



Condominium development and gentrification in Bangkok, Thailand: a study of housing pathways

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Condominium development and gentrification in Bangkok, Thailand: a study of housing pathways

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield Hallam University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Abstract

This thesis explores the use of a housing pathways framework to understand how households impacted by mass transit-induced gentrification and displacement in a neighbourhood in Bangkok navigate the field of housing and experience neighbourhood change. It focuses on the experiences of both gentrifiers and long-term residents of a neighbourhood, including those displaced. The housing pathways approach is framed around a combination of the theory of the habitus as interpreted by Bourdieu and phenomenological philosophy.

Findings are based on a case study area of neighbourhoods close to a recent mass transit line extension, where two new stations were built. The study consisted of in-depth interviews with households living in the condominiums, in the neighbourhood, and in cases outside of the neighbourhood if they had been displaced from the area. There were also in-depth interviews with individuals from estate agencies, development companies, the Bangkok planning department, and the national low-cost housing provider.

The research contributes to knowledge by adding to the literature on housing pathways. This is achieved through employing the concepts of the structural and biographical habitus and using vignettes to bridge these two approaches. It also contributes to knowledge by adding to the literature on gentrification, finding that although contextual factors must be considered, the theories developed in the West can provide significant insights when applied to neighbourhood change in Bangkok.

The first key finding is that housing pathways have been shown to be complex in nature, influenced by traditional values but intertwined with emerging cultural shifts within contemporary Thai society. Another key finding of this study is that gentrification is intrinsically linked to aspects of mobility and proximity, similar in nature to the gentrification in the West seen by those as driven by practical considerations. Like in the West, it has also been found that social mixing between the new and old populations is limited and that displaced households and those in insecure tenurial positions suffered significantly in dealing with gentrification and attempting to resettle if they had been forced to move.

Candidates Statement

The work set out in this thesis is authored by the candidate and has been undertaken in accordance with the procedures set out by Sheffield Hallam University. Where material has been drawn from other published work this is clearly indicated by references within the text. Any errors or omissions remain the candidate's own.

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Glossary of Terms

Thai words or phrases in their English transliteration that appear commonly in the text.

Hi-so	A very common word taken from the English phrase high-society, used to describe someone who comes from a wealthy family
Isaan	The provinces situated in Northeast Thailand. It is known as quite a poor area, with an abundance of agriculture. It has strong cultural connections to Laos and Cambodia, which are on its border
Moo baan	A gated housing community, complete with security guards and possibly facilities
Radap	A person's social position, literally their 'level'
Seng	Similar to a lease, a long-term rental contract on a property with security of tenure, usually for a minimum of three years
Soi	Small side street
Suan	Area of greenery, such as a garden or park

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The overarching aim of this research is to explore the experiences of households undergoing gentrification in the city of Bangkok as a result of the introduction of a light rail mass transit system. It seeks to add to the literature on gentrification by undertaking in-depth qualitative interviews to better understand who the households are that are moving to live in condominiums close to transit stations and their motivations for relocating. It also seeks to understand the experiences of the long-term residents in the local neighbourhoods around transit stations who are either living through such change or have been through, or feel threatened with, displacement. In the West, the association between the development of new properties and displacement has been termed new-build gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2005), falling under the umbrella of contemporary gentrification, which has been seen, in its broadest sense, as the creation of space for the progressively more affluent user (Hackworth, 2002). The gentrification in this thesis refers specifically to development around transit, which those such as Cervero, Ferrell, and Murphy (2002) have termed transit-oriented development. In this case it is characterised by a proliferation of condominiums built specifically to take advantage of their close proximity to mass transit, which has resulted in significant landscape change and the displacement of communities who had lived for many years in the area (Moore, 2015). Displacement, as noted by Davidson (2007) in his reference to new-build gentrification in the West, can be defined as direct and indirect (Atkinson, 2000; Davidson, 2008). The former refers to households forced from their home, examples of this being when it occurs through forced evictions, landlord harassment and rent increases. Indirect displacement, also termed exclusionary displacement (Marcuse, 1986), broadly refers to the way in which households find it increasingly difficult to either remain or move to a particular neighbourhood because of the way the area has become a property ‘hot spot’ (Davidson, 2008), resulting in deteriorating housing affordability through rising prices and rents, or changes in the types of property available.

The research uses a case study approach, focusing on several small neighbourhoods around two mass transit stations that were opened on an extension line just on the periphery of the city centre around 2011. This area has witnessed the building of a large number of condominiums, principally along or very close to the main thoroughfare that traverses this district and upon which the new transit line also runs. This is traditionally a working-class district of shop houses where the population carries out their trades. Shop houses are rows of attached houses, two or three stories high, with a shop on the ground floor for mercantile activity and a residence above the shop. Rather than being on the main road, the communities of housing are built in *sois*, which is the term used in Thailand for the many small side-streets branching off major streets. The building of

condominiums has resulted in a large influx of new wealthier residents to the area and also resulted in pockets of displacement, in cases on a relatively large scale. The approach to data collection was predominantly qualitative in nature.

Gentrification, often connected to transit, is a topical and important subject for research as the Thai media has expressed raising concerns about how it is impacting on relationships between differing socioeconomic groups and on poorer households (Bunruecha, 2017; Janssen, 2018; Nualkhair, 2017). In addition, in cities around the world transit-oriented development is being promoted and people encouraged to live there as a way to encourage the use of public transport rather than the motor car and in doing this to combat environmental problems (Cervero, 2013; Rerat and Lees, 2011). Thus understanding the potential implications of this for households involved is critical. This research in Bangkok is therefore crucial for two reasons. Firstly, from a practical perspective, any findings could potentially feed into future policy decisions or plans with regard to transit development and the alleviation of the potential difficulties arising for lower-income households. Secondly, from a theoretical perspective, it can add to the literature on gentrification in the Global East.

1.2 The Research Questions

The broad research aim was to explore the experiences of households undergoing gentrification in the city of Bangkok as a result of the introduction of a light rail mass transit system. By drawing on the themes from the literature and the gaps in knowledge identified, this can be broken down into the following more specific questions that this research hopes to answer:

1. To what extent can Western theorising on gentrification be useful for understanding changing patterns of housing provision and housing demand around mass transit stations in Bangkok?
2. Who are the gentrifiers and what is motivating them to move to condominiums in the city?
3. What are the experiences of displaced households and those remaining in the local neighbourhood whilst gentrification advances?
4. To what extent are changes to the social composition and built environment in the neighbourhoods leading to social mixing of the new and old communities?
5. What are the relative methodological benefits and limitations of a housing pathways framework in studying the social and cultural conditions of Bangkok?

1.3 Contributions to Knowledge

The research has made a contribution to knowledge in a number of key areas. Specifically, these are adding to the literature on housing pathways, adding to the understanding of gentrification and displacement in relation to the context of Bangkok, understanding how this has impacted on social mixing in the case study area, and understanding the complex ways in which long-term local residents are experiencing neighbourhood change and displacement.

The first way that this research has contributed to knowledge is by adding to the literature on housing pathways through employing an approach structured around the theory of the habitus as understood by Bourdieu and phenomenological philosophy, and using vignettes as an epistemological device to bridge these two approaches. A vignette is an illustrative story or example, which can be used to clarify a particular point or perspective regarding the data from a study (Grbich, 2013). Housing pathways is a biographical approach based on social constructionism, which seeks to track household's movements through housing over time and space and to draw out the variegated ways in which housing is experienced (Clapham, 2005). But it is through the habitus that this diversity and the ambiguities in people's everyday experiences can be drawn out. For Bourdieu, the habitus is structural in nature as it derives from the impact of society on the individual and is embedded within one's socio-economic situation. An individual's dispositions tend to be durable over time and space and are produced through their past experiences, or their histories, predominately in relation to one's schooling and family upbringing in early childhood. Those with similar upbringings or histories are likely to have similar dispositions or habits.

In contrast to this, the phenomenological habitus is biographical in nature as it is embedded within the world of everyday life. It is an understanding of the world that takes account of the diversity of embodied individual life experiences and allows for the possibility of conscious thinking, reflection, and the modification or changing of routines and habits. The two positions, though, arise from differing social realities, which are not easily reconciled, but this research seeks to demonstrate the potential of vignettes as an epistemological device to bridge the different approaches. This framework that has been employed in this study is original as Clapham's (2005) housing pathways approach has been used in a variety of research contexts in Europe, but as yet has not been used outside of Western countries. An interpretation of the framework through the theories of Bourdieu is not new as it has been used to study gentrification in the West (Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2015). However, there have been no other housing pathways studies to-date utilising Bourdieu and the study by Hochstenbach and Boterman (2015) did not examine the experiences of displacement

or employ a theoretical approach that could do this. In addition to this, the use of vignettes in this way is an original methodological contribution as they have not been used in previous gentrification research. Its application to Bangkok and Southeast Asia is thus original.

The second contribution is that the research has added to the understanding of displacement and neighbourhood change by examining gentrification in Bangkok and assessing the usefulness of the traditional theories from the Anglo-American literature to understand what is occurring in Thailand. Prominent gentrification scholars have recently stressed the need for a ‘geography of gentrification’ with a focus on regions outside of the West and the need to make comparisons of findings with current theory in order to de-centre the Anglo-American narratives that dominate the literature (Lees, 2012; Lees, Shin and Lopez-Moralez, 2016). Progress has begun in this respect, with recent papers discussing several cities in what has been termed the Global East (Shin, Lees and Lopez-Morales, 2016), namely Manila, Hanoi, Seoul, Hong Kong, and Taipei, yet to-date there has been little academic research into gentrification in Bangkok. Recent research (Moore, 2015) has found new-build gentrification to be occurring and the displacement of local households, and thus further research needs to examine the extent to which theories of the West can explain the processes occurring.

The third way the research has contributed to knowledge is by uncovering the ways in which gentrification is related to social mixing in this context. Social mixing in relation to gentrification has tended to focus on the extent to which a newly gentrifying population mix and interact with the incumbent population. This is a phenomenon that has stood at the forefront of discussions around the impacts of gentrification over recent years (Davidson, 2010; Lees, 2008). Yet little research has focused on this in relation to large new-build complexes, and in addition little attention has been focused on this issue in the Global East. An exception in relation to the former is Davidson (2010) who studied social mixing in relation to new-build gentrification; however, this was in relation to policy-led gentrification in the pursuit of urban renewal rather than development driven solely through market processes. Indications from recent research on levels of neighbourhood attachment and social mixing in this case study area (Moore, 2015) suggest that there is limited emotional attachment to the neighbourhood by the new households and little evidence of the mixing of the two populations. This study, though, only scratched the surface of this phenomenon, and further research was needed to investigate the differing subjectivities of the new and old populations in order to better understand why this may be occurring and how it is perceived by the households themselves. This research has therefore contributed to knowledge around aspects of social mixing and gentrification in the context of the Global East, which is at present absent from the literature.

The fourth way it contributed to knowledge is by understanding the complex ways in which long-term local residents are experiencing neighbourhood change and displacement through a housing pathways framework combined with the concepts of spatial capital and ontological security. Scholars have recently emphasised the lack of knowledge into the ways in which displacement or simply remaining in a gentrifying neighbourhood is experienced (Davidson, 2009; Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008; Paton, 2014; Slater, 2004, 2006) and criticised the focus of research into gentrifiers and their habitus at the expense of seeking to understand the experiences of the working classes (Slater, 2004). Though this gap has started to be addressed through qualitative research (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson and Lees, 2010; Paton, 2014; Shaw and Hageman, 2015), the focus has been on households remaining in the neighbourhood and there remain few studies that have interviewed those who have been displaced. In addition, the concept of spatial capital has been used to understand the gentrifiers and their mobility practices (Rerat and Lees, 2011), yet there has been no exploration of the inequalities of spatial capital in relation to poorer households. In this study, the in-depth interviews have revealed how the loss or the threat of the loss of spatial capital impacts upon local residents and how this is related to ontological security in its relation to the home.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The overall structure of the thesis is as follows. The thesis starts by exploring specifically the theories of gentrification in relation to the West, the Global East and Thailand. It continues with the presentation of the underlying research philosophies and theoretical interpretations of that context and the theoretical framework that will be employed. Following this, the research methods that were employed are discussed. An analysis is then presented before the conclusions are drawn.

Chapter Two: ‘Gentrification in the West and Global East’ presents key themes related to the ways in which gentrification has been understood in the West and Global East. This chapter begins to set the context for research questions 1 to 4, as in terms of the West, the key theoretical debates around the causes and impacts of gentrification are central to understanding the approaches to research that previous scholars have chosen and thus crucial for beginning to make any meaningful comparisons of gentrification between the West and Thailand. Specifically, the theories of production and consumption are discussed, as are aspects of displacement, social mixing, and mass transit. In particular, this discussion draws out the relevance of the development and production process in gentrification, but emphasises the need to foreground the cultural aspects of demand and the impacts of this on inequality. This is then followed by an examination of research from the countries in the Global East. Given that Thailand is a part of this region, an analysis of gentrification in relation to cities in the region can start to draw out the ways in which this particular

context may have cultural, demographic, or social aspects relevant to its application and thus highlight issues that may be of relevance to Bangkok.

Chapter Three: ‘Gentrification in Thailand’ explores themes in the current literature on Thailand that are relevant to research on gentrification in Bangkok and sets research questions 1 to 4 in the context of Bangkok. Given the importance of inequality to gentrification, the chapter first discusses the central ways in which inequality has been understood in Thailand, which is through not just class but also status. The next two sections consider how Western theories on gentrification have been interpreted in past decades in Bangkok, before considering how they need to be reinterpreted in light of the introduction of mass transit and other social, demographic, and cultural changes that have occurred in the country. The themes drawn out of Chapter Two around the impacts on social mixing and displacement are then explored.

Chapter Four: ‘Analytical Framework’ introduces the theoretical and analytical framework used to understand the research findings, which sets the context for answering research question 5 in relation to housing pathways. The chapter discusses the housing pathways framework employed in this study, which focuses on housing moves over time and space (Clapham, 2005) and is built around the theories of the habitus as understood by Bourdieu (1977; 1984) and phenomenological philosophers such as Schutz, Merleau-Ponty, and Husserl. The relevance of the housing pathways approach to gentrification is first discussed, followed by a discussion of how the structural habitus as understood by Bourdieu can be enriched through combining it with the biographical habitus as understood in phenomenological philosophy.

Chapter Five: ‘Case Study Area’ presents the case study area. It details its location, the common housing types in the locale, the socio-economic roots of the original households, the common trades of the area, and the ways in which it has changed due to the building of condominiums and the influx of middle-class residents. It draws on secondary data to map out the location of condominiums in the area but also provides brief excerpts of interviews with some residents, developers, and real estate agents to illustrate the way in which the area appears to be evolving.

Chapter Six: ‘Methods’ presents operational methods and associated issues connected to the research approach and analysis of the findings. Specifically it sets out the details and logic behind the case study, the interviews, and the analysis, as well as detailing the profiles of the research participants and justifying the use of vignettes. Consideration is also given to ethical matters.

Chapter Seven and Eight: ‘Condominium Pathways’ and ‘Neighbourhood Pathways’ provide the answers to research questions 1 to 5 through the use of vignettes based on interviews with

households. Chapter Seven details the housing pathways of the condominium and the local neighbourhood residents. Linking the vignettes back to the Western literature and consumption-side theories, the pathways of the condominiums residents are a 'back to the city' movement in many cases, but can broadly be seen as utilitarian in nature. This is because they are based mainly around the desire to reduce commuting and gain spatial capital rather than being driven by a desire for distinction or based around the place-based strategies of a new middle class seeking to differentiate themselves from the banality of the suburbs. The move to condominiums can also be viewed as a part of the lifecycle as it fits a certain stage in life for different generations. But it can also be viewed as a form of 'emancipatory practice', as in various ways it provides an escape from some form of restriction, be this in the liberty of the time gained by avoiding a commute or the freedom negotiated by young women to escape over-protective parents through independent living.

Chapter Eight: 'Neighbourhood Pathways' presents the vignettes of the neighbourhood residents. These explore the plurality of experiences of those in the neighbourhood, whose vignettes can be seen encapsulated through stories of loss, struggle, coping, and adapting. The concept of spatial capital is again drawn upon, but so too is ontological security in order to understand the way in which households experience changes to their housing situation. Also, the importance of status is seen in the way that households make sense of the changing neighbourhood and their relationship to it.

Chapter Nine: 'Conclusions' presents the conclusions, which outline the contributions to knowledge that have arisen from the study, important issues to be considered in the future, and the limitations of the study coupled with a future research agenda.

1.5 Positionality

The origins of this work lie in the desire to build on previous work I undertook in this field (Moore, 2015), which revealed that new-build gentrification is occurring in the city due to transit. Its origins also lie in the recent calls by prominent gentrification scholars (Lees, Shin and Lopez-morales, 2016) to add to a geography of gentrification by better understanding the processes of gentrification in settings outside of what they have termed the Global North and to make comparisons between the Global North and gentrification in other contexts. I became interested in this subject as I studied gentrification for my Master's thesis and became gradually aware of processes of gentrification occurring due to transit in Bangkok from living and working in the city and the suburbs.

I lived in Bangkok working as a lecturer for eight years before I commenced work on this thesis, and though not fluent in the language, I had the knowledge to partake in basic conversations. These

factors have provided me with invaluable insights and understandings of Thai culture that will have fed into this work, and without which would have made it a very different undertaking. However, despite the advantage this has given me in seeking to understand the nature of Thai behaviour in relation to my findings, I have at the same time sought to detach myself from any assumptions I may have developed in order that I can produce objective research. From my day-to-day living in the country over the years I have reflected on and re-evaluated my own inherent biases as they have revealed themselves, which has helped in the context of this research and interpretation of the data. My awareness and knowledge has also been enhanced through my reading of Thai research. For example the ethnographic research of Askew (2002) and De Wandeler (2002), two fluent Thai speakers of the Thai language who have lived in the country many years, provide in-depth analyses of Thai culture and references to the Thai language and its nuances throughout their writing.

Nevertheless, hoping to produce one account of one true reality is not the purpose of this research. Searle (2004) describes Lincoln and Guba's (1985) philosophical position upon which they base their measures of quality of research as lying 'half-way between realism and idealism' (p. 79). Lincoln and Guba's (1985) position concurs with mine, in which I recognise the existence of a social world that exists independent of the researcher's mind, but recognise that it is impossible to know this world in any final way. I reflect this in the choice of analytical framework employed to undertake the research, which is constructed around a combination of structural and phenomenological approaches, the latter of which avoids any suggestion of one definitive view of reality. The study presented is thus open-ended and negotiable and is not expected to be accepted as a final proof or account of the phenomenon in question.

2 Gentrification in the West and Global East

2.1 Introduction

The term gentrification was first coined in relation to working-class neighbourhoods in London (Glass, 1964) and research over the following decades focused on the West. More recently, however, researchers have sought to assess its applicability to non-Western settings (Lees, Shin, and López-Morales, 2016). A key research aim of this thesis is to assess the extent to which Western theorising on gentrification is useful for understanding current urban change around mass transit stations in Bangkok, and thus this first chapter examines the causes and impacts of gentrification in relation to the West and the Global East. It firstly discusses the key debates and theories surrounding gentrification in the West to assess what has been learned from these. These are essentially based around the factors integral in causing gentrification, which are structural-Marxist, neo-classical economic, and consumer-led approaches. It then considers what have been seen to be the key impacts of this on neighbourhoods, namely displacement and social mix. The chapter then considers how gentrification needs to be understood globally, before discussing how Western theories have been drawn upon to explain gentrification in the Global East and what can be learned from this.

2.2 Learning from the West

2.2.1 *Structural-Marxist and Neo-Classical Explanations of Gentrification*

In seeking to explain gentrification, Smith (1979) focused on the role of private capital and the state, and encapsulated the causes of gentrification in his theory of the ‘rent gap’. Depopulation of the inner city had taken place during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s due to suburbanisation and the movement of manufacturing to the periphery. The areas that had been abandoned declined to a point where they again became profitable, resulting in a rent gap, the return of capital, and thus gentrification. Smith’s (1982, p.139) approach can be seen as structural in nature as he viewed gentrification as “rooted in the structure of the capitalist mode of production” and a key element in wider processes of uneven development and restructuring of urban space. More recently, contemporary gentrification, also termed ‘third-wave gentrification’, has been seen as a phase of gentrification driven by the economic boom of the 1990s and shifts in the housing finance industry (Hackworth and Smith, 2001). A particular characteristic of contemporary gentrification is that it has become linked in with global systems of finance and real estate, and the role of the state is critical in driving the process, with governments acting as enablers to encourage developers and private finance to inner-city areas to expand and modernize retail, leisure facilities and city centre housing. In a similar vein but specifically in relation to new-build gentrification in London,

Davidson (2010 p. 493) described it as “a capital-led colonisation of urban space”, spearheaded by developers, architects and real-estate agents. Davidson and Lees (2005) also emphasised the strong role of the state as New Labour, in its drive to rejuvenate inner-cities, was working alongside developers to facilitate this gentrification.

But some have drawn on neo-classical models of urban land markets rather than sociological explanations to show how gentrification can occur. These theories have provided significant insights into the movement of people and the impacts of transit on housing markets. The models can be traced back to the Chicago School which viewed the suburbanisation of the middle classes and wealthy households as the drivers behind suburban expansion and the changes to metropolitan housing markets. Based on the original models of Alonso (1964) and Muth (1969), the argument is that people are willing to pay a certain amount of money for land, dependent on the land's location, with an assumption of the desire to be located close to the central business district (CBD) and that transportation costs increase as distance from the CBD increases. Thus, for land yielding equal utility, rents decrease with distance from the CBD as the bidding process, driven by the desire to maximise profits or utilities, pushes up the value of land and property which have the greatest access to central locations. Fejarang (1994) goes on to note that pressures for accommodation around central areas of a city can be reduced to an extent by investment in transport infrastructure, which increases the attractiveness of these areas as a result of improved accessibility. With regard to city mass transit systems, station areas become attractive due to their transportation time and cost savings, thus land and property values will be expected to increase with proximity to station areas and decrease with distance. This capitalisation is also likely to encourage high-density, transit-oriented development (Knapp, Din, and Hopkins, 2001). In terms of gentrification, referring to the US in the mid-1900s, LeRoy and Sonstelie (1983) explained how city suburbs lost their economic attraction because as cars became cheaper and more available to all, congestion increased and less affluent households also moved there, resulting in more competition for land. Thus the more affluent chose to move back to town and commute by transit, resulting in gentrification in these locations. Lin (2002), Khan (2007), and Feinstein and Allen (2011) came to similar conclusions with regard to a relationship between transit and gentrification.

However, these structural-Marxist and neo-classical approaches can be criticised on a number of grounds. Scholars have generally now accepted the relevance of the rent gap as a precursor to gentrification in many cases (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008) and Smith's (1979; 1982) approach has merits given its highly political and critical account of gentrification, yet it pays little attention to the actions or motivations of households and in particular reveals little about the lived experiences of those households Smith felt were impacted in the most negative way by the structural changes,

the working classes. Such politico-economic approaches look at the process on a macro scale and examine collective social groups. Research methods have focused on establishing changing levels of capital investment in order to understand structural, large-scale changes. Neighbourhood class turnover is also examined which may be through census data, but this will not progress to speaking with individuals to understand their motivations and behaviour. Importantly, class inequality is at the core of such analyses of gentrification, but the nuances of how these injustices play out on a day-to-day basis at the individual level are rarely revealed.

In addition, neo-classical approaches suggest that there is an automatic link between accessibility and demand, yet this assumption fails to consider the potential complexities of this demand. These models have been criticised for focusing too heavily on humans as rational actors, with a lack of attention to issues of urban inequality and exploitation by those in power (Bourdieu, 2005; Harvey, 1974; Smith, 1979), which thus again leaves little said about the everyday impacts of such development for people living in neighbourhoods affected. There is also an assumption that there is a drive for profit maximisation by companies and consumers (Clapham, 2005) and a lack of attention to the value systems that saturate the decisions made by households who are moving (Bourdieu, 2005).

These approaches do have a part to play in understanding gentrification and, as gentrification scholars have noted recently, urban theory will not advance if it remains focused on seeking to prioritise one theoretical approach over another (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008). However, this study is in the main demand-side focused, and radically different from neo-classical approaches, as it seeks to consider the cultural aspects of demand and the impact on inequalities. In seeking to fully understand the way that patterns of housing demand in Bangkok are changing due to transit, it is critical that the role of consumers and their aspirations are considered in their entirety as well as the experiences of those who live in local communities who are adversely affected by transit-oriented development. Thus, while still recognising the importance of the development / production process in the background and examining the development process in outline in describing the transformation of the case study sites in the past ten years, the study foregrounds housing demand and the impact of gentrification.

2.2.2 Consumer-led Approaches to Explaining Gentrification

As Davidson (2007) notes, the role of the private sector and the state in gentrification does not mean that these operate in isolation from gentrifiers, who act as “active agents...in the process; performing as discriminating consumers, market demand shapers and neighbourhood participants” (Davidson, 2007, p.491). It is with this in mind that a number of theories can be drawn upon from

the Western literature in relation to the differing ways in which households have been integral to processes of gentrification.

David Ley (1980, 1986, 1996) claimed that to understand gentrification it is necessary to look at how the economy and society is changing. Shifts from a manufacturing to a service-producing economy, which had taken place in the 1970s and 1980s, had created a new class of white-collar workers, especially in the technological, professional, managerial and administrative occupations, who demanded inner-city housing and rejected the blandness of suburban living. It was thus seen as a back to the city movement. Ley (1996) saw gentrification as tied in with reform-era politics, occurring in Canada at the same time as student protests took place in the late 1960s against over-regulated and repressively controlled societies, and central cities became places of counter-cultural awareness, diversity, tolerance and liberation. Based around liberal humanist ideology and choice of the individual, it was argued that this group of upwardly mobile single or childless couples had distinctive consumption patterns and constituted a new middle class (Butler and Robson, 2003; Caulfield, 1994; Ley, 1996). It is conspicuous with the purchase of commodities such as sports equipment, stereos and holidays and can also be seen outside of the home in the form of trips to restaurants and bars. Links were made by consumption theorists to the lifecycle, as the gentrifiers were predominantly seen to be young adults who had yet to have children (Hamnett, 1984).

These theories around consumption led to a wealth of research around the practices of gentrifiers, with a large body of these drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1984). Like Smith (1979; 1982), Bourdieu (1984) was influenced by Marx and the importance of broader social structures as capital was seen to form the basis of social life and dictate one's position within the social hierarchy. Yet unlike Smith, Bourdieu (1984) extended his ideas beyond the economic into the cultural realm, emphasising agency and the way that people are not just constrained by social structures but also influence them through their practices. There is thus a dialectic relationship between structure and agency. He encompassed this in the concept of the *habitus*, a key element of which was cultural capital, which refers to such things as the dispositions, skills and credentials that one acquires through one's particular upbringing and education. Sharing similar forms of cultural capital with others leads to a sense of collective identity and group position.

These ideas were firstly drawn on by gentrification researchers who viewed the practice of gentrification as a way to achieve distinction from the working class and old middle class (see for example Bridge, 2001; Butler and Robson, 2003). Those such as Butler (2007), Butler and Robson (2001; 2003) and Paton (2014) also drew on Bourdieu (1984) to place the connection between place of residence and social identity at the centre of their analyses, exploring class as a socio-spatial relationship. The work of Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst (2004) is relevant to these approaches, as

gentrification has been seen as a form of ‘elective belonging’ (Butler, 2007), a term coined by Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst (2004). The notion is that incoming middle-class groups to a neighbourhood have the economic and social resources to consciously choose where they live and choose their identities. Thus for these researchers, places are seen as sites where identities are constructed and performed, with personal biographies attached to a chosen location, and places seen to be representative of social collectivity, shared identities and belonging. In this sense, parallels can thus be made with the work of Saunders (1984), Giddens (1984, 1991) and Depuis and Thorns (1998), who argued that the home fosters a sense of control over one’s environment and a solution to the problems of ontological security (Paton, 2014).

However, rather than focusing on the logic of distinction or identity construction, other lines of argument have sought to explain gentrification in relation to its practical and utilitarian benefits in terms of convenience, logic, and proximity (Beauregard 1986; Bondi, 1999; Butler and Hamnett, 1994; Rose, 1984; Warde, 1991). Viewing the concept of gentrification as ‘chaotic’ rather than representative of a group of people with shared identities, Rose (1984) emphasised the role of ‘marginal gentrifiers’, characterised by those on the margins of mainstream gentrification in precarious or temporary employment. This also brought gender to the fore in the debates over gentrification, as central to this faction is women, whose growing role in the labour force meant that inner cities provided more practical environments in terms of establishing equitable divisions of labour and options for support. Warde (1991) suggested that the common driving force behind gentrification may be the strategies of career-oriented women, either in the form of sweat equity by lone women, or the more traditional affluent, dual-career households (usually childless) involved in commercial forms of gentrification. Again, Warde (1991) did not see any unifying class identity, rather perceiving it as fragmentary. More recently, Butler and Robson (2003), based on a study of several neighbourhoods in London, viewed gentrification as a coping strategy for a post-industrial workforce experiencing high-intensity jobs and long working hours.

Also viewing it as chaotic, Beauregard (1986) saw it as important to link biological reproduction to consumption practices, explaining how the postponement of marriage meant that people wished to cluster around consumption activities to meet other people, with these social opportunities more widely available in the city than suburbs. Some have specifically tied in issues of biological reproduction and gentrification to commuting. Seeking to address the gap in the literature as regards gentrifiers with children, Karsten (2003) found that a desire to avoid a difficult commute was a high priority for gentrifiers moving to inner-city neighbourhoods in Amsterdam as it provided the opportunity to combine the demands of caring for children, building a career, and maintaining social contacts and cultural pursuits. Similarly, Warde (1991) argued that a key motivation for gentrification was to reduce the costs of commuting for dual earner households with children,

alongside easing childcare arrangements and options. Brun and Fagani (1994) also found the reduction of travel time for gentrifying households to be a key priority.

New-build gentrification has also tended to lack any significant association with a desire for distinction. Gentrifiers have generally been categorised as young, highly educated households in professional occupations, who can afford to pay for relatively expensive apartment buildings and are, like the arguments around practicality, seeking out the convenience of city living (Davidson, 2010; Davidson and Lees, 2005; Rérat and Lees, 2011) rather than being viewed as a cohesive faction of the middle classes pursuing place-based practices to constitute and reproduce their class position (Bridge, 2001; Butler and Robson, 2003). But Davidson (2018, p. 258) has noted that not enough is known about this type of gentrification, going so far as to state that: “the relationship between new-build gentrification and gentrifiers remains one of the most under-examined parts of the process”. Other studies have pointed to the fact that more research is crucial. For instance, work by Kern (2010) into the proliferation of condominiums in Toronto, suggests that gender is important and could be related to aspects of emancipation and the demand of this kind of accommodation. Kern (2010) argued that it is through the commodification of fear and safety in the city and women’s sexuality and freedom that neoliberal processes of privatisation, capital accumulation, and securitisation evident in the condominium projects have spread. Security features promoted through marketing were found to be important in women’s daily lives, and Kern (2010) thus argues that women’s emancipation has been positioned as a benefit of revitalisation through the creation of a sense of safety synonymous with the exclusive and private nature of this built form.

