development. These correspond to social factors as much as up-to-

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date materials and construction techniques. Rarely do Thais or Western scholars, whose interests are initially in Thai domestic architecture, feel impelled to engage in an investigation of dwelling in Thai cultural context. 'Modernisation' of architectural education took place in 1958 when Prof. An Nimmanahaeminda, a Thai architect and scholar, was requested by the Thai government to organise a new curriculum for the School of Thai Architecture at Silpakorn University in Bangkok. The aim of the new curriculum was to standardise the traditional profession of Thai craftsmen and builders with reference to the Western ones. According to Prof. An: "The integration of modern technology and our (Thai) traditional heritage is therefore most desirable... Since we are now modernising ourselves at a rapid pace, it would be a great shame to lose what we have from our past civilisation... The proposed curriculum attempts to fulfil our national needs in accord with Western standards. The policy was clearly written to integrate what we already had with what modern technology has to offer."²¹ Knowledge of the traditional Thai house was to be reconfigured systematically into a realm of knowledge, which was directed at preservation. It also became available for architectural education and the general public.

Architectural studies of domestic architecture focus on the Thai traditional house as its mainstream. The traditional Thai house, especially houses in the central region, is recognised as a part of the nation's heritage. Nowadays, knowledge of the traditional Thai house is a well-established field of academic studies. Professional craftsmanship and knowledge surrounding it have become a heritage that requires preservation as part of the national identity. On the other hand, studies of contemporary Thai domestic architecture have emerged as a separate field, which includes extensive surveys on different types of residential architecture and critiques. Academic studies of the Thai domestic architecture can be grouped in three contexts: (1) the traditional context, (2) the rural/vernacular context, and (3) the contemporary context. Each of the contexts has been studied as a distinctive category of Thai domestic architecture.

Having a great number of studies of contemporary domestic architecture are part of larger studies of Thai architecture. Due to the rapid social changes in Bangkok, such studies are mainly focused on mapping chronological developments of form and stylistic changes of Thai architecture onto the historical, sociological, and cultural changes. The split between the categories of the traditional Thai house and the new Thai house has been largely understood as unambiguous. With reference to Rattanakosin period (1782 to present), it is commonly understood that this period can be divided into a minimum of three periods: (1) the period prior to modernisation (King Rama I-III, from 1782-1851), (2) the period of modernisation (King Rama IV-VI, from 1851-1925), and (3) the period of democracy (King Rama VII-IX, from 1925 to present). The Thai houses, which were built during the third period onwards, are commonly considered 'new' Thai houses. Due to the immense influence of Western/European architecture, these new houses share little similarity with the traditional Thai houses.

The term '**contemporary**' has emerged in the latter half of the 1980's. The 1980's were a golden era of architecture in Thailand. From 1982 onwards, economic growth permitted massive property development. But the aftermath of this 'golden era' has seen a crisis of Thai architectural identity. Previous architectural studies have not provided the thesis with sufficient and direct definition to the term 'contemporary Thai architecture.' After modernisation, Western/European influences, standardisation and development in architectural education, Thai architecture entered a new paradigm. However, from the research's observations, the term 'contemporary' has commonly been used to label architecture, which has been built during the economic boom in 1982 onwards.²²

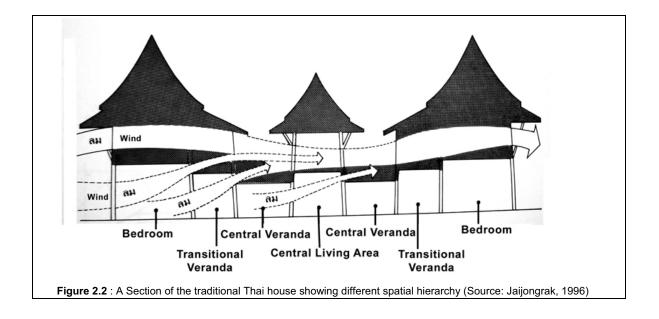
Thai studies of contemporary domestic architecture have been carried out in much of the same methods as the studies of traditional domestic architecture. Based on extensive examples of contemporary residences, such studies aim to provide a systematic archive of contemporary domestic architecture rather than seek to define the unique characteristics of the contemporary Thai architectural identity. According to Vimolsidhi Horayangkura, contemporary domestic architecture lacks an identity. In his words, contemporary Thai architecture at large suffers 'Architectural Identity Disaster Syndrome,' also known as AIDS. He states that an imposed modernisation has forced the Thais to overlook their need to develop appropriate changes for themselves. Thai domestic architecture, in and around Bangkok, has changed significantly as Thais try to catch up with rapid social changes, political factors, economic forces, new materials, and new construction techniques. These contemporary houses have failed to correspond to Thai daily life.

Studies of contemporary domestic architecture have been carried out more or less in the same way of those in the past. Studies of Thai domestic architecture lack any specific analysis on the contemporary domesticity. The interior designer has become a popular profession in Bangkok. Nevertheless, what has been popularised in the Thai interior design magazines remains far from the reality of the living spaces of most Thais in Bangkok. Recent studies have begun to open up Thai concepts of home and the experience of dwelling. For example, Santi Chantavilaswong's article exploring the semantic meanings of Thai words in relation to domestic architecture and experience of dwelling. Piyalada Devakula's unpublished PhD thesis attempts to re-discover architectural identity through certain shared characteristics in the experience of dwelling inside the Thai houses. By contrast to preceding studies, Piyalada focuses on smaller numbers: four houses in her analysis which she carefully maps the experiential characteristics of dwelling in the Thai house from the traditional Thai house to the contemporary/urban house. This type of study remains relatively rare.

2.4 The Emergence of Domestic Interior in Thai Cultural Context

The word 'interior' has undergone several shifts in meaning. It has come into use in English from the late fifteenth century to mean basic divisions between inside and outside. From the early eighteenth century, interiority was used to designate inner character and a sense of individual subjectivity. It was only from the beginning of the nineteenth century that the interior came to designate the notion of 'the inside of a building or a room.' This marked the newly emergent interior as a site of professional struggle between architects and upholsterers. Through the nineteenth century, interior decoration began to articulate itself separately from architecture. According to the writing of Charles Rice, the 'interior' emerges with conceptual specificity in the context of bourgeois domesticity.²⁸ The bourgeois domestic interior emerges historically in the nineteenth century through an accumulation of traces and the immaterial experience that borrows on the material attributes of the everyday domestic interior – its furnishings. It is not simply architectural, but it borrows on the enclosure provided by architecture to be articulated through decoration, the literal covering of the inside of an architectural shell. In this sense the interior is also not simply spatial, but is equally an image-based phenomenon.

As in the Thai cultural contest, the architecture of the traditional house defines how areas inside the house could be used. The concept of boundary was considered vital to the Thai domestic domain but wall was not the most important aspect of spatial division. Thresholds and changes of the floor level permitted householders to separate space into different spatial hierarchy: ground / stairs / circulations / cooking area / sitting area / sleeping area / ancestral area. In many cases, sleeping area tended to be the only place that was enclosed. By referring to the section of the traditional Thai house, the domestic sphere was characterized by the sense of openness: the flow between the exterior and interior atmosphere (Fig.2.2).



It was only from the 1950's onwards that the interior of the house emerges with specific reference to the modernization in Thailand. Changes that took place during 1851-1925 were in the reigns of King Rama IV to Rama VI. The monarchs demanded the changes, understood as a process of 'modernization,' involved in "the adoption of technologies, methods of government and a diverse iconography drawn from the west towards the objectives of economic advancement, the political integration of the state and the legitimacy of the monarchy." These changes brought Thais new conceptions of living dominated by Western influences.

Houses of members of the royal families and well-to-do aristocrats were among the first to be built with westernized spatial organization and 'western style' outlooks. The architectural features of the house and its interior decorations had a direct bearing on the idea of good taste and civilized lifestyle (Fig.2.3, Fig. 2.4 and Fig. 2.5). The houses were built in large compounds with a road leading to the main house and a European-style front garden. These new houses were characterized by individually enclosed rooms for each function, equipped with European-style furniture, and the use of the modern lavatory. Inside these houses, there were a large reception foyer, a cloakroom, a living room, a dining room, a library, a tea room, a play room and a modern lavatory. A proper kitchen was separated from the main house for hygienic reasons. The good taste and civilized lifestyle were to be articulated through luxury living environment represented by a diverse iconography drawn from the west. These kinds of residence and lifestyle were unprecedented and completely at variance with the ways of living in traditional Thai society.



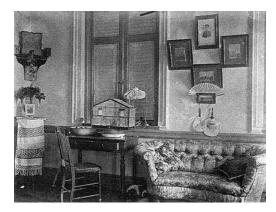


Figure 2.3 : Paruskawan Palace

Former residence of HRH Prince Chakrabongse Bhuvanath built during the reign of King Rama V by European architects. Two interior photographs are a small dining room and the private suite of HRH Prince Chakrabongse Bhuvanath and his wife. (Source: H. Hunter and N. Chakrabongse, 1994)





Figure 2.4: An exterior view and an interior of a master bedroom of the Phyathai Palace in 1920. Originally constructed for the Thai monarchs in 1909 and reassigned as a first class hotel in 1925. (Source: National Archives)

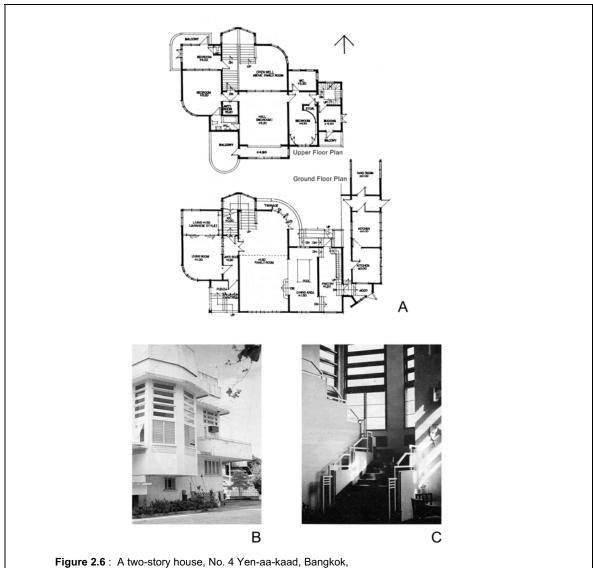




Figure 2.5 : A house in Bangkok and its living room

Showing a house in a compound with a road leading to the main house and European-style front garden. Its living room shows European-style furniture and decorations, built around the reign of King Rama V or VI (Source: National Archives)

Further critical changes were marked by the fall of the absolute monarchy in 1932 which was replaced by a more democratic administration. From this time onwards, changes in Thai architecture in general were welcomed as Thai architects educated overseas returned. Detached houses of the well-to-do Thais were designed and decorated under the influence of modern architecture in Europe and America (Fig. 2.6). Thailand was significantly shaped by the rapid economic development which was accelerated under the new dictatorial regime in 1957. The First National Development Plan (1961-6) led to demographic growth, expanded economic development, and marked a turning point in Thai architecture. Thai economic and property business reached a peak during the period from 1969 to 1972. Domestic architecture was no exception. The increasing need for housing in the city was the result of the dramatic increase in the working class and middle class Thais.



Belonging to an upper-middle class family, built during the period of 1936-1960 (Source: Tiptus, 1982)

Showing a more effective and compact floor plan when compared to an earlier period 2.6A

2.6B : an exterior of a house with eaves spanning outwards from the house

2.6C : An interior space with staircase and adjacent family room.

From 1960 onwards, different types of domestic architecture have emerged in response to economic growth and the needs of people from different social strata. The increasing population and land values, particularly in the urban area of Bangkok, have transformed domestic architecture from single-unit housing into the multi-unit housing and grouped units. There are suburban housing estates, government welfare housing projects, shop-houses or row-houses, townhouses, flats, and condominiums for the middle class. These groups of Thais began to take careful economic consideration towards the ways in which their houses were built: low budgets, efficient use of space, and combined functions. At this point, there is no academic study which documents the various conditions of domestic interior in this period. However, the establishment of the education for professional interior designer in the late 1950's marked the interior as a site of specific profession as interior designer. Interior decoration began to articulate itself as a separate field of profession from architecture.

Since the administrative reformation, the house and its decorative interior have continued to be used as 'an image' or 'a face' that signifies social status in the Thai society. In Bangkok and its vicinity, there were private housing estates filled with luxury-detached houses for people with high incomes. A house and its interiors become an object with potential to display affluence and well-being. Advertisements of these private housing estates perpetuate the myth of the nuclear family and tout a dream-like image of living in beautiful interiors and the world class living environment (Fig.2.7). The domestic interior in Bangkok emerges in a similar way it emerges in the context of bourgeois domesticity: "It is not only architectural, but it borrows on the enclosure provided by architecture to be articulated through decoration, the literal covering of the inside of an architectural 'shell.' In this sense the interior is also not simply spatial, but is equally an image-based phenomenon." 12

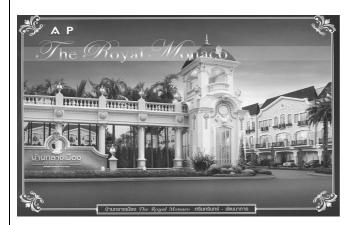




Figure 2.7: An Advertisement of a private housing estate in Bangkok (Source: AP Calendar, 2006)

Chapter 2 Endnote

- ¹ Martin Heidegger, 'Building Dwelling Thinking' (1951), in David Farrell Krell (ed.), Basic Writings: Martin Heidegger from Being and Time (1927) to the Task of Thinking (1964) (London: Routledge, 1993, reprinted 1999), p.348.
- ² Heidegger, 'Building Dwelling Thinking,' p.351.
- ³ Heidegger, 'Building Dwelling Thinking,' p.351.
- ⁴ Heidegger, 'Building Dwelling Thinking,' p.361.
- ⁵ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture* (New York: Electa/Rizzoli, 1985), p.13.
- ⁶ Norberg-Schulz, The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture, pp.13-4.
- ⁷ Andrew Turton, '*The Thai House: Domestication of Ideology*,' Architectural Association Quarterly, Volumn 12 Number 12, 1980, p.4
- ⁸ S. Sethaputra, *New Modern Thai-English Dictionary, Thai Royal Institute's Official Thai Dictionary.* (Bangkok: Thaiwattanapanich, 1995).
- ⁹ The research's use of a pronoun 'his' refers to the way the Thais designate 'a father' whom as a head of the Thai family. It is common in the traditional society but is not always the case in the contemporary Thai society.
- ¹⁰ The householder consulted the ritual practitioner in order to come up with the proper dimensions and the proper time important for creating the sphere of living harmony. This measurement centred in this procedure was called a *luck measurement*. The calculation of the *luck measurement* centred on the householder's horoscope, normally of the head of the family.
- 11 Turton, 'The Thai House: Domestication of Ideology,' pp. 4-11
- ¹² Michael Parker Pearson and Colin Richards, 'Ordering the World: Perceptions of Architecture, Space and Time,' in Michael Parker Pearson and Colin Richards (eds.), Architecture and Order (London: Routledge, 1994, reprinted 1999), p.2.
- ¹³ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994 edition), p.7.
- ¹⁴ S. Sethaputra, *New Modern Thai-English Dictionary, Thai Royal Institute's Official Thai Dictionary.* (Bangkok: Thaiwattanapanich, 1995).
- ¹⁵ Distinctions between the two terms: *ruen* and *baan* can be depicted from Phraya Anumanrajadhon, *Customs of Life series, in Thai.*(Bangkok: Siam Publishing, 1996) pp.62-8. ¹⁶ Turton, '*The Thai House: Domestication of Ideology,*', p. 4.
- ¹⁷ Phraya Anumanrajadhon, *Plook Ruen* [*The Rituals of Housebuilding*] in *Prapaynee Kiowkub Cheevit* [*Customs of life series, 4 books*] (Bangkok: Sumnukpim Samakom Sungkomsaat Hang Prathed Thai, 1962; reprinted Bangkok: Siam Publishing, 1996).
- ¹⁸ Santi Chantavilaswong, "A Remark on an Understanding and Diversity Surrounding the Term House" in Bandit Chulasai (ed.), Baan Thai: Kluen Kwamkid Series, in Thai. (Bangkok: Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, 1997), p.1.
- ¹⁹ S. Chantavilaswong, "A Remark on an Understanding and Diversity Surrounding the Term House."
- Nuttinee Karnchanaporn, Fear as a Cultural Phenomenon in Thailand with Special Reference to the Spatial Relations of Domestic Architecture. (London: an unpublished PhD Thesis, Architectural Association, 2005).
- ²¹ See An Nimmanahaeminda, '*Thai Architecture Past, Present and Future*', A lecture delivered at Orvis Hall, Hawaii University, Honolulu on 1st Febuary 1965 at members of American Institute of Architects, Hawaii Chapter, on the occasion of receiving the annual award.
- Published in ASA: Journal of the Association of Siamese Architects, v. 2 (1965), no page number indicates.
- ²² Vimolsidhi Horayangkura, '*Crisis in Thai Architecture*', *ASA: Journal of the Association of Siamese Architects*, v.12, n.1 (April, 1986), pp. 74-9.
- See also Vimolsidhi Horayangkura, K. Indarawijit, S. Chantavilaswong and V. Inpantang, *Pattanakan Naew-kwaamkid Lae Roob-baeb Khong Ngaan Sathapattayakum: Adeet Patjubun Lae* Anakot [Development of Architectural Concept and Architectural Form: Past, Present and Future] (Bangkok: the Association of Siamese Architects, 1993); Pusadee Tiptus, *Houses in Bangkok: Characters and Changes During the Last 200 Years* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1982); Pusadee Tiptus, *Sathapanik Siam* [Siamese Architects] (Bangkok: the Association of Siamese Architects, 1996); Nangnoi Saksri, M.R., *Ban Ruean Samai Krung* Rattanakosin [Houses in Rattanakosin Period From the Reign of King Rama I to King Rama VII]

(Bangkok: by the author, 1993); Bandit Chulasai (ed.), *Ban Thai* [*Thai Houses*], *Kluen Kwamkid Series* (Bangkok: Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, 1997).

See also Vimolsidhi Horayangkura, 'Architecture: From Absurdity to Whatever' in ASA: Journal of the Association of Siamese Architects, v.15, n.5 (1987), pp.52-72.

²³ Horayangkura, 'Crisis in Thai Architecture', pp.74-9.

²⁴ Horayangkura, 'Crisis in Thai Architecture,' p.75.

²⁵ Pattaya Saihu, 'Social Context (of Thai Domestic Architecture),' Pussadee Tiptus, '200 Years of Dwellings of Thailand' and Bundit Chulasai, 'Changes in Domestic Architecture in Bangkok', all in Bandit Chulasai (ed.), Ban Thai [Thai Houses], Kluen Kwamkid Series (Bangkok: Faculty of Architecture, Chulalongkorn University, 1997), pp. 20-48, pp. 50-98, and pp.100-22.

²⁶ S. Chantavilaswong, "A Remark on an Understanding and Diversity Surrounding the Term House", pp. 1-18.