2.2.3 Neighbourhood Impacts

Studies assessing the impacts of gentrification and the extent to which it is a negative or positive process have varied, depending not just on political leanings and theoretical perspective but also whether it is being seen in relation to the gentrifiers or long-term local residents (Atkinson, 2004). The studies focusing on the benefits to gentrifiers have tended to view the city as emancipatory (Lees, 2000), drawing on the ideas first epitomised by Caulfield (1994), who, in contrast to the suburbs, viewed the inner-city as a liberating space, where the middle-classes find tolerance, challenge hegemonic cultures and create new conditions for social practices. In this sense then, gentrification is a middle-class reaction to the repressiveness of suburban life (Slater, 2004). But some focusing on low income-residents have still argued that gentrification has overall benefits, as neighbourhood revitalisation leads to more choices of amenities, employment opportunities, and diversity (Byrne, 2002; Freeman, 2011; Vigdor, Massey, and Rivlin, 2002). A more dystopian view is put forward by Smith (1996; 2002), for whom gentrification in terms of the middle classes was a reaction to the working-class and revanchist in nature (Smith, 1996) as it represents revenge on the

poor for taking it away from the middle classes. The central city is thus seen as a combat zone, where capital is embodied in middle class attempts to reclaim, sometimes violently, this space. Generally speaking, though, the majority of scholars have found gentrification to be a negative process (Atkinson, 2004). The main impact that has been at the core of this is that of the displacement of the lower classes, but more recently within the context of contemporary gentrification, there has also been a focus on the association of gentrification to aspects of social mixing.

2.2.4 *Displacement*

The focus on the locational choices and settlement practices of the middle-classes seen in the studies by consumption theorists that have drawn on Bourdieu (1984) have been criticised for paying little attention to the actual ramifications and experiences of change in terms of the long-term residents living in the gentrified areas (Slater 2006; 2008). Slater (2006; 2008) has been particularly critical of this line of research for lacking a critical edge, arguing that focusing on the characteristics and behaviours of the gentrifiers rather than those displaced or experiencing displacement treats gentrification "...as something far removed from the disruptive process it was designed to capture" (Slater, 2008, p. 217). Or as Watt (2008, p. 207) argues: "Working-class displacement has been largely 'displaced' by an overriding concern with understanding and explaining the habitus, in Bourdieu's terms, of the gentrifiers". However, in any event, displacement does remain contested in some contexts. Using quantitative data sets assessing displacement based on the actual physical movement of households in and out of neighbourhoods, it has variously been argued that displacement has either been exaggerated or does not occur (Freeman, 2005; Freeman and Braconi, 2004; Vigdor, Massey, and Rivlin, 2002).

Others, though, have either disputed this or sought to understand displacement in different ways. For instance, Newman and Wyly (2006) studied the same neighbourhoods and data sets as Freeman and Braconi (2004) but disputed their figures showing a lack of out-out-migration as some people were not moving as they were trapped due to limited alternative accommodation in a tightening housing market. Also, they argued their figures may substantially underestimate displacement due to the omissions from the data set, such as those households leaving the city, doubling up or entering shelters, a finding backed up by interviews with community leaders and residents. Echoing Newman and Wyly (2006), Slater (2006), recognising the part methodological difficulties play in measuring displacement, stresses the need not just to focus on *counting* how many people have been displaced, but, as in Newman and Wyly's study, talking to people about their *experiences* of displacement. This, he says, represents a significant gap in the current literature: "In a huge literature on gentrification, there are almost no qualitative accounts of displacement. Doing

something about this is vital if critical perspectives are to be reinstated” (Slater, 2006, p. 749). Crucial in achieving this, Slater (2006) continues, is to examine neighbourhoods that are gentrifying at the time as it is a process of change and needs to be observed as it is occurring rather than after the event.

This, however, has begun to be addressed and central in taking this debate forward and seeking to reassess the way in which displacement is understood is Davidson (2008; 2009) who has questioned the way that space is conceptualised in the literature. He claims that the contemporary debate lacks a phenomenological reading of space, and, like Slater (2004) claims, is instead overly identified with the physical out-migration of people, or the purely spatial process, which is not how ‘displacement’ should be understood:

Put simply, it is impossible to draw the conclusion of displacement purely from the identification of movement of people between locations. People can be displaced—unable to (re)construct place—without spatial dislocation, just as much as they can with spatial dislocation. Conversely, people can be spatially dislocated without losing place if they did not engage in these practices before (Davidson, 2009, p. 228)

Citing previous studies in which no physical displacement took place, this he argues neglects the understanding of space from the subject’s perspective and is a failure to understand lived space. Again, like Slater (2004), Davidson (2009) notes this as a significant gap in the literature, with too much focus on Bourdieu’s concept of habitus to understand gentrifiers and their place-making practices. To address this, Davidson (2009) highlights the need to “engage with the question of how place-making activities are altered, commodified and/or destroyed by gentrification processes” (p. 229). In developing a schema for such displacement, Davidson (2008) argues that displacement can be indirect in terms of decreased affordability, but it must also include neighbourhood resource displacement, which is the changing of neighbourhood services, such as shops and meeting places, and community displacement, which refers to changing local governance. Both of these, coupled with the changing social mix of a locale, can impact on place identity, leading potentially to a loss of a sense of place for those who remain. Davidson and Lees (2010) undertook such a phenomenological reading of place by talking to residents who did not experience physical displacement in neighbourhoods adjacent to new-build developments along the River Thames. Most aired strong feelings of disconnection and disassociation to place, and a sense of loss and bereavement as the neighbourhood they had lived in for many years gradually changed. They conclude that: “displacement is both spatial and place based” and thus “a purely spatial account of displacement is inadequate” (Davidson and Lees, 2010, p. 408).

Other researchers have also begun to follow suite. Shaw and Hagemans' (2015) study of the impacts of gentrification on low-income residents in Melbourne, Australia, revealed that familiarity with a place and the other inhabitants led to a sense of place identity and increased feelings of safety. But this had been lost for many residents who remained due to neighbourhood resource and community displacement, and the loss of familiar faces in the area. Atkinson (2015) found that residents in Melbourne and Sydney who were not physically displaced by gentrification still felt isolated and dislocated by the social and physical changes occurring. This manifested itself in feelings of unease, increasing feelings of instability, and a perception that the place was no longer one they felt at home in or recognised, which "fed into a wider sense of ontological unease and feelings of being perpetually "on notice" to leave". (Atkinson, 2015, p. 384). Atkinson (2015) also found that there was a knock-on effect on the social networks and relationships for those priced out of the neighbourhood.

Related to these more recent themes in research, the study by Paton (2014) in Glasgow also highlights the need to pay more attention to the place-making activities and habitus of lower income households and to be wary of relying too heavily on the theories of Bourdieu (1984) to understand and conceptualise the relationship between the middle and working classes. Paton (2014) claims that though it is important to explore residential space and its relationship to social position and identity, an approach to understanding place from the perspective of middle-class groups implies that working-class groups do not partake in the same place-based attachment and that neighbourhood mobility and social identity is the preserve of the middle classes. For instance, compounding such a distinction between the classes according to Paton (2014) is Allen (2008), who argued that the working class saw their houses more as 'places to live' and 'bricks and mortar' than expressions of identity as the middle class do, and Charlesworth (2000), who emphasised the lack of choice and agency of the working class in the face of de-industrialisation. Such approaches reinforce the "binary distinctions between working and middle-class groups" (Paton, 2014, p. 52).

In contrast, Paton (2014) found the working class to be active negotiators in the gentrification process, and reflexively aware of their class position and the way in which restructuring had shaped this. She also claimed that the working class are not devoid of what are viewed as middle-class traits or of the capabilities of making cultural distinctions, arguing that place-attachment and its relationship to social identity is just as meaningful for the working class as the middle class. The key difference for Paton (2014) lay not in cultural capital but in levels of control, which she termed elective fixity. This was evident in the lack of control that the working class often had over fixity to place compared to the middle classes, and the subsequent lack of choice when it came to mobility.

It is thus the power to control one's attachment to place that is a key indicator of class and the real disparity amongst residents.

2.2.5 *Social Mixing*

These arguments around the ways in which lived space is experienced also relate to the issues of social mixing. Social mixing has garnered considerable attention in Western literature in recent years as it has been seen as a key component by governments in the regeneration of inner-cities (Davidson and Lees, 2005) and it has been seen by some as a more serious concern than displacement (Butler, 2007). The gentrification literature in the West from a variety of contexts has tended towards a dystopian view of this, finding little evidence that the process results in the mixing of new and old communities (Freeman, 2011; Lees, 2008; Rose, 2004; Slater, 2004; Walks and Maaranen, 2008). In certain gentrified neighbourhoods in London, Butler and Robson (2001, 2003) coined the term 'social tectonics' to characterise the type of relationship between new and incumbent residents and the way in which groups moved past each other yet had little contact.

Of particular relevance to this current study, however, is the work undertaken in the UK with regard to social mixing and new-build gentrification. The bulk of the research in this area has been undertaken in the UK by Davidson and Lees (2005) and Davidson (2007, 2010). Davidson and Lees (2005) examined the government's 'revitalisation' of several brownfield or former industrial sites into luxury condominiums by the River Thames close to central London, arguing that it essentially amounted to state-led, private-developer built gentrification, resulting in social polarisation rather than mixed communities. Regarding development residents' motivations for moving to the area, the local neighbourhood was not viewed overall as an important factor for the majority of development residents, with the main motivations arising from the riverside location, affordability, employment and onsite amenities (Davidson, 2007). This was also reflected and reinforced by the marketing material and the built form (2007). Developers targeted the development at professionals who were seen to want these onsite facilities and to socialise in areas outside of the neighbourhood, and thus the promotion material focused around the proximity to the cultural attractions of the central city, with a neglect of the surrounding environment. This divide was further accentuated by the building's restricted access and privacy. These factors led Davidson (2007) to define this gentrification as more representative of 'habitat' than the *habitus*, reflecting the functional and practical nature of the developments as opposed to the idea of gentrifiers employing place-based practices in a neighbourhood to constitute and reproduce their class position and identity (Bridge, 2001; Butler and Robson, 2003; Ley, 1997; Rofe, 2003). The marketing, though, was perceived by Davidson (2007) to be successful as households were living the lifestyles envisioned by the developers.

Davidson (2010) also used quantitative survey data to measure actual and perceived levels of social mixing and neighbourhood attachment. He found mixing in the neighbourhood between what he termed development and neighbourhood populations was limited, and the development residents felt a stronger sense of community within their development than with the community as a whole. But by drawing on Husserl (1970), Davidson (2010) also sought to theorise and explain a lack of social mixing through the concept of the lifeworld, or the taken-for-granted common-sense reality of the social world as it is lived and experienced by individuals. The different populations did not have shared lifeworlds, but rather disjunctured lifeworlds, evident in the way each population, based on perceptions rather than particular relationships, often unreflexively explained how their respective tastes, priorities and lives were different. These disjunctured lifeworlds thus meant social mixing was unlikely to occur or be desired. As a result, Davidson (2010) found the understandings that the counter-posed populations have of each to be constructed as “them” (local residents) and “us” (the gentrifiers) as the developments had been positioned as places for professionals, meaning residents felt as if they were with similar people to themselves as opposed to those in the neighbourhood. Overall then, levels of attachment to the neighbourhood by development residents and general social mixing between the populations were low, and the structural driver of this was economic capital as the landscape created and the image associated with it were constructed by private capital.

2.3 Global Gentrifications

2.3.1 Geographies of gentrification

Gentrification has been viewed as being global (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Smith, 2002), with Atkinson and Bridge’s (2005) volume of studies from around the globe leading them to argue that this spread of gentrification makes it a form of urban colonialism, as minority ethnic and poor populations are displaced from landmark districts of cities around the world. Smith (2002) again takes a politico-economic and structural perspective on this, coining the term ‘gentrification generalised’ to encapsulate the idea that similar characteristics can be seen in gentrification in capital cities around the world as it has spread as part of a global neoliberal urban policy agenda. However, there are inherent problems with this view. There is an implicit assumption that researchers are looking for the same processes and outcomes in other places that may have very different histories, economies, politics, and cultures to those of the Global North. Seeking to address this and expanding on the previous work of Lees (2000; 2012), who advocated a ‘geography of gentrification’, Lees, Shin and Lopez-Morales (2016) coined the term planetary gentrification.

Like Smith (2002), they draw on the ideas of Harvey (1978) and Lefebvre (2003) to link global gentrifications to the secondary circuits of capital accumulation in the form of the built environment, arguing that real estate speculation globally has resulted from the increased mobility of professionals and capital and the desire by governments to raise the profile of urban centres as a part of ‘political legitimacy building’ (Lees, Shin and Lopez-Morales, 2016, p. 36). Yet they argue that although cross-border policy and thus ‘best practices’ may characterise this, it does not mean gentrification generalised is imported across the globe. Rather, gentrification will occur in variegated ways, and will have a very different geography from city to city and within cities. Like recent scholars in the West concerned over the impacts, they also highlight the importance of taking account of phenomenological displacement (Lees, Shin and Lopez-Morales, 2016) wherever gentrification is occurring.

It is these ‘variegated ways’ that are crucial to the researcher, as it means gentrification research must take into account context, locality and temporality in greater detail. To do this, Lees (2012) and Lees, Shin and Lopez-Morales (2016), drawing on similar ideas to Robinson (2004), reject approaches to urbanism based on modernism and developmentalism, instead arguing the case for a postcolonial urban critique in research. Such an approach involves the ‘unpacking’ of Western-based approaches in future gentrification research in order to ‘unhinge, unsettle, contextualise or ‘provincialise’ Western notions of urban development’ (Lees, Shin and Lopez-Morales, 2016, p. 6-7). In addition, although the aim is to move away from the narratives of the Global North (Lees, 2012), rather than dispensing with what has been previously learned from established Western urban and gentrification theories, a comparative approach should be employed that seeks to discover which elements in the North and South can enrich gentrification concepts and theories. This thesis seeks to make such comparisons, and it is with this in mind that there follows an examination of the main themes that have emerged from the literature on gentrification in the Global East and the usefulness of applying Western theories to this region.

2.3.2 Gentrification in the Global East

Shin, Lees and Lopez-Morales (2016) group the East and Southeast Asian countries of Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan (the Tiger economies), The Philippines and Indonesia (Tiger Cub economies), and Mainland China and Vietnam (transitional economies) under the umbrella of the Global East. They use this term to refer to a geographical region that: “shares a common historical past but equally importantly demonstrates some stark differences in terms of urbanisation and gentrification” (Shin, Lees and Lopez-Morales, 2016, p. 456). Given Thailand’s location in this region, the following review of the literature seeks to position the experience of Thailand within it

in relation to mass transit and gentrification more generally and to draw out the more broad linkages with the West.

If taking a broad view of processes of gentrification occurring in the Global East, scholars have drawn out several similarities and differences. In terms of similarities, the gentrification evident in East Asia can be categorised as contemporary gentrification, as it is largely characterised by new-build developments, linkages with global finance, a professionalised middle class, and intervention by the state (Moore, 2013). Thus gentrifiers, rather than being producers of gentrification, as seen with classical gentrification in the West, are consumers of the gentrification that has been created by the state (Lees, Shin and Lopez-Morales, 2016, p. 51). Examples of this are evident in research from China (He, 2010; Ren, 2015; Shin, 2007), Japan (Fujitsuka, 2005; Lutzeler, 2008), South Korea (Kim and Kyung, 2011), Singapore (Wong, 2006) and Manila (Choi, 2016). In making broader comparisons between Hong Kong, Singapore and the Euro-American literature, Ley and Teo (2014) also note the strong role of the state and a predominance of high-rise buildings in places such as China and Hong Kong, viewing this as converging with contemporary gentrification seen in the West. Thus in all of these cases, broad similarities can be seen in the way that gentrification has occurred with new-build development, commercial and / or residential, which is spurred on by partnerships between the state and developers, and their occupation by the middle classes.

Theories based on both sociological and mathematical models have also found similarities with the West or supported the applicability of Western theories in relation to the development of transit. Taking a sociological approach, Choi (2016) was supportive of the applicability of models of gentrification to explain urban restructuring and displacement occurring in Manila due to the development of a rail system. Choi (2016) gives accounts of a weak state but powerful elites who have developed commercial and residential developments catering exclusively to the middle and upper classes. Displacement was widespread, with people relocated to isolated areas, though many people remained in the area by sharing with other family or renting. Some re-squatted but this was in worse conditions and the households faced more severe punishments by authorities who wished to avoid land re-invasion. Indirect effects were also evident on formal settlers, with increasing rents and fear amongst households remaining about future eviction. She thus argues that the core features of gentrification, the socio-spatial exclusion of the working class as a consequence of land development for the more affluent classes, are evident and the theories thus help to examine the macro and micro urban transformations occurring in Manila. In terms of neo-classical economic theories from the West, they have been successfully utilised in East Asian regions and cities to examine the relationship between mass transit, development and prices, with most again finding a

positive correlation between prices, rents, development and mass transit (Cervero and Murakami, 2009; Bae, Jun and Park, 2003; Wang, 2010; Zhang and Wang, 2013).

Yet examination of these studies also highlights particular characteristics unique to the context in which the gentrification is occurring and the ambiguities that must be accounted for. This can firstly be seen in terms of the scale of displacement and the way it has been implemented. The scale of displacement seen in the Global East has in many cases differed from that of the West, with this often being justified under the auspices of ‘beautification’ and ‘modernisation’ rather than ‘gentrification’ (He, 2010). The mass displacement in Manila has already been noted (Choi, 2016) and such displacement has also been noted in China (He, 2010), Cambodia (Bristol, 2007; Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2002) and South Korea (Kim and Kyung, 2011). This differs from the largely indirect displacement seen to characterise new-build gentrification in the West (Davidson and Lees, 2005). There are also variations in housing and land tenure or property relations, with forced evictions or a lack of respect of property rights in many of these cases. For instance, in Manila, households evicted for the rail project faced severe punishments by authorities seeking to prevent land re-invasion (Choi, 2016). It could be argued then that these are examples of what Smith (1996; 2002) termed *revanchism* as it involves the coerced displacement of lower class residents to make way for the middle classes. Indeed, Jou, Clarke, and Chen (2016), drawing on Smith, have labelled the gentrification and displacement occurring in Taipei as *revanchist*, concluding that it supports Smith’s (2002, p. 442) claim that the *revanchist city* is ‘not just a New York phenomenon’. However, such processes are not uniform throughout the region. In the case of Vietnam (Yip and Tran, 2016), the state’s respect of the legal rights of tenants due to the country’s socialist legacy has been seen as a factor hindering processes of gentrification and displacement seen in other Asian cities.

The history of the middle classes in the Global East also differs. Lees, Shin and Lopez-Moralez (2016, p. 84), note how a ‘global middle class’ is emerging, with a rapid growth over recent decades evident in Indonesia, Vietnam, China, Thailand, Taiwan and South Korea. But they note that this has occurred at different times in different places, and in most cases a traditional middle class did not exist, and if it did, demarcating them is not easy. They did not emerge from a reaction to the politics and lifestyle of an existing middle class (Ley, 1996), though Lees, Shin and Lopez-Moralez (2016) note possible similarities with contemporary gentrification of the West, as middle classes globally are characterised by their spending power and consumerism. Ren (2015) also notes the discrepancies in the understandings of class in reference to China, which are often overlooked by researchers in their quest to find gentrification processes akin to elsewhere. Explaining structural shifts that are unlike those of the West in terms of class, she notes the growth of a huge urban based

middle class, which is diverse and contested in nature. This disjointed class does not, she argues, sit easily with Smith's (2008) understanding of a class conquest of the city. It is thus evident that Western understandings of class do not necessarily relate to those of the Global East.

Another point of interest is the way in which gentrification may be perceived in the region. Lees, Shin and Lopez-Moralez (2016) note the state's rhetoric around 'beautification' and 'modernisation' as opposed to 'gentrification', and this may link to differing dispositions in the Global East to that of the West towards development and displacement. Wang and Lau (2009) suggest that in China, the less well-off have aspirations to live like the gentrifiers and are therefore predisposed to view the process in a more positive light. In addition, in contrast to the dystopian and critical view of gentrification that has dominated thinking in Europe due to the displacement of poorer households, Ley and Teo (2014) find a neutral or affirmative view predominates amongst households in Hong Kong. Underlying this is partly the large-scale public housing programs seen in these countries, thus minimising displacement and enhancing prospects of rehousing, but Ley and Teo (2014) argue this may also be ideological, as land and property are strongly associated with cultural value, and views have been conditioned by a popular and unquestionable belief in property as a vehicle for upward social mobility. Upward mobility has also been associated with gentrification in Vietnam, as people displaced were relocated to the areas they were displaced from, but also demolition is naturalised and viewed as inevitable given that residential property often needs replacement after fifty years or less (Yip and Tran, 2016). In these cases, conflict is usually over the compensation package rather than the eviction itself.

Evidence from elsewhere in the region though suggests that caution is needed in respect of any assumptions of a universal desire for upward social mobility in this way. Guinness (2002) discussed the many *kampung* in Indonesia, which are poorer neighbourhoods spread around the city. He argued that the logic of their everyday practices of reciprocal exchange symbolised a rejection of status derived through capital accumulation seen in the development of modern real estate complexes which dominate urban landscapes in Southeast Asia, along with the marketing and lifestyles associated with these. In Yogyakarta, Guinness (2002) found strong norms of community cooperation among households in *kampangs*, seen for example in the building of public facilities, establishing savings groups to redistribute income, or organising celebrations for key events. So for Guinness (2002, p. 95), "These neighbourhoods exist as a form of community that downplays the status distinctions that invigorate middle-class and elite 'streetside' residents. In these communities wealth is for sharing rather than reinvestment". *Kampung* residents saw those outside their neighbourhoods as being of high social status, reflected in their housing and occupations, and they counter-posed those in the real estate complexes as having an "isolated, individualistic existence,

where neighbours rarely spoke and family rites rarely attracted the assistance of the community” (Guinness, 2002, p.95). For these households, there was then no desire to emulate the lifestyles of the middle classes. The discrepancies in views seen between these various studies into how gentrification is perceived therefore highlights the necessity of in-depth qualitative research that draws out the views of individual households and accounts for the particular context.

2.4 Conclusions

This review of theories and themes around gentrification in the West and Global East has highlighted several gaps in knowledge and certain aspects of gentrification that merit further investigation or clarification in relation to household’s experiencing this type of neighbourhood change. An examination of the theories to explain gentrification has revealed that, though theories of structural-Marxism and neo-classical economics are important, their inherent limitations mean that it is critical to take account of those theories that consider the complexities of housing demand and the implications for others impacted by gentrification in order to fully understand the changes that may be occurring in any given context. As Davidson (2018) notes in relation to gentrifiers and new-build gentrification, who these people are and their motivations is one of the most under-researched aspects of the new-build gentrification process. There remains a question over the extent to which it is driven by particular attitudes towards city living and a desire for status as opposed to utilitarian aspects, or both, and also the influence that marketing plays in identity construction for households. In particular, the relevance of gender (Kern, 2010) warrants further investigation, given the promotion of aspects of safety and security in relation to new-build complexes. In relation to the impacts of gentrification, there is very little research on those displaced (Slater, 2004) and a gap in the literature exists with regard to how those long-term households not displaced experience gentrification (Davidson; 2008; Davidson and Lees, 2010; Shaw and Hageman, 2015; Atkinson, 2015). This lack of attention to displacement and experiences of gentrification also applies to the Global East, where, given the prominent voices calling for more to be learned about gentrification globally, these issues identified need to be considered. However, though research based on the West has shown its potential utility, it must take account of the regions differing historical and cultural context.

3 Gentrification in Bangkok

3.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the way in which gentrification has been understood in Bangkok, drawing on the findings of the previous chapter to examine how it has been seen to manifest itself in this context. Given that a central aspect of gentrification in the West is inequality in terms of processes of class transformation, this chapter begins with a brief analysis of a central way in which inequality and social differentiation has been understood in Thailand, which is through status. The chapter then proceeds to investigate early insights into gentrification from the literature before considering how the introduction of mass transit coupled with more recent social, demographic and cultural change in Thailand may be impacting on the way in which gentrification should be understood today. Then, building on the themes identified in Chapter Two, this chapter examines the extent to which displacement and social mixing, aspects of gentrification seen to be at the core of recent research in the West, have been considered and interpreted in the Thai literature.

3.2 Social Differentiation and Status in Thailand

There is a history in Thailand of scholars drawing on Western interpretations of class to understand social differentiation and stratification (Evers and Korff, 2000; Juree, 1979; Ungpakorn, 1999), yet these have tended to seek to find a middle path that takes account of the importance of status, an aspect viewed as central to an understanding of the way that Thai society is structured and drives behaviour (Askew, 2002; Basham, 1989; De Wandeler, 2002; Juree, 1979; Klausner, 1993; Mulder, 2000; Vorng, 2011a, 2011b). The importance of status in relation to the stratification of Thai society can be traced back to the status hierarchies which dominated much of Asia up to and through most of the twentieth century (Pinches, 1999). This was a system of social stratification whereby the highest social honour was ascribed through birth right of caste, nobility, or Kingship. Thailand's class structure was based on a complex system of status differentiation through aristocratic birth right called Sakdina, and through Buddhist teachings, which positioned individuals according to spiritual authority. In terms of hierarchy or status, one of the key distinctions in Thai society is between *phuyai* (superior) and *phunoi* (inferior). This arises from the notion that a person's status derives from the amount of Karma in the form of merit or *bun* accumulated in previous reincarnations and that as a result of greater merit or virtue, the more literate or skillful, the older, and the wealthier or more powerful persons tend to be viewed as superiors.

Two important distinctions in relation to hierarchical relationships relate to reciprocity and patron-clientism. Reciprocity, or *bunkun*, is representative of relationships that are on a more equal and personal footing, such as the loyalty, gratefulness and obligations shown to one's parents, friends

and teachers (Mulder, 2000). Common examples in relation to parents are the life-long debt relationship for one's birth and upbringing, repaid through caring for them later in life, (Mulder, 2000), or support exchanges linked to filial obligation as children from poorer families who have migrated send money back home (Knodel and Saengtienchai, 2007). According to Evers and Korff (2000), the existence of these exchanges arises from the lack of a European style welfare state, or 'collective consumption' (Castells, 1978), the idea that a wide range of social struggles for state resources, such as over public transport, welfare benefits, and public housing had been displaced from the economic stratum to the political stratum via state intervention. This form of reciprocity between generations of the family is known as an intergenerational obligation, contract, or solidarity (Knodel, 2014). Though it has been argued this can decline with modernization and development, particularly as governments have begun to provide some form of financial support for the elderly, evidence shows this form of support between generations has remained intact in Thailand (Knodel, 2014). The other type of hierarchical relationship, patron-clientism, is less equal, typified by power, patronage, and protection (Mulder, 2000). The 'client' is viewed as a less powerful person whom the 'patron' grants favours to in return for loyalty, goods, or political allegiance, and such a relationship will remain as long as both patron and client see benefits in the arrangement, so it may not necessarily be for life (Hall, 1974; Mulder, 2000). The situation where a landowner rents out part of a large plot of land to other households who build wooden houses is often seen to reflect such patron-client relations (Evers and Korff, 2000).

But though these persist, some have claimed that in seeking to understand Thai behaviour, more emphasis must now be placed on contemporary understandings of status which are more relevant to every life in modern Bangkok (Basham, 1989; Podhisita, 1998; Vorng, 2011b). Those advocating this stance claim that status is no longer related just to Sakdina and Buddhism, but also the status derived from education, privilege, foreignness and wealth arising from Thailand's engagement with the West and processes of globalisation (Askew, 2002; Pinches, 1999; Vorng, 2011a; Young, 1999). According to Basham (1989), people these days show more deference to those who are in a position of wealth than the traditional positions of teacher, Monk or nobility. This is encapsulated in the inclusion of new indices by which social status is appraised relative to others, such as with "*inter*" and "*hi so*" (Vorng, 2011b). "*Inter*" is a word which describes the foreign-educated, cosmopolitan, international school elite, or anything that is foreign or has a foreign image, while the related phrase "*hi so*", taken from the English phrase '*high society*', is a 'class-loaded' (Vorng, 2011b, p.689) slang term used to describe Thais from wealthy families and who may frequent expensive and modern shopping malls and international restaurants, don designer clothes and

accessories, and attend prestigious universities. Social status thus tends to be attributed to those in positions of power with wealth, ability or connections.

Though a dated study, important insights into the way in which status can be incorporated alongside occupation in relation to social differentiation can be seen in the work of Juree (1979). Juree (1979) explains that rather than the academic word of ‘Chon Chan’ to describe class, Thais will often use ‘radap’, meaning ‘level’, with people referred to as being a high radap or low radap. Juree (1979) explains that ‘taana’, literally meaning status, but understood by people to refer to economic status, is a commonly known term for Thais to signify differentiations. Yet, especially amongst the lower classes, there is a reluctance to use the word as its connections to being ‘high’ and ‘low’ imply the presence or lack of desirable and possibly moral qualities. Given the importance of these signifiers, Juree (1979) argued for a more comprehensive understanding of stratification that takes account of not just occupation but also status, specifically one’s feelings of prestige, but also feelings of security. For Juree (1979) the lower class is involved in low-wage and low prestige manual labour but their lives are also characterised by high degrees of economic uncertainty and unpredictability, experiencing an extreme lack of control over their environment and position in life. This distinguishes them from the other classes, whose status and control increases in line with more secure and better paid employment. The emphasis on control thus resonates with the work of Paton (2014) who viewed it as at the forefront of understanding the experiences of the working class in relation to gentrification.

Status is also relevant to understanding relationships between the urban and rural, particularly migration. This is evident not only in discursive representations from the media and arguments of public moralists, which set the more acceptable traditional values of the countryside against Bangkok as a place of moral degeneration and alien cultural values (Askew, 2002), but also in research around personality types and traits that has suggested rural dwellers value interpersonal morals, such as gratitude and the caring and consideration for others, and are more honest and reliable, whilst Bangkokians value personal competence and achievement, and tend to be more selfish, insincere, greedy and unkind (Evers and Korff, 2000; Komin, 1998). However, again drawing on contemporary and traditional understandings of society, there has been seen to be a tension arising in this respect in relation to migrants (Gullette, 2014; Mills, 1997). Discussing migrants from the north-east region (Isaan), Gullette (2014) viewed them as falling into two types: *cosmopolitan migrants*, who had a higher socio-economic standing and *migrant workers*, who only had the mandatory education and had working-class occupations. In identifying reasons for migration, *cosmopolitan migrants* noted the prestige of employment in Bangkok and the chance for lifestyle improvements and social advancement due to post-secondary education. This could thus

lead to symbolic distinction which could elevate one's social standing to that of *hi-so* or *trendy*. They also had a more favourable opinion of Bangkok, with a tendency to remain in the city. However, the *migrant workers* relocated for better pay but did not display a motivation to improve their status or class. They viewed the city more negatively and focused on the exclusionary aspects of life in Bangkok, tending to have a desire to eventually return to their original communities.

Mills (1997) examined the consumption practices of young female migrants and found a 'cultural struggle' existing between the notion of kinship-based morality and the desire for commodified display and autonomy available in Bangkok. Like Gullette's (2014) *migrant workers*, her respondents' ties to their community and family remained crucial, regardless of how long they stay in Bangkok, with strong affirmation of a rural identity and strong denials of any affiliation as a city person. Yet the driving factor for migration was not just the filial obligation to save money and provide money for the family, but also the chance to live an independent lifestyle not available within the village setting or when living with parents and the chance to gain status through engagement with a modern urban lifestyle. It was the desire for this type of lifestyle that created tension between children and their parents.