²⁷ Piyaladda Devakula, *A Tradition Rediscovered: Toward an Understanding of Experiential Characteristics and Meanings of the Traditional Thai House* (Michigan: University of Michigan, unpublished PhD thesis, 1999).

²⁸ Charles Rice, *'Rethinkng Histories of the Interior' in The Journal of Architecture*, vol 9 no 3, 2004, pp.275-87.

Marc Askew, Bangkok: Place, Practice and Representation (London: Routledge, 2002), p.33.
 Pussadee Tiptus, House in Bangkok: Characters and Changes During the Last 200 Years (1782 A.D.-1982 A.D.) (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, 1982), pp.171-2.

³¹ P. Tiptus, House in Bangkok: Characters and Changes During the Last 200 Years.

³² C. Rice, 'Rethinkng Histories of the Interior,' pp. 275-87.

CHAPTER 3 BANGKOK HOME LIVES A STUDY OF THE EMERGENCE OF CONTEMPORARY THAI DOMESTIC INTERIOR

What one sees in Bangkok metropolitan areas differs significantly from the generalized understanding of Thai home lives. Roadsides in Bangkok are now filled with billboards that advertise grandiose urban living utopias as means for a better quality of life and homogeneous social status. A house with beautiful decorative interiors has become a product which one could buy into. Although there are discrepancies between these ideal images of home and reality, the meanings that people associated with home often derive in part from idealized notion of what home should be like. The rapid increase in numbers of Thais moving to the suburbs and into secure residential enclaves has contributed to Bangkok's fragmented urban expansion. It is a form of urbanisation that runs counter to many of the aims of good urban design and social sustainability, yet is one that fulfils the ambitions and dreams of many Thais and invites a more complex account of their motives and values.

Housing estate companies have employed a number of strategies to persuade people to buy. And they add value to their products by offering a choice of design, decoration and furnishing. Although the range of choice is limited, these companies offer guaranteed contentment with a variety of full-scale mock-up houses, or what they have called 'sample houses.' Urban middle class Thais' obsession with 'the commodity-driven image of modernity' manifests an obsession with displaying affluence and well-being through consumption. Design, size, and private facilities (such as leisure centres or even private golf courses) become icons of 'exclusivity' to attract homebuyers. Private security arrangements become another selling point. Advertisements of these private housing estates tout as much a dream-like image of urban middle class living (Fig.3.1). One thing remains missing: evidence that document the ways in which people in Bangkok make and use their interiors to create their homes. This research focuses on the home life experience: how home is defined and how home is experienced, through a photographic project and in-depth interviews in Bangkok, Thailand. This chapter reveals domestic interior as it is lived in the urban context of Bangkok. The results provide vital starting point to further academic research on contemporary Thai domestic interior.





Figure 3.1: Photographs showing several billboards of gated communities depicting family dream and security (Source: Karnchanaporn and Kasemsook, 2008 and Matichon Weekly, 2002)

3.1 "The Bangkok Home Lives Project"

Studies and criticisms of contemporary Thai architecture have not permitted Thais to ponder the everyday life-world in the realm of domesticity. While discussions of traditional ways of living and the traditional Thai house often focus on its symbolic function with the assumption that what has been designated as having a symbolic representation may serve no other purpose, contemporary Thai domestic architecture has been studied with utilitarian and pragmatic principles. One question remains: in what way studies of tradition help make the analysis of contemporary Thai domestic interior intelligible?

The research finds it difficult to obtain resources for the study of domestic interior that transcend its architectural features. Oftentimes, design magazines and advertisement for a family house in Bangkok do not represent the ways majority of people who live in Bangkok experiencing

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home today. To ask a question to respondents in Bangkok: 'what does the home mean to you?' can be problematic. It could be argued that the question was highly ambiguous, and may have prompted ideal responses rather than real experiences. It is not clear whether the question is asking about the respondents' own specific home life or about their general understanding of what the home means. Arguably is the latter, so rather than reflecting their real experiences the respondents give descriptive details of the ideal home.

What follows in this chapter is an attempt to present materials documented from empirical research. There are 25 participants for this research and all of them are from architecture and design related studies/professions. "The Bangkok Home Lives Project" is part of a research on the emergence of domestic interior in Bangkok. The method adopted was ethnographic in a sense that the thesis intends to study the phenomenon as it is lived. The project, which is based on photography, grew from (1) great difficulty finding original and current resources on domestic interior in Thailand, and from (2) a reading of Kamina Walton's essay on a Blackfriars Photography Project. In a similar approach to the Blackfriars Photography Project where photography was used for primary school children in Blackfriars area in order to reflect the diversity of cultures and family structure represented within the school, the Bangkok Home Lives Project gives opportunity for the householders themselves to produce resources by recording their home lives by using disposable camera. Each participant used a twenty six exposure color disposable camera to photograph what he/she felt expressed his/her home life with a written caption for each photograph. Moreover, the research also carried out "The Bangkok Home Lives Project" with 90 second year architectural and interior architectural studies at School of Architecture and Design (KMUTT) by using digital camera in the same manner as the disposable camera. As a result, photographs taken by 25 participants and 90 students become key evidences providing an insight into home environment and family life in urban Bangkok (Fig.3.2), and they are quite unlike the representations that we are used to seeing.

In additions to "The Bangkok Home Lives Project," the participants were casually interviewed and encouraged to use the photographs to talk about their home life experience and what home means to them. The interview began with a brief conversation with participants about the background of their house: how it was constructed and how spaces were organized. Stories of how the house was built, how its interior was arranged, how family members relate to their own space, how belief influenced their daily life and how they felt living in their houses, were told in relaxed ways. The photographs act as key evidence in helping the participant focusing on their answers. The unstructured nature of the interviews allowed the uneasiness of having to ask about people's private lives to be alleviated. All research materials relating to "The Bangkok Home Lives Project," are included at the end of this chapter.

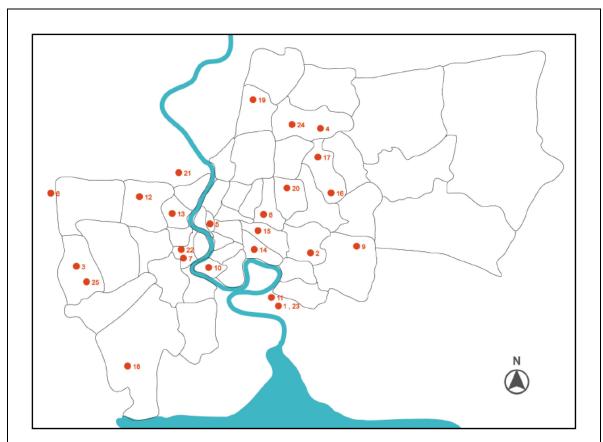


Figure 3.2: Map of Bangkok with red dots indicating location of the 25 homes in the Bangkok Home Lives Project (Source: Karnchanaporn, 2009)

3.2 Bangkok Home Lives

Describing the home through the photographic documentation and also interview, the research's participants tended to produce a long and detailed description. The research has encountered with both description of feelings, moods and atmosphere of the home as well as an exclusively physical account of the home. From the 25 cases, the research has summarised the notion of home as it is understood and documented into 3 categories: (1) Rooms, (2) Household objects, and (3) Family members.

Rooms

The photographic documents elucidate a series of individual home life experience with a mixture between the abstract entity and the interior space which hosts such entity. What do show is that most participants, male or female / old or young, share the same sentiments about the ideal home: privacy, family, affection, relaxation, comfort and security. The spatial characteristics of the dwelling affect the experience of the home lives. The architectural features of the contemporary houses emerged in the responses: (1) the arrangement of and connection between rooms; (2) the sizes of roos; and (3) the form and physical enclosure of rooms. From the summary in Table 3.1, architecture of the house is a vital part of home's identity since houses

were mostly recorded at the beginning of each film roll. In most examples, as indicated in Table 3.1, participants recorded all rooms inside the house (living room, kitchen and bedrooms) which also including bathroom and toilet. Not surprisingly, chairs, sofas, tables and beds located with such rooms are most often photographed as being special objects in the home. Rooms with furniture presuppose a settle life-style which can be invested in the symbols of stability. Several participants mentioned that furniture is special because it makes life at home comfortable. The participants often stressed the theme of comfort and personal usefulness that a favorite piece of furniture provided.

	Building / Gate	Garden	Living area	Resting area	Dining area	Kitchen	Work space	Laundry	Toilet	Bedroom	Pray area	Stairwell
House 01	2	1	1	1		1	1	8	1	3		1
House 02	4		1				1	2		4		
House 03	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	1		5	2	1
House 04	6	2		3		2	1					2
House 05	2			2		1	1		3	4	1	
House 06	2	2	1		1	2	1	1	2	3	1	2
House 07	1	13				1	rd o	2	-	2		
House 08	3	1	1	1	1		1		2		1	
House 09	3	7				1	1		1	1		
House 10	3		3		1	2		2	3	5		2
House 11			2	1	1		1			1	1	
House 12	3	3								1		1
House 15	4			1	1	1	1		1	1		1
House 16	2	2		1		2	2		1			1
House 17	7	1		1	1	2	3	2	1	3		1
House 18							2	1	2	2		3
House 19		2	2						1	5		
House 20	4	5		2	1	2		1		1	1	1
House 21	8		1	3	1	1	1	1	2	3		
House 22	7			1			1	2		4		
House 23	1	3	1			1	2			2		
House 25	4	5		1	2	1			1	1		1
Total	68	48	14	19	11	21	24	15	21	51	7	17

Table 3.1: Summary from the Bangkok Home Lives Project indicating types of room as part of the home lives

The other aspect was seen through photographic documents in the household that practice a more collective consumption as leisure, which compensates for time spent at work. In urban area of Bangkok, there was more acceptance of received definitions of roles and rooms since the photographs are labeled according to the programme of the rooms. Moreover, the growth in DIY activity and the proliferation of stylistic variety in home decoration can be seen to involve more than commercial promotions. The rooms serve as the renegotiation of domestic routines as one may distinguish differing articulations of tradition and modernity. These articulations depend on how kinship, education, employment and social reference groups are related in life trajectories.

Although it is obvious that most participants inhibit aesthetic conventions that a modern person feel obliged to conform to, aspects of messiness have also been documented. Messiness or disorderliness is a curious phenomenon because sometimes it is attributed a possitive meaning

as the opposite of being too neat and fussy, and sometimes a negative meaning such as a lack of care. Which meaning prevails depends on the situation and the individual involved. In several cases of young participants, they inhabited the interior and called it a home by taking possession of things, especially participants who are university students. It is less surprising that most young participants tend to capture their private bedrooms as what is best expressing their home lives. These young participants often explore their personal identity and imagination in their bedroom. In one case, the graffiti was painted on the bedroom wall intend to override the parents' choice of childlike wallpaper. In another case, the participant photographed a locked drawer and described it as her interiorized world. This same participant also photographs a toilet where she often retreats to read her favorite magazine. These two places, sealed off from the everyday world, are where she feels most at home.

Household Objects

Of all the things that people use and surround themselves with, the research concentrate primary on those objects they keep in their homes: spiritual objects, family photos, personal collections, household products, television, computers, bicycles and cars (Table 3.2). Spaces and objects that were photographed by the participants to attend to regularly or to have close at hand, that create permanence in the intimate life and therefore are most involved in making up his or her identity. The objects of the household, which are photographed, represent the being of the owner. According to the unstructured interviews of the research participants, these household objects constitute signs that reflects the pattern of the owner's self.

	Spiritual Obj.	Family Photo	Shelf	Colloction	Shoes	Refrigerator	Food	Television	Computer	Sofa	Bicycle	Car
House 01	2		2			2	1				1	
House 02		2		1	1	2	1		1			1
House 03	1	2		1	1							
House 04		1						1		2		
House 05	3		2	1		1		1	1			
House 06	1		4									1
House 07	3											
House 08	2	1	2	1	1			2		2	1	1
House 09	2		3	1		1	1	1				1
House 10	1		3									
House 11			3	1	1			1		1		
House 12		3	3	5								
House 15	2	1		5		1						1
House 16	1	1	3							1	1	
House 17	3		1									
House 18	2		3		2	2	3				1	
House 19				1			2	1		1		1
House 20			3	2		1						1
House 21			1							1	1	1
House 22			1									
House 23	2		3	1		1	1	1				1
House 25	5	1	1	2					1			1

Table 3.2: Summary from the Bangkok Home Lives Project indicating objects that are meaningful to the home

In many images from the *Bangkok Home Lives Project*, the whole history contained within one room: objects, furniture, numerous photographs and books, suggesting past present and a sense of place. Sense of security and protection is strongly captured in most documents and often tied with spiritual protection and domestic remedies. These photographs reveal diverse cultural references: Chinese guardian spirit, ancestral worship, Buddhist chamber and animistic Chinese cabalistic cloth. These objects incorporated in domestic interiors are perceived as sources of spiritual protection. Since the traditional society, Thais continue to believe that domestic domain is a device to prevent ill fortune, to promote health and prosperity and to repair breaches in the system of defense.

In the face of a desire for personalisation, common elements of material culture acquire new meanings. For example, the standard equipment of the modern kitchen may lose its definite 'modern' character and take on the desired personality. In several houses, the 'modern' kitchen is displayed as the desired image (with minimum of cooking activities) where the 'Thai' kitchen serves the function of cooking. Beyond the common commodity culture, it is individualized perception of the social world that activates a strongly personalizing aesthetic. Household objects signifying status appear in almost all cultures, although what objects will be chosen as status symbols, how they will be used to signify status is diverse. Status is a form of power. It consists of respect, consideration, and envy of others. For example, expensive car conveys to those who believe in its status that its owner is a person possessing distinctive or superior qualities, someone 'above' the crowd. On the other hand, some objects are symbols of integration such as spiritual and religious objects.

Family members

A strong commitment to a view of home life that revolves around communual activities and share experience was clearly articulated in the interviews and photographic documentations. Evidence of family and affection is always presented in the photographs (Table 3.3). People in the photographs are signs of warm ties between family members and the meaning of home. In many cases, family members were being photographed and wrote about. Where family member is absent from the photograph, a note posted on the refrigerator can be a supplement to such absence. Area where family members have their meals is often photographed although the room might not actually be a dinning room. In the extended interviews, mealtimes were identified as being of central importance in maintaining communication within the family unit. In the complex timetable of different family members militate against strict mealtimes: breakfast are taken on the run, and young children eat dinner early, perhaps before any full-time workers return home; and young adults (the age range between 17 to 23 years old) are likely to help themselves to food when returning from a night out. With this kind of complexity, a housekeeper becomes another important figure in the homemaking process.

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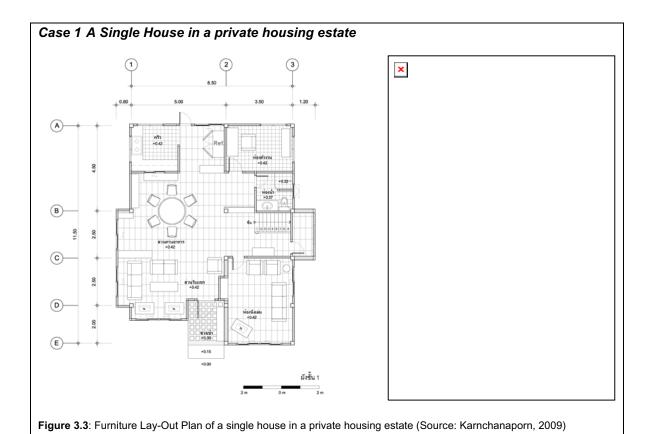
	Family	House keeper	Pet
House 01	3	1	2
House 02	3		4
House 03			3
House 04			
House 05	3		
House 06	1		1
House 07	1		1
House 08	2	1	1
House 09			3
House 10			2
House 11			1
House 12	2		2
House 15	4	1	
House 16	3		
House 17			2
House 18	1		
House 19	2		
House 20	1		1
House 21	1		
House 22	1		
House 23	2		2
House 25			

Table 3.3: Summary from the Bangkok Home Lives Project indicating home life and people in the household

3.3 4 Cases of Bangkok Home Lives

Photographs and descriptions selected from 4 house-visits demonstrate the participants' diverse lifestyles and different categories of domestic architecture: Case 1 A single or detached house in a private housing estate locating in the periphery of Bangkok; Case 2 A townhouse in an allotted land locating in a low-cost housing area; Case 3 A commercial row-house locating in the crowded Chinese community in the city center; and Case 4 A detached house on allotted land nearby the MRT station (the underground electric mass rapid transit system).

It is important to acknowledge that the fundamental innovations associated with the design of modern home were led by interventions of technology-based industry. The more democratic spatial structuring of the modern home was paralleled by more equal relations between family members, stressing individual choice. From the documents, the main focus of informal home lives shifted to 'living kitchen.' The personalisation first elaborated in the living room is extended to the kitchen and even to the bathroom. The design of these 4 family houses is founded on the assumption of a companionate marriage, where the family share their leisure time in the main living room and dining area. There are 'master' bedrooms and children's bedrooms influenced by the West. From these four examples, essential features of these new vernacular houses are unprecedented in traditional Thai society as they are documented on the furniture layout plans.





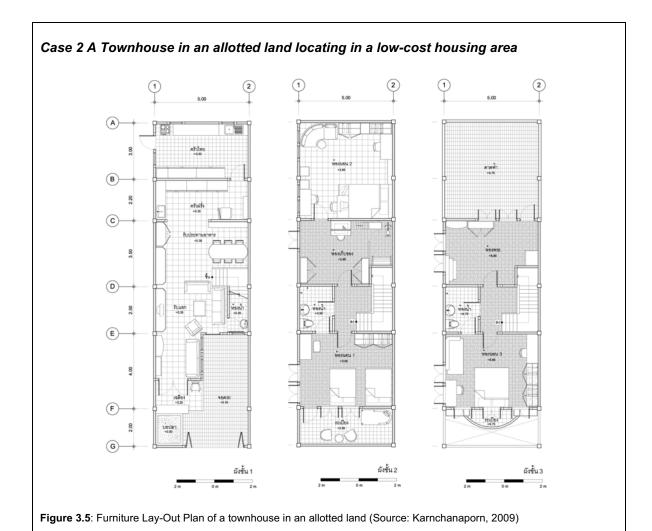




Figure 3.6: Six selected images which are best describing the 'home' by participant from the record of the *Bangkok Home Lives Project* (Source: Karnchanaporn, 2009)

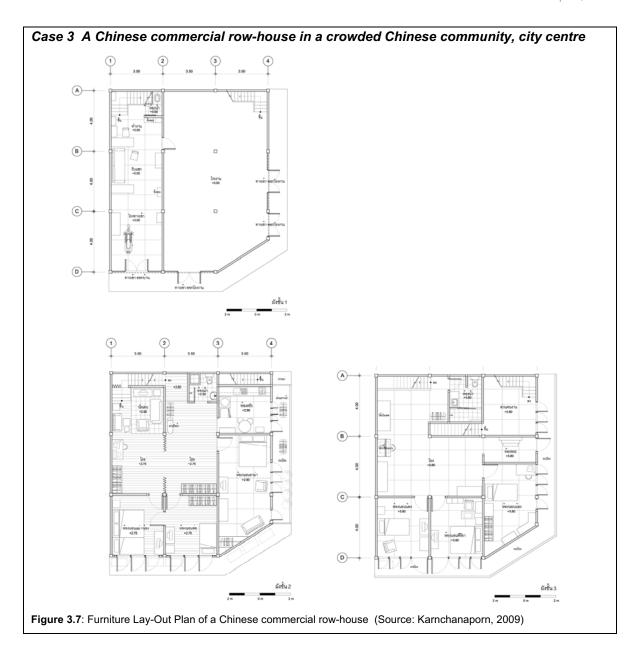
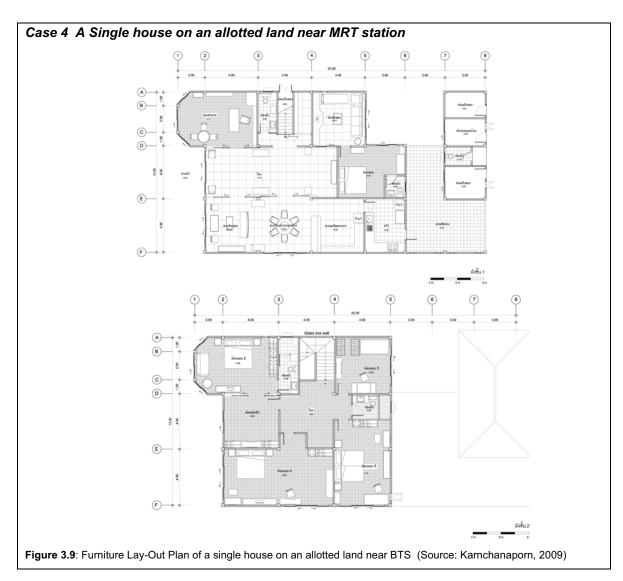




Figure 3.8: Five selected images from the record of the Bangkok Home Lives Project (Source: Karnchanaporn, 2009)





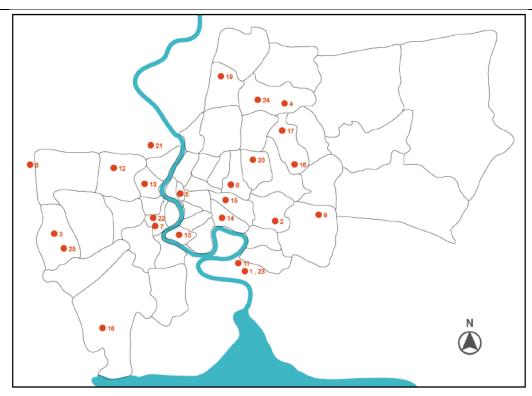
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Modernised Thais have come a long way from traditional conceptions of dwelling: a timber house with a large opened terrace, verandas, sitting area, kitchen, sleeping enclosures (bedrooms) with neither bathroom or lavatory. Thai dwelling places adopted what was believed to be more practical or utilitarian principles. Among ordinary Thais, patterns of domestic interiors have been consistent since the First National Development Plan (1961-1966). Responding to the growing economy as well as population growth in urban areas, especially Bangkok, the organisation of contemporary Thai domestic interiors is viewed from within principles of efficient use of space, comfort, utility, and hygiene.

Reflections on the Bangkok Home Lives Project have led us to see materialism in a somewhat new light. "Changes in the material order of the home--as in appropriation of domestic space, the choice and arrangement of furnishings and decor, as well as in domestic routines, and provisioning of the household--reflect and indeed define cultural changes." Changes in Thai homes are reflections of cultural conditions. Contemporary Thai domestic architecture has acquired a new importance after the process of modernisation. It has become an image of social status. But home is always one of the most taken-for-granted aspects of daily life. Spatial orientation, decorations and rules have been adapted to respond to their needs in the changing contemporary Thai society. The widespread experience of modernisation, urban development and expansion, and migration have redefined the concepts of dwelling and have required a remapping the relationship between the individual self, his/her home and the city.

3.4 Research Materials: "The Bangkok Home Lives Project"

Map of Bangkok with red dots indicating the location of 25 records



บ้านหลังที่ 1 นางสาวชนิดา ล้ำทวีไพศาล บ้านหลังที่ 14 นายณรงค์ชัย วิศวเวที อำเภอเมือง จังหวัดสมุทรปราการ เขตคลองเตย จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร บ้านหลังที่ 2 บ้านหลังที่ 15 นางสาวหฤษฎี ลีละยุวพันธ์ นางสาวพิชญา ธนาวงษ์รัตน์ เขตสวนหลวง จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร เขตวัฒนา จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร นายชรินทร์ วิทยาวัชรินทร์ บ้านหลังที่ 3 บ้านหลังที่ 16 นายอดิศร ศรีเสาวนันท เขตหนองแขม จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร เขตบึงกุ่ม จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร นายอธิพร ปรียาวงศากุล บ้านหลังที่ 17 นายพัฒนปกรณ์ ลีลาพฤทธิ์ บ้านหลังที่ 4 เขตบางเขน จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร เขตบึ้งกุ่ม จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร นางสาวพีรียา บุญชัยพฤกษ บ้านหลังที่ 5 บ้านหลังที่ 18 นางสาวมัทวัน เลิศผกากุล เขตป้อมปราบ จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร เขตบางขุนเทียน จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร บ้านหลังที่ 6 บ้านหลังที่ 19 นางสาวรุจิเรข ตัณฑ์พะลัง นายชาญเดช ว่องสัธนพงษ์ อำเภอพุทธทณฑล จังหวัดนครปฐม เขตหลักสี่ จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร นางสาวนลินลักขณ์ ชุ่มใจหาญ บ้านหลังที่ 7 นายสิริชัย เหลืองวิสุทธิ์ศิริ บ้านหลังที่ 20 เขตธนบุรี จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร เขตวังทองหลาง จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร นางสาววรางคณา อมรธนกิจกุล บ้านหลังที่ 8 บ้านหลังที่ 21 นางสาววรัญญา จรัญญาโรจน์ เขตห้วยขวาง จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร อำเภอบางกรวย จังหวัดนนทบุรี นายเฮอร์เบิร์ต ลี เจนเช่น บ้านหลังที่ 9 บ้านหลังที่ 22 นายพรชัย โลหะพิริยกุล เขตประเวศ จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร เขตธนบุรี จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร บ้านหลังที่ 10 นายพิช โปษยานนท์ บ้านหลังที่ 23 เด็กชายรฐพล ล้ำทวีไพศาล เขตบางคอแหลม จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร อำเภอเมือง จังหวัดสมุทรปราการ บ้านหลังที่ 11 นางสาววรรษมน วงศ์พัฒนานุกุล บ้านหลังที่ 24 นายปณต เจียรพัฒโนดม อำเภอเมือง จังหวัดสมุทรปราการ เขตบางเขน จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร บ้านหลังที่ 12 นางสาวใจรัก จันทร์สิน บ้านหลังที่ 25 นางสาวชุลีกร เรื่องวุฒิชนะพืช เขตตลึ่งขัน จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร เขตหนองแขม จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร บ้านหลังที่ 13 นางสาวแกมกาญจน์ มณีโรจน์ เขตบางกอกน้อย จังหวัดกรุงเทพมหานคร

House 01 Female (24 Years Old), A Single house in a private housing estate A.Muang, Samutprakarn



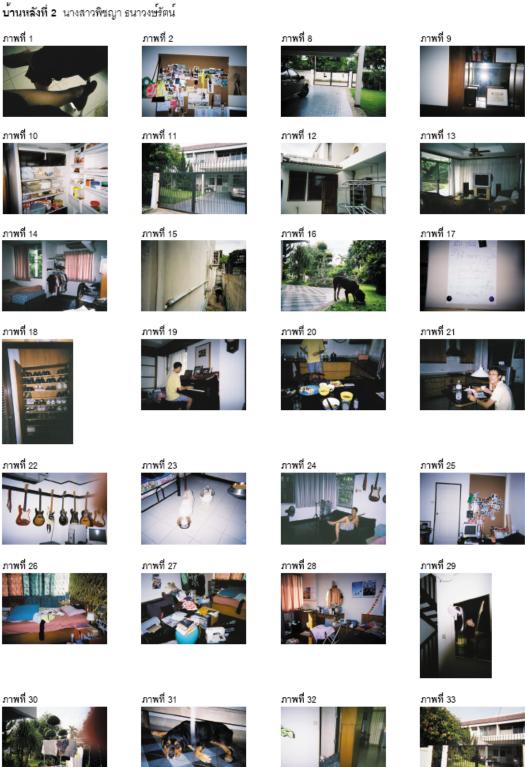
ภาพที่ 27

ภาพที่ 26

ภาพที่ 28

House 02

Female (22 Years Old), A Single house in a private housing estate Suan Luang, Bangkok



House 03 Male (25 Years Old), A townhouse on allotted land Nong-Kham, Bangkok



House 04 Male (23 Years Old), A Single house in a private housing estate Bang-Khen, Bangkok

บ้านหลังที่ 4 นายอธิพร ปรียาวงศากุล



House 05 Female (25 Years Old), A Chinese commercial row-house Pom Prap, Bangkok

บ้านหลังที่ 5 นางสาวพีรียา บุญชัยพฤกษ์



House 06

Female (24 Years Old), A Single house on a private land Phutamonton, Nakorn Pathom

บานหลังที่ 6 นางสาวรุจิเรข ตัณฑ์พะลัง



House 07 Male (25 Years Old), A Single house on a private land Thonburi, Bangkok

บานหลังที่ 7 นายสิริชัย เหลืองวิสุทธิ์ศิริ



House 08 Female (20 Years Old), A Single house on allotted land Hwuay-Kwang, Bangkok

บานหลังที่ 8 นางสาววรางคณา อมรธนกิจกุล



House 09 Male (19 Years Old), A Single house on a private land Prawet, Bangkok

บ้านหลังที่ 9 นายเฮอร์เบิร์ต ลี เจนเซ่น



House 10 Male (23 Years Old), A Single house in a private compound Bang Ko Leam, Bangkok

บ้านหลังที่ 10 นายพิช โปษยานนท์

























































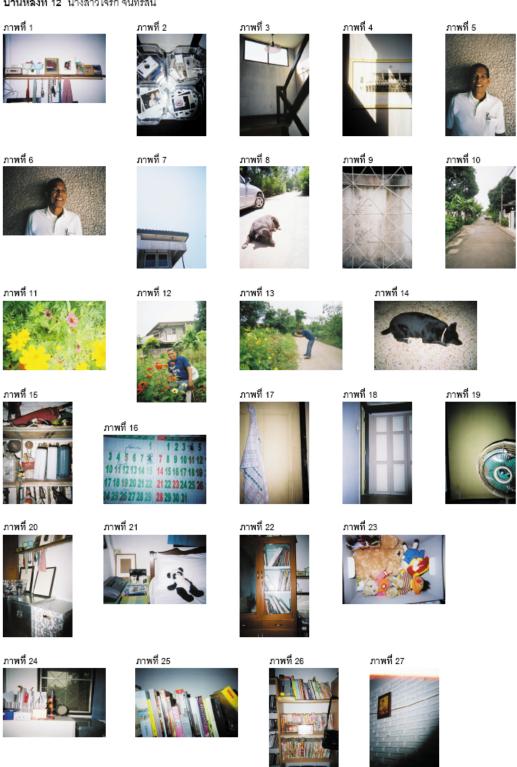
House 11 Female (19 Years Old), A Single house A.Muang, Samutprakarn

บ้านหลังที่ 11 นางสาววรรษมน วงศ์พัฒนานุกุล



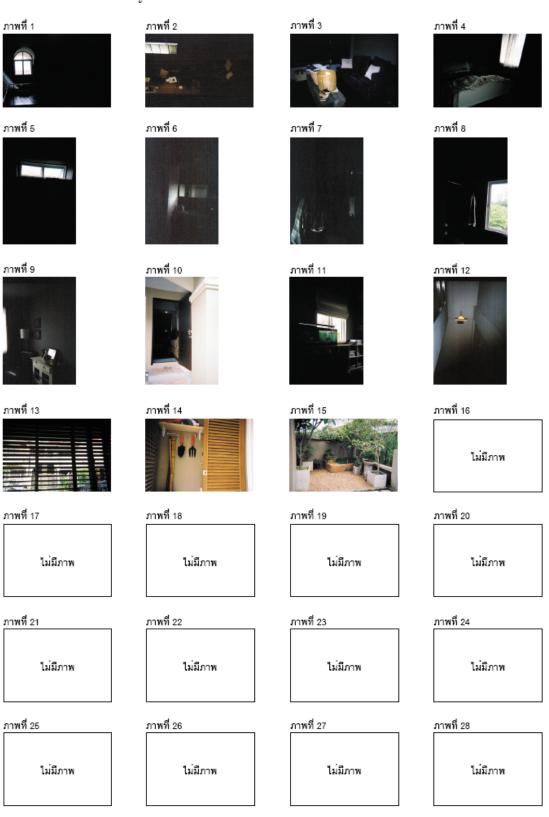
House 12 Female (31 Years Old), A Single house on a private land Talingchan, Bangkok

บ้านหลังที่ 12 นางสาวใจรัก จันทร์สิน



House 13 Female (30 Years Old), A townhouse in an allotted land Bangkok Noi, Bangkok

บ้านหลังที่ 13 นางสาวแกมกาญจน์ มณีโรจน์



House 14 Male (37 Years Old), A Single house in a private housing estate Klong Toey, Bangkok

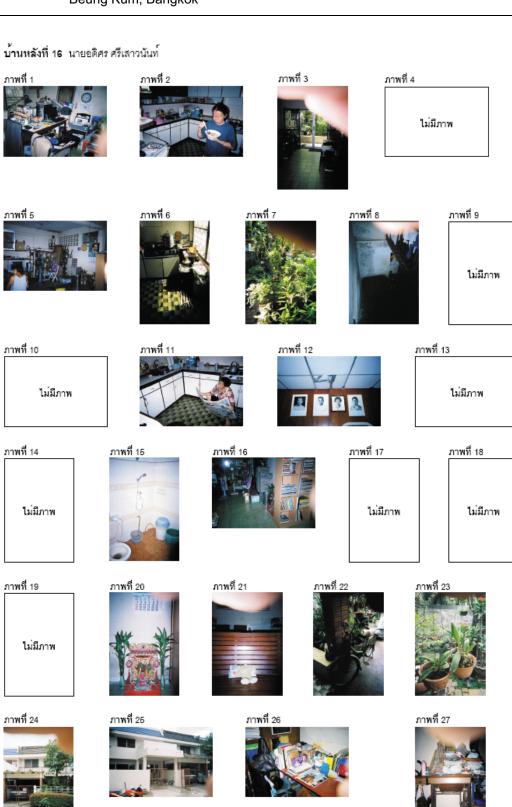


House 15 Female (21 Years Old), A 300 sq.m. High-rise condominium Wattana, Bangkok

บ้านหลังที่ 15 นางสาวหฤษฎี ลีละยุวพันธ์

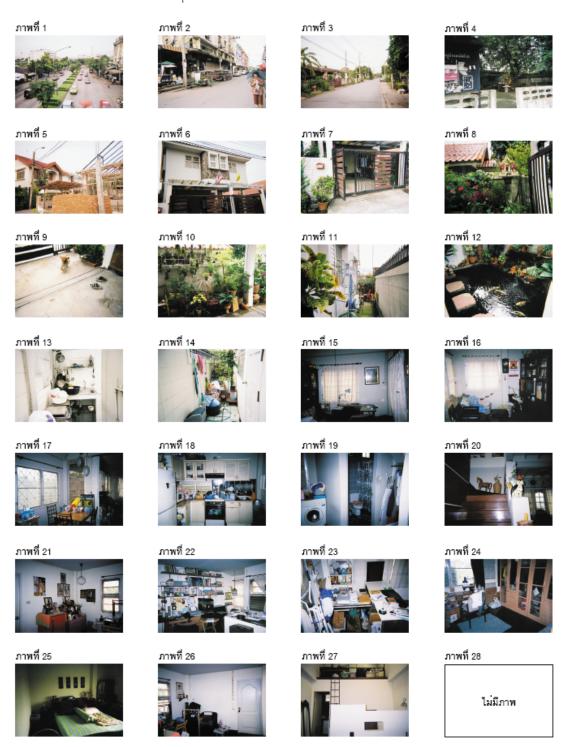


House 16 Male (32 Years Old), A townhouse in a private housing estate Beung Kum, Bangkok



House 17 Male (29 Years Old), A townhouse in a private housing estate Beung Kum, Bangkok

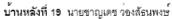
บ้านหลังที่ 17 นายพัฒนปกรณ์ ลีลาพฤทธิ์



House 18 Female (19 Years Old), A Single house in a private land Bangkhuntien, Bangkok



House 19 Male (22 Years Old), A Single house in a private housing estate Lak-Si, Bangkok





House 20 Female (29 Years Old), A Single house in a private land Wang Thong Lang, Bangkok

บ้านหลังที่ 20 นางสาวนลินลักขณ์ ซุ่มใจหาญ



House 21 Female (22 Years Old), A Single house in a private family compound Bang-Glouy, Nonthaburi



House 22 Male (23 Years Old), A Chinese commercial row-house Thonburi, Bangkok

บ้านหลังที่ 22 นายพรชัย โลหะพิริยกุล ภาพที่ 1 ภาพที่ 2 ภาพที่ 3 ภาพที่ 4 ภาพที่ 7 ภาพที่ 9 ภาพที่ 10 ภาพที่ 6 ภาพที่ 8 ไม่มีภาพ ไม่มีภาพ ไม่มีภาพ ภาพที่ 14 ภาพที่ 11 ภาพที่ 12 ภาพที่ 13 ภาพที่ 15 ไม่มีภาพ ไม่มีภาพ ไม่มีภาพ ไม่มีภาพ ภาพที่ 16 ภาพที่ 17 ภาพที่ 18 ภาพที่ 19 ภาพที่ 20 ไม่มีภาพ ไม่มีภาพ ภาพที่ 22 ภาพที่ 24 ภาพที่ 25 ภาพที่ 21 ภาพที่ 23 ภาพที่ 27 ภาพที่ 26

House 23 Male (14 Years Old), A Single house in a private housing estate A.Muang, Samutprakarn

บ้านหลังที่ 23 เด็กชายรฐพล ล้ำทวีไพศาล



House 24 Male (23 Years Old), A Single house in a private housing estate Bang-Khen, Bangkok

บ้านหลังที่ 24 นายปณต เจียรพัฒโนดม

บ้านหลังที่ 24 นายปณต เ	จียรพัฒโนคม		
ภาพที่ 1	ภาพที่ 2	ภาพที่ 3	ภาพที่ 4
ภาพที่ 5	ภาพที่ 6	ภาพที่ 7	ภาพที่ 8
		ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ
ภาพที่ 9	ภาพที่ 10	ภาพที่ 11	ภาพที่ 12
ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ
ภาพที่ 13	ภาพที่ 14	ภาพที่ 15	ภาพที่ 16
ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ
ภาพที่ 17	ภาพที่ 18	ภาพที่ 19	ภาพที่ 20
ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ
ภาพที่ 21	ภาพที่ 22	ภาพที่ 23	ภาพที่ 24
ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ
ภาพที่ 25	ภาพที่ 26	ภาพที่ 27	ภาพที่ 28
ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ	ไม่มีภาพ

House 25 Female (22 Years Old), A Single house in a private land Nong-Kham, Bangkok



An Example of discriptions for the Bangkok Home Lives Project

House 08: Female (20 Years Old), A Single house on allotted land, Hwuay-Kwang, Bangkok

8

HOME LIVES: Bangkok Photography Project Nuttinee Karnchanaporn, PhD

Task: Take the instant camera home—With an instant camera of a twenty-seven exposure color film, photograph anything you feel best expressed your 'home life.'