As in Southeast Asia more generally (Ley and Teo, 2014), land ownership has also been seen as a key signifier of status, or cultural capital. This was because traditionally possession of land and its inheritance had been key in determining life chances, with local people judging their neighbour's social position on their landholdings (Askew, 2002). Illustrating this with an ethnographic study of changes to the suburbs of Bangkok due to urbanisation, Askew (2002) found that households employed strategies connected to land holdings to influence their life-course and the local environment. As housing and industry encroached, some was sold to educate offspring, though more often it was retained to maximise household assets as it could be passed on to children and arrange a more favourable marriage. Many farmers donated land for the construction of subsidiary roads, which provided better access for services and opened the area up for further housing development. New income-generating activities that helped support household livelihoods also arose as some local households shifted their homes nearer to roads to set up noodle-stalls catering to local workers and passing traffic, while others leased sections of their land for others to do the same. For Askew (2002) then, rather than being viewed as the victims of urban change, Thais employ strategies to mould their environment and thus improve or maintain their social status.

3.3 The Onset of Gentrification

3.3.1 *Early Gentrification Insights*

Generally, there has been little research into processes of gentrification in Thailand. Classical gentrification does not appear to have occurred, which, according to Hertzfeld (2006), is due the belief in ghosts of previous occupiers making old properties undesirable. In addition, it is the “persistent streak of nouveau-riche abhorrence of anything that looks dilapidated” that has led to an undertow of support for the spatial cleansing by the authorities of such housing (Hertzfeld, 2006, p. 142). Gentrification in Thailand has therefore tended to be associated with condominiums. Askew (2002) addressed this in relation to two condominium booms seen in the 1980s and 1990s, but questioned any simple linkage of this to processes in the West. He argued that connections to changes to global systems of finance and real estate (Carpenter and Lees, 1995; Smith, 2002) are an over-simplification as most of the developers are Thai, with no international connections. Also, middle-income condominium units were rare, signifying the continuing preference of middle-class Bangkokians to live on housing estates outside of the city centre in the suburbs. He thus concludes that generally, the middle-classes have been more interested in the cultural capital of larger detached houses in suburban housing estates rather than residing in the city. In relation to displacement, Askew (2002) argues that it was not evident, except with slum communities.

Another factor leading Askew (2002) to question the applicability of the gentrification model was the fact that although the outward appearance of roads and sois have radically transformed, many neighbourhoods are still constituted by soi-based ecologies, which exert a strong influence on urban life. This, for him, does not fit easily with the idea of uniform processes occurring around the world. As an illustration of this, Askew (2002) describes the small-based businesses that remain in neighbourhoods impacted by gentrification, such as seen with some small Thai landowners who have refused to sell, instead keeping their land to build smaller family-run apartment blocks. This he explains is “...indicative of what may be described as the habitus of small Thai property owners, who prefer to hold on to land and run enterprises themselves at a steady income” (Askew, 2002, p. 248). Also, in reference to the sois that surround the condominiums, Askew (2002) observes how a continuing informal sector of street vendors, motorcycle taxis and other actors can still flourish as they serve the growing and changing population, and finds that many local landowners and traders have remained resilient in adapting to change. Thus for Askew (2002), although not dismissing Western theories, caution was needed in employing them to understand changes occurring in this differing context. However, more recent changes occurring in Bangkok and the way that gentrification is now understood means that Askew’s (2002) observations need to be reconsidered.

3.3.2 *New Interpretations of Gentrification*

Askew (2002) refers to a period in the 1980s and 1990s, and the way that gentrification is now understood has changed. A much broader definition of gentrification has been put forward (Clarke, 2005) and this has been broadly accepted within the academic community (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008). For instance, in relation to Askew's (2002) observations that only slum communities have been displaced, understandings of displacement have been broadened, with emphases on indirect displacement (Davidson and Lees, 2005), the eviction of slum communities (Lees and Phillips, 2018; Lees, Shin, and Lopez-Morales, 2016), or simply the alteration, commodification or destruction of place-making activities for incumbent residents (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2009; Shaw and Hageman, 2015), all now considered part of gentrification related 'displacement'.

However, an important factor in relation to gentrification is the opening of two major mass transit systems and their expansion, which has occurred at a time when Bangkok is experiencing worsening traffic jams and households are facing commutes that could be up to three hours a day (Sankam, 2015). The first of these to open in Bangkok in 1999 was the Skytrain (BTS), an elevated rapid transit system operated by Bangkok Mass Transit System Public Company Limited (BTSC). The two original routes were the Silom line and Sukumvit lines, which cross at a main station in the centre of the city and have a combined route distance of 36.45 kilometres. The second system was the Mass Rapid Transit or MRT, initially only an underground system, consisting of 18 stations along 27 kilometres of track, opening in 2004. However, the networks have extended significantly with new lines opening over the years, and as of February 2017 there were 110.29 kilometres of lines in service with 71 stations, 117.29 kilometres under construction and future plans for a further 311.41 kilometres. These have both had a considerable impact on the land market and the condominium market, leading to rising land and property prices around transit stations and a significant building of condominiums, which has been associated with new-build gentrification (Moore, 2015; See also Appendix 1 for further data charting changes due to transit). Thus the location and types of condominium are changing, and possibly the housing preferences of Thais, bringing into question the proposition that a house in the suburbs is the priority for the majority of middle-class Thais (Askew, 2002).

The data supporting this and research by Sirikolkarn (2008) shows the potential applicability of neo-classical economic theories. Sirikolkarn (2008) undertook hedonic price modelling to examine the effect of mass transit systems on the values of condominiums in different areas of Bangkok and found a positive correlation between condominium price increases and distance to mass transit. This current study, though, further contributes to knowledge as, rather than focusing on statistical trends in the housing market, it draws on current gentrification theory to examine the latest phase of

condominium building due to transit, the complexities surrounding the choices made to move, and the impacts on local communities in terms of inequality, displacement, and social mixing. These social issues were touched upon previously (Moore, 2013; 2015); however, they merit a more in-depth examination that can draw out the specificities of the Thai context.

3.3.3 Social, Demographic and Cultural Change

Other factors necessitating a reanalysis of the way gentrification is understood and that relate to the Thai context are the social, demographic and cultural changes that have been occurring recently. In the past, the most critical trend identified in relation to the transformation of the city of Bangkok was the development of housing estates for the middle classes in the suburbs, which began in the 1960s but gained pace in the 1980s and 1990s (Askew, 2002). Central to the trend was new household formation amongst the middle classes of Bangkok, predominantly newly married couples seeking to move from the parental home in the city and gain their independence, something which Askew (2002) viewed as a “distinctively new ecology of living in Bangkok” (p. 64). This, he argued, represented the decline of the extended family as a domestic unit and the incorporation of the commuting experience. A more spacious house in the suburbs, bolstered through advertising and government discourse, was also seen to constitute significant symbolic and cultural capital for middle class households (Askew, 2002; De Wandeler, 2002).

However, evidence that these trends may have changed is firstly seen in the media’s portrayal of changing lifestyles, with the priority of many Thais seen to be seeking to position themselves as close to work as possible. For instance, the growing trend of mixed-use developments that include residential, hospitality, office and retail space in the same area, has been seen as evidence of this (Srimalee, 2018). But a second key factor indicating change is the importance of single-person households rather than newly married couples. It has been generally noted that there is a growing trend of people living in smaller condominium units, which now dominate the market, close to the city centre, reflecting declining household sizes and changing urban living patterns (Pitchon, 2016). Specifically there is a growing desire of younger generations who prefer living alone in exchange for the convenience that these centrally based units offer (Lorenzo, 2014). Thailand is thus experiencing what has been seen in other countries around the world, which is a change in family structures, apparent in an increase in nuclear families, single-parent and single-person households, and lower birth rates (Assarut, 2012; United Nations Population Fund, 2016). But this is possibly an important cultural change as single people living away from the parental home prior to marriage can be seen to reflect a break with Thai traditions (Assarut, 2012; Knodel, 2014). Importantly, though, issues of gender have not been raised in Thailand with respect to such changes, something which

needs to be addressed because of the ever growing involvement of women in Thai society in terms of work and education (Assarut, 2012).

This decline in household size and the move to live in condominiums with far less space than a house, coupled with the burdens from work or a new family, has also been seen to potentially have an impact on the care of elderly parents (Pitchon, 2016). This is something traditionally done by children in the same home, but due to the aforementioned difficulties and the small size of a condominium, it is something possibly being gradually replaced by the private sector (Pitchon, 2016). Thailand is an ageing population, with a growing proportion of people over 60, and the private sector has thus seen a gap in the market, with a growing number of condominium developments catering specifically for the elderly (Katharangsiporn, 2017; Pitchon, 2016; Sritama, 2018). Pitchon (2016) has suggested that the traditional condominium is not suitable for these groups who may have special care needs, but, like the other demographic and social changes noted, these factors need to be considered when seeking to understand the growth in condominium demand and gentrification in this new era.

Yet such trends should not be exaggerated and must be set against the desire that remains for a house and the varied sources of condominium demand (See Appendix 1). Data from The Real Estate Information Centre ([REIC] Kitsin, 2011) and the City Plan (Limsamarnphun, 2013) suggest that housing goals remain mixed, with many still preferring a more spacious house in the middle-city, outlying and suburban areas than a high-rise in the inner city. In addition to this, demand is also made up from speculative sources due to the significant returns and capital gain (Bangkok Post, 2014), which was seen as key to the first condominium booms. Overall though, these developing trends around investment and aspects related to housing and single person households, gender and the elderly all merit further investigation to understand their relevance in light of the growth of the condominium market and mass transit.

3.3.4 Displacement

There has been little academic research into displacement in Bangkok, except in relation to slum communities or informal housing (Askew, 2002; Cohen, 1985; De Wandeler, 2002; Evers and Korff, 2000). For instance, though not in reference to gentrification, contemporary processes of gentrification are evident in what Evers and Korff (2000), De Wandeler (2002) and Cohen (1985) saw as the common way in which households in slum areas or areas of informal housing were evicted. This often occurred as land became more profitable or accessible but is also associated with the ending of patron-client relations. When the land goes to heirs with the death of the landlord, this can result in the eviction of the tenants as the economic value of the land becomes paramount and

the patron-client obligation is no longer respected. This then may be an important dynamic in relation to displacement not touched upon in the Western literature. Also what has been noted is the reluctance to move for those living on the margins, despite the sometimes poor living conditions they experience (De Wandeler, 2002; Hamilton, 2002), thus highlighting the importance of retaining a central location and community ties. More recently, though, the media has picked up on issues of gentrification-related displacement. The Guardian (Nualkhair, 2017) notes how 15,000 vendors were evicted from 39 public areas in the city in 2016 as the area “gentrifies around it”. And in another area of the city seen to be becoming ‘hip’, local residents reported being forced from the area due to rising costs of living, and vendors forced out to clean up the sidewalks: “Though the goals driving the neighbourhood’s makeover are admirable, silent in the conversation about its future are the voices of residents and low-income workers whose ways of life are threatened by the rapid gentrification that is taking hold” (Bunruecha, 2017).

Displacement has also been identified in relation to mass transit. In relation to the work that acted as a spur to this thesis, Moore (2015) undertook a small study based on statistical data and a semi-structured questionnaire with residents from a condominium and the local neighbourhood in the neighbourhood which is the subject of this study. Interviews with local residents revealed evidence of indirect displacement as housing costs were reported to be rising. There was also direct displacement occurring in the area which is the subject of this more in-depth current study, with residents reporting that they were not properly informed about the eviction by the landlord. There were also grave concerns about where they would move to. And again the media has picked up on concerns over changes in China Town due to the planned opening of a new transit station in September 2018 (Janssen, 2018). This situation highlights the importance of the cultural context as well. As this is China Town, with mostly Sino-Thai families, Janssen (2018) believes that the fact that Sino-Thai families traditionally hold on to property, and have done so here despite many moving to live in the suburbs, gentrification may be prevented as there are no large areas for development available at present. Thus, as Shin, Lees and Lopez-Morales (2016) note, property relations are critical to understanding the way in which land is commodified through gentrification, and the way it may or may not progress. These developing trends around displacement connected to mass transit are thus again in need of further research given the lack of attention to them in the academic literature. The study by Moore (2015) also highlighted issues over social mixing.

Figure 1: Cleared land plots by a Sukumvit line station



Source: Author

3.3.5 Social Mixing

The relevance of social mixing could be questioned in relation to the Global East as it has not garnered great attention. In relation to Bangkok, the literature has tended to focus on the way that the practices of the middle classes and their changing housing preferences have led to a separation from the lower classes. For instance, Hamilton (2002, p. 465) viewed the move by the middle classes to the suburbs in the mid-eighties to the late-nineties as a key turning point in the relationship between the rich and poor:

During this decade the unifying aspects of public culture began to fray: the rich moved further and further away from the city, into suburban enclaves from which they excluded others, a fundamental shift in the interaction between material, space, and the social which hitherto had seen rich and poor living side by side in the city, in the same areas.

Similar aspects of exclusion were noted by Askew (2002), De Wandeler (2002) and Evers and Korff (2000) in relation to the first condominium booms. The marketing material lacked any

reference to the surrounding locality, focusing instead on the in-house facilities, which was reflected in people's everyday lives that centered on the condominiums at the expense of the neighbourhood. Though a dated study, Cohen's (1985) research has particular relevance in drawing out aspects of social mixing in relation to the building of condominiums. Cohen (1985) viewed the expansion of Bangkok and specifically the growth of the condominiums as an intrusion into the local areas as damaging soi-based ecologies. His model of urban change was based on the Chicago school of human ecology, in which spatial configuration arises through the competition among land users for space, with the most desired spaces invaded and eventually succeeded by more dominant activities (Pacione, 2009). He studied a soi close to the city centre, running off a main road out of Bangkok called Sukumvit Road. Following a 'rural' phase, in which the area was just farmland, it entered a 'semi-urban' phase in the early 1960s, in which uncontrolled urban settlement took place in the form of long-term residents of the city building mainly one-story wooden dwellings without planning or official permits, supervision or recognition. In the 1970s, the soi entered the 'early urban' phase in which more controlled development took place, with the houses made of hard material laid out in an orderly fashion coupled with the official numbering of sub-sois. Cohen viewed the soi at this time favourably as a semi-autonomous ecological sub-system, with many inhabitants also working within the home or else in its vicinity, or within the soi itself or a sub-soi, and satisfying their everyday needs from shops and services within the soi.

However, in what he saw as the final phase in its evolution, the 'mature' phase, there was an intrusion of activities from outside, with businesses catering to a wider urban population and a rapid displacement of slum residents due to the building of these businesses and also condominiums, resulting in high-class enclaves. The new populations were transient local and foreign populations rather than permanent residents, representing a growing separation between places of residence and work. He went on to explain how this changed the social dynamics of the soi:

Though they often live in close proximity, there is little social intercourse between the different groups of inhabitants of the soi [street]. People in one type of habitation, e.g. wooden slum-houses or shop-houses have little interest in and contact with the inhabitants of the other types....Higher class residents are rarely seen on the street, but mostly rush through it in their cars. The soi as a whole, hence, lacks an over-all social integration and does not constitute a community. (Cohen, 1985 p.18)

As also noted by Askew (2002), Cohen goes on to explain how to a large part the functional integration of the soi remains, particularly with the socio-economically lower groups continuing to work, shop and interact in the soi, but social interaction between the different groups is low, with high class residents largely absent from this streetscape. This is thus similar to the idea of social

tectonics noted by Butler and Robson (2001, 2003). Cohen (1985 p.14) thus views the evolution of the soi in a negative way as a 'penetration of metropolitan forces'.

Such views are now reflected in those commenting on the current growth in the city's modern complexes, be they commercial or residential, that are proliferating around the city. As Vorng (2011a) argues:

In a deeply stratified society like Thailand, it is not entirely unexpected that the configuration of space follows the contours of a heavily uneven distribution of power. City centre and outskirts, mall and market, condominium and slum, are each axes which reflect a trend of separation of space and locality along the lines of wealth, status, and power. (p. 67-68)

Drawing on Bourdieu's (1984) notions of consumption and lifestyle as central to processes of class formation and status differentiation, Vorng (2012) argues that the ease and familiarity that a certain strata of society have with malls is an indication of a *hi-so* and sophisticated lifestyle and, hence, a particular class habitus. Vorng (2012, p. 21) also claims that the rural and urban working class often find themselves kept out of "'high' elite spaces", feel unable to enter them, or feel embarrassed or inferior if they do. The possible impacts on community are illustrated in the observations voiced in a recent internet article titled "Save our Streets" about condominiums, which also resonates with the earlier views of Askew (2002), De Wandeler (2002), Cohen (1985), and Evers and Korff (2000). The suggestion is of a stereotypical life of condo-dwellers different to that of the past, which is private and not conducive to the mixing or building of cohesive communities:

Condo living may suit our modern lifestyles but it also has a major impact on the local community. Condo-dwellers don't sit out front of their shop, chatting to passersby; they don't even necessarily know who their neighbours are. They leave for work in the morning, come home at night after dinner, maybe spend an hour in their air-con gym before hitting the sack. Condo-dwellers don't get their clothes fixed at the local street tailor, don't buy their new brush from the guy with the hand cart—they drive to the nearest community mall and buy everything from their brand name store and supermarket (Jansuttiapan, 2011).

The arrival of transit has been seen to be significant, with Vorng (2011a) noting how it has had a further centralising effect on consumption venues, evident in stations packed densely with apartment blocks, homes, condominiums, and malls. It was the mass transit that was the focus for the architect Jenks (2003), who uses the introduction of the Skytrain into the existing urban fabric of Bangkok as a metaphor to examine processes of globalization and urban form. In a similar vein

to Vorng (2011a), he argues that the opening of the Skytrain in Bangkok has created two separate worlds. Towering over the existing street, the BTS represents a globalized world, whereas in the streets below, “the vibrant chaos of Thailand exists, seemingly untouched by the world above” (Jenks, 2003 p.547).

Figure 2: The Bangkok Skytrain - Above and below the line



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BTS_Skytrain (permission by author)

Recent research by Moore (2012; 2015) also specifically addressed this issue in relation to mass transit in the case study area of this current thesis. Like developer marketing strategies in London (Davidson, 2007), websites promoting condominiums neglected the local area at the expense of the transit station, on-site facilities, and access to the central city, which was seen to “weaken potential connections that residents could have to the localities they live in” (Moore, 2012, p. 110). Interactions within the local area or with local residents by condominium dwellers were low, and they had limited historical or current connections to the area through family, residence, or work, which stood in contrast to the long-term neighbourhood residents. However, in the area, local services have arisen to service this new population, seen in some small food street stalls and motorbike taxi services by transit stations. This could again support the observations by researchers that a vibrant street life can thrive despite such changes (Askew, 2002; Cohen, 1985; Jenks, 2003). Yet Hamilton (2002, p.462), though making similar observations, notes that this is hiding what is essentially underneath, which is a situation in which the lives of those of different socio-economic status and cultural backgrounds remain detached:

In public spaces, including the thousands of streets and lanes of the city where people mingle, stop, shop, sit side by side, and eat a bowl of noodles, difference is cancelled, or put

into abeyance. But, in most other respects, the lives of the rich and the poor, the foreign and the local, the immigrant and the householder, the ethnically marked and the “genuine Thai”, the Muslim and the Buddhist, scarcely touch on each other.

Thus there is little in the literature about Bangkok’s changing urban landscape that portrays a positive view of social mixing and community building in relation to different socioeconomic groups. Rather, the development and modernisation of the city has been seen to accentuate social divisions that already existed and can possibly be seen to be reminiscent of what Davidson (2010) identified as disjunctured lifeworlds in the way that people experience such change.

3.4 Conclusions

This review of current theories in the gentrification literature in this chapter in relation to Thailand and also the preceding chapter has raised a number of important issues and questions for this research. Relying on structural-Marxist approaches that emanate from the idea of a working class in a post-industrial society or the idea that gentrification has spread around the world in a uniform way under the auspices of Neo-liberalism will have limitations in explaining processes of gentrification in a country that has its own unique history and culture. Theories from Thailand in relation to social differentiation and inequality highlight the importance of taking account of status and the way it manifests itself in relation to class and aspects such as reciprocity, patron-clientism, and migration. Askew’s (2002) view that gentrification seen through the lens of the West may not be occurring has less sway given recent changes, but his work and the work of others (Cohen, 1985; Hamilton, 2002; Jenks, 2003) highlight the importance of taking account of contextual factors in any analysis and not assuming uniform global processes. And just as structural-Marxist approaches can be questioned, so too can economic theories connecting transit to household movement in the Thai context as they do not pay attention to the value-laden complexities of such moves. Recent demographic, social, and cultural changes have revealed demand side factors are complex and changing, and a deeper analysis is needed into how these are related to gentrification and displacement.

However, drawing on recent theorising from the West, particularly in relation to new-build gentrification, highlights important issues in relation to the Thai context. As was noted by Davidson (2018), there has been a dearth of research into who new-build gentrifiers are and their motivations to move, and this is the case in Bangkok, where little is known about those moving to condominiums. There is a suggestion that residing or mixing in elite spaces connected to the Sky Train may provide status and represent a particular habitus (Jenks, 2003; Vorng, 2012). This has been seen to be something fostered in the marketing connected to condominiums (Askew, 2002; De

Wandeler, 2002; Evers and Korff, 2000; Moore, 2012), yet little is known about whether the perceptions of households reflects the images promoted by these marketing strategies. Issues of social mixing in relation to gentrification have also been highlighted in the West, and these appear to have resonance with Bangkok and condominium development as seen by recent reports in the media and in academic research (Askew, 2002; Cohen, 1985; Evers and Korff, 2000). This recent phase of large-scale condominium building thus raises the question as to the extent to which the new residents mix in the neighbourhood. Though this has been recently researched (Moore, 2015), there remains a lack of more in-depth understandings around this. Also, concern that there is a lack of attention being paid to the voices of those being impacted by gentrification in Bangkok who are seen as victims in the process (Bunruecha, 2017) reflects the concerns evident in academia in the West (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2008; Davidson and Lees, 2010; Shaw and Hageman, 2015; Slater, 2004), and thus highlights the need to examine this in the context of Thailand. Any theoretical framework examining gentrification in Thailand needs to address these questions but be able to account for the specific and unique context in question.

4 Analytical Framework

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analytical framework that was used to structure the collection of data and to analyse this data. It is viewed to be appropriate for the exploration of gentrification and displacement in Bangkok and in order to achieve this it draws on the concept of a housing pathway and the theory of the habitus as understood by Bourdieu and phenomenologists such as Husserl, Merleau-Ponty and Schutz. Housing pathways is fundamentally an epistemology as it provides a strategy for the generation of valid knowledge and in this study acts as a guiding framework for a qualitative and biographical approach that focuses on the complexity of housing moves and the extent to which such moves are liberating and / or constricting over space, place and time. However, it raises certain ontological issues, or assumptions about the nature of social reality. In this study, these are resolved through the theory of the habitus as understood by Bourdieu (1984), which draws out the way in which historically constituted, enduring dispositions related to social position, shape the experiences of households during their housing pathways, and the habitus as understood through phenomenology, which allows for an understanding of the world that takes account of the diversity of embodied individual life experiences.

It is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the epistemological and ontological debates related to gentrification in order to draw out the varying approaches that have been taken to understand the process. Based on this, the second section discusses why housing pathways are appropriate to the study of gentrification, looking specifically at the framework, previous housing pathways research, and the applicability of this approach to gentrification research. The third section discusses Bourdieu and the habitus. It sets out why it can be termed the ‘structural habitus’, which can be seen as a complement to the structural production process of Smith (1996) in the sense that both relate to the logic of capitalism, but the structural habitus incorporates aspects of consumption and culture rather than relying on development. The chapter then discusses the way that Bourdieu and the habitus have been used to understand housing pathways, before showing how the concepts of spatial capital and ontological security can be used to complement this approach. It then discusses certain issues with Bourdieu’s concept of the habitus that need to be resolved. The final section sets out how a resolution can be achieved through understanding the structural habitus alongside the biographical habitus. It discusses phenomenological reduction, its relationship to typification, and how reference to the biographical habitus can account for conscious action and reflection. It then explains how this approach can enhance gentrification research. Finally, the chapter conclusions are drawn.

4.2 Gentrification: Ontology and Epistemology

The ontological debates over the primacy of structure or agency which have stood at the heart of contemporary and classical sociology (Inglis, 2013) also structured early gentrification research, which tended to be drawn along the lines of what were termed theories of ‘production’ and ‘consumption’ (Lees, 1994). Ontology refers to assumptions concerning the *essence* or *nature* of a particular phenomenon under investigation. According to Burrell and Morgan (1979), social scientists face two basic ontological questions when they undertake research: whether the phenomenon to be studied is an external 'objective reality', which is imposing itself onto the individual, or whether it is a product of individual cognition or consciousness, and therefore subjective in nature. These two opposing schools of thought can be labelled *objectivism* and *constructionism* respectively (Bryman, 2012).

In the literature, these debates have led to particular dichotomies around class, capital, supply and production versus culture, choice, consumption and consumer demand (Hamnett, 1991, p.194). Theories of production were economically deterministic and drew on theories of economic Marxism. Writers on gentrification such as Smith (1979; 1996) and Smith and Williams (1986) were interested in the ways in which class struggle was related to gentrification, as this struggle in Marxist terms was considered to be central to humankind’s development. For Smith (1982), uneven development can be understood through gentrification, as gentrification arises from the tension between differentiation and equalisation in relation to the movement of capital over the urban landscape. In contrast to this, other theorists interpreted gentrification through a postmodernist cultural lens, setting the basis for culturally determined explanations of gentrification. Postmodernists were interested in the formation and political voice of a new middle class (Lees, 1994). With property being replaced by the accumulation of knowledge as a determiner of class structure (Bell, 1976), gentrification was viewed as driven by a highly educated and politicised cultural new class (Filion, 1991; Ley and Olds, 1988). The role of capital is played down in postmodern interpretations of gentrification, as inner-city reinvestment is seen to be too risky for entrepreneurs unless the demand for gentrifiable property has not first established itself (Duncan and Ley, 1982).

As Lees (2000) explains, these theoretical positions result in different analytical frameworks, which in turn produce different understandings of gentrification. The question of what constitutes acceptable knowledge is epistemology. In other words, what knowledge can be obtained, how it can be used to understand the world and how it can be communicated to other people. From one epistemological viewpoint, knowledge is seen as hard, real and capable of transmission in a tangible

form, and therefore something that can be acquired, but from the other position, it is viewed as soft and subjective and is therefore only available via experience and personal insight (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). These two perspectives on the way that we can understand reality can be referred to as positivism and interpretivism (Bryman, 2012). For instance, Smith's (1996) more positivistic approach examined aspects of local resistance to gentrification in New York and drew on real-estate value maps and other quantitative data, placing the class struggle he encountered at the centre of his findings. In contrast, others often used more mixed methods. As a case in point, Butler's (2007) more interpretivist and qualitative approach started from the position of wishing to find out what distinct factors attracted a particular fraction of the middle class to live in Hackney, London. He collected through interviews the biographies of 250 people, bringing matters of subjectivity and lifestyle to the fore in his analysis. Butler (2007) drew heavily on Bourdieu (1984) and his concepts of capital, as have several other researchers taking this approach, and such approaches have characterised the research into the lives of gentrifiers. More generally, however, with regard to how gentrification should be understood and studied, the debate has moved forwards, with researchers generally reaching a consensus that both economic and cultural factors should be considered in any examination of gentrification, and that drawing lines along such theoretical divides was hindering any advances of gentrification research (Lees, 1994; Slater, 2006).

Another key turn in the gentrification debate has been over the way in which the term itself should be understood and defined. This debate occurred as researchers began to view it as moving to a post-recession phase (Lees, 2000) in which it became linked to rural settings, students, new-build complexes, and urban revitalisation (Davidson and Lees, 2005; Butler, 2007; Phillips, 2004; Smith, 1996) and was seen to be occurring in a multitude of places around the world (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Lees, Slater, and Wyly, 2008). Again this change has led to different views on the way scholars have sought to understand gentrification. While those such as Butler (2007) have sought to understand middle class diversity and relationships to place, class, and identity, those such as Slater (2006) have labelled this an eviction of critical perspectives, and called for attention to be focused on the plight of the working classes and displaced groups. Others such as Lees and Ley (2008) have turned their attention to public policy, and the ways in which strategies of the dispersal of poverty have been promoted by governments.

The focus on gentrification occurring across the globe has also brought its own set of ontological and epistemological questions. Maloutas (2012) cautions against using gentrification as a concept to understand processes occurring in such different contexts to that in which the term was conceived, arguing that the broadening of the term in both time and space leads to a "regression in conceptual clarity and hence in theoretical rigour" (Maloutas, 2012, p. 36). This is regressive because the

search for similar outcomes will overshadow the diversity in processes and mechanisms and contribute to inductive rather than deductive reasoning. Smith (2002) again took a politico-economic perspective on global gentrification, arguing that a spread is part of a neoliberal urban policy agenda. Countering this view of a ‘global spread’ of gentrification and in an attempt to appease the concerns of those such as Maloutas (2012), Lees, Shin and Lopez-Morales (2016) have argued that taking a postcolonial urban critique approach to such research whilst avoiding an over-reliance on Western notions of urban development can draw out the nuances and contextual specificities of gentrification in wholly different settings without having to dispense with the term itself. In reference to the Southeast Asian and East Asian regions, several researchers have since sought to examine whether the theories of the West can be applied to a different context, for instance in Manila (Choi, 2016), China (Ren, 2015), and Vietnam (Yip and Tran, 2016), or examine specifically how issues of epistemology and ontology converge or differ between the West and East Asia (Ley and Teo, 2014).

An approach to studying gentrification must therefore be able to dispense with the treatment of structure and agency as a duality, be adaptable to research in a variety of contexts, and be able to focus on the experiences of poorer and displaced households who have been neglected in research to-date. This can be achieved through the employment of a housing pathways approach.

4.3 Why Housing Pathways?

4.3.1 The Framework

Drawing on previous research into housing pathways (Clapham, 2005; Ford, Rugg and Burrows, 2002; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2015; Mackie, 2012; Moore, 2014; Netto, 2011; Skobba, 2016; Stillerman, 2017), this approach to the consumption of housing can be seen fundamentally as an epistemology, yet it also rests on a certain set of ontological assumptions. Firstly, in terms of the nature of reality, it seeks to suspend the debate over structure and agency. The approach assumes that knowledge is gained by considering the objective and subjective dimensions of housing as a duality. It is thus necessary to consider the relationship between the (structural positioning) discourses, social structures, and institutions that support and/or constrain households and shape pathways and the subjective understandings of household’s experiences. Secondly, it also assumes that the consumption of housing can only be understood through taking account of temporality and spatiality. As Clapham (2005 p. 27) notes, housing pathways are “[T]he patterns of interaction (practices) concerning house and home, over time and space.... These may take place in a number of locales such as the house, the neighbourhood or the office of an estate agent or landlord” (Clapham, 2005 p. 27).

Following on from and related to these assumptions, previous housing pathways research has viewed housing moves as complex and variegated in nature. This is because they are not seen as evolving in isolation, but are intrinsically tied in with other aspects of life such as employment, family issues and other life circumstances. There is also a rejection of the assumption that households will follow an upward trajectory in housing moves, progressing from renting to owner-occupation and larger houses, and triggered by changing needs linked to the lifecycle such as marriage, the birth of children, dependents leaving the home, and a change of job (Clark, Deurloo, & Dieleman, 2003; Kendig, 1984; McLeod and Ellis, 1982; Rossi and Shlay, 1982). Thus, reflecting the subjective and unique experiences of housing pathways, households have the potential to experience multiple routes, with a range of interrelated factors and pressures impacting on decision-making. Accounting for such complexities is particularly relevant given such current trends as the growth of single person and lone-parent households and a decline in the incidences of marriage, but also due to factors such as lifestyle choice (Clapham, 2005).

In order to understand this more complex nature of housing trajectories, housing pathways researchers have tended to seek to understand the ways in which people relate to the places in which they live, and thus undertaken the collection of personal housing histories through qualitative approaches (see for example Ford, Rugg and Burrows, 2002; Mackie, 2012; Moore, 2014; Netto, 2011; Skobba, 2016). This was the method advocated by Clapham (2005, p. 240) in order to “understand the meaning of individuals and households and conspicuous aspects of behaviour”. Thus it is the household and the uncovering of their meanings and attitudes that is seen to generate knowledge and elucidate the ways in which a household’s circumstances, needs and experiences may alter over time and space. Though the housing pathways approach stresses the variegated and unique nature of people’s pathways, studies have tended to draw out ideal type pathways, using the findings in order to understand the prevalence of certain pathways (Ford, Rugg and Burrows, 2002), to inform housing policy (Mackie, 2012; Moore, 2014; Netto, 2011; Skobba, 2016), or to make comparisons with other countries (Stillerman, 2017).

4.3.2 Housing Pathways Research

A number of relevant studies illustrate the ways in which these characteristics of housing pathways have been used to better understand housing moves. The studies come from Europe and other ‘northern’ countries. However, they still serve to illustrate certain methodological issues. Central to the debate between structure and agency, Ford, Rugg and Burrows (2002) sought to understand the pathways of young people as they transition to adult life. They found their pathways were distinguished by three main factors, which were the ability to control and plan for independent living, the form and extent of constraints in relation to accessing housing, and the degree of family

support. By examining the combination and intensity of these factors they identified five ideal typical pathways, which were *chaotic*, *unplanned*, *constrained*, *planned (non-student)* and *student pathways*. Revealing the interplay between structure and agency over time, chaotic pathways were characterised by very little planning, significant constraints and an absence of family support, meaning that the pathways were associated with exclusion, instability, poor conditions, and limited choice. In contrast, at the other end of the spectrum, those on planned pathways still had constraints but they were fewer and more manageable and thus conferred choice and facilitated progression. Stressing the importance of the biographical approach, Ford, Rugg and Burrows (2002) conclude that: “A more dynamic analysis of housing pathways allows clearer patterns to emerge in which the meaning of any particular housing episode can only be understood by reference to what preceded it and what followed” (p. 2466).

Skobba (2016) sought to examine the housing experiences of low-income women in the US. Like Ford, Rugg and Burrows (2002), she was able, through biographical methods, to understand the range of variables influencing the women’s pathways, finding that rather than pathways developing in isolation from life circumstances, factors such as the birth of children, changes in employment and relationships, and experiences in the family of origin intertwined with housing trajectories. Overall, low-income women’s pathways were characterised by insecurity, precariousness, informal housing, frequent moves, and poor housing conditions. Similarly, Mackie (2012) criticised previous housing research on disabled people for focusing on structural barriers for disabled people, rather than the role of the subjects in shaping their own housing experience. In her study of the trajectories of young disabled people, she advocates the housing pathways approach for demonstrating “that societal and individual influences interact to shape the housing experiences of disabled young people, which provides a different and more comprehensive insight from those offered by existing studies”. Netto’s (2011) study of refugees in Glasgow emphasised the importance of taking into account the temporality and spatial dimensions of individual experience and its relationship to identity negotiation and construction. This was because she found that the identity of refugees changed over time and place as they went from feeling stigmatised to have a greater sense of belonging. Such research has thus revealed the complexities of housing moves and the applicability of the framework to account for the moves of poorer or more vulnerable households.

4.3.3 *Applying Housing Pathways to Gentrification*

Few previous studies of gentrification have used housing pathways. However, drawing out these themes of the housing pathways approach highlights its potential applicability for the research of gentrification. Firstly, given the need to suspend the debate over structure and agency in order to move the gentrification agenda forward (Lees, 2000; Slater, 2006), any analytical framework for

gentrification research should aim to treat agency and structure as a duality (Lees, 1996), particularly if analyses are to focus on gentrifiers and the displaced (Slater, 2006). The housing pathways framework does this, as it foregrounds agency and structure, meaning that it can act as a “holistic point of departure” (Slater, 2006, p. 747). Secondly, the diversity of pathways that are drawn out from a housing pathways analysis can help to provide in-depth understandings of the experiences of both gentrifiers, households incumbent to a neighbourhood, and displaced households.

In terms of gentrifiers, though the focus of housing pathways has been on the experiences of more vulnerable households, this approach can also help to understand the housing preferences of middle class households. Gentrification for the middle class in the literature has tended to be seen as liberating, evident in the way in which many scholars have written about it as ‘emancipatory’ (Lees, 2000). This can be likened to the more planned or progressive pathways of those identified by those such as Ford, Rugg and Burrows (2002), Skobba (2016), and Mackie (2012). For instance, Karsten (2003) viewed the pathways of middle-class households with children in Rotterdam who chose to live in the city centre as progressive in terms of household diversification and emancipation. This was because they were linked to changing gender roles, new practices that combine a career with care giving, and an increased dependence on external facilities and networks. However, despite this focus on the liberating aspects, the qualitative approach and the consideration of other aspects of life can also take account of constraints that may be experienced, even for gentrifiers.

In reference to those households negatively impacted by gentrification, Slater (2006) has stressed the need for qualitative research into those displaced, but an approach to this must consider the complex dynamics of such housing moves and the related experiences. The biographical and qualitative approach of housing pathways can help to draw out the varied strategies that households employ in their housing trajectories but in the context of the obstacles that they face, and examining the way in which pathways vary amongst the subjects under study can avoid simplifying them as a homogenous disadvantaged ‘working class’ population (Paton, 2014). This approach can add to our understanding of why people move and the complexities associated with this, which is of value in understanding the complexities of displacement and drawing out the temporal and spatial contexts of this.

In addition, there have been calls to develop a phenomenological reading of space in order to understand how the place-making activities of those residents remaining in a gentrifying area are altered, commodified and possibly destroyed through processes of gentrification (Davidson, 2009; Slater, 2006). The housing pathway approach is particularly appropriate as a guiding framework for the researcher in this respect because an important underlying assumption is that the consumption

of housing can radically alter as a result of changes in the environment in or around the home in terms of interactions and activities without mobility taking place (Clapham, 2005). Davidson and Lees (2010), Shaw and Hagemans (2015), and Atkinson (2015), showed how residents not actually moving or displaced but impacted by a changing neighbourhood due to gentrification voiced strong feelings of disconnection and disassociation to place, and a sense of loss and bereavement as the neighbourhood they had lived in for many years gradually changed and they had to come to terms with new routines as places they were familiar with disappeared. Any approach must also account for such experiences, despite the lack of a housing move.

The temporal and spatial aspects of the housing pathways approach are also key to advancing gentrification research, but a significant limitation within much gentrification research is the neglect of these dynamics. Highlighting the importance of accounting for time and space is the life-course research by Bondi (1999), who investigated the relevance of gender to gentrification in three wards of Edinburgh and found variations between and within neighbourhoods with regard to housing aspirations. In her study, groups of households in two of the areas studied viewed migration to the area as just “a staging post en route to elsewhere” (Bondi, 1999, p. 276). Such issues were picked up on by Darren Smith (2002), who argued that gentrification may be a stage in the life-course and went on to claim that the “temporal and spatial limits of gentrification have yet to be explored”, urging researchers to “study gentrification within a broader temporal perspective” (D. Smith, 2002, p. 387). And in a similar vein to Slater (2004), who has stressed the need to study gentrification as it occurs rather than after, he notes that most studies are based on ten-year national census data change and take place after gentrification is well-established, thus obscuring the spatial and historical specificity of gentrification processes. Darren Smith (2002) thus advocates incorporating broader life-course and historical perspectives into research frameworks, which must be based on qualitative methods, and ideally refocusing research on places undergoing gentrification. This life course approach is important in terms of both middle- and working-class households.

Employing the housing pathways framework in gentrification research can therefore attune the researcher to the potential impacts of neighbourhood change on households, be they gentrifiers or those displaced, regardless of whether a physical move takes places. However, it is necessary to incorporate within the housing pathways framework a methodology that can capture the essence of the approach. This can be achieved by interpreting the framework through the habitus, which can ground housing pathways in a set of ontological assumptions relevant to the study of gentrification.

4.4 The Habitus and Bourdieu

4.4.1 *The Structural Habitus*

Clapham (2005) drew on Beck (1992), Giddens (1991), and Bauman (1992) and their theories around individualisation to understand housing pathways, which is the argument that due to deindustrialisation, individuals have been dis-embedded from the structural confines of class, giving rise to individuals who construct their biographies and life-course based on individual choice. However, housing pathways research has also been underpinned by the theories of Bourdieu (Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2015; Stillerman, 2017). For Bourdieu (1984; 1990; 2005) social groupings arise from the various volumes of capital someone is endowed with, of which there are four types: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. Economic capital is the financial resources a person possesses, such as wages, profit or interest and expressed institutionally in property rights. Cultural capital exists in three forms: the embodied state, which refers to the long-term dispositions of the body and mind, or habitus; its objectification in the form of cultural goods which are owned such as works of art and scientific instruments; and in the institutionalised state, another form of objectification but in this case commonly referring to the field of education in terms of academic credentials or qualifications held by an individual. Social capital is connected to the membership of a group and the advantages that accrue from that. Finally, symbolic capital is any capital or capitals which are accorded esteem, positive recognition, or honour by relevant actors in the field. People invest in cultural capital to gain economic capital, and visa-versa (Bourdieu, 1984).

Bourdieu (1984) also referred to practices, which can be understood through the workings of the habitus and the field. Seeking to understand how the ‘inner’ and the ‘outer’ shape each other (Maton, 2014), Bourdieu saw the dispositions (habitus) of individuals or groups as produced through their past experiences, or their histories, a predominant factor in this being early childhood experiences of schooling and family upbringing. These past experiences are embodied in each person in the form of cultural capital and act as unconscious schemes of action, thinking and perception that ensure the continuity and situationally appropriateness of that person’s practice over time. These practices are played out within a ‘field’, which symbolises the arena within which symbolic conflicts take place between groups as people occupy either dominated or dominating positions depending on their habitus and volumes of capital. Given that the habitus is embedded within the socio-economic situation of the individual rather than the world of everyday life and the forces of a particular field, Bourdieu’s approach to habitus can be referred to as the structural habitus (Frère, 2005).

There are several advantages of basing housing pathways on the theory of the habitus as understood by Bourdieu. Firstly, the focus of research will remain on the structural constraints of class. As emphasised by Lees, Slater and Wyly (2010, p. 259), “In a literature characterised by political/analytical disagreement and theoretical tension, the centrality of class to the process is a rare point of common ground”. It should not therefore be dispensed with, and although Thailand has had a different history to the West, as was evident in Chapter Three, class has been a key way in which academics have sought to understand social differentiation and inequality in Thailand and thus should be accounted for in any analysis of gentrification. Secondly, Pierre Bourdieu was familiar with non-Western regions, namely Algeria (Bourdieu, 1962), and with the cultural divide between French settlers and the majority population. This application outside of Western contexts is important because Bourdieu has demonstrated how his theories can explore the conflicts that can arise between the old traditional ways of thinking about the economy and new capitalist types of thinking, which in Bourdieu’s case, the French had introduced.

Bourdieu (2005) revisited this later in *Structures of the Economy*, explaining how traditional ways of thinking or dispositions were based around a domestic economy, which was a pre-capitalist organisation of economic life in which the family provided the model for exchanges and practice. In fact, the concept of symbolic capital arose through Bourdieu’s work in pre-capitalist Algeria (Bourdieu, 2005). The main theme of this work was the way in which Algerians needed to shift to a habitus of economic rationality so that they could close the gap between their new economic behaviour in a now capitalist society and their old cultural-economic attitudes. He sought to explain this situation through “the logic of the economy of honour and ‘good faith’” (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 2). The application of his theories to a more traditional society was also evident in his ethnological work examining peasant life in the Bearn and Kabylia, where he developed the concept of social capital (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 2). Dispositions related to more traditional values and norms have been seen in Thailand in relation to the concept of *bunkun* and status. For this reason, Bourdieu’s attempt to define the relation between social practice and social structure remains relevant. Irrespective of individualisation, Bourdieu offers a way of avoiding methodological individualism, that is to say an over concern with individual choices and strategies.

4.4.2 *The Habitus and Housing Pathways*

Drawing on Bourdieu to understand housing pathways has not been widely used within research, but there are two relevant studies that focused on the deployment of capitals to access housing. Hochstenbach and Boterman (2015) sought to understand how pathways are formed in the context of the constraints faced in the housing market in Amsterdam arising as a result of processes of gentrification and thus affordability. Examining the moves of young adults, they were able to

identify three typical housing pathways: linear, chaotic progressive, and chaotic reproductive. The linear housing pathway was represented by more stability due to sufficient economic and cultural capital (knowledge of the 'rules of the game'), with relatively few moves and a reliance on the formal housing sector. Due to low economic capital, the chaotic progressive path was characterised by constraints but a deliberate strategy of diversion from a linear path to a more insecure one in order to live in desirable neighbourhoods at lower rents and the deployment of social capital, in terms of finding accommodation through local networks of family, friends and acquaintances. Those respondents in the chaotic reproductive pathway experience the same constraints as those on the chaotic progressive pathway, but with less success as they commonly face unexpected moves due to such factors as eviction by a landlord or the break-up of a relationship, and this is repeated during their pathway. It is the urgency with which they have to find new accommodation which means that their precarious situation is reproduced.

Stillerman (2017) employed the same typology of pathways as Hochstenbach and Boterman (2015) to explain how the Chilean lower- and middle-classes accessed housing. But importantly he noted how in the Chilean context kinship ties were still very important for housing access. Many families relied extensively on the 'intergenerational transmission of homeownership' (Stillerman, 2017, p.76) as purchase was facilitated through inheritance or as gifts from extended family. Such ties were also important as many families eventually returned to settle near extended family or their childhood neighbourhoods. These were viewed as key distinctions to Northern Europe, where mortgages dominate in housing purchase and 'elective belonging' (Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst, 2004) arises in relation to one's present neighbourhood. This study thus demonstrates the potential to employ the framework to investigate housing pathways understood through Bourdieu in a more traditional society.

Though not referring to housing pathways, other gentrification research resonates with this approach as it has highlighted the importance of taking account of housing moves over time and space in relation to the habitus. Education has been seen as a key social field in the reproduction of the middle classes in London and other UK provincial towns (Butler and Robson, 2003), and echoing the observations of Bondi (1999) and Daren Smith (2002) in relation to the importance of the life course, Bridge (2003) noted how cultural capital was intertwined with future plans. Through undertaking qualitative research into gentrifiers in a neighbourhood of Bristol, Bridge (2003) found that gentrifiers would eventually trade off their deployments of cultural capital in aesthetic display, moving away from a gentrified neighbourhood for better schools, thus not sustaining the gentrification habitus over time. But such findings have not been limited to the West. Wu, Zhang, and Waley (2016) found education to be a factor leading to gentrification in Nanjing in China as

households seek out catchment areas with the best schools. They found displacement, the class conversion of neighbourhoods and profiteering on property values, but no gentrification aesthetic or desire for distinction in terms of property refurbishment. They thus had little in common with the 'original' gentrifiers of North American and British cities identified by those such as Ley (2003), but instead were parents rich in economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital. But importantly, like Bridge (2003), they emphasised the relevance of analysing the life-course of gentrifiers in relation to the deployment of cultural capital, finding the gentrification transient in nature as they would move in and out of neighbourhoods for schooling as required. This movement was of relevance to the social dynamics of neighbourhoods because due to the rapidly changing population and also the fact that gentrifiers would often retain a larger main home they would continue to occupy in the suburbs, social mixing and attachment to the neighbourhoods was negligible. Employing a housing pathways framework can thus ensure that these spatial and temporal aspects of gentrification are drawn out of gentrification research.

Bourdieu's theory of the structural habitus can thus be employed to explore gentrification and to begin underpinning a housing pathways framework. However, in this current study it is important to understand how people may gain and lose due to living in proximity to mass transit, and to employ a methodological approach that can take account of this. This can be achieved through incorporating into the framework the concept of spatial capital and ontological security.

4.4.3 Spatial Capital and Ontological Security

A number of studies have employed the concept of spatial capital to understand how those in privileged social positions have occupied urban places with inequitable outcomes. Centner (2008) argued that dot-com workers rich in economic capital in the late 1990s dominated and defined particular urban spaces, such as a park where police allowed them to flaunt the rules on alcohol consumption. He deemed this domination over material space a form of symbolic capital, which he labelled spatial capital. Barthón and Monfroy (2010) employed the term to show how those from higher social backgrounds were better able to capitalise on place and mobility to secure better schooling for their children, and where they commuted to schools, it was to better schools than those of a lower social background. Specifically in relation to gentrification in two Swiss cities, Rerat and Lees (2011) argue that the desire of gentrifiers to optimise mobility, which they do by locating themselves in an accessible way to the city centre and work, such as through public transport services, should be seen as a desire to increase spatial capital. The gentrifier's goals were to avoid the constraints of suburban mobility which is focused around the car, and the spatial capital attained through their chosen inner-city location enabled them to achieve this. Based on the work of Kaufmann, Bergman, and Joye (2004), Rerat and Lees (2011) defined spatial capital as access (the

modes of transportation and communication available), competence (the skills of an individual such as being able to cycle or drive) and appropriations (how potential mobilities are used through strategies, values and motivations).

Though some have questioned the necessity of its usage in relation to gentrification (Butler and Robson, 2003; Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst, 2004) employing the concept can draw out the specific factors connected to mobility and transit, or lack of it, and thus can only strengthen the understanding of issues around the motivations and mobility practices of gentrifiers. However, a problem that remains is the fact that the aforementioned studies have tended to focus on spatial capital that is gained or utilised by those with economic capital to improve their social position. As Rerat and Lees (2011) have stressed, there is a need to understand how spatial capital is related inequality and thus how its loss impacts the lower-classes or those with less mobility. Focusing on aspects of transport access, such as the benefits of proximity to a new transit station, may not draw out the relevance of spatial capital for the residents to a neighbourhood who have been living in the locality for many years and may not require this mobility as their routines are based around the local area. As noted, spatial capital is a useful tool to understand this, but in this thesis it is argued that it can be strengthened as a concept if it is employed alongside the concept of ontological security and the habitus, which can then draw out the importance of location and its potential loss as a result of the eviction from one's home, or the threat of this.

Bourdieu (2005) explains how the house is much more than a capital asset as it is a place where the family lives, and is thus intertwined with deep cultural, social, and symbolic significance. It also has use value, as a place where daily activities can be organised and based. As Schutz, (1945) succinctly describes:

[H]ome is not merely the homestead – my house, my room, my garden, my town – but everything it stands for. The symbolic character of the notion of 'home' is emotionally evocative and hard to describe. Home means different things to different people. It means of course, father-house and mother-tongue, the family, the sweetheart, the friends; it means a beloved landscape, 'songs my mother taught me,' food prepared in a particular way, familiar things for daily use, folkways, and personal habits – briefly, a peculiar way of life composed of small and important elements, likewise cherished. (Schutz, 1945, p. 370)

The home and its surroundings thus provide a set of familiar and predictable routines and activities but importantly it is more than bricks and mortar, potentially imbued with a history arising through those practices and the relations and interactions occurring in the home and around. Several authors have related this meaning of the home to ontological security. In seeking to explain anxiety in

contemporary life, Giddens (1990) defined ontological security as the trust or the confidence that people have in the world around them, in relation to both other people and things we share our lives with, which in turn provides a sense of stability and continuity to our identity. Adapting the concept to explain the psycho-social benefits of housing (Depuis and Thorns, 1998; Saunders, 1990), the home is central to this because it provides a stable and controlled environment as well as providing a spatial context for the performance of day-to-day routines of human existence and the fashioning of one's identity and sense of belonging.

It is the idea that the home provides a secure place in which a set of familiar routines and practices are performed that ties it in with the concept of the habitus. This connection is evident in its definitions, though authors have noted the difficulty of defining and operationalising it (Saunders, 1989; Histock et al., 2001). Depuis and Thorns (1998) have viewed it as being maintained when four conditions are met, which are when the home is: a site of constancy in the social and material environment; a spatial context in which day-to-day routines of human existence are performed; a site where people feel in control and free from the surveillance of the contemporary world; and a secure base around which identities are constructed. With slight variations and basing it specifically around psycho-social benefits, Histock et al (2001) view it as maintained when three criteria are met: *haven*, whereby one has safety and security from the outside world; *autonomy*, in that one has the freedom to do as one wants, to be oneself and express oneself; and *status*, alluding to the fact that one can only maintain one's self-identity when the self is seen positively in relation to others. Ontological security is not the habitus, but it is this 'fit' in this everyday environment of home which is grounded in one's familiar habits and routines, or the habitus, that maintains one's sense of ease. This sense of ease can thus be impacted upon by the loss or threat of the loss of home, as a disruption or destruction of these routines and habits through something such as displacement will impact on one's ontological security. In other words, a deterioration of the ontological security arising from a habitus and field working in unison leads to a sense of dislocation. As noted in Chapter three, this view is evident in several recent gentrification studies that have shown how ontological unease arises through the disintegration of the ontological security that had been maintained when the habitus and field were in sync (Atkinson, 2015; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015).

Understanding the psycho-social aspects of home alongside spatial capital can thus draw out the cognitive experiences related to the accumulation or loss of spatial capital, and thus help to understand the inequalities of spatial capital. But there is a debate over the extent to which tenure is intrinsically connected to one's ontological security, with some arguing owner-occupation provides greater ontological security (see for example Saunders, 1984, 1989; Depuis and Thorns, 1998) while others have dismissed this (Forrest and Murrie, 1990; Nettleton and Burrows, 1998). The key

idea behind this link is that renting, as opposed to ownership, is the tenure of insecurity and vulnerability (Leavitt and Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995) and seen as lower-status (Gurney, 1996). This debate has not been resolved, and it is not the purpose of this research to draw conclusions on this. Rather, the assumption of this research concurs with Histock et al. (2001) who note that it is too subjective, complex, and context dependent to conclude one way or the other in universal terms, though in looking at each case it can be usefully drawn upon to investigate specific psycho-social issues connected to the home. In this respect, ontological security has not been studied in the Asian context and not in relation to tenure experiences, but it can be assumed at its basic level that a home in any place that is under threat of loss will have social and psychological impacts.

It has thus been set out how Bourdieu's theory of the habitus understood through a housing pathways approach and incorporating spatial capital and ontological security can provide a framework upon which to examine gentrification in both Western and non-Western contexts. However, there are issues with Bourdieu's theoretical approach that must be addressed to ensure an appropriate framework is developed.

4.4.4 Problems with Bourdieu's Approach

Several authors have flagged up concerns with Bourdieu's approach that in turn raise questions over their applicability to gentrification research (Alexander, 1995; Everett, 2002; Jenkins, 1982; Mander, 1987; McLennan, 1998; Reay, 2004; Sayer, 2005; Throop and Murphy, 2002). Firstly, as noted, Bourdieu's concept of habitus can be termed the structural habitus (Frère, 2005) because, though Bourdieu (1990) does not argue that every member will have the same experiences, homogeneity of habitus is ensured in that each member of the same class is likely to have experienced similar situations characteristic for that class. It is thus a structured way of perceiving the lived world, of which the structures leading to particular behaviours reproduce these structures. This view then raises the question as to where the individual and the plurality of their everyday personal experiences, relationships, and emotions come into this (Lahire, 2003). As Atkinson (2010) argues, it remains unclear how some elements of an agent's social milieu and personal experience that would imprint upon their dispositions and schemes of perception, such as their particular job, certain events, locality and so on can be understood, leaving him to conclude that "There is, in short, a residual element of formative experience and thus practice seemingly left unaccounted for" (p. 7). And as Murphy (2011, p. 105-6) argues, the focus on the relations between social positions leaves a gap with regard to an understanding of the 'substance' of these positions or the 'emotional content of familial and communal relations'.

Similar concerns can be raised by a reading of the works of Sayer (2005) and Skeggs (1997), who have shown the way that social position and intersubjective ties are steeped in morality and

emotion. Bottero (2010) too argued that more attention needs to be paid to intersubjectivity and shared negotiated lifeworlds, and the part that these relationships between agents play in constructing identities and everyday meaning. These relationships he claimed were neglected at the expense of a focus on habitus and field. And this omission also raises questions with regard to implementing the concept of ontological security alongside the structural habitus, for as Noble (2005, p.114) notes in relation to its use with the home, it is intrinsically related to everyday bodily sensations and our relationships with others:

Crucially, our ontological security is founded on our ability to be recognised. Our 'fit' in an environment requires the 'acknowledgement' of other actors - human and non-human - that we fit. This is not simply a relation of cognition, but a profoundly sensual experience grounded in the habits and routines and artefacts of our everyday environments: the home is the place where...we are most free to be ourselves. The movement of bodies in a kitchen, the give of our favourite chair that develops over time: these are the sensuous fitness of a body's place there, a 'well-fitted habitus'..., a place which is acknowledged by others.

Habitus is thus related to an agent's social milieu and personal experience and relationships as much as the wider structures of a particular field.

Criticisms have also been raised over Bourdieu's conception of habitus as it is characterised by a view of the agent as non-conscious and pre-reflexive. As understood by Bourdieu, the habitus is grounded in the "intentionless invention of regulated improvisation" which means that a person's "actions and works are the product of a *modus operandi* of which he is not the producer and has no conscious mastery" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 79). The habitus is thus transmitted without conscious intention. Alexander (1995) claims that the habitus ignores the subjectivities and complexities of the self, as well the importance of motive, and McLennan (1998) argues that any sense of a thinking and feeling self is eradicated. More sympathetically, Crossley (2001) recognises that conscious and rational action is not denied by Bourdieu, but this is in times of crisis, when the habitus is in effect suspended. Atkinson (2010) points out that Bourdieu does not reject intentional action altogether, but rather refutes conscious and rational action to emphasise the fact that agents will not weigh up or consider all options as some choices will be seen as "not be for the likes of us", and this is because of the conditioned habitus. However, like the other critics, Atkinson (2010) argues that Bourdieu has not done the theoretical work that will accommodate reflective and intentional action satisfactorily.

Related to this gap is the criticism that Bourdieu's concept of habitus cannot satisfactorily take account of transformation given the emphasis on dispositions. For example, Patton (2014, p. 49)

argues that “The fixed character of metaphoric capital stock makes them resistant to change, be contradictory or incongruous”. Similarly, Crossley (2001) argues that the underlying structures or principles of fields of practice are not fixed but mutate over time. However, accounts of such transformations and the modification of old habits and the generation of new ones are not considered. Crossley argues that a more substantive account of agency is needed:

None of this happens randomly or *ex nihilo*. The flux of both fields and the material conditions of life demand innovation and creation from social agents. Interactions generate a pressure for change. But such demands are only able to have their effects upon conduct and habit because of the agent who is capable of meeting them. There is something more to agency than the concept of habit can fully capture; a creative and generative dynamic that makes and modifies habits. And we therefore need to locate our concept of the habitus within this broader conception of agency. (Crossley, 2001, p. 96)

As was discussed above, Bourdieu (1990; 2000) does make reference to non-habitual action but this is in reference to times of crisis and conflict. As Crossley (2001) states, this type of behaviour is thus seen as an exception to Bourdieu’s understanding of the habitus rather than part of it. Once an exception is admitted, this thus raises the question as to how widespread this is and can be.

4.4.5 Issues for Gentrification Research

These issues raised present a number of problems for gentrification research. Firstly, Hjorthol and Bjornskau (2005), noting that most studies drawing on Bourdieu are in neighbourhoods where gentrification is fairly advanced, suggest that Bourdieu’s habitus cannot satisfactorily explain why gentrification occurs. This is because the way in which structures leading to particular behaviours reproduce these structures means that although it can explain the establishment of class identity and the maintenance of this through consumption behaviour, it cannot explain social change, which is what gentrification is. This is important because the data has revealed how gentrification in Bangkok appears to be a change in cultural practice as condominiums have not previously been desired by the general middle classes (Askew, 2002), thus it may represent a social change in terms of housing preferences. This also presents problems with the use of spatial capital as employed by Rerat and Lees (2011) as a concept alongside Bourdieu’s other capitals, as it is something intrinsically connected to conscious rational, utilitarian decisions to improve location rather than being related to the habitus.

Bridge (2001) sets out similar arguments in his paper that proposes greater account be given to rational action in Bourdieu’s theory. He notes that the habitus is about the structuring structures that make sure classes are reproduced over time, but gentrification represents a set of new practices,

something that could be the case in Thailand given that households have been expected to reject condominiums over a house in the suburbs (Askew, 2002). The practices, Bridge argues, which in the context of the UK are a reaction to a working-class habitus and the traditional middle classes, seen in moves to riskier neighbourhoods, particular forms of conspicuous consumption, and aesthetic display, are by their very nature public, discursive and self-conscious. Being new practices as opposed to traditional, they involve coordination of expectation about the situation, though this is intuitive and tacit rather than involving explicit communication. This rational decision making leads to a “convergence on a new equilibrium” (Bridge, 2001, p.214), meaning that over time, gentrification then becomes a larger time-space strategy and a new set of class dispositions, or gentrification habitus.

Another problem is the extent to which the theories of Bourdieu can provide an in-depth analysis of the working class and their experiences. Within gentrification research, gentrifiers have been seen to be socially differentiated with a variety of different habituses and identities (Butler, 2007), yet the working class have not been viewed as socially differentiated, suggesting that their behaviour is lacking in value or distinguishing attributes of social interest (Paton, 2014). This is firstly related to the relational way in which Bourdieu’s theory of the habitus is constructed. It paints the picture of a middle class that is endowed with cultural and economic capital, capable of making choices and distinctions in their practices. On the other hand, the working-class habitus as the ‘choice of the necessary’ (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 372-96) is essentially a deficit model (Watt, 2006), whereby the working-class are characterised by what they lack, which is sufficient levels of cultural and economic capital, which in turn means they do not make distinctions in the same ways as the middle classes. Though insightful studies into the experiences of the working class, research by those such as Allen (2008) and Charlesworth (2000) have tended to reinforce such binary distinctions, with the working class appearing as victims of wider structural forces and lacking in cultural and symbolic capital. This is in contrast to the active negotiators and participators they have been shown to be by others, both in Thailand (Askew, 2002; De Wandeler, 2002) and the West (Paton, 2014).