ผู้บันทึกภาพ วราง คลศ อมรชนกิจกุล อายุ 20 ปี

บ้านเลขที่ของบ้านที่ทำการบันทึก 120/1 ช.ประชามษฎร์ชาเน็ญ 12 ถ.ประชามษฎร์ชาเพ็ญ หัวขาวา กรุงเทษๆ 10310

ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับบ้านที่ทำการบันทึก
บ้านหล่วนี้ เรื่องตำมาส่ง เมื่อตอน ม. 4 รวมถลาอยู่ได้ 5 ปีกว่า หั่วอง ในหมู่บ้าน
ทั่มอาจุ 30 ปีกว่า ๆ แล้ว ทำให้ บ้านหล่วนี้ มี คกม ทาง จากบ้าน ของ เพื่อนบ้าน
ที่ย้ง ควส ถานบ้านแบบ เดิมๆ เมื่อ 30 ปีก่อน และ เป็น หมู่บ้านทั่มีญาติ ๆ องู่
หลาง หล่ง จึง รู้สักว่า องู่กันเป็น ครอบครัว โหญ่
ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับครอบครัวที่อาสัยอยู่ที่บ้านที่ทำการบันทึก

อมูลเกี่ยวกับครอบครัวที่อาศัยอยู่ที่บ้านที่ทำการบันทึก ทับาน ฉี พ่อ แม่ พัสาว 2 คน (หัสาว ตนทั 2 เรียนต่อ) พัชาย และ ชาว คนสุดท้อง และ พอกจากนี้ ก็มี แม่บ้าน อีก 1 คน ซึ่ง อยู่ไฮ 3 ปีก่า แล้ว เป็นครอบ ครัว ตั้ มีคทมอุดมสมบูรณ์ ทาว ตันโภชนากกรมกก จะ ชอบกินภันทั่³ ป้าน สุวฆ์ รูปร่าว ทั่สมบุรณ์ ทุกคน

ชื่อภาพ และ วันเดือนปีที่ถ่ายรูป	บรรยายภาพ				
1. ญ คอนเสีร์ ๓ AF 4 สัน 07 07 07	รายกรนี้ เป็นฮายกร ทั่งทำให้ ทุกคนในข้านโฮ จกอยู่ ดังกัน ในห้อว พ่อกับแพ่ ตัวแต่ 21:00 -24:00 น. ทำให้ ฮันเล่ารั ของทุกเล่าร์ ในช่วงนี้ เป็นตลา ของ ตรอง ดุรูว อชางแท้ จริง				
2. xeonre	ขึ้น บันได มาก้จะ เงอ พิ้วพระ ที่ เป็นที่ ฮัดเหนียว จิจใจ ของคนที่ บาน และพระพุทธรูป แต่ ละ องค์ มีทั้งกแทก ก่างกัน ไป แต่ ส่นใหญ่ ระมาจากทาง ภ.ค เหมือ เพทะแต่น เป็น คน เหนือ				
 รางแหน่ว ผู้สุดการ ข้าน" 08 / 07 / 07 	แม่บ้าน ข้าหวย ฮารมอร์ส์ แปลก แต่ก็เป็นสี่สันในกับบ้านได้ สีทัเดียว มุมนี้ คือ มุมโปรดบองพัเดา ทั้วตำอาน มัวจิทยุ และ อยู่กับสมุด คำนวณ เลข (มาย) เสมอ				
 รถของลูกๆ 08 107 107 	เอสา พัชาย แล่: ชาว จะ ออก นอกข้าน จะ ซับจักรยาน รีปจอกไร้ หน้าปากรอย เพราะ ฮร์ว บ้าน อยู่ ค่อนจ้าว ลัก จักรยาน รัว เป็น พา หนะ สำคัญ ขอวลูก ๆ				
5. รถของป้า 08 ใ07 ใ07	รถ ตันส์ พ่อ จะจับ คน เดียว และ ถ้ารถ อยู่งาน แล้ดวว่า พ่อ กับแม่ และ พี่สาว กลับ มกถึงงานแล้ว (พ่อ แม่ พี่สาวคนโฮา ไปทำงาน ที่ จังหวัด อยูรทา ไปกลับ ทุกวัน) เป็น รถ ที่ ใช้ มก 7 ปีแล้ว แต่ ซ้องจิ				
6. กิจกรรมเอกของพี่ชาย	ในม่ อยู่ เม้าระ พ่อ จะ เช้น ดิน ดูแล รถ อย่า ตี เสมอ ล้บเอา ซาลอด หัรเข เช้นลูกราช คนเดียวเอาปัน จัวไม่ค่อย ได้ เล่น กับ พี่ น้อง เท่าไหว่ สำเท็ยบ กับ ms ให้ ถลากับ potebook ตัวไปเด เมื่อ ก่อน PC ฮัว ใช้กับ ได้ดี แต่ เมื่อ สัน ปุ่มย แล้ว ฉั Notebook ตำ มแทนที่ PC ก็ถูกทัว				
08/07/07	भेंद्राच व: जांग्रा क्षेत्र मार्गिय क्रिया मार्गिय क्षेत्र वारा मार्गिय केर विश्व				

"Cultivating the Home". A Study of 'Thai Dwelling Place,' A Case Study of Bangkok Nuttinee Karnchanaporn, PhD New Researcher's Grant, Thailand Research Fund 2006-08 1

7. รู้อุรียกลอง	เชาะ กินท้าว เป็นเผง เดาะจีน หมุนโฮ เป็นครอบครัว คนจัน
	อุคริหล่า ทำให้ Design ver เข้า ฟรหั ค่อนทาง modern
08/07/07	และ ธลา ญาติมา ก็ม้าจะ มาน่วที่ โด๊ะ ตัว นี้ มากับกำลัง:ไปใช้ งาว
8. พัดลมเหล็ก	พุชชาคมุว สู เจ้า ขบ อบบ กุภิคหชายบา ณุวศญ พ่อ บุก แต่ แผ่จ ฌห
oxlanlan	การใหม่ๆ เป็น พัดลม ทั่งทำงกจาก เหล็ก ผล้าแลว มกก
08/07/07	ฟอกับแม่ ven ภา เด็งภนี xา เรือไม่ได้แล้ว มีแต่ หักลมพลาสตใก
9. Koran	ไ-เพา อ้าง นี้ อ้าง หรู่ ใน หรือว น้วเล่น เมื่อก่อน สีเลือด หมู่ แต่
08/07/07	โดดแดก มาก ชาให้ เพาะ เสีย แล้ว ก็ ยุ ใหม่ เท้น สัตรีม ชื่อเพิ่น โชฟา 2 โทน เพ้น โชฟา พิวะยน นั่วสพช หัวไป หัวมา หลับไปเล่
10. เจ้าทั่งคุ้มครองข้าน	บ้าน ชาว เป็นบ้าน คน จีน จ๊อส เผ้าทั่ ใจดี คุ้มครองบ้าน ให้
08/07/07	
11. ออกกำลัง ภาษ ในช่วม	10 1 11 11
11. 60 mg 14821	ลู้อิ๋ว เครื่อว ออกกาสวกาย อรู้ในห้อวก TV เมื่อไป ดู TV ไป จะไฮ เด็นไฮนนน ส่งนใหญ่ พ่อ กับแม่ ใช้ นองช่วงออกกำลังกาย
08 07 07	ปังเอเชาร์อ.ห.หวั ของเหม้ คอบการ ระ หองเออดบบบาวไปก
12. รองเก้า หนาบ้าน	รองคุก ที่ อยู่ งนา บ้าน อาจจะ ไม่ได้ ven จำหาน คนใน บ้าน ก็ได้
12. 8036111 (1810) 145	2021 ALL ALLA SCRIPTION SINGLES AND ALL ALLANDER WAS AND ALL ALLANDER AND ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL ALL AL
08/07/07	
13. ย่อปลา คร์ฟ	พ่อชองเลี้ยว สัชาร์ เมื่อก่อนเลี้ยวพกสพันท์ ได้หรัดนก ทำให้
	ต้อง เลิก เลี้ยง ส่วนจนกก็เลี้ยงไม่ ได้ เพกะ ซึ่ ซาย และ ฮาว เป็น ภูมินต์ ทำใน เลี้ยงปลาได้ ฮบิ่ว เดียง แต่ ก็เป็น สิ่งกำล่อ ชอบที่ สุดแ
08 107 107	ภูมิเติง คำให เฉียงปลาได้ ชชาว เดียว แต่ ก็เป็น ล็วกันอิ ชยบที่ สุดแ
14. สังมกับ เล่มไปรด	
08/07/07	
15. คกมลับในล้นชัก	มีชาง ฮะก่ง ที่ เก็บ ไร อักนนอกไม่ได้
08/07/07	
16. ได้จะเครื่องแป้ง (กระปุกเดียง)	เป็นคนไม่ แต่จหนา ฮอนัน ขนไตรี สิว ไม่ส่เครื่อง ลำฮอด์ ซี แต่
08/07/07	หฎาบระกับ เลเลง บุก จั๊๊๊๊ พห ผมหนะงลุ่ม
	41
17. คกม ขันเทิงในห้องน้ำ	เลลา อายน้ำ จะชอบ ร้องเหลง ไป ดักช ลัง ต้อง ชื่อ โกซุ มาไฮ้ ในห้องน้ำ
08/07/07	184.00 Jest.
18. 900 AMU (AFUA	อาเมออีเมก อีกออก ก็ตือ การเล่านก็ชาร์ ล่าน ใหญ่ จะ เล่าน อยู่
	0
10 (1111 00)	รามอา ณุรเลง ผูหายุณ ±12.
08 107107	ในพ้อง ชาังเอง คินเดียง สมาร

"Cultivating the Home". A Study of 'Thai Dwelling Place, 'A Case Study of Bangkok Nuttinee Karnchanaporn, PhD New Researcher's Grant, Thailand Research Fund 2006-08

19. ฮ์ซมนธรรม เกาหลั หรืม เพ้า ฮร์ว ซ้าน	ห์ สาว เป็น คนะนา ซีรีส์ หนัวเกาหลั มาให้ คนในบ้านดี ทำให้ แม่กับ ชาว เอง ก็ ชิด วอมแงม(ในชาวเรื่อว)เลช ทั่เสียว และ
08/07/07	ก็ ซึ่ง นา เพลง เกาหลี ไปพัง ในรถ อีก ไปกลับ ขอน ทำงาน ทุกวัน
20. กร่องหน่อ	เป็นของชั้นเล็กๆ แต่ ภูมิใจ พก เมระทำเอง ตอน ม. 4 ตารเช่ ให้ทำการ์ด มัน พื่อ ตั้ง ไปที่บ้านครั้งเอง ทำเข้น การ์ด pop-up
08/07/07	ข้า จุบาน ช่วา ทีกา อยู่ หน้า โตรี : เครื่องแป้ว พ่อ กับแม่
21. สหเกลางข้าน	ลอง ออกไป จาก ห้องช่วงเล่น ก์ป: เห็น ส่วน เล็ก ๆ ก็ทำให้
08/07/07	ข้าน ดูไม่ เฉา - และ สดชิน ลมก็เช็น พัดเจ้า ห้อง ลักษดั
22. mw 22 stu	ภาม ครอบ ครัว ที่ ภาษ ใน Studio ครั้ว แรก และ ครั้วเตียว ตอนนั้นไม่ ตั้วใจ จะไป ภาษ แต่ ที่ เป็น รูปที่ ดู แต่จะถึงสบาษๆ ดี
08/07/07	ครไม่มีบ้านไหน ภาษฐปาน studio ใส่เสื้อ ฮัก เก่า ๆ พรอก (ชอบมากผ
23. ๆปังหนักหา	เสา พนาบ้าน มี บ้าย บานสพท์ ท้อ เก่า ๆ องห้ ติด เพีย แสดง
08/07/07	คภามจุงรักภักดีต่อในสลาง 'เเล: ต้นมะม่อง ใหญ่ ภก ของ เขางบ้าน ล้ำ มาในสำบังน แต่ก็ส่วนลดี ภันแดก ภันฝน
24. สวน พนา บ้าน	ฟนสานที่ อยู่ทางเข้าของ ข้าน สวนหลัก สวนที่สุดสิลให้ ทางทั้ง
08/07/07	में त्या हो तियर कार वेट ४०० प्रेस प्रमाणिय क्षा क्षेत्र के स्वीत
25. ข้านใหม่ กับ หมู่ปานเก่า	ภาพ ภามของบ้าน ค่า อยู่ ใน หมู่บ้าน
08/07/08	
26. ฮก ลก ซื้อ	ห้วงยู่ ใน ฆันที่ ของ ทั่งไทแยก เพื่อ เพิ่ม คราม เป็น สิริมาคล
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27. งูจ้าของบ้าน	ผู้ที่ทำให้ เรื่องพวกุกองก่างกิดพื้น ขอบคุณ ค่:
08/07/07	

Notes: ไม่แม่ โดวา สามารถ ล่าย ไฮโ เกิน 27 สูป รีเปล่า เพพาะ อ่า ซัวสามารถ กล ซึ่งแต่อย่า ไสอีก ประมณ 3-4 ภาพ

29 กฤษสาด ภาพน่าจะเสีย

30 रोन्थ अधारीत परुष

31 रहे अ

28 ฟัติสุ พฤ . | พระสามแต่ไม่ขึ้นสนิม เป็นประตู ที่ไม่มีประตูเล็ก ฟาลอก 29 กฎพลาด ภาพน่าจะเลี้ย | เพา: คภามผิดพลาด พอนสู่วทำประตู ...

พอง ประชากษฎร์ชาเห็ญ 12

เป็นของ ฯรัญ หั เพี่ยนสนิกให้ ไว้ จังนาติก ตั้ง มาไรที่ หอ เหมือน ตอนอยู่ ทั่งกัน กำ: เอามานอนถัง

"Cultivating the Home": A Study of 'Thai Dwelling Place,' A Case Study of Bangkok Nuttinee Karnchanaporn, PhD New Researcher's Grant, Thailand Research Fund 2006-08

Chapter 3 Endnote

¹ K. Walton, "Home lives" in T. Putnam and C. Newton (eds.) Household Choices (London: Future Publications and Middlesex Polytechnic Print Unit, 1990) pp. 66-73.

² Tim Putnam, *'Postmodern Home Life'* in Irene Cieraad (ed.), *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999), p. 145.

CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH SUMMARY



Figure 4.1: Home as advertised (Source: Thairath Newspaper, 2009)

The home is at once an idea, a material reality and social institution. In most form of public discourse, home has been seen as a site of consumption. Considering the emergence of domestic interior has meant dealing with a range of contexts where this emergence has had significant effects. Initially, the changes in the Thai domestic sphere harboured revolutionary effects with reference to social and cultural norms. From 1930's onwards, there was certainly a shift in the meaning of the interior which delivered a new condition of domestic home life previously not presented in the Thai culture. The material realities of domestic life began to be fashioned and have continued to develop closely with the consumption industry. Studies of the domestic interior have been developed with a simplified affirming psychology of the interior decorations in a sense that the interior is subservient to studies of architecture as the primary space provider in culture. With this research, titled 'Cultivating the Home,' means looking at the idea that is not what common studies in Thai domestic architecture know to be. it is perhaps more useful to understand these common architectural studies not as what this research of the domestic interior has ideologically opposed, but rather to understand that they are themselves effects the domestic interior's emergence.

In Chapter 1, the research posted 2 sets of questions:

Set 1 When lifestyles of Thais have changed:

- (1) What happen to the space (or sphere) that hosts the living?
- (2) Does 'baan' still carry the ideology and meaning as it used to do in the past?
- (3) To what extent have the meaning of 'baan' survived the process of modernisation?

Set 2 When there are changes in the form of 'baan':

- (4) What has happen to the architectural programme and domestic space inside the house?
- (5) What are the objects and procedures new to the contemporary Thai domestic interior?

When lifestyles of Thais have changed: What happen to the space that hosts the living?; Does 'baan' still carry the ideology and meaning as it used to do in the past?; and To what extent have the meaning of 'baan' survived the process of modernisation? The physical characters of domestic architecture and its construction procedures have changed significantly. The number of traditional Thai houses has declined, not just because new houses possess new forms and orientations but because traditional Thai houses have decayed and have been taken down. Thais' common view of the traditional Thai house is that it is too expensive to build; too difficult to maintain; and it cannot accommodate a modern way of life. Since 1960, different types of domestic architecture have emerged in response to economic growth and the needs of people from different social strata. The increasing population and land values, particularly in the urban area of Bangkok, have transformed domestic architecture from single-unit housing into the multi-unit housing and grouped units. There are slums for the working class with low income. There are suburban housing estates, government welfare housing projects, shophouses or row-houses, townhouses, flats, and condominiums for the middle class. These groups of Thais began to take careful economic consideration towards the ways in which their houses were built: low budgets, efficient use of space, and combined functions

Modernised Thais have indeed oversimplified the way in which they understand their dwelling place by focusing on its architecture. Through the course of this research, the research has become increasingly troubled by the way in which Thais take for granted the significance of their homes. When conducting semantic analysis of Thai terms in the area relating to house, home, dwelling, inhabiting, residence and compound coupled with Thai terms involving the process of housebuilding, it is only to find out that *baan* is more than a house or a place where one lives.

Baan is a dwelling in the sense that Martin Heidegger describes in his writing: Building Dwelling Thinking (1951).² It is, as Thais say, to be 'cultivated.' When Thais say 'plook baan,' (that baan is cultivated) instead of 'srang baan' (that baan is constructed or built), it suggests that Thais idealise their home in a certain way that the place is filled with expectations of nourishment and growth. It is this place where human life is acted out. The term 'plook' (to cultivate) has been

reserved to the ways in which a house has been built and does not apply to other buildings. Through rituals involved in the housebuilding, *baan* becomes a place where Thais establish themselves in relation to their surrounding environment in a harmonious way. Personal identification, family life, relationships, organisation of the immediate environment and associated environment are interwoven in this place. *Baan* is located at the core of the Thai perception of a sense of security and protection. According to Neils Mulder, *baan* is the place where Thai householders are safeguarded and encircled by the goodness of a 'mother.' The householders are being cared for in the sense that home life is cultivated by the mother who has unconditional love towards her child. Although the concepts of Thai dwelling place express clearly the tendency to transcend purely physical issues, little architectural research has acknowledged these matters.