And it is the lack of attention to transformation in the theories of Bourdieu that also presents further problems for research into working class, and specifically, gentrification-induced displacement. As has already been discussed, around the world, disruption and change due to gentrification can occur on a daily basis for those impacted (Lees, Shin, Lopez-Morales, 2016), requiring the need to make conscious choices and decisions that may not reflect habitual action. As Crossley (2001) rightly points out, Bourdieu’s focus on conscious action arising in times of major societal upheaval underestimates the realities of people’s situations, which sees them having to make choices that

require reflection and rational, conscious calculation every day of their lives, such as in matters connected to jobs, money, and leisure activities. Also, gentrification scholars have used the habitus to show how a type of community identity is constructed and to demonstrate how this varies between specific areas and neighbourhoods. However, this view of the habitus leads to an overemphasis on the shared elements of experience and the ‘coming together’ of social groups at the expense of an analysis that can differentiate and disaggregate between individual household attitudes, meanings and identities. In the case of understanding displacement or the experiences of those being impacted by the influx of newcomers to an area, this change may reflect a breakdown of social groups and thus social identity rather than the creation of a common habitus.

There is then, a tendency with the employment of the habitus as understood by Bourdieu to overstate the uniformity of group dispositions in the generation of joint practice at the expense of an understanding of the challenges, constraints, adjustments and emotions that are part of this joint practice (Botelho, 2010). Thus a deeper analysis is required to understand the subjective experiences of the individual, and this can be achieved with reference to the habitus as understood through phenomenological philosophy.

4.5 Phenomenology and the Habitus

4.5.1 The biographical Habitus

An approach to understanding habitus is needed that can allow a role for conscious and intentional action, that can take account of changes in practice arising from reflection over every day practices, not just change through large scale crisis and conflict. Also, one that can reveal in greater totality the workings of consciousness that is not restricted to its relation to the incorporation of external structures and social positions and can reveal how identity is experienced on an individual basis. It is here where theory built around the biographical approach of housing pathways can add strength to the weaknesses highlighted in the theories of Bourdieu. As noted early in this chapter, the housing pathways approach should not be accepted without recognition of the structural constraints it imposes on individuals, but at the same time greater account needs to be given to variations in behaviour and also to the construction and negotiation of identity outside of the realms of class.

Phenomenological approaches have been criticised by Bourdieu and others for ignoring social structure. Bourdieu claimed it relied too heavily on subjectivism or consciousness (Bourdieu, 1985). He viewed it as a mistake to view society as a product emerging from a subject’s actions, decisions and consciousness whilst failing to recognise how subjectivity is constrained by durable dispositions, or, in other words, how society is produced by previously internalised structures (Bourdieu, 1977):

It is because [agents] are the products of dispositions which, being the internalisation of the same objective structures, are objectively concerted that the practices of the members of the same group or, in a differentiated society, the same class are endowed with an objective meaning that is at once unitary and systematic, transcending subjective intentions and conscious projects whether individual or collective (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 81)

He also claimed it was too grounded in focusing on the mental operations of ‘intentionality’ (Bourdieu, 2000) and argued that it ignored the fact that no practice can occur without ‘economic interest’ (Bourdieu, 1977). However, these key aspects of phenomenology have an important degree of methodological relevance in overcoming the overly deterministic views of Bourdieu. Thus, in building a housing pathways framework, the structural habitus of Bourdieu should be interpreted in the light of the biographical concept of habitus as developed by Husserl, Schutz, and Merleau-Ponty as phenomenological approaches still have a degree of methodological relevance in allowing a role for the individual, and to understand in greater totality the workings of the consciousness.

4.5.2 Phenomenological Reduction

Husserl coined the term ‘phenomenology’, which was a philosophy based on understanding the structures and contents of consciousness, and placed stress on direct or first-hand description. As Alvesson and Skolberg (2009) explain, he believed it was necessary to ‘bracket’ out any previously held assumptions about the world in order to better understand any phenomena and the structures of consciousness that constitute them, so the focus of interest was neither subjective or objective, but what was ‘lived’. Undertaking this was a process of phenomenological reduction. The next step was eidetic reduction, which involved leaving the individual phenomenon behind, and reaching something common to a whole group of a phenomena, or its ‘essence’ (Alvesson and Skolberg, 2009). The final step is that of transcendental reduction whereby the investigator seeks to understand how these general phenomena, or essences, are constructed. In other words, how the ego creates its own world as the existence of an external reality is only an a priori category of the transcendental ego. Phenomenological reduction, as understood by Husserl is an exercise in philosophical speculation rather than research. However, reduction expressed a concern with experience that is the hallmark of phenomenological research methods.

4.5.3 Typification as Practice

In relation to these mental processes, like Bourdieu, Husserl focused on habits, but for Husserl (2013) rather than just regulating the way we act, habits shape the way that we make sense of our environment as well. In other words, it is central to our perceptions. Rather than simply internalising external structures as proposed by Bourdieu, lived experience is formed by the

accumulation of sense experience, and our experiences leave ‘traces’ or ‘substrates’ that direct a person to ‘typify’ in order to make sense of the world. This idea of ‘typification’ or ‘pairing’ is thus when habitual perceptual schemas are formed that simplify inputs that are perceptually complex. In other words, in order to make sense of a new situation, it is placed within a general category or the broader type to which they belong without having to consciously think about it:

Perceptual experience, in this respect, is structured by biography and, more specifically, by biographically acquired habit. What I have experienced in the past shapes my current experience. And, by the same token, what I experience now sediments in the form of habitus that will shape my future if so called upon (Crossley, 2001 p. 109)

Thus in contrast to the ‘structural habitus’ of Bourdieu, it is biography that is structuring the habitus. Schutz (1967; 1973) also drew on Husserl’s ideas of typification, and it is through this that the workings of the subconscious can be understood as typifying is central to understanding how individuals communicate and relate to each other (Kim and Berrard, 2009). Schutz divided modes of thought into two types, which are common sense (first order) and scientific (second order). The first is the way that individuals experience the world through typifying, or the mental categories created by people that are rooted in practical consciousness, or occurring in the lifeworld. The lifeworld is the mundane world in which each of us operate, consisting of ways of thinking and behaving derived from practical reasoning without being thought about. In other words, a habitual sense of the world. The second is the way that researchers construct first order categories in order to describe the social world to others, or in other words ideal types used as social scientific constructs to explain mainly macro-sociological topics. Typification for Schutz was thus a methodological device that offered a means of going from the unique and the individual to the general. For Schutz, the researcher will not be able to explain all the complexities of the mind, but the description of some first order categories can partially reveal consciousness and the lifeworld and in going from the individual and particular to the general, the concepts of typification and ideal types as an epistemological device offer a way of transcending the agency and structure duality.

Like Husserl, Schutz’s contributions are important as typification is essentially a *practice* as it underlies an individual’s understandings, perceptions, and social interactions and is much more than the personal types often associated with Schutz (Kim and Berrard, 2009). This is exemplified in his wide variety of typifications, such as typical types and courses of action, typical relations, typical motives, results and means, typical situations and reactions (Schutz, 1967; 1973). He viewed typification as key to successful communication as we need a set of common abstractions or standardisations, or common-sense thinking (Schutz, 1967). As Kim and Berrard (2009) explain, typification is central to social science research and the foundation upon which studies of social

identity and constructionist social problems theories have developed. It explores the structures of meaning that lie below the scientist's reasoning, as it informs them, and, according to Kim and Berrard (2009), neglecting these phenomenological insights means missing the taken-for-granted knowledge and presuppositions upon which social science rests (Kim and Berrard, 2009, p. 272). In terms of future scholarship, they argue:

types and typification...are among the most basic as well as among the most radical of sensitising concepts...for theory development and for theoretically informed enquiry. Attending more regularly and more rigorously to issues of types and typification in the social sciences stands to enrich not only the methodology of the social sciences, but to recommend important new topics and new perspectives on recurring topics...and to bridge the all-too-frequent gap between methodological concerns, substantive interests, and theoretical insights.

Understanding the way in which subjects typify is thus a key way in which a qualitative methodology can be enriched, enabling the researcher to draw out the ways in which subjects typify to make sense of their environment and circumstances.

4.5.4 Conscious Action and Reflection

Although it is common to have general typifications and, as Bourdieu (1984) showed, a shared habitus as a result of social interactions within collectivities, the habitus as set forth by phenomenologists' such as Husserl, Merleau-Ponty, and Schutz allows for a more individual element to it than that of Bourdieu as people's experiences in their life will never be identical and thus no two people's habitus will be exactly the same. In addition to this, the phenomenological habitus allows for a more voluntaristic aspect to it, which is underlined by the ability to more easily reflect on and change habits than Bourdieu allowed for. For Merleau-Ponty (Crossley, 2001), individuals can reflect upon the self, and question their motives and actions, subsequently changing habits or developing new ones. This can occur for example through language, as we think reflexively through speech, and through this become aware of our own thoughts and have a dialogue with ourselves. Husserl argues that this reflection leads us to acquire capacities and set goals, such as learning to play the piano and setting the goal to play better, and also to acquire the habitus of others (Crossley, 2001, p.17).

Schutz's understandings of habitus are similar to that of Bourdieu in that the social world is structured and people act in it according to previously determined experience, and, like doxa, Schutz views this as taken for granted by individuals and not necessarily recognised (Throop and Murphy, 2002). But like, Husserl, the way that people interpret the world is explained through a

person's biography with mental structures arising in terms of personal experience derived from friends, parents, and teachers (Schutz, 1973), with people then making sense of the world through common-sense constructs, which in turn determine their behaviour and goals. And like Husserl, Schutz differs from Bourdieu as he takes account of pre-reflexive action through a practical sense, but also takes account of conscious motives in social action (Throop and Murphy, 2002). For Schutz, an action or 'project' cannot be simply labelled as conscious or unconscious because a distinction must be made between the point in time in which it is being observed, with a subject's conscious attention differing in relation to this (Schutz, 1967). In the actual carrying out of a project, there is no reflection on the act or goals, which is done habitually, or based on past experiences, and is a pre-phenomenal stage. Phenomenological action though occurs as the subject anticipates the goals of a projected act, or reflects upon the act upon completion. As Throop and Murphy (2002) note:

For Schutz...it is never simply the case that either a practical, pre-phenomenal sense or a reflexive, phenomenological project serve to direct an individual's action, since at different stages of action there will be differing contributions from pre-reflexive and reflexive experience (p 195).

This thus provides for a more intricate yet flexible account of practices that allows for conscious action and reflection.

4.5.5 Gentrification Research

Thus incorporating the biographical habitus alongside the concept of structural habitus as a framework for housing pathways has important implications for gentrification research. Unlike Bourdieu and his restrictive notion of non-habitual actions during points of crisis, a person may at any time be able to enter into a dialogue with themselves and become the object of their own story, and work upon changing their habits or developing new ones, suggesting a degree of creativity and innovation. As noted earlier (Bridge, 2001; Hjorthol and Bjornskau, 2005), the theories of Bourdieu cannot adequately explain how gentrification becomes a new practice and greater account needs to be given to rational action in understanding this. In terms of phenomenology, gentrification as a new practice can be seen as reflexive phenomenological action, which can potentially explain transformation and the development of new habits. Similarly, displacement represents a set of disrupted practices that may require the need to make rational, conscious choices and decisions outside of the realms of habitual action, account of which is given to in the phenomenological understanding of habitus. This also ties in with spatial capital, for as Rerat and Lees (2011) explain, acquiring spatial capital is not necessarily about the habitus and the desire for distinction but based

on a utilitarian mindset, where the agent is making practical decisions on the ways in which they have optimum mobility.

A deeper understanding of consciousness is also important for gentrification research and to address the weaknesses in Bourdieu's theory because, as has been stated, greater account needs to be given to variations in behaviour, understanding ontological security and also to the construction and negotiation of identity, particularly in regard to status, outside of the realms of class. For example, research has shown how some people disassociate themselves from any kind of identification with class culture or expressions of class consciousness, instead defining themselves through typifications such as "people like us" or "normal" (Savage, 2000; Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst, 2001; Skeggs, 1997). In this way, class still exists, but people are not recognising the structural forces affecting them. Similarly, Patton (2014) in her analysis of gentrification and working class identity found that people did not refer to class but knew their place and had a conscious and reflexive awareness of their position. People's collectivity and solidarity was instead expressed through 'have's' and 'have nots' and being 'in the same boat'. It is through drawing out these first order typifications that reveal the lifeworlds of the subjects in these cases, and thus in the context of Asia and status identity, it is through typification that people's own perceptions of their status can be understood. Not only this, the focus on phenomenology and the constructions of the transcendental ego can provide insights into the meaningful aspects of an individual's world as experienced by them, and thus draw out how ontological security is created and maintained or how it is impacted on by the disruption of gentrification.

4.6 Conclusions

While basing housing pathways on the theories of Bourdieu ensures structure and class are central to any analysis, applying thinking around the concepts of a housing pathways helps resolve some of the problems inherent in Bourdieu's theories. The structural habitus is a way in which the external constraints that act on the individual can be drawn out, but the biographical habitus can draw out the individual experiences of this. The implications for this approach are that it emphasises a concern with generation change, life cycle changes as well as structural position, all factors relevant to a study of housing pathways. In relation to a study of gentrification the housing pathways framework has a number of advantages. Firstly, it is better adapted to drawing out the complexities of inequality in a society such as Thailand which is differentiated along multiple dimensions, including status and not just class. Secondly, it can account for the housing moves of not just gentrifiers but the experiences of those impacted in other ways by the process, whilst also avoiding a binary way of thinking about socio-economic groups, denigrating the working class as lacking in

the ability of the middle classes to be active negotiators who can potentially influence gentrification and make cultural distinctions. Thirdly, it can draw out the complexities of housing moves, taking into account aspects of change, reflection and conscious decision-making, and in particular focusing the researcher on housing moves over time and space, something important as a gentrification habitus may not be sustained throughout the lifecycle.

5 Introducing the Case Study Area

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the case study area, the aim of which is to give a broad overview of the changes that are occurring to set the context for the presentation of the results of the interviews. First, the choice of case study area is justified. Second, the history of the area is described in terms of its socio-economic status, types of trade and employment, and types of housing. It is then shown how this is altering due to the introduction of mass transit, which has led to a proliferation of condominium building. Although the stories of the respondents are presented in the chapters that follow, some brief excerpts of comments from two residents, the real estate agents, and developers have been included as these were able to provide particular clarity to the way the locale has transformed.

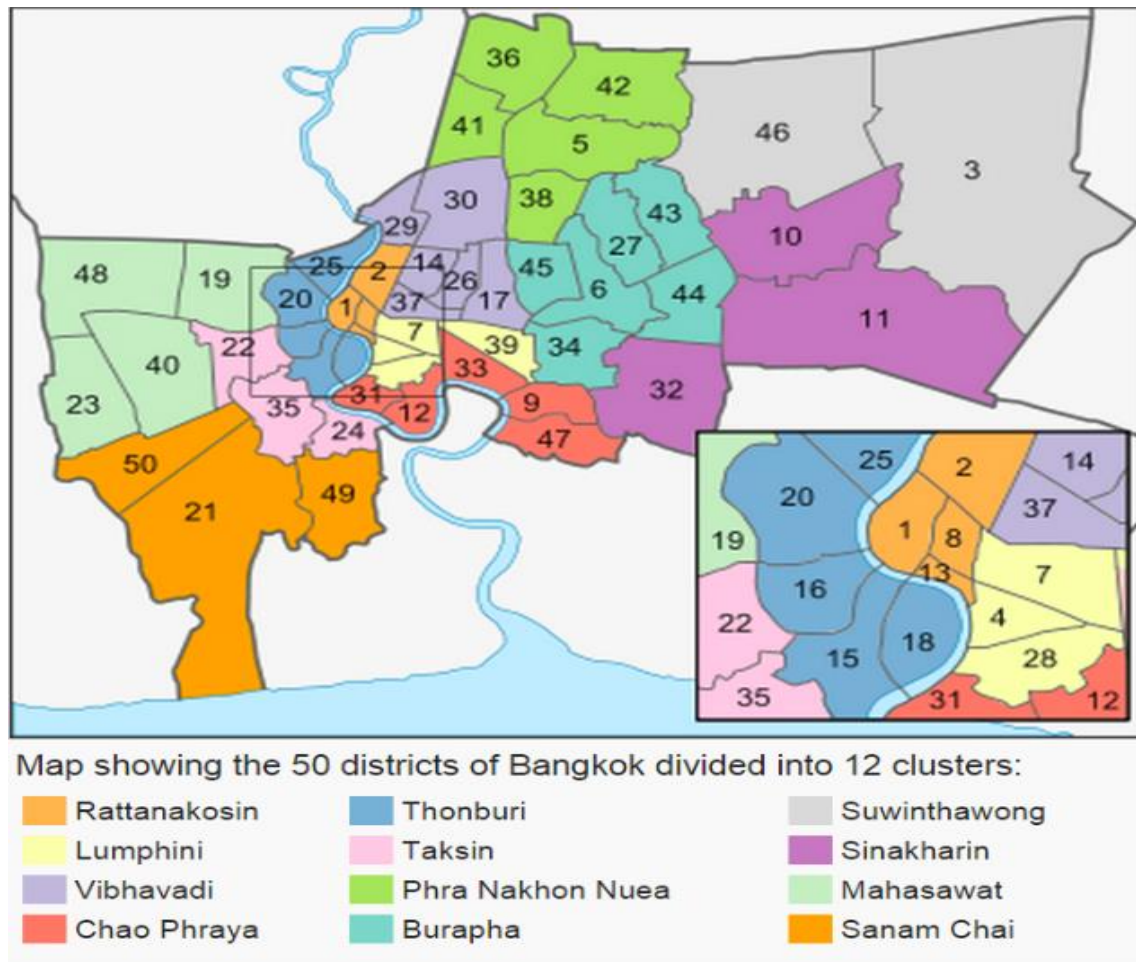
5.1.1 *A Case Study Approach*

The mass transit system now covers many areas and districts in Bangkok. Given the resources available for the study, it was not possible to investigate multiple cases of the changes occurring around transit stations. It was therefore decided to undertake a case study of one particular area. A case study was viewed as a method in which to draw out the contextual characteristics and complexities of the phenomena under study. A case study, or what Adelman, Jenkins, and Kemmis (1980 p. 49) have termed an ‘instance in action’, focuses on a detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of conditions or events and their relationships (Yin, 2017). This is suitable for this study, which aims to understand the lived experiences of subjects who are experiencing neighbourhood change as a result of gentrification and to understand the specific context in which this is occurring. As Adelman, Jenkins, and Kemmis (1980) explain, an instance of a phenomenon can lift the discussion of historical, cultural, political and social processes into the lived reality, create context for theoretical discourses, and give a voice to those who may be experiencing discrimination or oppression.

In selecting a case study, Stake (1995) argues that the case must be typical or atypical of the research issue, be theory-driven, have boundaries, and maximise what can be learned in the time available. The case study area is in a district of Bangkok called Klong San, and it had recently seen the introduction of two new transit stations, thus making it a good example to study the impacts of mass transit. However, given there were several potential areas that were open to investigation, a number of factors led to the choice made. Firstly, I was aware of the changes in the locale due to living in a condominium in the area for a period and regularly passing through it on the way to work. Secondly, prior to the commencement of the PhD, my interest in the changes resulted in a research project being funded by my university employers in which I undertook 60 semi-structured

interviews with residents living in one condominium and around the local neighbourhood (Moore, 2015). I had thus established some prior useful social networks and knowledge. Thirdly, it appeared on the surface to have the core characteristics associated with new-build gentrification noted in western cities (Davison and Lees, 2005) and thus provided the opportunity through a more in-depth study to make comparisons to western understandings of the phenomena.

Figure 3: District Map of Bangkok



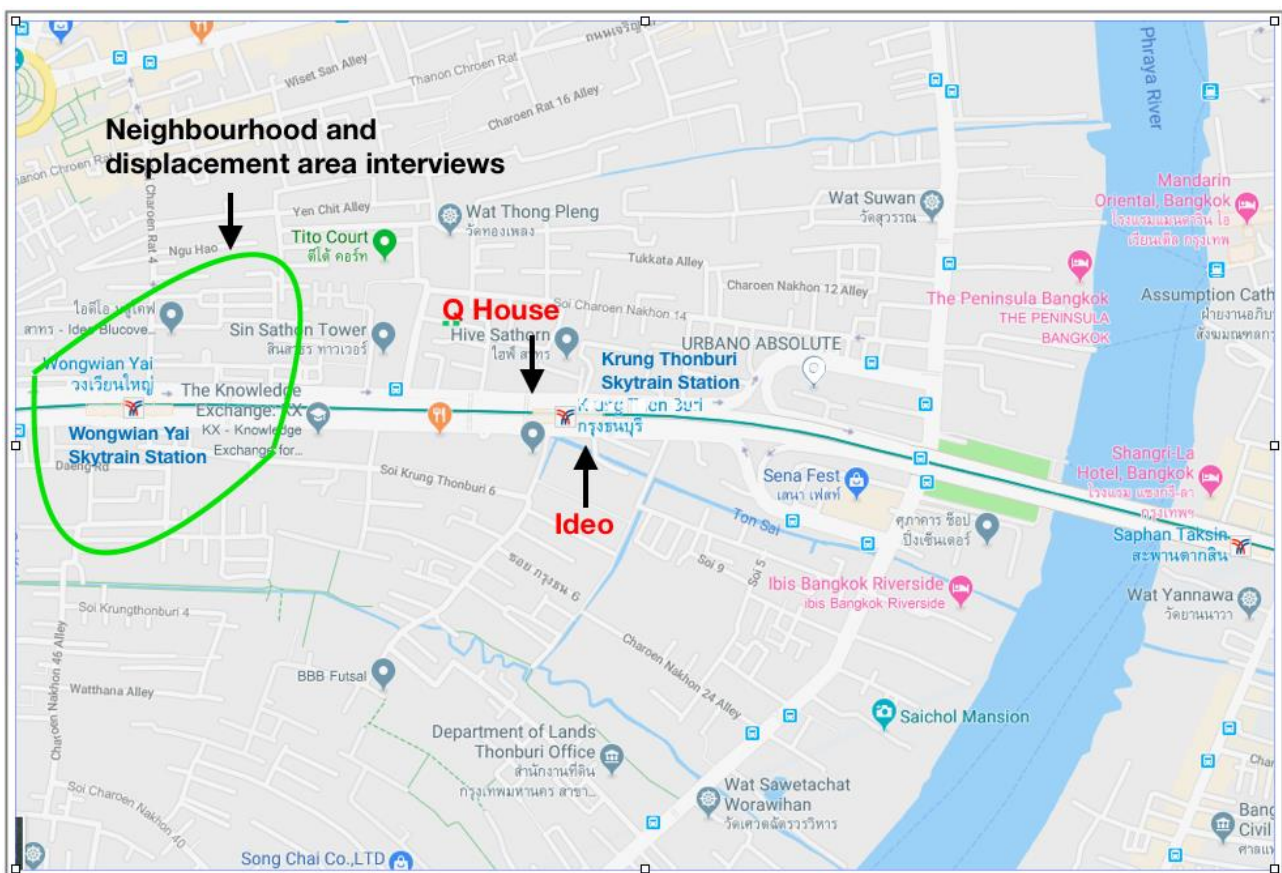
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Outline_of_Bangkok (permission by author)

In terms of the boundaries of the case study, Bangkok is subdivided into 50 districts (khet), shown in figure 3, which are further subdivided into 169 sub-districts (khwaeng). Klong San (no. 18) is within an area known as Thonburi. Klong San is subdivided into a further 4 sub-districts. However, the purpose of the study was to investigate changes relating to neighbourhoods around mass transit, so these official boundaries were not of relevance to finding samples or for artificially creating cut off points. They were only used as terms of reference for describing the broad location of the area in relation to Bangkok and to describe the broad socio-economic backgrounds of those living around there. Thus for this research the area was taken to be inclusive of those living within a 200 metre radius of the two transit stations and the line joining them. Figure 4 shows the two stations and

joining line where the research took place. Q House and Ideo condominiums where residents were interviewed can be seen next to Krung Thonburi BTS station.

This research rests on the ontological assumption that there is not one single tangible reality that is there to be discovered, but multiple constructed realities. Drawing on the work of Lincoln and Guba (1985), the trustworthiness of the research therefore rests on its credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. However, a criticism of the case study is that it is not representative of the full range of cases as it is only one instance of many, and that the results may not therefore be generalisable. Gospidini's (2005) large scale study of mass transit in Europe suggests transferability could be questioned as impacts varied widely at differing station areas. However, the individual situations and experiences of households displaced is likely to be similar in other places in Bangkok, as the struggles they experienced leaving communities they had lived in for prolonged periods, such as loss of access to nearby work and social bonds would exist regardless of the area. Similarly those not displaced and seeing their environment change would likely be facing the same challenges as elsewhere.

Figure 4: Klong San District and Interview Locations – Neighbourhood area and two condominiums



Source: designed by author using google maps

In addition, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985), credibility can be established by prolonged engagement in the field, triangulation exercises, exposure of the work to criticism by other researchers, and negative instances that challenge emerging hypotheses. A form of methodological triangulation occurred with this research as it could be measured against the findings of previous studies in the case study area on gentrification and displacement (Moore, 2015) and the construction of place-identity (Moore, 2012). There was also a combination of methods which adds to its credibility, with broad macro patterns identified which were investigated further in the case study and within the interviews. This does not suggest a search for causal matches or that there is one truth to be found as the interviews sought to draw out the complexity of experiences but it demonstrates the depth of the research into this particular phenomenon. Also, in a broader context the detailed and in-depth analyses of the setting, or what Geertz (1988) has called ‘thick description’, aims to give the reader, to the extent to which it is possible, the experience of being there, and thus to be equipped to assess the similarities of the setting to that which he or she has personal experience of. Dependability and confirmability arise from ‘auditing’, which means documenting my data, methods and decision making made during the project and with the end product.

5.1.2 *Working-Class Roots*

Klong San is one of the 50 districts in Bangkok, and it is located on the west bank of the Chao Phraya River. Originally the areas in Klong San were dominated by farming, with a few local families owning much of the land making money from selling fruit they grew in their orchards. A local resident Charlie was born in the area and his parents were farmers. He explained the environment in the 1940s and 1950s when he was a child. At this time, there was little in the form of residential housing, illustrated by Charlie’s story about his fear of ghosts at this time:

Would you believe me if I told you that when I was about 10, 11, 12 years old, whatever, these areas around here were all mine - my *suan* [Literally “garden” but referring to large areas with lots of plants and trees, like a forest], I was scared to go into the garden because I was scared of ghosts. It was so quiet that the silence became its loudness. Only the sound of silence. When you walked inside it sounded loud. Strange. So I felt that I was afraid of ghosts. All of the land here was ours [his family]. There were no houses. Now there may be about 800,000 houses but whatever but before there were no houses. No house. No houses, means no houses. (Author’s interview with local resident, 2015).

Figure 5: Typical soi of shop houses in the case study area



Source: Author

Originally, this area was only accessible from the central business district by boat, so in this sense it was cut off from the main part of the city. However, a bridge and road were eventually built, and this opened the area up to rapid development. This was coupled with the decline in income from the orchards, explained Charlie, as encroaching salt water damaged the yields, meaning that farmers were more willing to sell their land. But according to Colliers Real Estate Agents, it had been the long-term lack of access which accounted for the area's history as working class:

I understood it to be fairly working class because of the distance to get to town, you know when there is no access to the centre. You're probably going to have some reasonably large landed housing, so you'll have a smattering of old wealth, but it was predominantly working class, because of the access. In some ways you're so close, yet so far because of the river, so to get...if I was working in Sathorn [business district] and living there, I'd have to get a long motorbike ride to get to the river, and then get a little boat, and you know, you're sweating by the time you get to work. It's not a good journey, so in that respect it was more lower end.

The working class history of the area which remains today is evident in the occupations which dominate the area, which are manual trades. Common trades in the area are shoe and jewelry

making, with a large majority explaining that this was then sold over the river in the popular tourist and business areas of Silom. Rather than being large businesses, these are all small family businesses, with the house being used for the business and living. The housing that dominates the district is rows of two or three story shop houses (figures 5 and 8). These are houses that have iron sliding gates across the ground floor that can be fully opened, with the space then generally used to run small businesses (figure 6). Some neighbourhoods to the south of Wongwian Yai sky train station consisted of large amounts of wood built houses. This is usually where a landlord owns the land and a tenant has built their own house. There is also a large open air market in the area where people would purchase materials for their trade. There were also some old apartment buildings in the area, but prior to the mass transit, these tended to be low-rise buildings. With the exception of a large office building, there were no large apartment complexes.

Figure 6: Shoe making business on the ground floor of a shop house



Source: Author

Displacement Area 1 was a community of shop houses, where there were around 200 houses when built (called the 200 Houses Community), similar to those in figures 5 and 8. The houses here were built 25 years ago, with the ownership of the land and houses remaining with the landlord who then leased (senged) the houses out to people. Some sengs were for the full twenty-five years whereas others were for a shorter period, with a minimum seng being for three years. A common practice for someone senging a property is to then rent it out, or sub-let it. So many people living there were also renting. People were also interviewed in the small sois to the west of this community, or just north of the sky train station. The houses in this area were a mix of tenures, with the land being owned by various landlords. In some cases the landlord could own a whole soi, and seng the properties out, with again some being sublet. In some cases a landlord may have sold properties on a soi, so some were under owner-occupation.

Figure 7: Case study displacement areas

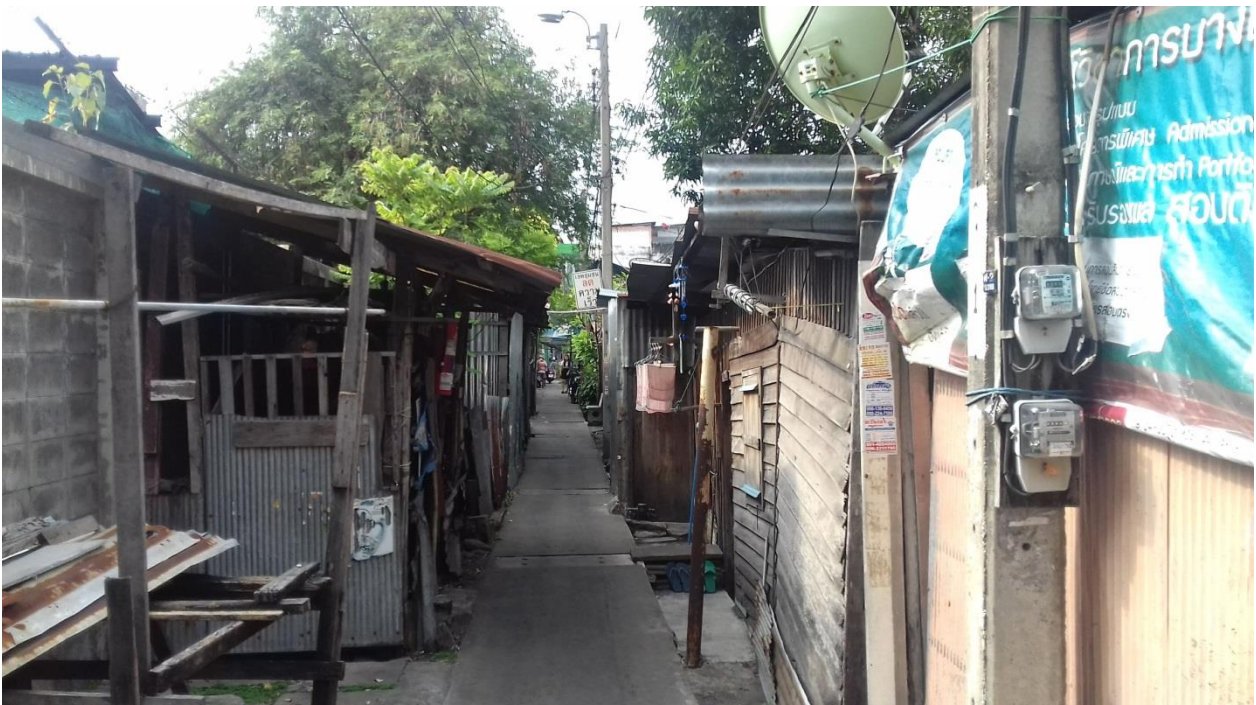


Source: designed by author using google maps

Figure 8: A typical soi in the case study area



Figure 9: Wooden houses, often built by tenants renting the plot



Source of photos: Author

In contrast to this, the second displacement area was a small community where they had built their own houses of wood after renting a space on the land from the landlord. Figure 9 shows similar houses close by to the displacement area. It wasn't a large area, so there had been no more than nine or ten households living there over the years. All the residents were low-waged manual workers. Some of the households came from the same family. To secure a place, a household would ask the land owner for permission to rent a small area and then build their own house from wood, usually one-story, elevated houses on stilts, raised about 1 meter from the ground of varying sizes. Those in this community had lived there for two or three generations. They thus owned the wood of the house, but were officially renters of the land. The rest of the area to the east of this community was a mix of similar wooden traditional housing and shop houses similar to the other area, with people either owner-occupiers, sengers or renters, depending on whether a particular landlord had decided to keep the land or not. Like the communities to the north of the sky train line, landlords usually owned large areas of land on which there were multiple residences.