Photographs documented in "the Bangkok Home Lives Project" show the differences between the lived domestic interiors and the ideal ones: its physical outlooks, its orientation, how people use them and how such interiors become important aspect of home life. When Thais continue to say that 'home is cultivated' rather than built, they acknowledge an interweaving of cultural ideology, personal identity, and lived relationship. From this perspective, what has ended is the physical apparatus of the traditional Thai house but traditional ideology continues to inscribe in Thai mentality through the use of language and articulations. Baan is no longer a space of tradition but the tradition helps maintaining it.

When there are changes in the form of 'baan': What has happen to the architectural programme and domestic space inside the house?; and What are the objects and procedures new to the contemporary Thai domestic interior? A Thai home is a place imbued with a cultural history of order, sanctification, and protection even underneath the cultural ideals represented by its 'new' architecture. These are thoughts which Thai architects and interior designers may have forgotten since to them the notion of 'form' and 'style' is much more attractive. Thai architectural education lies in the fact that it is under the umbrella of the modernisation. The model of Western architectural education being inserted in the curriculum led to a profound split between traditional and contemporary domestic architecture. Domestic architecture became a departure from what has been done in traditional society. Practices involved in the process of housebuilding in traditional society have been studied as a product of the past, a history, an end in itself. Being educated in the new curriculum, architects, interior designers and developers fail to take in to account social reality and are compelled to use the images of 'Western' domestic architecture to customise their own dwelling.

The history of domestic architecture and housing in Thailand may be presented as an elaboration of cultural changes. When houses constructed according to vernacular convention design are analysed to reveal elements and procedures of design practice, it is possible to conjecture which design characteristics may be reliably associated with user requirements at the

time of construction. Within homes, the meaning of built form is continually refined. Domestic space is shaped by perception and use and articulated by household arrangement. When existing or desired living patterns and plan types clash alterations, uses of space redefined or the conflict downplayed by changing the means of marking the desired demarcation. Changes may arise not from the conflict of exiting form but from its potential use driven by domestic needs. To consider alteration as a process with value in its own right offers a way of linking and thinking about all forms of personalisation of space. Making dwelling space one's own is attempted in one way or another by the great majority of householders.

In Bangkok, it has been asserted that we live in a culture which is more home-centred and privatized. The house has been associated with privacy since cultural reformation in the early 1900's. The development of rooms such as bathroom and toilets are significantly contributed to the ideal sense of cleanliness and hygiene. The rooms such as the study room and library became the context of the 'educated class' to engage with the media in form of books, newspapers and magazines. Recently, the image of home has been commercialised as the focal point of personal fulfilment and a theatre of life-style. Home as idea, place and objects consumes a significant proportion of individuals' income, preoccupies their day-dreams and their leisure time. The domestic interior acts as a reflection of its occupant as seen through personal possessions. Retailers (furniture, built-in furniture and DIY retailers) have educated the public where design educators/reformers failed. Although housing design is out of step with the way in which many people want to live, tasteful home arrangement still serves as a mark and means of social exclusiveness (Fig.4.2).

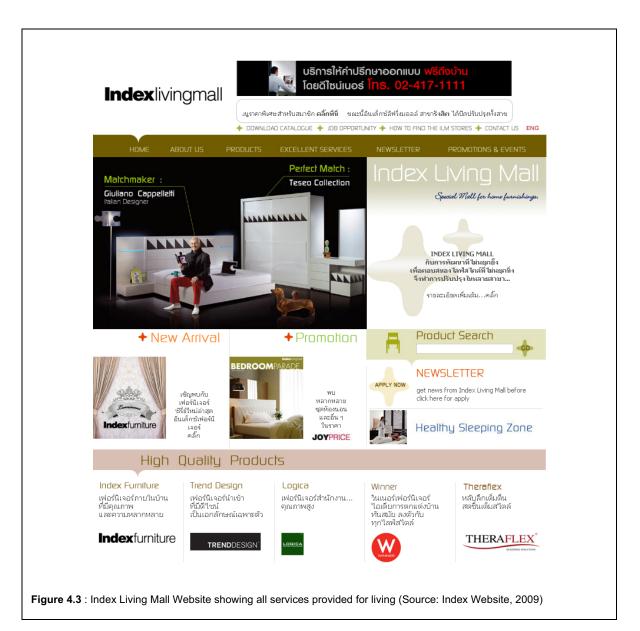


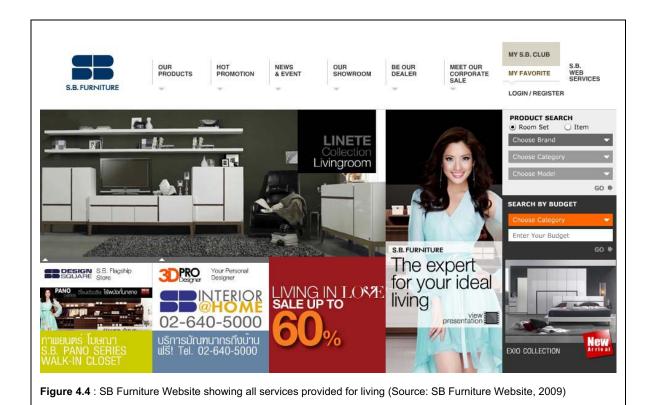


Figure 4.2: An advertisement of home in a private housing estate focusing on the image of 'luxurious living' (Source: AP Calendar, 2006)

Globalisation, economics and politics are also affecting the domestic realm. The development of mass production technologies for product such as furniture and household furnishings allowed for the same products to be available to all customers to form one economic class. At the present, we can look at domestic products and furniture companies such as *Index*,

Koncept, SB Furniture and Boonthavorn and see a similar homogenisation of interiors especially in Bangkok. Furnishings and household products are made available globally, such as by the Swedish company IKEA, British company HABITAT, the Japanese store MUJI, Thai company INDEX LIVING MALL (Fig. 4.3) and SB Design Square (Fig.4.4). It leaves us asking if communal identity is replacing individual identity. In the case of IKEA and British company HABITAT, the catalogue format and image are the same with IKEA and HABITAT in other countries, with the only obvious differences being language and currency. Moreover, home design magazines in Thailand would promote new furniture on the basis of 'being trendy' that keeps readers in the design industry up to date on current methods, design principles and aesthetics. As well as international magazines on home design and decoration, Thai magazines such as Baan Lae Suan (House and Garden) and Room show the readers how their interiors could be decorated with new furniture and household products.





The home is a key site in the social organization of space. It is where space becomes place, and where family relations and gendered and class identities are negotiated, contested, and transformed. As the research evidences pointed out, the home is an active movement in both time and space in the creation of individual identity, social relations and collective meanings. Home is continued to be idealised in Thai cultural context. What isn't? It is idealised more often that other places no matter that home is a source of work, abuse, and exploitation, as well as, love, and nourishment. In recent years the home has been seen as a sanctuary and the notion of domestic harmony. The image of serene home life haunts out collective and individual imaginations (Fig. 4.5). As evidences from the "Bangkok Home Lives Project" elucidate, the home in contemporary Thai society is a nodal point in whole series of polarities: journey-arrival; restmotion; sanctuary-outside; family-community; space-place; inside-outside; private-public; domestic-social; sparetime-worktime; feminine-masculine; heart-mind; being-becoming. These are not stable categories. They are solidified and undermined as they play out their meanings and practices in and through the home. The home for Thais is a place rife with ambiguities and to the extent paradox. With this research, it will not help resolving the issue of home but it will enable certain understanding in the issue of home in contemporary settings.



Figure 4.5: An advertisement of a "Land and Park" private housing estate (Source: Matichon Weekly, 2003)

Even though the 'interior' is still a current and pervasive concept, this does not simply mean that its middle class or the manifestations of 'being civilised' are recognisible today, or are simply different options to be chosen, at the level of consumer culture, the interior is indeed imaged in terms of such 'styles.' In this sense, the studies of the domestic interior and the home are constituted by and recognized through the relation between image and space. These image and space do not have any essential characteristics. Through out this research, it deals with the formation of the term 'baan' and the home life structured within the concept of home in Thai cultural context. Although the research focused on very specific group of people, surveying and interviewing on social conduct, experiences, values and meanings of home is notoriously difficult. In the analysis, personal testimony and photography, the research explores the connection between home life and home environment and the forces which shape both. The investigation of the meaning of home for individuals in similar social group and culture: architect, designer and students in design field, on the one hand, reveals original resources and insights into contemporary home lives in Bangkok. It reflects not only the home life experiences of the individuals but also reflects the diversity of domestic interior as it is lived. This ordinary run of things has been unexpressed in earlier academic studies. On the other hand, the complexity that this research brings about is overwhelming, hence leaving many issues concerning Thai domesticity unresolved.

Chapter 4 Endnotes

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Current Research Output

1. International Journal

Title Bangkok Homelife

A Study of The Emergence of Contemporary Thai Domestic Interior

Journal Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review Working Paper Series,

Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments

(USA: University of California, 2009), forth coming.

(Appendix 1)

2. International Publication, an Academic Article in an Edited Book

Reference Nuttinee Karnchanaporn and Apiradee Kasemsook, 'World-Class Living?'

in Mike Jenks, Daniel Kozak and Pattaranan Takkanon (eds), World Cities and

Urban Form: fragmented, polycentric, sustainable, (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2008), pp.293-302.

(Appendix 2)

3. International Conference Participation and Proceedings

3.1 Paper Presentation

Title "World-Class Living?"

Co-Author: Nuttinee Karnchanaporn and Apiradee Kasemsook

Conference Details

World Class Cities: 7th Urban Planning and Environment Symposium

Kasetsart University / Chulabhorn Research Institute

Bangkok, Thailand 3-5 January 2007

International Conference Proceedings

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn and Apiradee Kasemsook, 'World-Class Living?,'

in Proceedings of 7th Urban Planning and Environment Symposium: "World Class

Cities" (Bangkok: Kasetsart University, 2007),p.35. (Abstract Publication)

(Appendix 3)

3.2 Paper Presentation

Title "Bangkok Homelife

A Study of The Emergence of Contemporary Thai Domestic Interior"

Author: Nuttinee Karnchanaporn

Conference Details

2008 International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (IASTE) Conference on "Interrogating Tradition: Epistemologies, Fundamentalisms, Regeneration and Practice"

Oxford Brooks University, Oxford, United Kingdom

12-15 December 2008

++ The International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (IASTE) is an interdisciplinary forum where scholars from various disciplines and countries can exchange ideas, discuss methods and approaches, and share findings. IASTE was established in 1988 at University of California, Berkeley, USA.

International Conference Proceedings

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn, 'Bangkok Homelife: A Study of The Emergence of Contemporary Thai Domestic Interior,' in Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review: Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (USA: University of California, 2008), Vol. xx, No. 1, Fall 2008, p.80. (Abstract Publication)
(Appendix 4)

Appendix 1

International Journal

Title Bangkok Homelife

A Study of The Emergence of Contemporary Thai Domestic Interior

Journal Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review Working Paper Series.

Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments

(USA: University of California, 2009), forth coming.

BANGKOK HOMELIFE

A STUDY OF THE EMERGENCE OF CONTEMPORARY THAI DOMESTIC INTERIOR

By examining the concept of dwelling depicted from Thai terminology, this paper unfolds the idea of home as a realm cultivated by its architecture, its interior and life in that place. However, when the domestic interior (the inside of a house) emerges specifically in the context of modernized (westernized) domesticity, academic interests have shifted solely to the study of how such interiors have been decorated and what they represent. What missing is the study of the relation between such ideal domestic interiors and the actual living conditions which is the main investigation of this paper.

Domestic interior is an inherent aspect of home and home life. The examination of the domestic interior in the Thai cultural context cannot be studied as a separate field from the concept of home. 'Baan' or home in Thai contains a complex interplay of personal subjectivity and cultural ideal. Given the huge significance of baan (home) in Thai culture, there is comparatively little work on this meaning. Similar to other cultures, home certainly cannot be defined by any of its functions. The meaning of home appears to be indeterminate and saturated by cultural history therefore difficult to study empirically. The interior which is used in the domestic sense is also no better studied.

What one sees in Bangkok metropolitan areas differs significantly from the generalized understanding of Thai home lives. Roadsides in Bangkok are now filled with billboards that advertise grandiose urban living utopias as means for a better quality of life and homogeneous social status. A house with beautiful decorative interiors has become a product which one could buy into. Although there are discrepancies between these ideal images of home and reality, the meanings that people associated with home often derive in part from idealized notion of what home should be like. One thing remains missing: evidence that document the ways in which people in Bangkok make and use their interiors to create their homes. This paper is based on a research focusing on the home life experience: how home is defined and how home is experienced, through a photographic project and in-depth interviews in Bangkok, Thailand.

itle Bangkok Homelif

A Study of The Emergence of Contemporary Thai Domestic Interior

Journal Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review Working Paper Series,

Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments

(USA: University of California, 2009), forth coming.

"Cultivating the Home": A Study of Thai Dwelling Place with Reference to Domestic Interior from the First National Development Plan (1961-6) to the Present, A Case Study of Bangkok

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn, PhD

The paper aims to reveals domestic interior as it is lived in the urban context of Bangkok. The results

provide vital starting point to further academic research on contemporary Thai domestic interior.

'BAAN': HOME AS A CULTIVATED REALM

There is comparatively little work on the meaning of home in Thai cultural context. This makes it difficult

to trace back how home was and is defined. Given the lack of studies of concepts of baan or home, the

paper then starts by investigating Thai terminology. This paper deals with a semantic field within which

are grouped a number of terms which in English might be translated as a field signifying house, home,

dwelling, inhabiting, residence, compound etc. The task in the elucidation of certain important Thai terms

is to deal with what exceeds the grasp of a translation.

The selected terms have initially been taken from daily usage among Thais in both traditional and

contemporary society, with specific reference to the Central region of Thailand. The paper bases its

semantic analysis on the dialect of the Central region of Thailand because its argument is situated around

changes of domestic architecture in Bangkok and its vicinity. It is not the case that the paper disregards

regional differences as to the ways in which domestic architecture has been constructed. Despite the fact

that houses in different regions have different physical characteristics, the paper argues that Thais share a

similar idea about the ways in which the Thai dwelling place can be understood through the common use

of language.

Thais in contemporary society live in a place called 'baan.' Common definitions of baan revolve around

it being a house, a home, or a habitation. The meaning of baan interweaves a series of ideas and things

that make up a place where Thais live. In traditional society, there were two distinct terms involved for

where Thais lived: ruen and baan.2 Thais called their house ruen, and called their domestic domain baan.

The term ruen has become restricted to it use as signifying a house in the traditional context. On the other

A Study of The Emergence of Contemporary Thai Domestic Interior

Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review Working Paper Series, Journal

Journal of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments

(USA: University of California, 2009), forth coming.

Appendix 1 I 2

"Cultivating the Home": A Study of Thai Dwelling Place with Reference to Domestic Interior from the First National Development Plan (1961-6) to the Present, A Case Study of Bangkok

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn, PhD

hand, the term baan came to designate what the Thai Dictionary records as: 'a house or a building to live

in. It is also a domain, where domestic activities take place. It is a family, a village, a home, a place of

refuge.' As the definitions suggest, baan implies the establishment of meaningful aspects of the Thai

domestic life.

Apart from baan and ruen, there are three other terms involved in the construction of Thai traditional

house that are worth mentioning in this semantic analysis: plook, prung and prap. As much as the strength

of the house, the processes of constructing a house governed by rituals of housebuilding were the key

element in creating baan as a dwelling place in the traditional society. According to Andrew Turton, the

rituals of housebuilding in traditional Thai society are "among the most important and elaborate rites de

passages: to be a house dweller is to be fully human and to be a householder is to be fully adult."3

Phraya Anumanrajadhon's Custom of Housebuilding states that rituals of housebuilding consisted of three

phases: material preparation (prung and prap), construction (plook), and dwelling. After gathering

materials to build a house, prung was an act of preparation in making each component ready for

assembly. The act of prap took place in the preparation phase. Unattended domain was believed to be

dangerous in the sense that it might be a place where curses and spells were hidden. Prap din, or directly

translated as 'domesticating the soil,' began with an analysis of the existing traits of this piece of land

before finding a strategy to handle it. After the components were fabricated, the land was domesticated

and the auspicious time of assembly of these components was calculated, the process of assembling the

Thai traditional house began. The act of plook began with the act of digging holes in the ground and

securely setting the bases of the house-columns into the holes. Then the rest of the structural components

were fixed together before finishing with the necessary non-structural components.

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The semantic analysis of the construction of Thai house suggests that the domestic realm or baan was not

merely constructed but was cultivated. Traditional rituals of housebuilding provided Thais with a

reasoning mechanism for making one thing purposeful for the other. This mechanism appropriated the

establishment between the domestic domain, its householder, nature and supernatural powers. Therefore,

a union of a place, a particular person and a family became meaningful and unambiguous.

According to Phraya Anumanrajadhon, the contemporary meaning of baan has shifted from its meaning

in traditional society. This shift, he argues, is due to the rapid development of Thai society. Three things

have influenced the changes. Firstly, baan has become equated with a house because of the disappearance

of the large household compound due to cultural and economic changes. The household compound which

was so important for Thais in an agricultural society is not part of the urban scene. Secondly, the extent

to which the term ruen had been restricted to the traditional Thai house has now given way to the use of

baan to signify a house. Although ruen used to be an accurate translation of a house, yet Thais do not use

this to signify their houses in contemporary society. Nowadays, ruen is rather used to designate a house

which belongs to the traditional context or a vernacular house, while the term baan possesses a more

neutral entity towards time. Thirdly, architectural studies of Thai residence have privileged the building

where Thais live. In his study on the literary meaning of the term baan, Santi Chantavilaswong observes

that most Thai architectural studies have used the term baan as if it is reducible to a house as a building as

such. With few exceptions, previous studies of baan have been geared towards the architectural features

of a house focusing on archival surveys of the traditional Thai house or stylistic developments of the

contemporary Thai house. These three pressures have shaped the contemporary view of the place where

Thais live.

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The word baan has endured several shifts in meaning. Although meanings of baan extend to a more

abstract and emotional quality of domestic life, majority of academic discussions on baan often fail to

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recognize these other aspects of domestic life and focus on a house, its architectural features and stylistic

interior decorations. With few exceptions, Santi Chantavilaswong, an architect and scholar, suggests that

contemporary Thais are more likely to understand the meanings of a place where they live by reference to

Western concepts of home. 6 A doctoral research and a current research on the issue of Thai domestic

interior also confirm that almost 95 percent of the interviewed respondents have associated the term baan

to an abstract idea of home. Moreover, the way Thais continue to use the term plook to signify the

construction of the house reflects a very important and specific quality of home: home as a cultivated

domain. Some parts of the traditional ritual of housebuilding that survived the process of modernization

would ensure that this domain will continue to grow with assurance and prosperity.

THE EMERGENCE OF DOMESTIC INTERIOR IN THAI CULTURAL CONTEXT

The architecture of the traditional house defines how areas inside the house could be used. The concept of

boundary was considered vital to the Thai domestic domain but wall was not the most important aspect of

spatial division. Thresholds and changes of the floor level permitted householders to separate space into

different spatial hierarchy: ground / stairs / circulations / cooking area / sitting area / sleeping area /

ancestral area. In many cases, sleeping area tended to be the only place that was enclosed. By referring to

the section of the traditional Thai house, the domestic sphere was characterized by the sense of openness:

the flow between the exterior and interior atmosphere (Fig.1).

It was only from the 1950's onwards that the interior of the house emerges with specific reference to the

modernization in Thailand. Changes that took place during 1851-1925 were in the reigns of King Rama

IV to Rama VI. The monarchs demanded the changes, understood as a process of 'modernization,'

involved in "the adoption of technologies, methods of government and a diverse iconography drawn from

the west towards the objectives of economic advancement, the political integration of the state and the

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legitimacy of the monarchy."8 These changes brought Thais new conceptions of living dominated by

Western influences.

Houses of members of the royal families and well-to-do aristocrats were among the first to be built with

westernized spatial organization and 'western style' outlooks. The architectural features of the house and

its interior decorations had a direct bearing on the idea of good taste and civilized lifestyle (Fig.2). The

houses were built in large compounds with a road leading to the main house and a European-style front

garden. These new houses were characterized by individually enclosed rooms for each function, equipped

with European-style furniture, and the use of the modern lavatory. Inside these houses, there were a

large reception foyer, a cloakroom, a living room, a dining room, a library, a tea room, a play room and a

modern lavatory. A proper kitchen was separated from the main house for hygienic reasons. The good

taste and civilized lifestyle were to be articulated through luxury living environment represented by a

diverse iconography drawn from the west. These kinds of residence and lifestyle were unprecedented and

completely at variance with the ways of living in traditional Thai society.

Further critical changes were marked by the fall of the absolute monarchy in 1932 which was replaced by

a more democratic administration. From this time onwards, changes in Thai architecture in general were

welcomed as Thai architects educated overseas returned. Detached houses of the well-to-do Thais were

designed and decorated under the influence of modern architecture in Europe and America. Thailand was

significantly shaped by the rapid economic development which was accelerated under the new dictatorial

regime in 1957. The First National Development Plan (1961-6) led to demographic growth, expanded

economic development, and marked a turning point in Thai architecture. Thai economic and property

business reached a peak during the period from 1969 to 1972. Domestic architecture was no exception.

The increasing need for housing in the city was the result of the dramatic increase in the working class

and middle class Thais.

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From 1960 onwards, different types of domestic architecture have emerged in response to economic

growth and the needs of people from different social strata. The increasing population and land values,

particularly in the urban area of Bangkok, have transformed domestic architecture from single-unit

housing into the multi-unit housing and grouped units. There are suburban housing estates, government

welfare housing projects, shop-houses or row-houses, townhouses, flats, and condominiums for the

middle class. These groups of Thais began to take careful economic consideration towards the ways in

which their houses were built: low budgets, efficient use of space, and combined functions. At this point,

there is no academic study which documents the various conditions of domestic interior in this period.

However, the establishment of the education for professional interior designer in the late 1950's marked

the interior as a site of specific profession as interior designer. Interior decoration began to articulate itself

as a separate field of profession from architecture.

Since the administrative reformation, the house and its decorative interior have continued to be used as

'an image' or 'a face' that signifies social status in the Thai society. 10 In Bangkok and its vicinity, there

were private housing estates filled with luxury-detached houses for people with high incomes. A house

and its interiors become an object with potential to display affluence and well-being. Advertisements of

these private housing estates perpetuate the myth of the nuclear family and tout a dream-like image of

living in beautiful interiors and the world class living environment (Fig.3). The domestic interior in

Bangkok emerges in a similar way it emerges in the context of bourgeois domesticity: "It is not only

architectural, but it borrows on the enclosure provided by architecture to be articulated through

decoration, the literal covering of the inside of an architectural 'shell.' In this sense the interior is also

not simply spatial, but is equally an image-based phenomenon."11

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BANGKOK HOME LIVES

Studies and criticisms of contemporary Thai architecture have not permitted Thais to ponder the everyday

life-world in the realm of domesticity. While discussions of traditional ways of living and the traditional

That house often focus on its symbolic function with the assumption that what has been designated as

having a symbolic representation may serve no other purpose, contemporary Thai domestic architecture

has been studied with utilitarian and pragmatic principles. One question remains: in what way studies of

tradition help make the analysis of contemporary Thai domestic interior intelligible?

The research, which is paper is based on, finds it difficult to obtain resources for the study of domestic

interior that transcend its architectural features. Oftentimes, design magazines and advertisement for a

family house in Bangkok do not represent the ways majority of people who live in Bangkok experiencing

home today. To ask a question to respondents in Bangkok: 'what does the home mean to you?' can be

problematic. It could be argued that the question was highly ambiguous, and may have prompted ideal

responses rather than real experiences. It is not clear whether the question is asking about the

respondents' own specific home life or about their general understanding of what the home means.

Arguably is the latter, so rather than reflecting their real experiences the respondents give descriptive

details of the ideal home.

The Bangkok Home Lives project is part of an on-going research on the emergence of domestic interior in

Bangkok. 12 The project, which is based on photography, grew from (1) great difficulty finding original

and current resources on domestic interior in Thailand, and from (2) a reading of Kamina Walton's essay

on a Blackfriars Photography Project. 13 In a similar approach to the Blackfriars Photography Project

where photography was used for primary school children in Blackfriars area in order to reflect the

diversity of cultures and family structure represented within the school, the Bangkok Home Lives project

gives opportunity for the householders themselves to produce resources by recording their home lives by

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using disposable camera. Each participant used a twenty six exposure color disposable camera to

photograph what he/she felt expressed his/her home life with a written caption for each photograph. As a

result, photographs taken by 40 participants become key evidences providing an insight into home

environment and family life in urban Bangkok, and they are quite unlike the representations that we are

used to seeing. Selected five cases are shown in this paper (Fig. 4 to 8).

The photographic documents elucidate a series of individual home life experience with a mixture between

the abstract entity and the interior space which hosts such entity. What do show is that most participants,

male or female / old or young, share the same sentiments about the ideal home: privacy, family, affection,

relaxation, comfort and security. Architecture of the house is a vital part of home's identity since houses

were mostly recorded at the beginning of each film roll. Evidence of family and affection is always

presented in the photographs. In many cases, which include example 1, 2, 4 and 5, family members were

being photographed and wrote about. Where family member is absent from the photograph, a note posted

on the refrigerator can be a supplement to such absence (Fig.5). Area where family members have their

meals is often photographed although the room might not actually be a dinning room.

Sense of security and protection is strongly captured in most documents and often tied with spiritual

protection and domestic remedies. These photographs reveal diverse cultural references: Chinese guardian

spirit (Fig. 7), ancestral worship (Fig. 8), Buddhist chamber (Fig. 6) and animistic Chinese cabalistic cloth

(Fig. 4). These objects incorporated in domestic interiors are perceived as sources of spiritual protection.

Since the traditional society, Thais continue to believe that domestic domain is a device to prevent ill

fortune, to promote health and prosperity and to repair breaches in the system of defense.

In many images, the whole history contained within one room: objects, furniture, numerous photographs

and books, suggesting past present and a sense of place. Although it is obvious that most participants

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inhibit aesthetic conventions that a modern person feel obliged to conform to, aspects of messiness have also been documented. In several cases of young participants, they inhabited the interior and called it a home by taking possession of things, especially participants who are university students as shown in the example 1-4. It is less surprising that most young participants tend to capture their private bedrooms as what is best expressing their home lives (Fig. 5 and 6). These young participants often explore their personal identity and imagination in their bedroom. In one case, the graffiti was painted on the bedroom wall intend to override the parents' choice of childlike wallpaper (Fig. 6). In another case, the participant photographed a locked drawer and described it as her interiorized world. This same participant also photographs a toilet where she often retreats to read her favorite magazine. These two places, sealed off from the everyday world, are where she feels most at home (Fig. 7).

Evidently, these photographs show the differences between the lived domestic interiors and the ideal ones: its physical outlooks, its orientation, how people use them and how such interiors become important aspect of home life. When Thais say that 'home is cultivated' rather than built, they acknowledge an interweaving of cultural ideology, personal identity, and lived relationship. From this perspective, what has ended is the physical apparatus of the traditional Thai house but traditional ideology continues to inscribe in Thai mentality through the use of language and articulations. *Baan* is no longer a space of tradition but the tradition helps maintaining it. Although the emergence of domestic interior in Thai culture is problematic when what we look for is the actual living atmosphere, we know for certain of how to study them: how it is made and what it represented. The Bangkok Home Lives project, on the one hand, reveals original resources and insights into contemporary home lives in Bangkok. It reflects not only the home life experiences of forty individuals but also reflects the diversity of domestic interior as it is lived. This ordinary run of things has been unexpressed in earlier academic studies. On the other hand, the complexity that this project brings about is overwhelming, hence leaving many issues concerning Thai domesticity unresolved.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

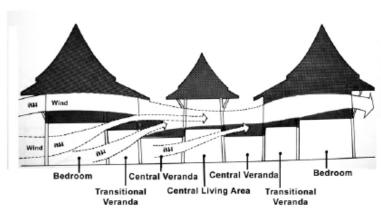


Fig. 1 A Section of the traditional Thai house showing different spatial hierarchy. (Source: Jaijongrak, 1996)





Fig. 2 An exterior view and an interior of a master bedroom of the Phyathai Palace in 1920.

Originally constructed for the Thai monarchs in 1909 and reassigned as a first class hotel in 1925.

(Source: National Archives)





Fig. 3 An Advertisement of a private housing estate in Bangkok (Source: AP Calendar, 2006)

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Fig. 4 Example 1: Home life photographic document of a 23 years old female participant (Source: Karnchanaporn, 2008)



Fig. 5 Example 2: Home life photographic document of a 23 years old female participant (Source: Karnchanaporn, 2008)



Fig. 6 Example 3: Home life photographic document of a 25 years old male participant (Source: Karnchanaporn, 2008)



Fig. 7 Example 4: Home life photographic document of a 20 years old female participant (Source: Karnchanaporn, 2008)

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Fig. 8 Example 3: Home life photographic document of a 32 years old male participant (Source: Karnchanaporn, 2008)

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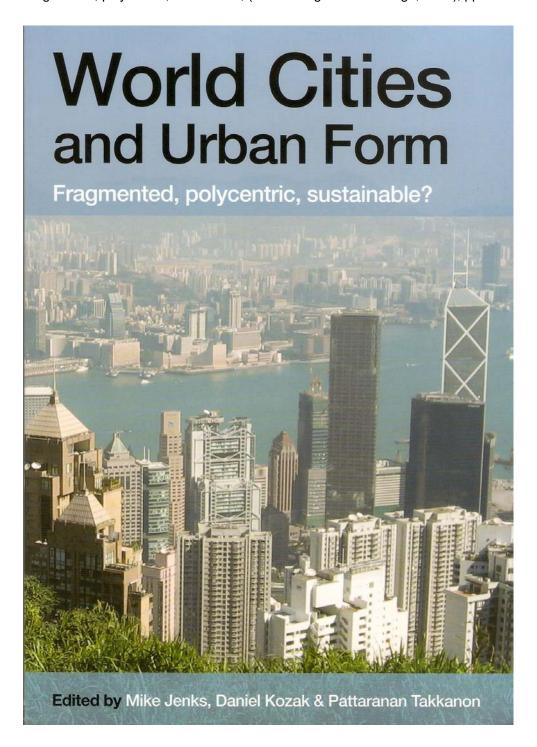
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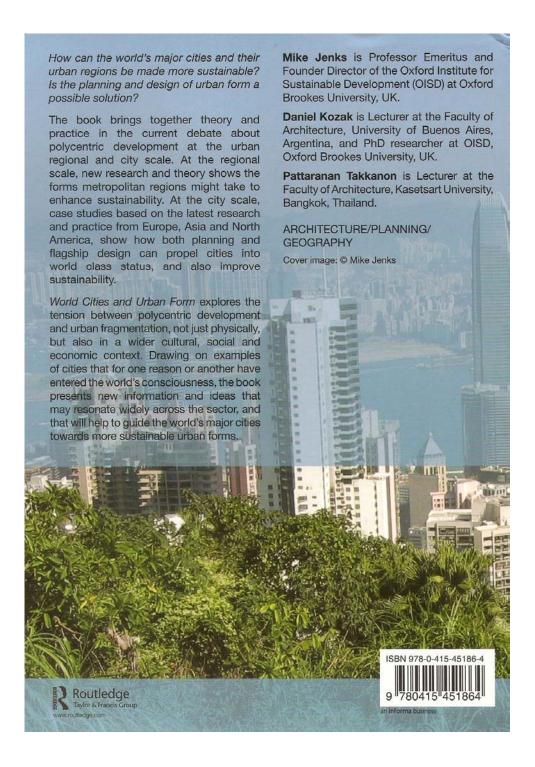
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Appendix 2

International Publication, an Academic Article in an Edited Book Reference

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn and Apiradee Kasemsook, 'World-Class Living?' in Mike Jenks, Daniel Kozak, and Pattaranan Takkanon (eds), World Cities and Urban Form: fragmented, polycentric, sustainable, (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2008), pp.293-302.





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World Cities and Urban Form

How can the world's major cities and their urban regions be made more sustainable? Is the planning and design of urban form a possible solution?

The book brings together theory and practice in the current debate about polycentric development at the urban regional and city scale. At the regional scale, new research and theory shows the forms metropolitan regions might take to enhance sustainability. At the city scale, case studies based on the latest research and practice from Europe, Asia and North America, show how both planning and flagship design can propel cities into world class status, and also improve sustainability.

World Cities and Urban Form explores the tension between polycentric development and urban fragmentation, not just physically, but also in a wider cultural, social and economic context. Drawing on examples of cities that for one reason or another have entered the world's consciousness, the book presents new information and ideas that may resonate widely across the sector, and that will help to guide the world's major cities towards more sustainable urban forms.

Mike Jenks is Professor Emeritus and Founder Director of the Oxford Institute for Sustainable Development (OISD) at Oxford Brookes University, UK.

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'World-Class' Living?

Introduction

Bangkok's Ring Road probably conjures up an image of a ten-lane arterial road with speeding vehicles and muddy roadsides. However, with the encircling of Bangkok by the inner and outer ring roads, the positive prospect of the city's urban growth becomes apparent. Billboards advertising grandiose urban living utopias abound, offering frequent invitations to buy into a lifestyle that does not as yet exist. The rapid increase in the numbers of Thais moving to the suburbs and into secure residential enclaves has contributed to Bangkok's fragmented urban expansion. It is a form of urbanisation that runs counter to many of the aims of good urban design and social sustainability, yet is one that fulfils the ambitions and dreams of many Thais, and invites a more complex account of their motives and values (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1.
Photographs
showing a scene
of the western
ring road and
a close up view
on advertising
billboards of
some gated
communities
contrasted with a
melon seller
Source:
Karnchanaporn
and Kasemsook

Billboards

Housing estate companies have employed a number of strategies to persuade people to buy. And they add value to their products by offering a choice of design, decoration and furnishing. Although the range of choice is limited, these companies offer guaranteed contentment with a variety of full-scale mock-up houses, or what they have called 'sample houses.' Urban middle class Thais' obsession with 'the commodity-driven image of modernity' (Askew, 2002) manifests an obsession



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with displaying affluence and well-being through consumption. Design, size, and private facilities (such as leisure centres or even private golf courses) become icons of 'exclusivity' to attract homebuyers. Private security arrangements become another selling point. Advertisements of these private housing estates tout a dream-like image of urban middle class living as much as they do their security features (Fig. 2).

The current trend of housing estates is graphically exposed on billboards that advertise these soon-to-be-built grandiose urban living utopias. They are there to suggest the future and a freedom offered through private consumption. The billboards display houses and their prices in private housing estates which could fetch up to one million USD (the average price is 100,000 USD), while the national population average annual income is approximately 1,215 USD (Department of Community Development, 2007), 82 times lower than the average house price. The billboards are an overt symbol of their investment, intended to carefully nurture the idea (and selling point) of a 'hospitality-provided private home' that coexists with 'connections to vibrant urban activities' (Karnchanaporn, 2006; Fig.3).

The term 'urban town home' has been adopted as the language of the time. The billboards put private privilege (sports clubs, swimming pools, cafés, convenience stores, and even international schools) exclusively provided inside the housing estate ahead of any communal amenities. Indeed, 'connection to the BTS (Bangkok Transit System)' becomes almost the official line on billboards advertising housing estates along the Ring Roads, to ensure they appear to have the most convenient connection to 'urban' Bangkok. Several private housing estates guarantee that the buyers can buy into the 'real' living atmosphere without even having to bother viewing the sample houses. The economic logic is to sell the house as a finished product: – for example a home next to a lively park located in a secured estate with a sports club – which one could own and move into in as little as six days.

To an extent, the billboards and marketing begins to target a particular potential group of buyers: the working singles who are the main driving force of Bangkok's economy. Enticed by a promotional slogan 'You don't have to wait until turning 40 to own a house, you can own one now', here, the ultimate lifestyle goal need wait no longer (Fig. 4).

Fig. 2.
Photographs
showing several
billboards
of gated
communities
depicting family
dreams, security,
and house prices
Source:
Karnchanaporn
and Kasemsook

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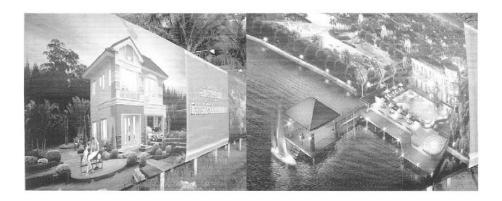


Fig. 3.
A marketing billboard depicting hospitality provided in an affluent housing estate
Source:
Karnchanaporn and Kasemsook

Living in Bangkok

Living in Bangkok was, and seems to continue to be, road-oriented, and urbanisation has always been totally dependent on road construction. The need to deal with Bangkok's urbanisation began around the 1960s, when the first city master plan was produced by Browne, Litchfield and Associates (Bangkok Metropolitan Authority, 1960). By that time the historical city (Rattanakosin) was the centre of Bangkok, and most of Bangkok's urban areas were in its immediate surroundings. The pattern of urban growth concentrated along two axes: towards the north with Donmuang International Airport as an anchor, and towards the east, with the port being another anchor (Fig. 5). The growth pattern was overlaid on the original riverand-canal-based spatial system, and marked a significant transition to a road-based spatial structure.