5.1.3 Mass Transit and Condominium Development

Even with the building of Krung Thonburi Road, now the main thoroughfare over the river, as traffic increased, the congestion meant a very time consuming journey to travel across to try and reach the central city. But in 2005, the extension of the Silom BTS line, which previously stopped at the Sapan Taksin station just by the river, began. The line was built across the river, through Klong San, and into the next district, Thonburi, extending the line by 7.5 km. At first, only two new stations were opened, covering 2.2 km of the line, and the communities around these stations and line were the focus of this case study. However, in 2013, a further four stations became operational along the remainder of the line. This extension means that the centre of Bangkok and the business district (known as 'Silom' or 'Sathorn' as these are the names of the main roads that cut through the area) on the other side of the river are now accessible in a very short time by mass transit. It was soon after the first stations opened in 2009 that the local people in the area began to be affected by gentrification. As Colliers Real Estate Agents explained, this led to a proliferation of condominium building in the areas along the new lines:

It [Sky Train Extension] sort of rejuvenated the whole place because of the access now. 10 minutes and you're in Sathorn (Author's Interview with Colliers Real Estate Agents, 2012).

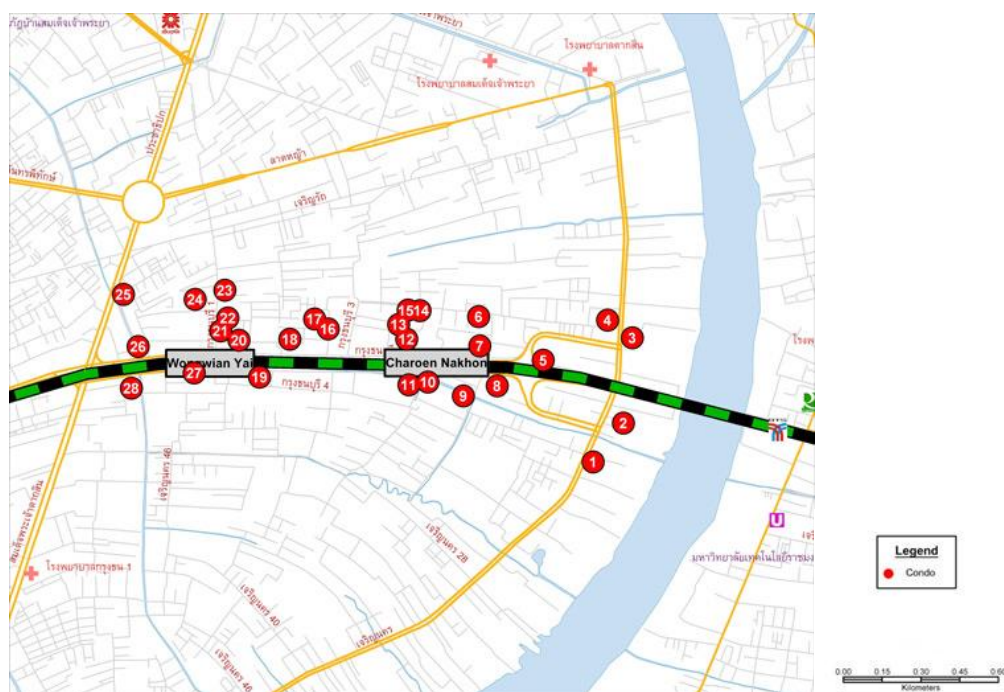
As the Bangkok Post Newspaper reported in 2007, this rejuvenation was beginning even before the lines had opened:

The Taksin-Thonburi area is becoming a hot location for condominiums with at least seven developments worth more than 15 billion baht to be launched in the second half

of this year....The projects will add at least 2,500 units to the supply in the area, with five of the developments located close to the two new BTS Skytrain stations on the west side of the Chao Phraya River (Katharangsiporn, 2007).

According to brokerage firm Harrison Plc (Katharangsiporn, 2007) prices in the area nearly quadrupled in the two year period 2005 to 2007, with average prices of 80,000 baht per square wah [1 sq. wah = 4 sq. m] increasing to as much as 300,000 baht in sought after locations and at this time in 2007, at least fifteen developers were trying to find good plots of land that were close to BTS stations. Figure 10 shows the number of residential projects that have been completed from 2006, soon after construction of the new line began, until 2014. A total of twenty-nine condominiums had been built within close proximity to the BTS line, and particularly the stations, and more have been built since this time.

Figure 10: Taksin-Wongwian Yai BTS Line - condominiums completed or under construction from 2005 - 2014



Source: Compiled by the Real Estate Information Centre for the author in 2014

**Charoen Nakhon is commonly known as Krung Thonburi Station*

The condominiums that have been built range from luxury buildings with swimming pools and fitness centres aimed at the higher income market, to those with few facilities targeted at people with a lower income. For example, taking initial launch prices, a two-bedroom apartment in a luxury condominium in the area was priced at 8.45 million baht (approximately \$260,000) while a

studio unit at the cheapest condominium was 1.25 million baht (approximately \$38,000), but prices have increased considerably since this time. As noted by Moore (2015), these would be unaffordable for those on the national average wage for Thailand and households interviewed in the area were often earning below this. Those completed at the time will add nearly 7,000 new units to the area, thus constituting the potential for a significant influx of residents with a higher income than long-term residents living in the area.

Figure 11: New condominiums along the mass transit extension line in the case study area



Source: Author

The developers have mainly been major Thai development companies such as Ananda, Land & Houses, TCC Capital Land, Quality Houses, Rasa Property and Sansiri. As is typical in Bangkok, development was only organised by the state in this area in an indirect way through the commissioning of the transit line and general government support for homeownership, such as with tax breaks and continued low-interest rates. In 2006, transit was accounted for in the Bangkok City Plan, but this was focused around parking (Interview with Planning Department, 2015). If developers provided free parking at a condominium, which was seen to encourage those driving to

park and use transit, and the condominium was within the 500 radius of a transit line, they got a FAR bonus so they could build higher than in the zones usually allowed. Again, like Bangkok more generally, in this area there is an absence of low-cost social housing. A representative of the National Housing Association (NHA), who provides affordable housing, explained that their organisation has to compete on the private market with limited budgets and lengthy procurement procedures. They are also caught in an environment of regularly changing government and policies which makes forward planning difficult. They therefore focus on large housing estates in the suburbs and would not target areas such as the case study area.

5.1.4 Marketing and Branding

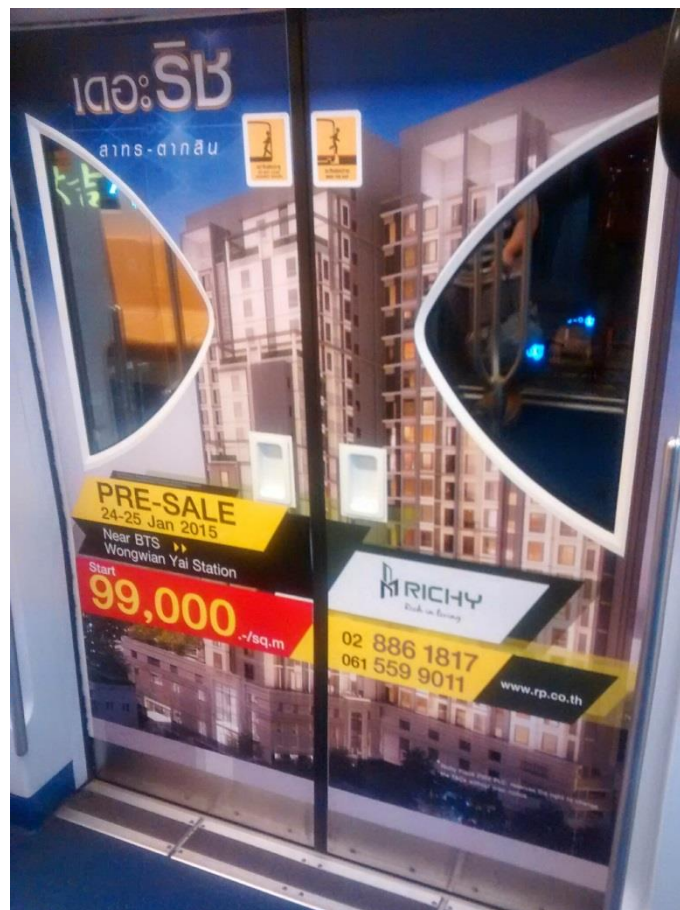
A particularly attractive feature of this area now it has mass transit is access to the business area of Silom and also a prestigious university in the city centre and several international schools close by. TCC, a developer who opened one of the first condos in the case study area called Villa Sathorn, explained that they were targeting office workers and parents who cannot afford the higher prices of the centre of the city. This she believed, then acts as a catalyst for the area as other people see its attraction. The developer Ananda also explained that they view the area essentially as a “connection hub” for those with children at schools nearby or working in the centre. This focus on particular end users was also evident in another strategy to encourage sales, which was the targeting of certain styles of condominiums to certain groups. As an example of this, Sansiri explained how they targeted according to three segments, with cheaper prices and more basic facilities targeted at ‘low end’ customers and more expensive high-spec units for those at the ‘high end’.

Ananda is responsible for building the Ideo brand, which is one of the condominiums where interviews took place in this case study and there are two other Ideo condominiums right next to the transit stations in the case study area. Asked about who they felt their purchasers were, the Ideo developers described their target customers as “Gen-C” (Generation C), typified by a lifestyle based around “cash, convenience, creativity, casualness, control, connection.” Condo promotion focused on the idea that everyone “can have a happy lifestyle like Gen-C”. Giving people control over their time appeared to be the overriding factor in providing this lifestyle for Gen-C:

We try to design—we try to design the condo and the housing that people can—can live with, just like a—just like clever to live with, clever to use the time just like you can—you can live near the CBD and you...[it’s] easy for you to connect to the centre of the CBD for working just like—OK, just like today is Friday evening when you come back home, you can see the traffic is really jammed. But if you can connect to the mass transit, you can take about 20 minutes or 10 minutes to go back home and you can do exercise, you can go near

your home location and have the lifestyle to just like hang out with your friends or something. You can more be clever to use the time more than other people. You can manage your time. (Author interview with Ananda Developers, 2015)

Figure 12: Condo marketing campaign on the doors of a Skytrain carriage



Source: Author

As documented by Moore (2012), the way developers viewed purchasers and what they desire can also be seen in the marketing taken from their website, which rather than referencing the surrounding environment, focuses on life in the condominium itself in terms of nature, health, and peacefulness combined with modern urban living. Marketing by the developers also included sales suites, brochures, show rooms and bill boards but also, particularly for the middle to low end buyers according to Sansiri, social media. However, building brand loyalty based on reputation was also important, through the selling to previous purchasers:

When we launched Villa Sathorn [one of the early projects in the case study area], it's our 4th project I think and we have a customer base already who had invested, or even the company staff. When we launched we gave the right for the old customer and the staff to buy first, to have the first right to buy. And it was quite successful at the first launch with the pre-sale, we sold very quickly. Don't have much – we do have the marketing budget

and everything, we have billboards and we have put the advertising in the magazine, we have leaflets to, for the people, we have done events to sell, but not much. I think the project can sell by itself once it opens and is launched to insiders, I mean old customers and staff. (Author interview with TCC Developers, 2015)

Developers therefore marketed the units in this area with the practical aspects of close city living in mind but also focused on a particular image that they associate with the potential buyers.

5.1.5 Landscape Changes

Charlie's earlier description of the area can be compared to the description from a condominium resident of what she thinks is now attracting people like herself to live in the area, which is according to her focused on the way that the area is part of the city but just outside of the central business and shopping areas:

I'd say it's kind of like a mixture of living in the city but also there's still a bit of the vibe of living somewhere in the residential area because it [the study area] crosses to another side, to the Thonburi side. It's not in Bangkok also it's not that far from Bangkok and you get to see the river and all that. So if people want to live somewhere where they feel the vibe of living in the city they can see the view of tall buildings and all that but they still want the feeling of not being exactly in the town then this would be perfect. (Author's interview with condominium resident, 2015).

However, wider changes to the physical environment have taken place in the area due to the removal of several neighbourhoods of town houses as they are replaced by condominiums. According to CBRE (Interview with CBRE, 2014) most of the condos in the city and this area have been built on small infill plots of brownfield land because acquiring plots from multiple owners in this area is very difficult. CBRE went on to state: "It's not like China or Vietnam where it's...let's just willie-nillie go and knock down an area, bulldoze it". In a similar vein, Colliers viewed the changes as gradual rather than the sudden disappearance of whole communities of housing:

If you're in a community, and the community goes anyway then there's no community. So you're on your own. Ok, 30 years ago it may have been vibrant but now it's not. Why are you staying there in a sense because it's not a community anymore because gradually people are moving out anyway and they [developers] gradually secure these buildings, so over time...it's not like one day it's there and the next day it's gone, and a vibrant community has been bulldozed, it's more evolutionary. It takes time for this to happen, to the frustration of developers, but that's how it is. (Author's interview with Colliers International in 2012).

It is difficult to establish how long the process may take from the selling of land to complete clearance and how this varies from area to area; however, there are some places where whole communities have been displaced, and specific research by Moore (2015) in this case study area found several cases where large plots of land had been sold, displacing many residents, one area of which is the subject of this research.

At present, the physical changes to the area are mainly seen in relation to this changing in types of accommodation, with less change in commercial activities. There has been little evidence of changes to shops and food establishments around the sois that traverse the neighbourhoods, with the small, cheap, open-fronted local restaurants that have served the local population for many years remaining, as do the local businesses in the area. However, other change that can visibly be seen on the main road is the proliferation of activity around the transit stations, with many mobile food stall sellers setting up every day to serve the residents exiting the Sky Train station, particularly busy in the period after work from 4pm to 8pm. Motorbike taxis have also set up at each station to transport those back home who do not live directly next to a station. Also, indicating what may be to come, a small beauty shop with relatively expensive treatments opened around 2015, which the staff explained was there to cater to the condominium dwellers in the area. A community mall has now opened, though that is nearer to the river and thus may not necessarily be related to the rise of condominiums. Antony Pichon of Colliers also gave his thoughts on the way the area has altered and what the future may hold: “At Wongwian Yai, it was nothing, it’s changed overnight. There was hardly anything, in terms of, just landed housing, almost farmland, and then it changed overnight”. Interviewed prior to the mall opening, he explained how more extensive neighbourhood change may follow:

What is part of gentrification will be the retail components that will come later. I don’t know, but I would imagine there’ll be quite a good community mall, maybe even a proper retail centre that will be built. But I imagine that they’ll do it in a little bit different way, it will be quite high end, modern, because I see a lot of people there will be probably quite middle aged or younger yuppies that kind of thing that will move into the area. It will establish its own personality.” (Author’s interview with Colliers International in 2012).

It will thus be several years before it is known to what extent commercial activities change in the locale, but the case study area is an area experiencing significant change due to gentrification.

Figure 13: Moto Taxi drivers by Wongwian Yai Station



Figure 14: Mobile food stall sellers trading by Krung Thonburi Station, close to Ideo Condo



Source of photos: Author

6 Research Methodology

6.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the operational research methods, which involved a case study and semi-structured interviews with 47 residents from two condominiums and the local neighbourhood. It specifically discusses the interview process, the profiles of the residents interviewed, and the data analysis.

6.2 The Research Approach

In order to answer the research questions, the following operational methods were employed. A case study of an area impacted by the introduction of mass transit was chosen in which to carry out semi-structured interviews with residents who were deemed to be gentrifiers and long-term residents either experiencing neighbourhood change or having been displaced. The interviews with the long-term local residents were undertaken in Thai; however, those with the condominium residents were mainly undertaken in English due to the subject's high level of English conversational ability. There were also interviews with two major real estate companies, Colliers International and CBRE, four developers, the National Housing Federation, who build affordable housing, and the Planning Department. They were all undertaken in English as two of the real estate agents were English, and all the others were Thai but spoke a good level of English. Excerpts from these interviews have predominately been used to provide context to the study, and have thus been interspersed within the previous Case Study, Chapter Six, and the vignettes. This was because the data gained from these interviews with institutions did not significantly contribute to the research questions.

Some statistical data on changes to the land and housing market in relation to the growth of condominiums in the case study area is also presented in Chapter Five, The Case Study. Broader statistical data regarding the land and housing market in Bangkok has been included in Appendix 1 as it has also been covered in previous research (Moore, 2015). In this sense then the study used multiple methods (Hussein, 2009; Spicer, 2004), combining quantitative and qualitative tools of enquiry. The motivation for this is that the secondary data analysis could highlight the measurable aspects of change occurring in the case study area. The qualitative aspects of a case study, interviewing and photographic evidence would then capture the complexity, diversity, and contradictions of the social and human world within a local setting. In other words, it draws out the small-scale phenomena underlying these regularities that any secondary data analysis can reveal. Yet despite this use of some statistical contextual data, this is fundamentally a qualitative study.

6.3 Interviews

6.3.1 *Pilot Study*

Pilot research was partly provided for this research through previous research I undertook in this area (Moore, 2012; 2015). This influenced this study as when letters were left in the post box of each household in one condominium, there were no responses, so it became clear that probability sampling was not likely to work. Another condominium, Ideo, right next to Krung Thonburi station agreed I could wait in reception and ask people for an interview. This was thus the approach taken. With regards to the neighbourhood, there is no database of housing, thus people were approached by knocking on doors in a variety of streets and by speaking to people who ran businesses and lived in the area. In terms of learning from this pilot, it provided insights into an area undergoing gentrification and identified a number of trends that could be explored further. It was thus the preparation for a further more in-depth study.

6.3.2 *Population, Participants and Sampling Technique*

Given the selection of a case study to answer the research questions, the population under study was those living in the case study area, which is those living in the communities around the mass transit extension line running through Klong San and the two mass transit stations, Krung Thonburi and Wongwian Yai. The aim was to understand the particular experiences of this population, specifically gentrifiers and long-term residents of the area. ‘Gentrifiers’ were classified as newcomers who had moved to live in the condominiums, as this is where they settled rather than the housing in the local area. Though all households living there are neighbourhood residents, to create a distinction, those not in the condominiums were labelled ‘Neighbourhood Residents’. This was anyone else living in the study area, which included (specifically in relation to the topic of gentrification), (a) those who had not been displaced, (b) those who had been displaced from their former residence but still lived in the area, and (c) those previously living there but displaced out of the area. It was thus a form of quota sampling in that the aim was to try and ensure all of those subgroups would be represented in order to get a breadth of experiences. As discovered from the pilot, although probability sampling is the best way to get a random and representative sample, this was not possible as there is no public database of households and their addresses and thus no available sampling frame and this was attempted at one condominium by leaving letters in people’s post boxes but there was a zero response rate.

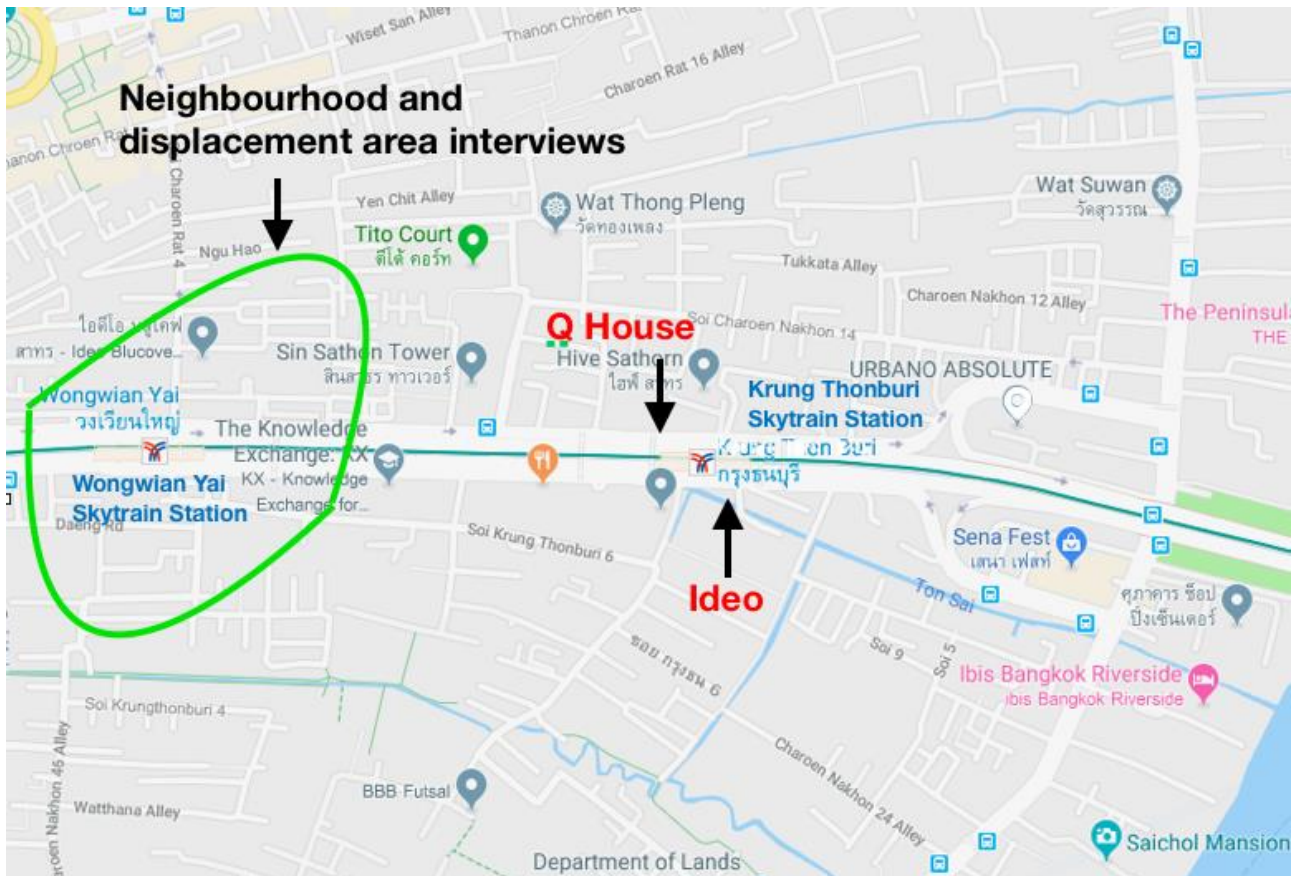
The interviews were to be qualitative and expected to last from forty-five minutes to one and a half hours so fifteen residents from each subgroup, condominium and local residents, was set as a minimum number to be interviewed. This limit was also set given the limitations in resources and

timescales. In the end, forty-seven households were interviewed, and it was felt that at this point a very wide cross section of participants had been interviewed and enough data collected to represent a wide breadth of experiences. The specific details on how participants from the subgroups were selected is discussed below.

6.3.3 Condominiums: Population and Sampling

The neighbourhoods where all the interviews occurred can be seen in figure 15. This shows the first mass transit extension line and the two stations that were built, Krung Thonburi and Wongwian Yai. Following on from my first study involving households in this area (Moore, 2015), and given the difficulty of accessing condominiums for interviews that became apparent from that study, the same condominium was approached again with a request for interviews. They again allowed this. This is Ideo Sathorn Taksin just south of Krung Thonburi station. I also approached Q House condominium, seen just north of the same station, as I knew management from when I lived there. Given this connection, again I was allowed to do the same if it involved tactfully approaching people in reception. Other condominiums in the area had been approached but they all rejected allowing any interviews, demonstrating the fact that it is a hard-to-reach population. Thus over a three month period during which interviews were undertaken I approached people as they entered or left the condominium. I tried to vary the times I waited to ensure I was not just getting people coming home from work, but given that most people are working and few people were around most other times, this made up the majority of those interviewed. It was uncontrolled in that there were no restrictions on who could be chosen. A total of twenty-three were interviewed, eleven from Q House and twelve from Ideo. There were clear disadvantages to this technique in terms of possible selection bias and sampling error, but given the circumstances and difficulty of access, it was the best result that could be achieved in reaching a relatively hidden population group. Also, given the qualitative nature of the interviews, it was possible as the interviews progressed to gauge the extent to which the interviewees were representative of the broad population living in the condominiums. In addition, the fact that I had interviewed thirty people from my previous study meant I had a good knowledge of the types of people living there and their circumstances, thus enabling me to feel quite confident I had reached a satisfactory saturation point (Charmaz, 2006). Interviews could have continued and it is possible other data may have arisen, but limits had to be adhered to given the restrictions on time and resources.

Figure 15: Klong San interview locations



6.3.4 The Local Neighbourhood: Population and Sampling

The neighbourhoods where the interviews occurred are also shown in figure 15. They were in the sois just to the north-east and south of Wongwian Yai station. Both areas started to be impacted by the building of condominiums around 2012 when the houses from Displacement Area 1 started to be demolished and evictions began in Area 2. The selection of residents from the neighbourhood evolved in a variety of ways. The households of Displacement Area 1 were interviewed briefly for previous research (Moore, 2015) as they were leaving the area due to displacement. Five of these people agreed to be interviewed again, and contact with them and thus snowballing led to finding the others displaced from Wongwian Yai. In Displacement Area 1, two large condominiums now stand, which were completed around 2016. From living in the area, I also previously met on one occasion a man who was an artist who used his house as a guesthouse and to display his art. He agreed to be interviewed and he later found two of his friends from the area, and we carried out another interview with all three of them. The only way to find other local residents was to walk around the local neighbourhood and ask people if they were willing to be interviewed. Some agreed and some would not. At this stage, although attempted, generally no further snowball or network sampling took place as most did not want to impose on others they knew by introducing us. Most of

these people lived in the sois on the north side of Krung Thonburi Road in sois close to Wongwian Yai BTS station, but three to the South of this station. Snowballing did, however, occur in relation to Displacement Area 2, as one person from the neighbourhood lived right next to the area and knew the people well. He therefore arranged interviews with five of the households, which took place at his address. A condominium now stands where these residents used to live.

6.3.5 The Stakeholders

Two real estate agents from Colliers, one Thai and one English, and one from CBRE, also English, were interviewed, a total of six representatives from three development companies, all Thai, one manager from the Bangkok planning department, and a manager from The National Housing Federation, both of whom were also Thai. These people were all contacted by writing letters or phoning the organisations.

6.3.6 The Interview Setting

The data was collected regarding five principal locations: two condominiums; two sites of displacement; and the local neighbourhood. Interviews were the principal way in which data was collected. Ideally, interviews should take place somewhere that the interviewee will feel relaxed and there will be no interruptions (Byrne, 2004). Also, with regards to housing pathways research, the suggested unit of analysis should not only be the individual but also the households to which a person belongs along their pathway (Clapham, 2005). Unfortunately this was usually not possible because many subjects for both populations, though open once the interview began, were hesitant about being interviewed and would often not cooperate if contacted at a later date. It therefore needed to take place at the time and with who was available. In the case of the condominium residents, most were interviewed after they were returning from work or during the day for others who may have been on leave or were not working. It was not appropriate to ask to go to a person's room, especially as many were female and many in studio rooms, so they were interviewed in the reception areas. However, the reception area in Q House was extremely large and comfortable and both were quiet so it was still conducive to a relaxed atmosphere. In the neighbourhood, interviews mostly took place at the interviewee's home or someone else's home in the neighbourhood. For the stakeholders it took place in their offices.

6.3.7 The Interview Schedule

The interviews generally lasted 45-90 minutes, they were all recorded, and they were designed to extract the respondents' housing biographies. Given the overall aims of the study, there was a focus on the period of change arising due to gentrification of their neighbourhood, and a particular focus on displacement for those who experienced this. Before the interview commenced, a schematic

drawing was created of their housing biography (Appendix 5). The idea of this was based on housing pathways research carried out by Boterman and Hochenbach (2015), the purpose of which is to help the respondents create accurate and temporally ordered narratives but also to provide the researcher with a clear map of the pathway to assist in the interview process. Although the aim was to have an interview that was as open as possible, with the respondent free to discuss what they felt was important to them, a schedule was developed as it was important to ensure particular aspects of the person's life of relevance to the research was uncovered, such as their particular housing pathway and their experiences of gentrification and possibly displacement.

The schedule is contained in Appendix 5, but it broadly referred to discussing their housing history from birth till the present day, focusing specifically on the searching process, experiences and feeling in each neighbourhood and home and future plans. The purpose of this was to uncover the kinds of constraints households experienced but also the strategies they employed in their housing pathways, and the meanings that their homes and neighbourhoods held for them. The questions about their current home and neighbourhood varied slightly for condominium and local residents. Condominium residents were asked about their thoughts on the marketing material connected to their condominium in order to draw out the influence of this in the decision to move. Local residents were asked their thoughts about how the neighbourhood under study had changed and those displaced were specifically asked about their experience of and feeling about displacement. In order to address aspects of economic and cultural capital, subjects were asked about their material capital, such as income and land ownership, and education.

Social capital has, based on Putnam (1995), variously been understood in a positive light as connections among individuals in terms of social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. For the purposes of this study, however, Bourdieu's (1986) usage is drawn upon, which focuses on how the building of and the direct and indirect employment of social connections can be used practically to produce or reproduce inequality, seen for example in the way that people gain access to positions of power and influence. This was drawn out implicitly from interviews rather than being based around specific questions. Whether a household had spatial capital would be established implicitly through the various questions about reasons for moving to the area and wishing to remain. Drawing on Depuis and Thorns (1998) and Histock et al (2001), ontological security can be understood in terms of the psycho-social benefits of housing. It was not viewed as practical to attempt to operationalise this in terms of specific questions, but rather narratives around this would emerge of the open-ended interviews, with probing from the interviewer.