The speed of urbanisation in Bangkok accelerated in 1980s when the country's economy prospered and the elevated toll ways (the Expressways) were built. The

Fig. 4. A marketing billboard aiming for young urban worker Source: Karnchanaporn and Kasemsook



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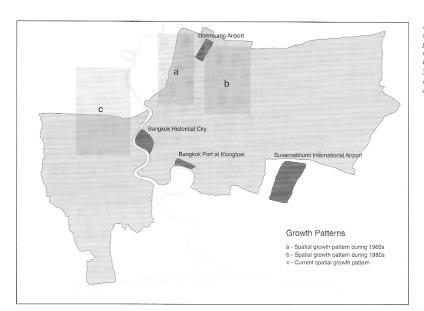


Fig. 5. A map showing urban growth patterns of Bangkok in three periods Source: Karnchanaporn and Kasemsook

daytime population of Bangkok increased to 10 million, including commuters.² The urban middle class emerged as a new social class, and Bangkok appeared as the 'stellar' city of the whole country. With the large and growing population numbers, there came a huge demand for housing. As a consequence, urban areas expanded in all directions, and numerous housing estates were developed, privately or state-owned. The development of these housing estates has taken on a unique spatial form, as well as distinct social characteristics.

Spatial studies by Kasemsook (2003, 2007) on the Bangkok road network indicate some association patterns between the city's expansion and local grid development (Fig. 5). Originally, the spatial network of the city was laid out in a grid or quasi-grid pattern with various alignments. When the city grew, the local grid pattern became more fragmented and had a broken grid structure. This was a result of local area development in a linear fashion within the interstices between the major canals and arterial roads. In most areas, the local grid was made up of a series of short roads, often connected at right angles to an arterial road and which connected to very few other roads or were dead-ends (Fig. 6). This kind of development creates the local areas' spatial segregation. Despite the spatial segregation, inhabitants of the areas were socially integrated. The well-off and the poor, the educated and the illiterate, and the civil servant and the layman could live next to each other.

Spatial segregation became prominent when the expansion of the city intensified towards the periphery. But now it takes on a new form. Most of the local areas are made up of the quasi-grid structure, but they hardly ever connect to each other. Thus the local grid has an island-like form, with each island sequentially connected to the arterial roads by a small number of other roads. The islands themselves, generally, form the housing estates of the urban middle class.

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In contrast to the emerging middle class, traditional Thai families were extended families where generations lived together, engaged predominantly in agricultural production. The traditional Thai domestic domain featured not only the house but also included other buildings related to agricultural production within a defined perimeter. Similar to other societies, changes from the extended family to the nuclear family often reflect changes in the economy, i.e., from agricultural production to industrial production (Tiptus, 1982). This is a result of the migration of rural people to the city seeking work opportunities and economic prosperity, and therefore leaving their extended families. Askew (2002, pp. 84-85) indicates that the 'Bangkok-centred trends of development' have given rise to a particular class of Thais: 'the urban middle class'.3 The urban middle classes consist mainly of Thai, Chinese-Thai, and include a population that has migrated from rural to urban areas. They have benefited from development and have become a major element of Bangkok society. For them, the city is a site of 'better opportunities': higher income resources, conspicuous consumption, social mobility and improved social status (ibid.). Since the First National Development Plan, an increasing proportion of Thais have been able to buy their own home. The private housing estates appear to have a distinct spatial development - an allotted village, which

was a product of changes in the building industry during the 1970s and increased land prices in the inner city and older suburban areas. Increasingly accessible through the expanding road network, land parcels in the cheaper farmland of the urban fringe were purchased by developers and subdivided into small blocks for ready-made housing. Boosted by the increased availability of financing at attractive terms through commercial banks and finance houses, many new companies took to the housing estate idea with zeal, responding to the demand for accommodation in the growing city (ibid., p. 64).

Fig. 6. Maps showing typical spatial structures in the recently developed urban area of Bangkok Source: Karnchanaporn and Kasemsook







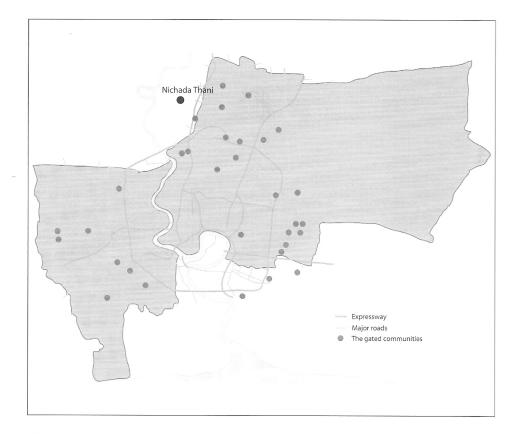
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For the urban middle classes, a house in an allotted village is an ideal place. It represents a dream of the modernised Thai nuclear family: a new home in the Bangkok suburbs from which parents can commute to work and take children to schools (ibid.).

Within the allotted village, land parcels or houses within land parcels were offered for sale. The perimeter of the villages were not well-defined. The aim was that many allotted villages should be integrated within the city's spatial network, but this has not been realised: in practice they are not well connected to each other. Despite the spatial segregation of the villages, socially their occupants were still made up of a mix of occupations and income groups. Moreover, on the same sequentially linked road one could find the well-off mingled with the poor. This means accessibility between roads or public space and houses or private space was similar for all people. In these cases there is clearly a segregation or fragmentation of physical form, but this is not reflected, as yet, in social fragmentation. However, with a rise in the phenomenon of gated developments, there is a growing trend towards a social segregation that matches the physical fragmentation of urban form.

Fig. 7. A map showing the recently developed gated communities along ring roads Source: Bangkok Post, Property Focus, 23 Nov. 2006



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Fig. 8.
Photographs
showing
entrances of
two gated
communitiess
Source:
Karnchanaporn
and Kasemsook

Gated communities

Bangkok's urban growth has accelerated with the extensive expressway construction programmes together with a series of ring road expansions intended to consolidate the city centre with the urban periphery. At the same time the mass transit system (Bangkok Transit System – BTS) was built to help ease the city's severe traffic problem. Due to these road construction programmes, and demand from a rapidly growing urban middle class, gated communities have become a significant part of the scene on the periphery. Figure 7 is a record of the locations of recently developed gated communities along the ring roads, showing 40 of them (whilst hundreds more remain unmarked). The roads provide accessibility to the previously underdeveloped land at the city edges whose prices are low enough for commercial housing development.

These gated communities are spatially designed with a cul-de-sac layout. A series of culs-de-sac branch from one to another through the main community roads. Very few connect directly to one another. This means that, topologically, the layouts lack permeability, resulting in limited accessibility between homes. Furthermore, two gated communities could be located next to each other with a high wall separating them – emphasising the characteristic of a spatial enclave. Within the high walls and guarded entrance and the spatially designed cul-de-sac layout, they suggest a spatial segregation of the gated communities that operates at two levels, within the community itself and between the community and the surroundings, even though they are built along the roads designed to integrate the city's areas (Fig. 8).

Recent interviews with 20 gated communities' residents in Bangkok and the vicinity area suggest numerous reasons for their decision to choose to live there, yet two of them stand out – namely security and social homogeneity (Karnchanaporn, 2005, 2006). A review of the house prices and household incomes clearly indicate that only the well-off can afford a house in these gated communities. A key characteristic of this group of people is that the majority of them are well-travelled, visiting many places in the world, or aspiring to go around the world. So why do they want to be excluded from their local context while buying into the global images of 'world class' living? What does 'world class' living mean to them? (Fig. 9).

Beyond the gates

Visiting, for example, a high-end housing estate to the north of the Ring Road, visitors pass through the guarded entrance – a check point with an elaborate security procedure – a request for a valid identification card in exchange for a visitor's pass,

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asking for the house number to be visited, a check of the vehicle's rear boot (or trunk i.e. the rear compartment of the car), a radio check for every turn before reaching the destination, an acknowledgment by the house owner, a visit time-schedule, and a double-check at the vehicle's rear boot upon departure from the estate. What is found in the estate is a famous café, a supermarket carrying expensive imported products, an Olympic size swimming pool with club house and shopping arcade adjacent to a man-made lake, and a children's playground which has adult supervision all the time. All houses face a 'public' community space and at the same time maintain living privacy. Just a step outside the gate, high walls fence off intruders, or, to be exact, the locals: a sharp contrast between the local underdeveloped but green area and the well-maintained landscape, and between the lively local neighbourhood and the hygienic estate (Figs 10a and 10b).

In Bangkok the story of the housing estates and the gated communities raises several questions - what happens, when blinded by the images of 'world class' living, the other side of the local living experience can no longer be perceived? But most importantly to what extent can what is seen through the medium of the billboard and marketing dreams be made intelligible? The housing estate market operates, as reading the billboard advertisements suggest, in a similar way to other products aiming to sell 'self-improvement' by means of the quality of life and social status signified by a luxury living atmosphere. It is not only the ownership of the house that is achieved but also the totality of the experience created by a private and exclusive environment. The terms used for naming the housing estates such as Urban Villa, Park Royal, Elegance Villa, Golden Heritage, the Emperor, and Metro Park are all expressive statements, stressing the image of luxury urban living yet to happen (Karnchanaporn, 2006). These kinds of residence and lifestyle were unprecedented and completely at variance with the ways of living in traditional Thai society. Evidently, the will to resist western subjugation was not strong enough to maintain traditional ways, thus moving Thailand towards a perceived 'world class' status represented by a diverse iconography drawn from the west. In the case of Thai

Fig. 9.
A photograph showing a billboard displaying a world-class living campaign Source:
Karnchanaporn and Kasemsook

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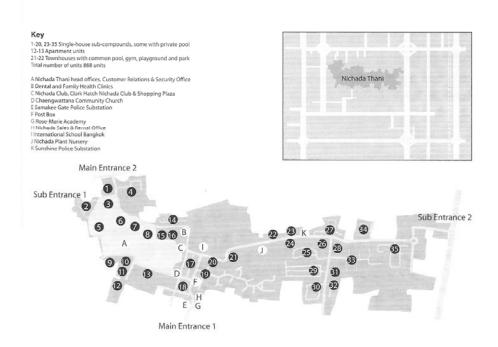
'World-Class' Living?

homebuyers, to consume and to fabricate the house that fits with a 'world-class' image is to appropriate a higher social status, hence making the image of world-class living marketable through advertisements.

Depicted by the billboards along the ring road, the current advertised trend emphasizes the sales pitch 'buy-into-the real' as a ready-to-move-into house. The 'house and its interiors' has become a product which is more real than ever: one which you can walk in and experience, one which is already tried and tested, and one which is part of the whole exclusive experience of living in a secured or gated community. Daily viewing of the billboard advertisements continually reinforces the 'dreamworld' which the housing estates create. The images of comfortable urban living presented on the billboards ensure that home-buyers should never be allowed to 'awake' from their dreams.

The dreamworld idea is consolidated by spatial and social segregation. On the surface, the gated community seems to pre-select a homogeneous social group whose members share similar values and personal characteristics. However, the spatial development reveals a deep preference. No longer is there a need to visit one's local neighbour – rather the preferred socialisation is within one's own enclave. The enclave takes an expansive form, from house to immediate neighbourhood and to the enclave's 'community'. The enclave itself is equipped with all the modern amenities and is security-provided. To some extent, its inhabitants are better connected with the global network than with the local one. It could be said that the convenient accessibility provided by the ring road and the expressway construction

Fig. 10a. (below upper-right)
Location map of Nichada Thani
Fig. 10b (below)
Nichada Thani, an affluent gated housing estate with an international school, a Starbuck coffee cafe, a high-class supermarket, an Olympic-size swimming pool, etc., located on a ring road of the greater metropolitan area of Bangkok Source:
Karnchanaporn



Nuttinee Karnchanaporn and Apiradee Kasemsook, 'World-Class Living?' in Mike Jenks, Daniel Kozak, and Pattaranan Takkanon (eds), World Cities and Urban Form: fragmented, polycentric, sustainable, (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2008), pp.293-302.

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programmes turns to be a tool encouraging the urban middle class to gather in such enclaves. Thus the city becomes an illusion of 'world class' luxury living, without an interest to mingle with the locality.

In the other words, gated communities and their development are clearly physically and socially segregated. The form is self-reinforcing: the provision of infrastructure, roads and expressways will not help to integrate, but rather to connect 'world class' globalised housing with 'world-class' globalised areas on the city of Bangkok, and perhaps eventually to world cities through the new Bangkok airport. There is inherent in the form, in the illusions promoted by developers, and the dreams of the middle class, the creation (reinforcing) of unsustainable urban fragmentation both socially and physically.

Notes

- The latest average annual individual income published by Department of Community Development, Ministry of Interior in June 2007 is of 43,737 Baht, which is equal to 1,215 USD or 101 USD/month – calculated by exchange rate of 36 Baht/ 1 USD.
- 2. Bangkok population statistical data was provided by Department of Provincial Administration, Ministry of Interior, on their website www.dopa.go.th (and an interview given by the Deputy Secretary, Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board on 28 June 2006, on 'Bangkok population sectors' in a report of Bangkok's Liveability: Who will answer?
- 3. Marc Askew (2002) names the social and economic changes that have been geared towards benefits of Bangkok as a capital rather than the rest of the country, whether in terms of the number of schools, universities, hospitals, medical practitioners, wages or salaries as the 'Bangkok-centred trends of development'.

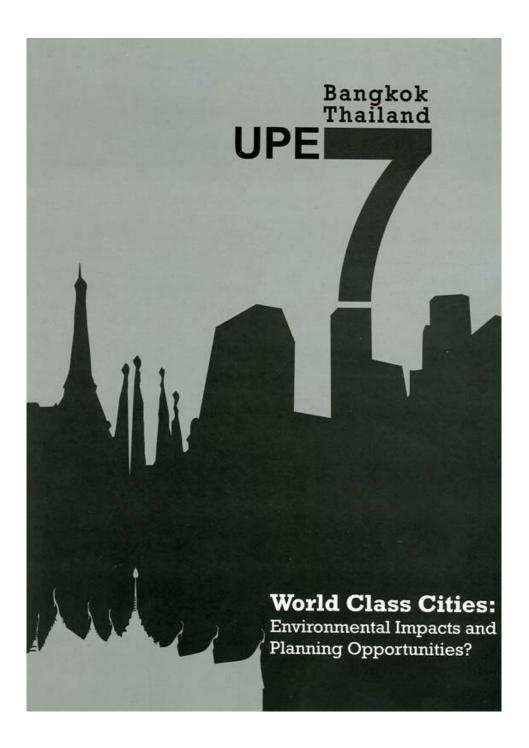
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Appendix 3

International Conference Proceedings

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn and Apiradee Kasemsook, 'World-Class Living?,' in Proceedings of 7th Urban Planning and Environment Symposium: "World Class Cities" (Bangkok: Kasetsart University, 2007),p.35. (AbstractPublication)



UPE7 - The 7th International Conference on Urban Planning and Environment, Bangkok, Thailand 3-5 January 2007

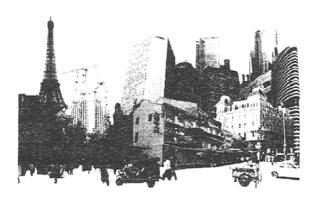
Abstracts

The 7th International Conference on Urban Planning and Environment (UPE 7)

WORLD CLASS CITIES

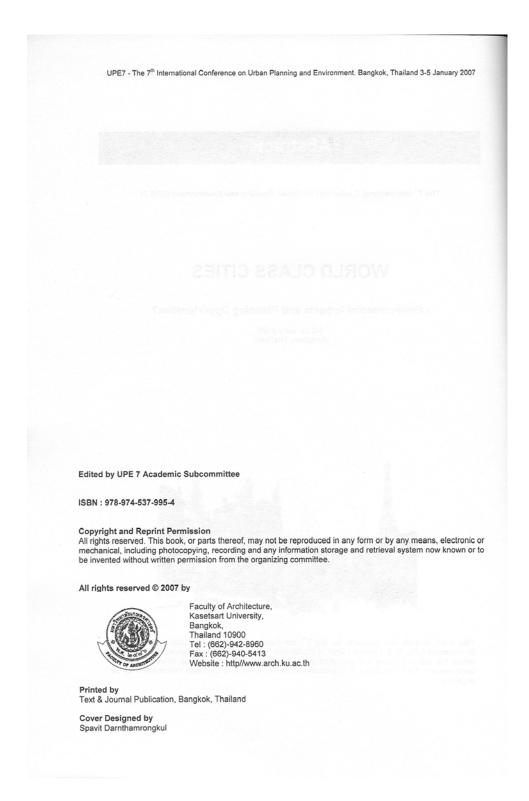
: Environmental Impacts and Planning Opportunities?

3-5 January 2007 Bangkok, Thailand



This book contains the abstracts for the 7th International Conference on Urban Planning and Environment (UPE 7), 3-5 January 2007 at Chulabhorn Research Institute, Bangkok, Thailand. They reflect the author opinions and published as presented without change, in the interests of timely dissemination. Their inclusion in this publication does not necessarily constitute endorsement by the organisers.

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn and Apiradee Kasemsook, *'World-Class Living?,'* in Proceedings of 7th Urban Planning and Environment Symposium: "World Class Cities" (Bangkok: Kasetsart University, 2007),p.35. (Abstract Publication)



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Introduction

The 7th International Conference on Urban Planning and Environment (UPE 7) "WORLD CLASS CITIES: Environmental Impacts and Planning Opportunities?" 3-5 January 2007, Bangkok, Thailand

1. OVERVIEW

Over 30 countries have cities that are considered 'world class' and major cities in more than 20 countries are aspiring to world-class status. In recent years, the use of the term "world class" has grown considerably. Having emerged from the discourse on globalization, 'world class' is now a ubiquitous term that reaches every aspect of our daily lives, from politics and business to our physical environment. However, it is a phenomenon that leads to many questions:

• How successfully does the "world class" phenomenon relate to the complexities of our

- How successfully does the "world class" phenomenon relate to the complexities of our urban environment?
- What are the impacts of these aspirations for planning and the environment?
- · What are the consequences for the urban region?
- Does a world-class city mean that other cites in the country are deprived of resources?
 Do those cities achieving world-class status improve the quality of life for all their
- Do those cities achieving world-class status improve the quality of life for all their citizens, and are the changes sustainable?

The UPE 7 Symposium aims to:

- Explore the planning and environmental consequences of the 'world class cities' phenomenon.
- Question the impacts of cities achieving that status, and on those cities that do not.
- Provide a forum for the latest research and practice on a global scale.

What does "world class" mean?

The term 'world class' has grown as a phenomenon and so has its usage in various domains. For cities, proponents have made claims regarding the quality of life, environmental improvement, creativity, freedom and cultural assets, all in the name of being "world class". As a result, there has been a proliferation of indices and classification systems attempting to assess these claims. Today, we are inundated by waves of data that assess and monitor almost every aspect of our quality of life in cities.

How is the "world class city" concept transforming the way we understand urban planning and environment? The recent competition among cities to become the host of the 2012 Summer Olympics provides a high profile example of the "world class" phenomenon. Each competing city presented how their proposals had the best potential to be a catalyst in affecting large-scale urban change for the city. Several of the leading contenders such as London, New York and Paris relied heavily on their premise of revitalizing disused and neglected areas of their cities, and promises made to not only increase direct investment on urban infrastructure, environment and physical amenities, but on long term benefits such as low income housing.

On the one hand, it is easy to be skeptical of the media-driven nature of the term "world class". Critics argue that this phenomenon is no more than a buzzword, and does not adequately address problems in urban planning such as the uneven distribution of resources and expanding social and economic inequalities. "World class" is often associated with an emphasis towards globalization and private sector investment at the expense of longer-term services and sustainability.