With regard to the stakeholders, schedules were directed towards their expertise (Appendix 6). Real Estate Agents were asked to comment on the broad changes that had been identified as occurring as a result of transit and to draw out the particular insights they would hold as regards the customers, their demand for condominiums and their relationships with developers. The National Housing Federation representative was able to comment on the process of building affordable housing and the difficulties faced in achieving this. The planning representative provided information on the implementation of the Bangkok five year plan and strategies to encourage people to live by transit. The developers were asked about their development strategies and approach to marketing.

6.3.8 Dealing with the Interview and the Language

As I do not have proficient ability in Thai to deal with complex language it was necessary to use an interpreter. A particular aspect that I needed to be aware of in this research was thus the way in which the data collected was translated into English and the ways in which I interpreted this. In any research the interviewer will have biases and prejudices which raise dilemmas for the way meaning is produced (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Rapley, 2007). By their very nature, interviews are “interactional events” where “both speakers mutually monitor each other’s talk (and gestures)” and “the talk is locally and collaboratively produced” (Rapley, 2007, p. 16). Thus what is produced is a reflection of this encounter, and that which both parties bring to the interview will also play a part in the way it evolves and is constructed, something which some have said makes any real experience unknown and possibly unknowable (Dingwall, 1997). But at its most basic level, and what was adhered to in these interviews, was creating what Rapley (2007, p. 25) labels a ‘mundane interaction’, which is, based on the interviewer’s basic topic, “asking questions and following up on various things that interviewees raise and allowing them the space to talk”. However, other particular issues arise in dealing with cross-language material as it is not only myself involved in the production of knowledge, but also the translator. Words translated may have different connotations in English to the original language, and idioms, metaphors and other types of figurative language introduce another level of complexity in how they are dealt with and interpreted. Like Fersch (2013), I would argue that bias and prejudice cannot be removed from the researcher, and thus advocate a hermeneutical approach in which “one’s biases should be utilised in the quest for understanding” (p. 88). This is achieved by being aware and reflexive of one’s positions and developing strategies to enhance understanding.

The translator used was completely fluent in English and had a very amenable character, thus quickly building up a good rapport with the respondents despite coming from a different social background than many. During the interviews she made sure she interpreted to me in English continuously as we proceeded, but my awareness of the language enabled me to get the gist of what

was being discussed most times. Rather than waiting till all interviews had been completed, she would translate it after the interviews, ensuring it was fresh in both of our minds. I explained the importance of probing questions that would not produce bias, and having the transcriptions early on meant that I could flag up any issues if they had arisen. I asked her to also give the Thai versions of any common idiomatic language so we could discuss the connotations and meanings. So this or any other concerns were discussed and matters clarified at the time. This often led to the reformulation of certain utterances or passages to ensure they truly reflected what had been said and its meaning. This is not to say that problems did not arise. It was not possible for her to translate word for word what had been said at the time, so sometimes small points or utterances that may have seemed trivial that I may have picked up on had the interviews been in English were missed. Occasionally it was possible to return to the respondent to ask more but in most cases this was not possible because of the difficulties arranging the interview initially. Also for time and practical reasons it would be difficult to arrange for the translator to attend again to clarify a few points.

6.4 Ethical Considerations

Ensuring ethical rules and principles are adhered to is particularly important in qualitative research, where detailed reports are being made on individuals and communities (Hopf, 2004). Anonymity is important in a study to prevent potential harm or embarrassment to participants of a study (Walford, 2005), and thus several measures were taken to ensure the confidentiality of the participants. For the audio recordings, the files were named as numbers rather than the people. Most participants though did not actually give their full name, just their nickname as is common in Thailand. Most nicknames are fairly common so identification would be extremely difficult anyway. I ensured files were kept in a secure place on the computer and the copies downloaded to the internet on google drive required a password to access. The translator was also given full instructions on the importance of securing privacy, and she followed these procedures and deleted the files from her computer as soon as translations were finalised. It is paramount that participants fully understand the purpose and aims of the research and their role (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009), thus on approaching a respondent, it was firstly explained exactly who we were, the purpose of the study was explained, and why they had been selected. If they agreed to an interview, informed consent needed to be sought in order that the participant could decide what is in their best interests and the risks they are willing to take (Searle, 2004).

But it was important to ensure they understood the research was an ongoing process involving not just data collection but interpretation and possible reports in the public domain. To make this clear

and to ensure consistency and nothing was missed, an information sheet (Appendix 7) was read out that explained again the purpose of the study and its uses, but that their confidentiality would be maintained and they could not be identified. They were told that they did not have to answer any questions if they did not wish to and could stop the interview at any time. They then signed a consent form (Appendix 7) with the above information on which they were encouraged to read again. Care must be taken with vulnerable groups, who in cases may involve those less able to protect themselves or more susceptible to manipulation (Searle, 2004). In certain respects, some participants of this study could be viewed as vulnerable in that they had been through a difficult experience, and several did display emotions of sadness during the process. It was ensured that questions about the displacement were approached sensitively and empathically, and if a respondent was at all upset they were given time to speak, words of encouragement, and told they could stop or take a break if they wished.

6.5 Structural and Biographical Profiles of Research Participants

The purpose of the following section is to provide the basis upon which the thematic analysis connected to the individual stories of certain participants evolved. First, the structural profiles of all the participants are presented, drawing on criteria such as occupation, education, incomes, tenure, and household type. Following this are biographical profiles, providing brief life histories of each subject. The rationale for the division is that it relates to the analytical framework which seeks to understand gentrification and displacement in relation to the structural and biographical habitus. The structural profiles reveal the broad range of fields that impinge on or influence action such as occupation, education, income, and tenure, whilst the biographical profiles reveal the variegated ways in which this is experienced over the life course and the strategies employed to navigate one's pathway. Although the data needs to be treated with caution due to the small numbers and cannot be taken as representative of the whole district, it illustrates the broad range of profiles seen and the differences between those of the neighbourhood and condominiums. To avoid confusion and ensure clarity in the analysis, the households from Displacement Area 1 have been called the 200 Houses Community, which was the name given within the neighbourhood. The other displaced households from Area 2 have been labelled the Self-build Community because they built their own houses from wood.

6.5.1 *Structural Profiles*

The specific data relating to structural profiles in the form of tables can be seen in Appendix 2. In order to categorise occupations, the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-08) from the International Labour Organisation (n.d.) was used as this is the criteria used by the National Statistical Office in Thailand. The categories also relate to skill levels, with the higher numbers being the most skilled. This data showed the contrast between the two populations in terms of occupation. Whereas over two-thirds of condominium households fell into the highest skill level set of 'Managers, Professionals and Technicians' and most of those remaining were either students or retired, the neighbourhood households tended to be in 'Services and Sales' or 'Craft & Related Trades'. The high numbers in 'Craft & Related Trades' represented the large number of shoe makers, a trade that has a long tradition in this area.

Income was usually very difficult to assess for neighbourhood residents because it was often not a fixed amount with many in some form of self-employment or small business. Also, income was often shared amongst family, and may also come in the form of help from other family members, such as children. Generally, the incomes of those in the neighbourhood were far lower than those for condominium owners, as was the level of education. For some, lower incomes would be expected as people displaced were targeted for interview and particularly in case of the 'Self-build' community, they were poor communities. Given the prices of condominiums, it would also follow that household incomes of those residing there would be higher. However, the generally lower incomes of neighbourhood households, which stood at around 20,000 baht (\$614) per month or less for many, provides indications that, given developers in Bangkok target the cheapest condominiums ranging from 1-1.5 million baht at those with average monthly incomes of 30,000 baht income (Author's interview with Colliers International in 2012), most condominium units would be unaffordable. Incomes thus show that access to these new forms of accommodation may not be possible for many neighbourhood households. Some who purchased condominiums also had low personal incomes but they were usually from wealthy families and supported by their parents.

Indicating the higher levels of cultural capital for certain groups and the fact that new forms of socio-spatial distinctions may be emerging in Thailand, the condominium households had also achieved much higher levels of education than those in the neighbourhood. More than two-thirds of them were university educated, while only one interviewee from the neighbourhood had been to university. The majority in the neighbourhood had only completed secondary school, and seven households had only completed primary school. Those in the neighbourhood expressed a strong desire to educate their children at university, but this was clearly something most had either struggled to do themselves.

The data collected in relation to age groups, household composition and tenure tended to reflect that seen in the gentrification literature of the West (Lees, Slater, and Wyly, 2010). In the condominiums, household's tended to be younger, with an average age of 33 and most clustered around the 19-44 age range, with the majority 25-34. Households were mostly single people without children. Six were sharing with relatives; however, rather than sharing due to affordability, this was nearly all people sharing with a sibling, often in a unit the parents' owned. Most neighbourhood residents, on the other hand, were in the 45-64 age groups and they were married with children or cohabiting with children. A similar number also shared but in this case it was various members of a family, such as a father living with his adult children who own or rent their property or a mix of relatives residing together to share costs. Within the gentrification literature, owning has tended to be associated with gentrifiers, whilst those in the neighbourhood are associated more with renting, and thus vulnerable to being displaced (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008). This tended to fit with the data on tenure from the case study area. The condominiums in the main were owned by one member of the family. The data shows a large number of lodgers seen in the condominium, but this represented the large number of young people such as those at university or working who were living in a condominium room owned by their parents, so they were in fact owned within the family making the ownership levels of condominiums very high. There is no ability to sell in a condominium. However, much of the housing in the neighbourhood was rented from landlords who owned large areas or streets.

Residential mobility and settlement patterns showed similarities, with around two-thirds of each population being born in Bangkok, and roughly a third coming from the provinces originally. Many of those in the condominiums commuted from Rachapruk or close by, which is an area in the Western suburbs of Bangkok. What is of note though is that around half of the neighbourhood residents were born in the local study area, whilst only two of those in the condominiums were born there. This was also reflected in corresponding lengths of residence, with an average of 41 years for those in the neighbourhood and 1.9 for condominium households. This has implications for the populations, for as noted by Moore (2015) in previous research in this area, there were higher levels of attachment to the locale and socialising in the locale for neighbourhood households than condominium households.

Class remains contested in the West, lacking any standard definition or approach (Savage 2000; Skeggs, 1997) and this remains the case in Thailand, with many scholars drawing heavily on Western categorisations but in most cases qualifying this with a variety of factors representing social difference seen to be unique to the Thai context (Askew, 2002; Ever and Korff, 2000; Juree, 1979; Vorng, 2011a, 2011b). Though this research draws on Bourdieu, who did not refer to classes

in the traditional sense, given the integral way in which the concept has been used throughout the Thai literature, class will be referred to as it is necessary in order to achieve a meaningful analysis of the results of the interviews, which refer to this previous research from Thailand. Yet to take account of the contested nature of the concept, class will be seen as 'dynamic' (Savage et al., 1992). Thus, whilst a participant may be given a class position, in another context they could be categorised differently.

To clarify its broad usage in the context of this research, account will be taken of occupations, but it will also be understood broadly in terms of prestige and control of one's social environment, viewed to be at the lowest levels for poor or working class households (Juree, 1979). The middle classes have been viewed as fragmented, but King (2008, p. 82) described Hsiao & Wang's (2001) three-fold sub-categorization of the middle classes as having one of the best degrees of precision. It consists of the 'new middle class' (salary-earning professionals and administrators), the 'old middle class' (small proprietors, the self-employed), and the 'marginal middle class' (lower grade white collar clerical and sales and service workers and small proprietors who deal with more routine tasks). Added to the 'marginal middle classes' can be those low to medium ranked civil servants and employees of state enterprises, teachers, members of the police and the military, who often have low salaries but high prestige due to their job's connections to the King, or the life-long job security and fringe benefits (Juree, 1979). In Thailand there can also be added an upper-class (Juree, 1979), or Elite (Evers, 1966), consisting of royalty, high ranking bureaucrats, wealthy Chinese and Thai businessmen, and the highest ranking police and military officers, who may have ascribed status through birth and have considerable levels of economic and social capital.

Based on these categorisations, several observations can be made of the study participants. Those from the condominiums can predominately be viewed as from the 'new middle class', as they were salary earning professionals with degrees. But many of their parents or some of those residing there can also be considered to be part of Thailand's elite, or upper-class, owning large companies and with very high levels of economic capital, often being able to buy several condominium units outright and without a mortgage. Those in the neighbourhood were a mix of the old middle class, with many small proprietors or the self-employed. But also the working class, working as what Juree (1979) termed street pedlars, selling food from mobile carts, but also taxi drivers, motorbike taxi drivers, and factory workers.

6.5.2 Biographical Profiles

This section sets out further details of the households interviewed for the study based on their personal biographies. The purpose of this is to illustrate the unique stories of each household or

individual but also to reveal the ways in which from the stories certain themes emerged that ultimately led to the construction of the vignettes which could illuminate general types of situation that households experienced. If a person's story was used as a vignette, this is noted.

5.6.1 Condominium Households

They have been divided into Ideo and Q House condominiums because Q House was more expensive than Ideo, and it was thus relevant in demonstrating by itself the wealth of those in Q House, which was often reflected in the biographies of those living there, many of whom had bought the unit outright with no mortgage or paid off the mortgage in a few years. With the exception of three renting, all others could be viewed as owners in terms of the person living there or their family, as many young people were living in a unit their parents had bought.

Ideo Condominium

Phay, 35: Phay, a freelance writer was born in Phitsanaluk and moved from her spacious family home in the suburbs aged 24 to be close to her publisher. After renting in the central city she moved to rent a one bed at Ideo, which she shares with a friend. She moved because of the political violence in the centre at that time, easy access to the centre, universities, and hospitals, and it was less built up than Sukumvit Road. She likes her independence from her parents but would not buy a condo as she thinks a house in the suburbs would be her private space and cheaper.

Pop, 37: She was born in Nakon Pathom province, moving closer to Bangkok with her mother when she was 7. After university she worked in Bangkok and so bought a condo with a mortgage elsewhere because it was close to her work and her then boyfriend lived in that area. She moved to Ideo 4 years ago when she changed jobs, which she could reach by BTS. She found this condo cheaper than others in this area and felt it less crowded than Sukumvit. She feels secure, sensing people in the condo have the same background and education as her.

Oat, 57: Born in Krabi, Oat came to Bangkok when he was 19 to study engineering. He has moved around the country a lot for work since. He now owns two houses and a condominium in Bangkok. His main home is now in a moo baan in the western suburbs. He bought Ideo 5 years ago for convenience because two of his daughters are studying at a high school near the centre and it is also easy to get back to the house and his work. First just his children lived there alone as he felt it had good security but he and his wife moved there after flooding around their home, and decided to stay

because of the convenience, though he plans to move back to the house once the BTS project extends nearer. (*Vignette*)

Cool, 32: He was born in the case study area. His family were originally very poor. When he was 20, his father used his life savings and built a house in the suburbs on a moo baan. After university in Bangkok, he owned a shop, enabling him to get a mortgage and buy Ideo. He was motivated by the easy commute and he used to live there. He lives with his girlfriend. He earns less now as a freelance writer. Given his age he feels he may have outgrown a condo, and if they have children in the future they may go to live with his parents as he says that is part of their culture.

Pang, 36: She was born in Thonburi area in a moo baan, where her parents live. She bought at Ideo because she can use the BTS to get to work and she can drive easily back to her family home. She saw security as important as she is female. She saw the lifestyle at a condo as different as she cannot do activities like walking the dog and gardening as she did at home. She likens it to a hotel rather than a home, and her dream home is a large house in the suburbs. She continues to go back home at weekends, from Friday to Monday.

Framee, 29: She was born in Bangkok but grew up with an Aunt in the US after her father died. On returning to Bangkok, her mother and step-father bought her a house, which she sold later for an apartment. At that time they helped her with the mortgage. She then moved about 2 years ago to buy at Ideo but also bought a condo elsewhere for investment. She bought at Ideo because her boyfriend was in the area, other condos were too family oriented, and this was a convenient location for work and the centre. She feels she has gained independence, but does not feel it is a home as you cannot have pets. In two years she plans to buy a family house.

Mooky, 21: She was born in a house in the suburbs of Bangkok and she prefers the environment there to Bangkok, but it was too far to travel. Her mum originally bought the condo then rented it out, but then she moved there to go to university. Her mother has a total of four condominiums, three around this area and one on Sukumvit Road as investments. She does not know if her mother has mortgages. In the future when she starts work she plans to move to rent nearer to her workplace, but long term she wants a house as that would be her ideal home and the only factor attracting her here was the BTS.

Mild, 25: Born in Hat Yai, at 18 she went to university in Bangkok, living in university dorms. Once working in the city, she rented a one bedroom unit at Ideo as she can get to work in about 15-

20 mins. Also it was cheaper than the centre and a residential area. Originally she associated condo life with the rich, but now sees it is just convenience. She is only there for her work. Originally her parents were worried about her living there alone but were satisfied when they saw it. Her brother, now studying in Bangkok, has also now moved in. She has not bought yet because she does not have the money, but ideally would get a condominium in the centre because of the independence it gives her.

Gai, 16: She was born in Hat Yai, where her parents own a holiday resort. Her school did not have an English program so her Dad sent her to a private school in Bangkok. She had an Aunt in Samut Prakaan, one of the reasons she could come to Bangkok. But she stays in the condo alone, which is close to the school, and her parents come up about once a week. She is unsure if her parents have a mortgage. They bought here for their children's education, because she or brother will go to university in Bangkok. Safety was the main priority and Ideo is close to the BTS and has security. She says several of her friends stay in condos their parents have bought. In the future she wants to study abroad.

Sunisa, 25: She was born in a town house in a moo baan in Bangkok. She moved to Ideo about a year ago to avoid a two-hour commute. This place was near her office as she works at Silom. She lodges with her friend V, who works at the same office. She has a condo elsewhere that she owns and rents out, which she bought as an investment. She has had to adjust as she says she cannot cook properly or invite friends round as she could in a house.

V, 25: She was born in Chantaburi where her parents still live. Aged 13 she came to study at a boarding school in Bangkok. After doing an MA in Scotland, she came back to Bangkok and bought a studio room in Ideo, where she lives with a friend. She bought it because it was close to her marketing job and has security. Lacking sufficient income, she has a joint mortgage with her father. She thinks it feels different to a 'home' as its small, but she likes the privacy and safety aspects. In the future she will move with work, but long-term will return to her hometown to help her parents.

Q House Condominium

May, 30: She was born in Bangkok, living in a house where her family also had their jewelry factory and business. In 2006 they moved to a moo baan in the western suburbs for more space. She liked the environment, community feel, and facilities on their moo baan. But due to the long commute, her parents bought the condominium, outright with no mortgage, as it was too expensive

for her. She now lives there with her sister though they return home at weekends. She feels it represents a 'modern lifestyle', with everybody being busy and rushed, and little interaction taking place. She originally liked the freedom from her family but given her age is now thinking about 'home' life more. (*Vignette*)

Wuwit, 59: He came from a poor background, in the south of Thailand. Most people left for the city and he followed his brother here, living in the case study area for many years. He did various odd jobs in family businesses. Aged 30, with a wife and children, he bought a house in the suburbs of Bangkok when they were very cheap, but sold it a few years ago. All his siblings and wife's siblings bought there too. He was last living in a condominium on Sukumvit Road, but his son now rents a place at Q House and his son asked them to move in with him, partly because Wuwit's wife was ill and the steps in the condo were difficult. His son took Wuwit's feelings into account when choosing this condo as Wuwit knew the area.

Mai, 24: She was born around China Town then her family moved to a Moo baan in the city, which she says is very nice due to the facilities. She graduated about 2 years ago. Her father bought the two bedroom condo four years ago for investment and for her brother's future, when he gets married. She thinks it is mortgaged. He chose this condo because the developer has a good reputation and credibility. It is the third condo he bought. She moved in with her brother as it is easier for both to get to work by BTS. She would like to live in a condo in the future because of its convenience to go anywhere, though she sometimes does not like city life.

Lek, 42: She was born in Suthpradit but moved to Bang Bon in a house with her husband 12 years ago. This cost 2 million baht and they bought it with cash. She then bought the two-bed condo at Q House four years ago with cash because it was close to their children's school. She used to drop the children at school then drive to work in Silom, but this was a long journey home. They now stay in the condo weekdays. She saw it because it was right by the school. The fact it was a famous developer was important. She thinks she will stay 10 years until their children's schooling has finished. She also has another condo near Taksin Bridge that she bought to make profit and rent to foreigners.

Oat, 23: He was born around the case study area, where his relatives lived in wooden houses, on land owned by his grandparents. His parents inherited the family home, but bought another in the city to live in. His father has 3 or 4 condos, and bought this one for investment. Oat is a trainee doctor and works at a hospital elsewhere in the city. He wanted to move nearer to the hospital but

his parents suggested staying at the condo as there would be no rent to pay. He just views the condo as convenient and somewhere to sleep rather than anything more. He would like a house in the future as he will have family. He will move from the condo probably when he finishes at the hospital but does not know where he will go as it depends on work.

June, 23: She was born in a house on a moo baan outside of Bangkok. After returning from post-graduate study abroad, she moved into the condo with her sister because she works in Bangkok. Her parents bought the condo in about 2012, and also have another they rent out, neither with mortgages. She thinks the main reason they bought Q House was for her and her sisters' work. Her parents also sometimes use it like a park and ride to avoid driving into the city. She also likes the lack of housework and quick journey to work, but there is a lack of social interaction there. She only stays weekdays and goes back to the family home at the weekends. She will remain living here as long as she keeps working in Bangkok due to the traffic.

Mook, 43: Her parents were in the air force so she lived in military housing until she married and moved into her husband's house in Phetkasem fifteen years ago. She bought the condo about 5 years ago to avoid a long commute to her children's schools in the city but also as a future asset or home for their children. She chose Q House just from driving past and seeing it. They stay there odd nights but they do not live there so do not know any other people. Her son said many of his friends also stay in condominiums for education. Last year she also bought a condominium elsewhere as investment for their son's future.

Nat, 25: She was born in Bangkok, where they still live in a house they own. She finished university and now works as an air hostess. Her parents have bought a number of condominiums, two one-beds at Q House 5 years ago, and another nearby. Initially against her parents' wishes as daughters traditionally stay at home till marriage, she moved into the condo at Q House a few months after it was finished to have more independence. She persuaded them for the sake of her study. She thinks her parents bought at Q House as an investment and to use the condo car park by the BTS and the other condo for her brother to live in as he works as a Doctor in Bangkok.
(*Vignette*)

Vee, 31: She was born in a house in the suburbs and her family still lives there. She likes the sense of community and environment there but it was not convenient for work. Her parents brought the one-bed condominium as an investment and it was near to their home, but when the flooding occurred she and her three sisters moved in so they could get to work. It is cheap as they pay no

rent. Since then they have not left because of the convenience, though they go back home at weekends. She views it as a place to just work and have more time, but does not relate to it as 'home'. (*Vignette*)

Title, 21: When he was one, his parents moved from Bangkok to Rayong, where they still live. But when he was 15 he moved to go to high school in the USA. At 18 he came back to Thailand to live at the condo and go to university nearby. His mother bought the two bed condo while he was in the USA as it was close to his school. Safety was also important. He likes the convenience but says it is small compared to a house. He does not know anyone there but does not mind as his social life is at his university after class.

Paul, 71: He was born in the Thonburi area, so knows it well. He lived much of his life in New York as his uncle was there, and he worked in a restaurant. His wife and children stayed there, but he returned eventually and bought his own house on a moo baan on Phetkasem Road. He had dreamed of owning his own house, but he is now retired and older and was tired of house cleaning and commuting back and forth to town where he meets friends. He decided to rent rather than buy and keep the house. He finds it small but likes the facilities and closeness to the city. He likens the lifestyle there to America or Europe as it is less family-oriented than a moo baan. (*Vignette*)

6.5.3 *Neighbourhood Households*

The profile table (Appendix 2) has distinguished between who was displaced and who was not, and the biographies take this further, distinguishing between those who were displaced from the Self-build Community and those from the 200 Houses Community. This distinction is significant because it reflects certain patterns and similarities between some of the life stories. Everyone from both communities was displaced, but their histories differed. In the Self-build Community, households had lived in the houses for generations, their parents or grandparents having built their houses, and some families were related to each other. They were evicted because the landlord, who had inherited the land from his father who had had a close relationship with the tenants, decided to sell the land to a developer. This particular parcel of land had opened up to development because prior to development it had been what a resident called a 'blind spot', as houses in front of the land blocked any traffic access. But the developer proceeded to buy the houses blocking this access. All households could be classed as renting, which was the renting of the land for a nominal sum from the landlord. Most had similarly low levels of economic capital and cultural capital (education), with several working as food vendors or taxi drivers, which come with unpredictable and unreliable

daily incomes. It was therefore intensely emotional for them to have been evicted from this area, and, though the compensation helped, difficult for several to afford to find alternative accommodation in the area.

On the other hand, the 200 Houses Community was concrete built shop houses built twenty-five years ago. In this case, displacement occurred because the twenty-five year leases that some households had on the land from the landlord had come to an end, and the landlord sold to a developer. Household's differed greatly in the time they had lived there. Some had been there since they were built, others had moved in more recently. Some had a seng while others were renting. Levels of economic capital also varied, with some in a better position to rehouse themselves. Thus experiences were more varied here, but still eviction was difficult for all and extremely detrimental for some. Those not displaced reside in communities similar to that of the 200 Houses Community, as rows of these types of housing dominate the areas in the Klong San district, and indeed much of the city. Though most came from relatively poor backgrounds originally, some had become more wealthy and were owner-occupiers, tending to feel more at ease with the changes around them, whilst some were still poor and renting or senging and showed more concerns about how they may be affected in the future.

Self-build Community (Displaced)

All of the following households had lived their whole lives in what were wooden-constructed one- or two-story houses. It was a small area of land of nine families who rented their plot for a nominal sum from the landlord, building their own houses. They were all on very low incomes and had mostly lived there for generations as their parents and grandparents lived there before them.

Tawee, 58: He did not disclose his current family status but he had a daughter. He left school at age 9 or 10 and his father died when he was 11. He has been a taxi driver for 20 years. He said he was 'stunned' when told he had to leave. After they were displaced he moved in with his brother and sister-in-law who rent a house just by where he lived. He and his relatives are concerned they will get displaced again and feel rents are getting more expensive. Relatives of his have a house in the provinces but he says there is no work there. He thinks they have separate lives to those in the condos and original people from the area have disappeared.

Mam, 54: She worked from age 11, helping take care of her siblings. She is separated and has one son living with her and a daughter who does not. She sells food from a mobile cart in the area. She felt the eviction had brought nothing good to her family and they had been separated. She said her

sister is now homeless and has mental health problems. She moved in with her cousin Toom and other relatives displaced after eviction, renting a 3-floor town house nearby, which is much more expensive. She sleeps on a space in the hallway. She viewed herself in relation to the gentrifiers as the 'sky and the dirt', stating how they have money but she has none. She says she is stressed every day and has much further to push her cart each day. (*Vignette*)

Toh, 57: Toh was divorced, but his 13 and 22 year old children live with him. He is a motorbike taxi driver. He said his heart dropped when they had to leave. He was luckily able to rent a house off his ex-wife's sister, just nearby. But his rent is much higher and he feels it is not comfortable as it is more crowded with houses and not his personal space. He thinks rich people have an easy life but the poor have to keep looking for a new place. He says he cannot think about the future as you have to have money to have an ideal.

Toom, 60: She is Mam's cousin, and lived with her two children, grandchildren, and two brothers. She left school early, making trinkets to sell. After working in 7-11 for 10 years she now rents a space to sell food on the street in the neighbourhood. She was very upset by the eviction, saying though she had little, she went to bed happy. Someone she knew at the market helped her find the house she now lives with Mam and other family. This does not feel like a home and she now says work is just enough to eat and pay the rent. She thought development of the area may help, but this has worsened her situation. She views herself as a simple person and rejects the idea of a condominium lifestyle. (*Vignette*)

Aeh, 45: She sells food from a mobile cart and lives with her son and elderly mother. She had a more difficult eviction as she got no compensation as her aunt had officially rented the house. She initially found an expensive house in the area but had to take it or be homeless. She used a money lender for the deposit and now has to pay it back. She soon left this house and found another but it is one room they all share and still much more expensive than her other home. She sees their problems emanating from having no land ownership. She blames nobody for displacement but sees her community as powerless against those with money. She hopes her son gets educated and improves their lives. (*Vignette*)

200 Houses Community (Displaced)

This was the community of rowed shop houses. Most households spoken to were not happy about the eviction as they said they were not given much notice, or not told at all until they saw houses being knocked down. Compensation ranged from none to 50k baht depending on their contract and

its expiry date. As many from this area and the neighbourhood migrated from the provinces, a province map is included (figure 16).

Samran, 52: Born to poor farmers, Samran had to move to Bangkok from Ubon Rachathani for work when she was young. She got a job sewing in a factory and lived in factory accommodation. After meeting her husband and having two children, she moved to the house in the case study area as her sister was sening it but had had to leave as she was in debt. She works from home, sewing and cleaning people's clothes. She was very worried about the eviction as her customers are local, but she feels very lucky as another sister was sening a house nearby and leaving, so she took it over. She still feels like a countryside person and thinks condos are 'not for her'. As back-up, she bought a house outside Bangkok with her daughter but says she would have no work if she went there. (*Vignette*)

Suta, 54: Suta was born in Bangkok, moving to the case study area when he was about 10. He drives taxies and is now separated with two children who do not live with him. They were a poor family, and he left school at 10 doing various odd jobs, such as painting motorbikes. His family was displaced twice from houses in the area due to condo development. He said the first place had a real community feel, and they used social connections to find work. After displacement, his brother tried to get more security at the 200 Houses Community by buying a three-year seng, but the landlord sold the land as this expired. He felt very bitter about this. He had to move from the area and now lives in a flat in another part of town. He feels he has lost his community and connections. (*Vignette*)

Sit, 55: He is Suta's brother. He was living alone when we met, but he said he had a wife and children. He has worked in a garment factory for many years. His housing followed the same path as Suta's as they lived in the same houses. He felt development was good but not for poor people. He viewed their difficulties arising as they have to rent places. He now lives in the same apartment complex as Suta, and they both explained they do not have the connections they had in their old neighbourhood as it is a flat so they cannot interact with people as before. (*Vignette*)

Kanha, 52: Born to a fishing family in Surat Thani, she moved to school in Chiang Mai, then moved to Bangkok to go to university to study accountancy as her father wanted her to get married. She has worked as an accountant since. She first moved to 200 Houses Community when she got married and had children as it was her in-laws house, who also had a clothes business there. So they lived together on a 25-year seng. She never really liked the area as there was drug taking but it

was convenient for work. She and her husband bought a house some years ago, but had to take out a loan to make it habitable to move there after displacement and it is not so near the city centre. They are now struggling as her husband had retired, so their daughter also helps out with money. (*Vignette*)

Pongsathorn, 68: He has a wife, a son, and grandchildren. He was born in Ayuttaya and migrated to Bangkok as they did not have much money. He moved around various places in Bangkok, working in construction, before getting a 25-year sengkano at 200 Houses Community and becoming self-employed as a carpenter. He says it was a burden leaving as they had little notice and the area was convenient for him to meet customers. Places around there are too expensive now so he moved in with his son who found a house in a different part of the city. He says the landlord's parents who owned the land before would not have evicted them as they had a good relationship. He says he does not think about it much now as he has moved on.