To dismiss the "world class" issue however would neglect the significant effects that the world class phenomenon is now making towards the planning, managing and designing of our urban environments. Perhaps most significantly, the "world class" phenomenon impacts the cities and their inhabitants in developing countries – particularly places that are relentlessly striving to be world class. For Beijing, the 2008 Summer Olympics has provided the impetus for the government's push to radically transform the urban environment of the city. But there are also costs to the environment, to disadvantaged populations that may be

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displaced by development, and impacts on the region and surrounding "non-world class" cities. Thus the phenomenon of "world class cities" has both global and local implications, as it continues to pervade regional policy making, planning strategies, and relationships with society's value systems, social hierarchies and status, and the environment.

2. ABOUT UPE

UPE 7 aims to be a forum for discussing urban and environmental issues among professionals, academics and policy makers. Previous UPE conferences have been international events that have attracted hundreds of professionals, academics and policy makers from all over the world to discuss relevant and timely issues. For 2007, the conference will be organized by the Faculty of Architecture at Kasetsart University in Bangkok, Thailand.

The UPE 7 conference will mark several 'firsts'. For the first time, the conference will be located in Asia. As a major Asian metropolis, Bangkok reflects the region's developments in terms of its pattern of growth, environmental concerns and cultural heritage. In addition, with the selected theme - "World Class Cities?" - the conference aims to reach beyond its current audience and to invite new participants to join – particularly those that may not be traditionally associated with the planning disciplines, but are increasingly impacting and changing the way cities are being designed, built, inhabited and managed.

3. CONFERENCE SESSIONS

Topics and issues supporting the main theme of UPE 7 conference:

Political Cities?

- Governance, institutions and NGOs
- Land use management and regulation
- Public participation and interaction
- Advocacy, activism and empowerment
- Comparative studies, best practices and alternative approaches

Cultural Cities?

- · Cultural and historic heritage
- Race, class and gender in urban studies
- Identity and nationalism
- · Effect and impact of tourism
- · Media and consumerism

Mega Cities?

- · Development patterns and growth
- Peri-urban developments and urban / rural dichotomies
- Poverty and homelessness
 Energy and sustainable development
- · Transport and infrastructure

Environmental Cities?

- · Environment and quality of life
- Life Cycle Assessment as environmental measurement tool
- Urban ecology and biodiversity
- · Sustainable communities and management
- Tourism and environmental impacts
- Pollution Issues

Information Cities?

- Modelling techniques, approaches and technologies
 GIS and ecology assessment
- Knowledge transfer, public awareness and information dissemination
- Census, population and demographic methods and analyses
- · Training, skills and education

Physical Cities?

- Physical forms in relation to quality of built environment
 Building technologies and recent developments

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4. KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

His Excellency Lyonpo Jigme Yoser Thinley
The Minister of Home and Cultural Affairs, THIMPHU, BHUTAN

The former Chairman of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister) and Head of the Government of

Mechai Viravaldya
Senator (National Assembly, Thailand) and Board Chairman, Population and Community Development Association

Stephan Hischberger

École Nationale Supéieure d'Architecture et de Paysage de Bordeaux, France

Suocheng Dong

Institute of Geographical Science and Natural Resources Research, Beijing, China

Director of Urban Planning and Infrastructure, Barcelona, Spain

5. CONFERENCE LOCATION

The conference is held at the Chulabhorn Research Institute in Bangkok, Thailand

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Cultural Cities Planning for International Retirement Migration – A Case Study of Udon Thani, Thailand, UPE7 21 : John Koch-Schulte C02 Memory and Oblivion Forms Megalopolises and Patrimonial Cities 22 : Jean-Pierre Martinon C05 Community-Based Heritage Management as a Means of Building Community Identity: A Case Study of the Old Town of Famagusta, North Cyprus 23 : Supreeya Wungpatcharapon Urban Identity between Changing Patterns and Building Types, the case of Taichung City : Wen-Liang Chen and Huey-Jiun Wang 'Thai-ness' the Cultural Identity in Thai Urbanism 25 : Sutsan Suttipisan C13 The Impacts of a Cultural Heritage Integrated Conservation for the Balanced World Class City's Settling in the Vicisssitudes of the Globalizing Urban Future 26 : Vladimir Krogius C14 System Thinking in Cultural Heritage District Development-- Case Study on Xi'an Drum-tower Muslim Area 27 : Zhai Binqung and Justyna A. Karakiewicz Glocal Tourism and Berlin's Contested Spatiality Narratives of 'Post-Socialist' Heterotopias : Wael Salah Fahmi Hanoi's Sense of Place: Local Culture and Hyper-space/tradition 29 Sustaining urbanity through regeneration of commercial districts and typologies - Siam Square and Harajuku- a comparative study C19 30 : Davisi Boontharm The Making of Mint Street Park: Creating Identity through Historic Roots 31 : Annaliese Bischoff C30 Chandigarh turning global through a world class city mould 32 : Anil S. Thakur C31 Brussels: Multiculturalism in the European Capital : Koen De Wandeler Why growing of the informal settlements?- housing issues and its implications in the Capital City of Phnom Penh, Cambodia 34 : Din Sometherith World-class living? : Nuttinee Karnchanaporn and Apiradee Kasemsook

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World-class living?

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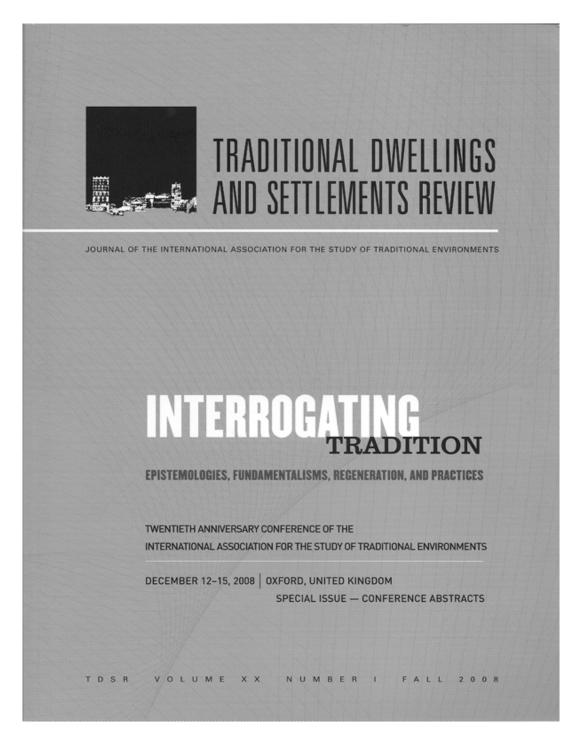
Encircling along the Bangkok inner and outer ring roads, one could feel the positive prospect of its urban growth. Billboards advertising grandiose urban living utopias are aplenty — an invitation to a living pleasure that does not yet exist. The billboards display houses and their prices in private housing estates which could fetch to one million USD, while the population average income is of less than 10,000 USD, ten-times lower than the house price.

This paper problematises the image of world-class living represented by billboard advertisement the ways in which it portrays the contrast of the ideal living condition and the local existence. It will first analyse how the billboard stimulating a more imaginary way of living. Then it will discuss the effect of social exclusion caused by the development of gated community - the key spatial pattern of urban growth. Hence, the development of transport infrastructure, particularly the mass transit, reserves exclusively for the rich rather than the public. The paper ends discussing the world class city is not simply made up of illusion of the luxury living, nor is the urban development-easily-turned-exclusive at the cost of the local.

Conference Topic: Cultural cities

Appendix 4

International Conference Proceedings





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The International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments (IASTE) was established at the First International Symposium on Traditional Dwellings and Settlements held at Berkeley in April 1988. IASTE is an interdisciplinary forum where scholars from various disciplines and countries can exchange ideas, discuss methods and approaches, and share findings. As opposed to disciplinary associations, IASTE is a nonprofit organization concerned with the comparative and cross-cultural understanding of traditional habitat as an expression of informal cultural conventions. IASTE's purpose is to serve as an umbrella association for all scholars studying vernacular, indigenous, popular and traditional environments. Current activities of IASTE include the organization of biennial conferences on selected themes in traditional-environments research, the publication of edited books on selected themes, a public outreach program which includes supporting films and documentaries, and the publication of the Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series, which includes all papers presented at IASTE conferences and accepted for publication.

Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review is the official publication of IASTE. As a semi-annual refereed journal, TDSR acts as a forum for the exchange of ideas and a means to disseminate information and report on research activities. All articles submitted to TDSR are evaluated through a blind peer-review process. TDSR has been funded by grants from the Graham Foundation, the Getty Publication Program, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Center for Environmental Design Research, and the office of the Provost at the University of California at Berkeley.

IASTE membership is open to all who are interested in traditional environments and their related studies. In addition to receiving the Association's semi-annual journal, members are eligible to attend the biennial conference at reduced rates. Subscription to the journal is available only with membership in IASTE. Domstic annual order rates are as follows: Individual, \$60; Institutional, \$120; Corporations, \$180. Foreign members add \$15 for mailing. Libraries, museums, and academic organizations qualify as institutions. Subscriptions are payable in u.s. dollars only (by check drawn on a u.s. bank, u.s. money order, or international bank draft). Send inquiries to:

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Editor's Note This special issue of Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review is dedicated to the 2008 IASTE Conference, to be held in Oxford, in the United Kingdom. Its purpose, as with all special TDSRconference issues, is to provide individual and institutional members who are unable to attend with detailed information about the conference's content. For those in attendance, the issue serves the additional purpose of providing a preliminary document for discussion, containing all abstracts of papers accepted for presentation. The theme of this eleventh TASTE meeting is "Interrogating Tradition." Participants will explore the role of tradition in modern global practices, where its meanings are inextricably bound with the issues it seeks to explain. As tradition is a keyword, the exercise of interrogation becomes essential to understanding the social and political contexts in which it is mobilized. The paradoxes of this global moment necessitate a recalibration of our operative epistemological frameworks in the study of traditional environments. Examining the intersecting discourses of tradition and the politics of its organization, moreover, become critical in identifying how socio-political identities and differences are pursued. We use the term "interrogate," then, to refer to the epistemic exercise of framing the rationalities of tradition in relation to their construction and their implications for practice. Such avenues of inquiry provide ways to examine how traditional knowledge is formulated and deployed in the political sphere, including the postconflict reconstruction of society and space, the use of tradition by the "state" as a means of co-optation or governance, or the manner in which fundamentalism is "framed" and used by different interest and social groups. Interrogation also allows for a reengagement with the ways in which tradition is mobilized and deployed in revival and regeneration practices as well as the critical pedagogies on such practices. This conference, co-sponsored by Oxford Brookes University, brings together more than 140 scholars and practitioners from the fields of architecture, architectural history, art history, anthropology, archaeology, folklore, geography, history, planning, sociology, urban studies, and related disciplines to present papers structured around three broad themes: "Epistemologies of Tradition"; "Fundamentalisms and Traditions"; and "Regeneration and the Practices of Tradition." We would like to thank our principal sponsors in Oxford, Oxford Brookes University, and particularly our Local Conference Director, Dr. Marcel Vellinga. I hope you will find the ideas explored in this issue intellectually challenging and stimulating. Nezar AlSayyad

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MYTHOLOGIES OF PLACEMAKING IN AMERICA: THE FICTIONS AND TRADITIONS OF THE NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE B. D. Wortham-Galvin

Mythmaking and place are intertwined with identity. America as a place, writ large, was created out of the ideas of America mapped onto its spatial territory. Thus those who work (popularly, socially, politically and aesthetically) to conceive an idea of America are also making the place.

The enduring origin myths of America involve not only the Revolutionary leaders but also constructed cultural landscapes. One of the most important of these is the idea of the New England village. The New England that is clung to at the start of the twenty-first century was carefully crafted (both as idea and reality) starting in the nineteenth century. This does not mean that the New England village is a false fiction; just that its inventions and realities are inextricably intertwined.

As a symbol of how to make place, the story of New England represents the story of the nation, with the former being smoothed over and whitewashed in order to relieve the tensions of the latter. This paper will address the process of constructing

America as a cultural landscape, as situated in the New England village from the eighteenth to the twenty-first centuries.

ALTERNATE MODE OF SPATIAL REPRESENTATION: POSTMODERN WEST MEETS PERSIANATE VISUAL CULTURE Frances Downing, Shima Baradaran Mohajeri, and Peter Lang

Although time and space have been core themes of architectural research, they have not, until recently, been treated within a cross-cultural perspective that could generate an alternative mode of conception and representation. However, as current concepts of time and space extend beyond their boundaries and fixed localities, they may encounter new territories that follow unfamiliar trajectories. This experience of displacement may in turn bring new possibilities for hybrid figurations of form and content in the space between cultures, places and histories. This approach to an alternative mode of thinking about time and space takes its cue from the nomadic way of thinking, which favors simultaneity and a state of placelessness.

The concepts of simultaneity and placelessness are posited as a challenge to the conventional Kantian implication of "succession" and "placeness," which embody a linear, homogeneous, absolute time and space that denotes an "extensive" or actual multiplicity. In contrast, the interrelated concepts of simultaneity and placelessness are based on what Bergson called an "intensive" state or duration, a form of nonlinear, heterogeneous, relative thinking. Deleuze has renamed such virtual multiplicity a "temporal adventure" of immanent spatiality and movement in multiplicity. And it is through such open pathways or trajectories that Deleuze has conceived space in relation to time. In the process of dislocation, a subject is able to map a "transition," a becoming in time and space that is referred to as neither time nor place, but only as "events."

This temporal-spatial model demands a cognitive map that is rhizomatic — that draws multiple connective lines between heterogeneous experiences. This map, consisting of multilayered perspectives and positions, best illustrates the process of transformation and displacement among different loci. The rhizomatic model also encompasses discontinuous temporalities in the form of a matrix. Thus, the nomadic consciousness, as a suspended being detached from fixed position, favors dwelling in-between, enmeshed in a network of interrelated trajectories.

On the basis of these ideas, this paper seeks to bridge between two broad realms of inquiry in regard to time and space: one is attributed to the "postmodern West," the other falls under the rubric of the "Persian East." The act of transition over the interstice between the two contexts gives rise to a significant and illuminating dialogue in parallel with what postmodern thinkers have called "transculturality." To sustain such relational thinking in the realm of the in-between requires cognitive tools as a means of communication. In particular, artistic practices along with philosophical musings may perpetuate this implicit development and retrace the transformation of spatio-temporal concepts in both domains.

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As the Western tradition of spatial-temporal thinking is relinquishing its linear, rationalistic, universalist framework, it is more likely that the transversal connections between the two fields — postmodern West and Persian East — will be able to foster an objective communicative language in the course of approaching an alternative model of time and space.

BANGKOK HOMELIFE: A STUDY OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE CONTEMPORARY THAI DOMESTIC INTERIOR

Nuttinee Karnchanaporn

The Thai word baan, "home," embodies a complex interplay of personal subjectivity and cultural ideal. Given its huge significance in Thai culture, it is surprising comparatively little work has been done on its meaning. As in other cultures, home certainly cannot be defined by any of its functions. Its meaning, rather, appears indeterminate and saturated by cultural history. The domestic interior is no better understood.

Given this lack of empirical research on the meaning of home in Thai culture, the paper first analyzes the concept of dwelling by dealing with a "semantic field" within which are grouped a number of terms. In English, these might be translated as signifying house, home, dwelling, inhabiting, residence, and compound. From the semantic analysis, the paper then unfolds the idea of home as a realm cultivated by its architecture, its interior, and life in that place.

Since the domestic interior (the inside of a house) first emerged as an area of study in the context of modernized (Westernized) domesticity, academic interest has emphasized how such interiors have been decorated and what they represent. What has been missing is the study of the relation between ideal domestic interiors and actual living conditions. This is the main area of investigation in this paper.

The paper presents photographic evidence from the author's research documenting differences between the lived domestic interiors and ideal ones. They illustrate physical outlook, orientation, how people use interior space, and how such spaces are an important aspect of home life. When Thais say that "home is cultivated" rather than built, they acknowledge an interweaving of cultural ideology, personal identity, and lived relationship. From this perspective, the paper argues that although the modern era ended the physical apparatus of the traditional Thai house, traditional ideology continues to be inscribed in the Thai mentality through language and other articulations.

In other words, although baan is no longer a space of traditionality, tradition helps maintain the idea of it. Thus the traditional quality of domestic interiors is problematic when what we look for is actual living conditions. Nevertheless, we can still study the traditional aspects of how home is made and represented. The research findings, on the one hand, reveal original resources and insights into contemporary home lives in Bangkok. It reflects not only the home life experiences of 40 individuals, but also the diversity of domestic interior as it is lived. On the other hand, the

complexity the research reveals is overwhelming, leaving many issues concerning Thai domesticity unresolved.

QUESTIONING THE TRADITION OF SPACES AND TRADITIONAL SPACES IN CYPRIOT SETTLEMENTS: THE CASE OF LAPTA, NORTH CYPRUS

Halide Orcunoglu and Hifsiye Pulhan

This paper deals with the architectural and settlement characteristics of Lapta (Lapithos) village on the island of Cyprus. It interrogates how the traditions of the settlement are reengaged and deployed in the making of spaces.

Lapta is a distinctive traditional village whose Mediterranean settlement and building characteristics are conjoined with attributes of Ottoman, British, Venetian, Byzantine, Roman and other civilizations which have existed on the island through the centuries. The settlement also carries characteristics of its geographic and climatic condition: it is located on different levels in a mountainous area with a view of the Mediterranean Sea. Because of rich water sources and springs, the settlement also is enriched with peculiar examples of Ottoman water architecture.

Rich cultural accumulation and beliefs systems in the settlement are expressed through religious buildings such as Ottoman mosques and Byzantine Orthodox churches. And, being an important district center. Lapta was densely settled during the British colonial era. Several houses expressing the architectural synthesis of colonial and Cypriot attributes dominate its settlement fabric. In general, the traditional stone houses of Lapta, which are usually entered on different levels, are distinguished by arched or colonnaded entrances, timber roofs, enclosed courtyards, and projecting balconies that overlook a pattern of organic streets and squares. These are the expressions of accumulated cultural and historical layers that communicate the unique traditional architecture of Lapta.

Today, however, the traditional fabric of the village has come under threat of demolition as it has become attractive to developers. The cohesive traditional tissue of the settlement is being destroyed and replaced with contemporary buildings as part of rapid and extensive construction activities along the northern coast of the island.

Although most of the new developments in the village ignore the essential requirements of architecture and social identity in a Cypriot village, there are rare examples which continue local traditions through contemporary interpretations according to current socioeconomic and political circumstances. These have struggled with contemporary dynamics to adapt themselves to changing needs according to the continuity of traditions. This paper focuses on such traditional houses which achieve cooperation with the cultural imaginary and the material reality of the settlement by considering the historical values and the political economies on the island. They are owned, adapted and sustained with the self-imagination and material interpretations of their users.

The new, established system of knowledge, which considers the reuse of the traditional buildings, inevitably influences the build-