Yuthani, 34: His parents were poor farmers and migrated to Bangkok to open a jewelry business. He followed them when he was 15. His parents and two brothers lived in a rented house but fell on hard times when his father died. They then moved to a one-bedroom flat. Eventually they moved to 200 Houses Community as it was close to where jewelry can be sold. He was sad at the eviction as they lost the community, but, unlike others, he was happy with the 20,000 baht compensation they got and the notice period. In order to get new accommodation, he moved with other family members to pool income, and they now rent in their old neighbourhood. He strongly affiliates himself as a country person and intends to return, feeling Bangkok is unfriendly and somewhere to just make money. He worries about eviction again. (*Vignette*)

General Neighbourhood

These households lived in the neighbourhoods around where displacement was occurring. Although the total number of households displaced is eleven from the two displacement areas, two residents, Orathai and Korn, had been displaced in the past from development, Orathai twice from elsewhere in the city and Korn from earlier condominium development in this locale.

Charlie, 68: Charlie is single but has a son in the USA. He was born in the case study area to parents who farmed the orchards there before it became residential. They owned a lot of the land

and so became wealthy when development began and the land was sold. He says many of the old families who lived there became rich from this. He now owns and lives in a guesthouse there, and is also an artist. He did not like so many condominiums but was accepting of development generally as he stressed how it is a natural part of progress and cannot be stopped. He said his real bonds were with the few families who were born there, not others. (*Vignette*)

Lek, 68: He has also known Charlie and Yai his whole life and was born in the area to orchard farmers. He described how it was just farmland in the past and they went bat hunting and fishing, but is now all residential. He has now moved out of the neighbourhood. He and his sister owned the 200 Houses Community land and sold it for the development. He said they had no money until they began selling land. He thinks things are much more convenient with development but it is claustrophobic with the condominiums. (*Vignette*)

Yai, 59: He is Charlie's cousin, also having lived in the neighbourhood his whole life. He is now self-employed making sound machines for schools. He says everyone knew each other in the past when few families lived there but now most people are strangers. He saw development as good and bad as there is more convenience and facilities but the natural environment is lost. He does not like so many condos and says they do not see the occupiers as they just come and go. He thinks this is a reflection of Thai society more generally. (*Vignette*)

Suwanee, 39: She has a husband and one child. Born in Chachoengsao Province to poor paddy farmers, she left as they were struggling and she did not want to be a farmer. She moved in with her brother in Wongwian Yai who was shoe making, till she got married at 23 and moved into the house next door, setting up her own shoe making business. The location is good as stores nearby sell materials. She is prepared for eviction and expects it to come, but views it as the normal way of the city. She does not feel much about eviction as does not view Bangkok as home and will eventually return to her home town. If evicted she thinks she will struggle to find elsewhere or afford the increasing rents. She would like to buy but it is too expensive now. She feels those in condos live a very different life to them.

Muy, 35: She lives with her parents, helping to run the convenience store they have on the ground floor. She has little education. They moved to this area when she was young, originally sening but then they bought it with loans from friends. They still pay this back. She likes the convenience of the area. She said there is always gossip about possible development. She has concerns though feels more secure as they own the property.

Charnvit, 59: He migrated from Chumpon to Bangkok when he was 15 to study mechanics. His parents were middle class, working in government jobs, which provide more security. He lived with his sister but then married at 20 and moved into his wife's sister's house in Wongwian Yai. They now rent this house he is in, living with his two children and wife. Now retired, he worked as a surveyor for many years then set up a small clothes making business. He says his life has been easy as his parents provided for him and his sisters supported him. He owns some properties outside of Bangkok. He thinks the changes to the area are positive as it is easier now to get around. He does not think those displaced would face hardship as they got compensation. Eventually he envisages returning to the south. (*Vignette*)

Prakong, 54: His parents were poor farmers, and he migrated to Bangkok from Saraburi at 13 to improve his prospects. He lived with his uncle and trained to make trinkets, then married and began renting in Wongwian Yai. He still makes trinkets to sell. He is very worried about his situation as they rent and lack security. They make money day-to-day and he worries if somebody is sick they cannot pay for it. He thinks those with contractual employment have much easier lives. They have seen communities disappear as houses have been knocked down. (*Vignette*)

Siriporn, 35: She runs a family convenience store on a plot of land her grandparents originally owned. She is most concerned about physical changes, saying views are blocked by the condos and the dust from development. She is not worried about her immediate area as she says people own their houses and will not sell. She has noticed a lot of new faces in the area and thinks their lives are very different to hers. She thinks change is inevitable and has to be expected.

Pisit, 49: He lives in a small wooden house on his own next to the old Self-build community, renting the small plot of land. He was born in the area and lived in it all his life. His family made money from selling goods at a central department store, and they bought two properties. Most now live in the USA. He did not appear to work but he was the president of the local community, an unpaid role that involves liaising with the local government to support and improve the community. He said he had dealt with issues of developers not following the rules when they build. He thinks developers are too powerful to try and stop and the changes have been difficult for the poor who have to leave. He says the newcomers are of a different social status and they do not mingle with them.

Ya, 52: She is married with two daughters and was born in the Wongwian Yai area where she has remained. She is now a landlady as her family own a number of properties in the locale. She thinks the changes have been bad for local people as some have lost their homes and familiar faces. She has been approached by developers but will not sell as she thinks it is better to keep land in the family rather than have the money, which could get spent. As she is an owner, she likes the fact that land values have gone up, but does not like the condominiums which tower over the area.

Riem, 47: She is married, and has three children. Her parents were farmers and she migrated to Bangkok when she was 19 to get money. She lived and worked with her brother in Wongwian Yai, shoe making, only moving into her own house last year, taking a yearly seng. She likes the BTS for its convenience but does not like the condos, and thinks the occupiers have a very different lifestyle to them, not interacting socially, and are a different class. She says she is not worried about displacement as people usually have 1-2 years notice. She also strongly affiliates with the countryside and would return there if she had to, but ideally wants to stay for work. (*Vignette*)

Pom, 54: The sister-in-law of Riem and born in Roi Et, her parents were farmers and she came to Bangkok at 18 to go to university. However, she got married and left. She says they moved around for work as shoe makers living in many places. She then moved to Wongwian Yai, first renting then getting her house with a seng 25 years ago. Riem used to live with them. Her husband died in 2007, and she has two children. She says she also relies on her daughter's income each month of 10,000 baht. Like Riem, she feels more affiliated to the countryside and will return there if she has to. She hopes her daughter will get a good education as this will help her future. She has noticed how some communities have disappeared and she thinks condo dwellers have a different way of life. (*Vignette*)

Orathai, 67: Now widowed, she lives with her son, who supports her, at Wongwian Yai in a rented house. She was born in Bangkok to a poor family, only having a short education before she helped earn money. When she was 20, her family used to live in another area of Bangkok but were displaced because of development. She married at 23 and her family moved to a house in this area before being displaced for a condo. She then moved to her current house, where she was offered a seng but could not afford it. Her family has always struggled with money, and they lost all their savings when they had to take care of their sick father. She heard rumours about development in her soi but her landlord has assured her he will not sell it and she trusts his word as he was a soldier.

Korn, 67: He was born in Bangkok, moving to this area when he was about 17. He makes and sells leather from his home, something his family has always done. His family was displaced from his first house by a condo development five years ago, getting 200k baht compensation. He did not think there was much sense of community there, and he says he was ok with the eviction as he moved to a house just nearby. He used the compensation to buy his seng, but he now owns a new house. He says those around him will not sell so this will prevent development. He sees the building development as the greed of a younger generation.

6.6 Constructing the Vignettes

Vignettes were used to present the data as they offer a way of bridging the structural and biographic approaches which have been broadly illustrated in the household's profiles. However, before the rationale behind this is considered, this section will explain how the data analysis involved two distinct phases, as a review of how the analysis was proceeding resulted in a rethink on how best to approach the presentation of the data.

1.1.1. *Qualitative Thematic Analysis*

Qualitative thematic analysis (Searle, 2004) was initially used to analyse the data, with this process involving the following steps. The first step was reading through all the transcripts, keeping an open mind as to what may emerge from the data. This was done as a matter of process during the study. By the end of the interviews, it was essentially known what was in the data. In the next step, a 'descriptive' reading of the data was undertaken to draw out the main themes of what the respondents were saying without a focus on theoretical aspects. This was done by making notes at the side of the transcripts. Given the amount of data and to start making theoretical connections, a coding scheme sheet was then devised, an example of which can be seen in Appendix 4. These broadly set out demographic and socio-economic information, the concepts connected to housing pathways and Bourdieu, and the general themes and ideas coming out of the research. Basing this on any kinds of pre-existing expectations of what may be found was avoided, rather the data that was emerging from each person was noted down. As a natural process, as each one developed, these further notes started to develop their own labels and codes because commonalities started to arise in some cases.

The original plan in presenting the data and its analysis in the report was to divide it up into sections based on the codes and themes developed. However, as the focus on the interviews had been on people telling their stories, upon reflection it became evident that breaking up these accounts of what people had experienced into 'snippets' would detract from the purpose of the study, which was to explore in-depth the unique and complex lives of people experiencing gentrification and

displacement and present this to the reader. It would also not be possible for a reader to truly appreciate or understand a person's housing biography and how it evolved and changed without seeing it in its entirety. Therefore to really understand the stories and the context, in particular of those displaced, the difficulties they faced and how they made sense of it and sought to deal with it, the person's history from their childhood to the present day needed to be recounted. On this basis, a decision was made to use vignettes, which could provide a human touch whilst covering themes.

6.6.1 Rationale for Vignettes

According to Grbich (2013, p. 312), a vignette is essentially '...an example or small illustrative story, which can clarify a particular point or perspective regarding some finding in the data' (p. 312) and they can be participant-voiced or author voiced (Grbich 2013). A common use of such vignettes is for participants of a study to be asked to respond to a particular situation illustrated through a vignette and asked what they would do or to comment on it (Barter and Renold, 2000). However, there are a variety of ways they can be employed or interpreted, with some researchers using them to construct stories of the study subjects themselves. For instance, Holmes and O'Loughlin (2014) told the short stories of three people with learning difficulties and their use of social networking sites to show the impact of this on social identity. Some researchers have constructed longer stories to incorporate the actual words of the participants and the researcher, which ensures the integrity of each interview and researcher analysis are preserved (Jarvis and Bonnett, 2013; Maye-Banbury, 2015). A distinction with vignettes could also be made between 'person' vignettes or 'situational' vignettes. Person vignettes refer to and are constructed around specific types of individuals, whereas situational vignettes, or more accurately a series of situational vignettes, would provide brief portraits of a series of individuals in the same situation. It might also construct a synthetic individual who incorporates a number of different stories taken from different individuals. This latter approach is close to the work of fiction, however. The study of Jarvis and Bonnett (2013) is situational in nature as it is built around the differing ways in which nostalgia is drawn upon in three forms of residential space, though other data made up the bulk of their study.

This thesis, however, most closely follows the work of Maye-Banbury (2015). In Maye-Banbury's (2015) study, the subjects and their stories are the main medium through which the results of the study are presented. She presents longer life stories that can be viewed as a hybrid between a vignette and a thematic analysis as they aim to draw out the narrative as told by the participant but are built around particular themes that have emerged from the research. But Grbich (2013) also notes that vignettes can be from a mix of sources, and this is the case with the vignettes in this thesis, as they are incorporated at times with qualitative interview data from estate agents if their reflections help in the telling of a story. Also, in two vignettes, more than one person's story has

been included. This is because their stories are very similar and combining them helped to illustrate a particular theme. Vignettes tie in specifically with the aim of the research and its theoretical basis, which is to explore the use of housing pathways and the habitus to understand the subjective experiences of households in a gentrifying neighbourhood. They are also a way of applying and operationalising Schutz's concept of typification, as they offer a means of progressing from first order categories that reveal consciousness and the lifeworld of individuals to second order ideal types that reveal more general types of experience and situations.

The vignette's appropriateness to housing research and particularly the biographical housing pathways approach and gentrification is evident. Slater (2006; 2008) has stressed that a voice needs to be given to those displaced or impacted by the process. The use of vignettes in these respects therefore allows the experiences of housing consumption over time to be presented through the voices of those households. Also, the habitus is "'structured' by one's past and present circumstances" (Maton, 2014, p. 50) and by "biographically acquired habit. What I have experienced in the past shapes my current experience" (Crossley, 2001 p. 109) and thus a person's housing biography presented as a vignette draws out the importance of these past experiences, be they structural or biographical, in shaping perceptions and practices in the current situation of gentrification. Hence with the aim of letting the subject's voices lead the stories, it could avoid over-abstracting "by anchoring the findings firmly in the field that gave rise to them" (Ely 1991, p. 155). Aspects of grounded theory were drawn upon (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) in that although a theoretical framework had been developed to guide the data collection and analyse the research, the analysis was inductive in nature as initially the vignettes were written without reference to theory, with this being incorporated after the writing up of each story.

6.6.2 Selecting and Presenting the Vignettes

It is on the basis of the structural and biographical profiles that the vignettes were selected. Though broad correlations could be drawn with the types of planned and unplanned pathways identified by those such as Hochstenbach and Boterman (2015) or Ford, Rugg and Burrows (2002), the decision was made to link the pathways to the gentrification literature, as this has highlighted the need to address the gaps in knowledge around the experiences of gentrification for lower income households (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2009; Davidson and Lees, 2010; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015) and the motivations of gentrifiers to move to and live in new-build complexes (Davidson, 2018). In terms of the neighbourhood households, what began to emerge from the reading of the data was that there were narratives from the neighbourhood residents focused around such constructs as loss, coping, struggling, and adapting. In contrast, those of the condominium residents appeared to be more focused around the way in which the space they occupied related to aspects of

freedom, independence and escape gained from moving, or for the purposes of this study what has been seen to constitute a form of 'emancipatory practice'. Specifically, they were spaces of emancipation related to the common themes of time, transience, safety, education, and reciprocity. Also for condominium residents, patterns emerged around three broad stages of the lifecycle: a younger generation seeking to be nearer work; older couples with children seeking to be nearer schools; and a small number of retired people, seeking to be nearer social activities.

Vignettes were thus built around these typical situations that respondents found themselves in, which broadly fit with much of the Anglo-American gentrification literature. This literature has tended to consider the losses of long-term lower-income neighbourhood residents at the expense of the gains of the gentrifiers (Atkinson, 2002; 2004), whose gentrification habituses have been connected to the life course (Bridge, 2003). Thus the housing pathways of the condominium and neighbourhood residents were quite different given their experiences but also due to the different forms of housing and the different socio-economic backgrounds of the households. These can thus be seen themselves as situational distinctions and on this basis, it was decided to present these into separate chapters, one dealing with neighbourhood pathways, the other dealing with condominium pathways. An example of situational distinctions within each of these chapters can be seen in the 'stories of loss' in the neighbourhood pathways, in which three people's pathways have been collated to illustrate this defined situation and the various ways in which loss was experienced.

In terms of the selection of vignettes to represent the typical situations, this was firstly done in relation to ensuring that they were representative of the sample interviewed. In terms of the neighbourhood residents, the profiles have shown how eleven were displaced, but fourteen were not. Vignettes were thus chosen to represent both these situations. Of those not displaced, some households were also owners with high levels of economic capital, whilst others were clearly poorer and renting or with a seng, and thus vignettes were chosen to represent all the ways in which people's situations varied in terms of income and tenure. Also, there were mixed experiences and feelings in the neighbourhood about the changes or about displacement, and it was ensured that these were all represented in the descriptions.

To illustrate such distinctions, Charnvit (a story of 'adapting') was renting but rich in economic capital, feeling that the changes would benefit most people due to increasing land prices and that those displaced do not suffer as they have compensation. On the other hand, Prakong and his wife (a story of 'struggle'), with low economic capital and an insecure income felt these people were suffering greatly and feared for their own future. Many households had also migrated, so it was important to include their stories as this appeared to make certain aspects of their stories unique. For example, Yuthani, Riem, and Pom (stories of 'coping') fell into this category, their vignettes

showing how their strong self-identification as migrants acted as a coping mechanism in the face of displacement. In terms of the condominium residents, as patterns emerged around the lifecycle, it was ensured each stage of the lifecycle was represented. Most people, seen in the vignettes of May, Vee, and Nat, were part of the younger 'Sky Train Generation', whereas others such as Oat and Paul, were families with children or retired.

Secondly, choices of vignette were made based on the fact that it was clear that some storytellers had covered more of the relevant themes that were starting to emerge from the data or had simply been more open to discussing in detail their lives and provided fuller accounts. In other words, some households engaged more fully with the interviews, opening up and providing full accounts of their lives and experiences. These fuller accounts are similar to what Goodson (2012, p. 41) refers to as the 'most thematically dense' stories. This term does not refer to stories that may have been more complex or mean that if people had not had interesting experiences, they were excluded, as this could present a biased perspective. Rather, in relation to this study, if there was a choice between two or three people who had had similar situations and experiences, the one chosen would be the one in which the respondent had covered the themes emerging in more deep and profound ways. In addition to this, given the restrictions on the amount of data that could be presented, choices had to be made about cutting out certain elements of a respondent's story. This however was done in a sensitive way to ensure that it did not misrepresent the main thrust of a person's biography or distort and exaggerate any aspects of it.

In this respect, the presentation of the research is based around vignettes which demonstrate particular coding categories related to the subjective experiences of households. They refer to types of respondents and the situations that they have found themselves in, but also reveal the way in which a respondent typifies to make sense of the world. They are thus fully consistent with ideal types as set out by Schutz (1967; 1973). They can also be seen as a hybrid approach that uses vignettes based around themes. This is not an approach previously used in gentrification research, but such an approach facilitated the identification of the main processes at play and impacts of gentrification in Bangkok as revealed by respondents, and to see how specific vignettes relate to broader processes and subjective perspectives. This also links in with the aim of a housing pathways approach, which is to present broader typologies of different household pathways (Clapham, 2005). Although the housing pathways approach seeks to draw out the unique aspects of individuals' pathways, a degree of generalisation can help to "understand the relative prevalence of different pathways or their constituent meanings" (Clapham, 2005, p. 33). This can also then help with the design of housing policy or to make cross-country comparisons (Clapham, 2005). Thus the

empirical research has sought to draw out generalised or ideal type pathways of the condominium and neighbourhood residents.

7 Condominium Pathways

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the vignettes of some of those households residing in the condominiums. What characterised the stories was the way in which the condominiums could be seen to be representing a particular stage in the lifecycle and, intrinsically related to this, the way that the condominium could be seen to symbolise a certain type of place for the households that enabled a form of ‘emancipatory practice’. The stages in the lifecycle are thus discussed first in order to set the broader context for which the vignettes need to be understood as a form of emancipatory practice, and these are the *Skytrain generation*, *children with families*, and *retirees*. Following this, the vignettes are presented. Unlike the neighbourhood stories which were built around concepts that revealed the way in which households sought to deal with an urban environment changing around them, these vignettes are constructed around the way in which the condominium as a place provided a certain type of experience and element of freedom. Specifically the condominiums can be seen from the perspective of the households as places of time, transience, education, and reciprocity. Five stories have been chosen, but these succinctly draw out the general essences of the experiences of all those who were interviewed.

7.2 Emancipation and the Lifecycle

The move to condominiums can be seen as ‘emancipatory practice’. In the gentrification literature the idea of the ‘emancipatory city’ harks back to the works of Caulfield (1994), Beauregard (1986), Ley (1996), Butler (1997) and Lees (2004) who viewed gentrifiers as people who were exploring the emancipatory potential of the city centre, and through this creating a “new, culturally sophisticated and less conservative urban class” (Mendes, 2013, no page). Yet not to be conflated with this, the gentrifiers in this study are displaying responses to the changing city and traditional Thai values that are ‘emancipatory *practices*’. The condominiums have been constructed by the developers, and the households can be seen to be making these spaces “relevant for their own lives, strategies, and projects” (Lees, 2004, p. 91). In various ways, for all the residents, life in a condominium meant some form of freedom from restraints, controls, or the power of another person. But the way in which this was emancipatory varied for different households. What was common for many of the households living in this area was that they originated from the western suburbs of the city, with this location providing a good base in which to access the city and return to the family home. However, differences in the way their stories need to be understood emerged in regard to their age groups, or their stage in the lifecycle.

7.2.1 *The Skytrain Generation*

The first group for whom it is emancipatory are those who can be called the “Sky Train Generation”. They make up much of the discussions in this chapter as they appeared to be the largest groups occupying the complexes. Constituting this group is the many residents interviewed who were young professionals in their twenties or early thirties, possibly just starting out or getting established in their careers. They were usually single, but sometimes couples, who had yet to start a family. They would work in the city centre, using the sky train to commute to work. The study area is particularly attractive to this market because the area provides easy access for those whose parental home is in one of the many housing estates to the west of the city and it is also more affordable for those who are starting out and possibly lacking the economic capital themselves or from their parents to buy in the centre. As Colliers noted:

They are the second and third generations of one's family; they just graduated and started to work, right? And their hometown is not in Bangkok but it's quite far from the city area, because most office buildings are in the CBD area, right? If their houses are in Nonthaburi or Salaya [two western suburbs], it's quite far. If they wake up in the morning, take a bus to the city area, it takes maybe two hours, it's quite far. And after they work, from the city area to Salaya, it's maybe more than two hours so they need to find some houses or condominiums that are close to their workplaces (Author's Interview with Colliers Real Estate Agents, 2015).

This generation of people is symbolic of the changing cultural norms of Thai society as to live alone before marrying is a break from the Thai tradition of remaining in the family home up until marriage. CBRE labelled these pioneering groups as the ‘Skytrain Generation’, given the central role that mass transit now plays in their housing pathways and their lifestyles:

We've had a big social change here in residential. So the ‘runaway from mom’ market. So ten years ago, or pre-97, very few people would leave home before they got married. And it was almost socially frowned upon that that could happen. You were definitely past marrying age before you were allowed to run away from mum. And what has changed is that now people are...not only is it socially acceptable to leave home before you get married, but it's also trendy. And so there are a lot of single people who...parents may have a house in the outskirts, and they've bought a one bedroom apartment or condominium for their children, who are working in the central business district, to live in during the week. And they go home on the weekend. So I call them the ‘Skytrain Generation’, and just looking around our office, probably out of the under 30's - the older I get the younger the people we employ - I

would say 50% are 'runaway from mums'. Whereas 15 years ago, my wife bought a condominium and her dad wouldn't talk to her for a year. And it was the condominium. She hadn't upset him otherwise! So that's a complete change in social culture and move from the extended toward the nuclear family or, what I call the 'runaway from mom', the 'Skytrain Generation'. Who, their whole lifestyle is, lots of it, is driven by the train. So where they eat, where they shop, where they work, up and down on the train.

Colliers were asked whether they believed such a cultural change would have occurred without the opportunities for city living that the train provided:

No, I don't know if it would've happened. I don't think it would've happened anyway because you would've spent...where are you gonna live? So condominiums without a train? You gotta have a car. So I think the two went together a little bit. And the Skytrain happened first, but once it was there, there was a greater argument to say, "Mum and dad, I should live in town because I only have to spend 30 minutes going to work, not 2 hours".

But gender is important in this. Rose (1989), Warde (1991), Bondi (1999), and Butler and Hamnett (1994) all discussed the importance of gender to gentrification. Similar to some of the households identified in Bondi's (1999) life course study of gentrifiers in Edinburgh, a large section of the Skytrain Generation were female residents who were young, childless and career-focused. It is with this group of young single females that an important distinction can be made with regard to the processes occurring in the West. Warde (1991) pointed out the particular constraints that women face more than men, such as organising child rearing, but in Thailand a particular restriction is the cultural pressure to remain at home until married and the protective nature of Thai parents over their children, particularly daughters. Evidence of this was seen with many women interviewed citing the freedom they gained from being able to live away from home. Bondi (1999) also stressed the importance of context, and it is the condominium and mass transit that is important in this respect as those complexes next to a station with onsite security provide for women a level of safety that cannot be found with housing elsewhere. The Thai male interviewee from CBRE explained the importance of the condominium for women in relation to this:

Most females prefer to stay in a condominium, due to the convenience and increased safety if compared to housing projects which are far from Skytrain or subway station. Many condominium projects are close or not far from mass transit stations. In addition, many families decide to buy condominium units for their daughters, due to their closeness to their school or university.

Thus, in this sense, condominiums by transit could be viewed as emancipatory for young single women, enabling them to enjoy an independent inner-city life not otherwise possible living with parents.

Figure 17: Wongwian Yai BTS Station



Source: Author

7.2.2 Families with Children

Particularly symbolic of the widening appeal of the condominiums is their occupation by older generations whom Askew (2002) argued were opposed to living in a condominium. However, many of these households are now viewing the condominium as an option that does suit their lifestyle. In reference to those whose children have actually left home, CBRE discussed what he sees as a social change, whereby many are no longer rejecting city centre condominiums for suburban life:

I think that's changed, so that's part of the generational...so it started off with the young generation being trendsetters and then the...because the city became more inward looking and most of the, a lot of the best attractions, facilities, amenities, I don't know what word

you would use, so best restaurants, best shopping centres, are now downtown, so we are selling luxury condominiums to the older generation of empty nesters, and they're not just buying them to speculate or to rent out, they're buying them to live in, so the older generation has now adapted... adopted, adapted, both, to condominium living.

In this case study area, this pattern was evident. However, it was not the 'empty nesters', or those whose children have recently left home who are purchasing condominiums to live in, but people with children still at school, with this factor providing the basis for a move. The gentrification occurring here was thus partly education-led. Unlike the factors influencing education-led gentrification in the UK (Butler and Robson, 2003; Bridge, 2006), or China (Wu, Zhang, and Waley, 2015), which has been connected to the desire to live in catchment areas, in Thailand, different dynamics are driving the process as there are no catchment areas. The schools are out of the neighbourhood and mainly fee-paying, and the gentrifiers would be attending or already are attending regardless of location. Instead it is driven simply by parents living to the west of the city whose children attend schools close to this residential area taking the opportunity to avoid the long commute. As Colliers explained:

The other factors [leading to purchase] are that it is close to their kids school because if you go to BTS Wongwian Yai station in the morning you can see a lot of kids with their parents waiting for the BTS starting from 7 o'clock until 8.30. A lot of kids in Wongwian Yai station and Krung Thonburi station because most of them, they live in a condominium project around that area.

Given Askew's (2002) emphasis on a house in the suburbs as the key arena of cultural capital for the middle classes, it is possible then that this could represent a transformation in the habitus with regard to what is desired in a home.

7.2.3 *Reaching Retirement*

Contemporary gentrification has been seen to be occurring in different places and involving different actors (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2008), but in terms of age it is still generally attributed globally to young or middle-aged households, who may or may not have children (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Lees, Shin, and Lopez-Morales, 2016). But a characteristic emerging within the gentrification occurring in Bangkok is the use of the condominium for retirement or somewhere easier to manage when older and health may be an issue. This could be driven by the occupier themselves or through encouragement of the family who may see city centre condos as the best option given the lack of maintenance required and access to the amenities of the centre. In reference to how the flooding meant that some elderly people who moved to a condominium would have got

the chance to experience the benefits of life there, the English interviewee from Colliers discussed how the market had dramatically changed:

What the condos became were refuges for those who were flooded. Let's say you were the son, you had an extended family and you moved out into a condo. And then grandma comes because her house is flooded so it becomes her back up home. So I turned it into a joke and I wrote an article for the Bangkok Post, and asked "Will grandma miss working out on the treadmill and having a swim now she's back in her house? It's time for that work out grandma". And actually the fresh breeze is coming in, and in a sense more privacy in some ways as there's no one looking in normally through your window. And the BTS, which is the main driver, the connection with the BTS. It's the condo culture has taken on, and it takes such a long time for it to change, because even in England there is no condo culture because people mostly still live in landed houses. So if I said to my Mum, "I'm going to shift you to an apartment", she'd think I was crazy because it is still seen as where poor people live and in Thailand in the past it was the same, apartments were for poor people, houses were for better off people and that culture is very hard to change. But now condos are a lot sexier. They've got all the facilities they offer, it's also one thing that drives the condos. How many landed houses have swimming pools or gyms? Because of the sheer size of the condos you can provide these facilities. And normally better access to the BTS. Why am I going to be sitting in traffic for an hour and half when I can be in town in 10, and all this drives the market forwards.

His view of condominiums in the past resonates with Askew (2002), that of a habitus dismissive of living in a condominium. However, a wide cultural shift is seen to have occurred, possibly including that of the elderly, with the implication that a condominium lifestyle may also be a form of cultural capital.

7.3 Stories of Emancipatory Practice

7.3.1 A Place of Time: Vee

The stories begin with Vee as her experiences, which highlight the benefits of the free time she gains from avoiding a long commute, are at the core of nearly all the household's motivations to move, or, in other words, accumulate spatial capital. Aspects of the way in which time may be utilised and manipulated by gentrifiers as they move to more central locations has received little attention in the gentrification literature; however, it was central for Bourdieu (1996 p.19) in the way in which the middle class accumulate cultural capital:

[T]he length of time for which a given individual can prolong his acquisition process [of cultural capital] depends on the length of time for which his family can provide him with the free time i.e. time free from economic necessity, which is the precondition for the initial accumulation.

Living by mass transit enables Bangkok residents to have significantly more free time when around one and a half to two hours each way can be spent commuting every day, thus representing time potentially free from the economic necessity of work. And in relation to the family, in the condominiums in this case study area, this was often facilitated by parents who purchased the condominium for them.

Before coming to live at Q House, Vee, a 31-year old female working as a consultant in the centre of Bangkok, and living in a room in Q House with her two sisters, lived in her family home in the western suburbs of Bangkok. They owned one house before that in the same area. The reason they have the condominium, a one-bedroomed 50 square metre room, is because her parents bought it for an investment, knowing that the BTS was to be built, and choosing this area because it is not far from their family home. She says they got a mortgage but it will be paid off in two years. There was no intention to live there, but after the severe flooding in 2011 which affected many moo baans in the western suburbs, she and her two sisters moved into the condo so that they could still get to work. However, they did not leave and now live there during the week, returning home at the weekends. Resonating with what Ananda developers had referred to as 'Generation C' and their desire for more free time, she explained why she made the decision to remain:

Cause it's more convenient, saves time. I think this is a good thing up here to have, like, a better quality of life in that you don't need to waste time like two hours to commute from home. Like the suburbs to work, it took like two hours from home to work, but from here just fifteen minutes. So I can have more time to do things, you know? I wake up at like 6:00 or 5:30 and have like, save two hours to do like read books, plan for work, anything. So I wake up at the same time but if I wake up 5:30 or 6:00 from home I need to hurry up to take the bus here and took two hours on the transportation. I just hurry to go to work with the traffic jam, but here it's just a chilled feeling. Yeah, I have time to do anything.

But she and her sisters are also free from economic necessity due to their parent's economic capital, with none of them having to pay any rent as their parents own it so any extra costs with moving were not a consideration. She also explained how she enjoyed the freedom she has gained, being able to stay out late, whereas at home she has to be back by 7pm.

But though she has gained in terms of her spatial capital, free time, and independence, this has not come without other losses. Like most others who had moved from a house in the suburbs, when asked to describe the sense of community in the neighbourhood she grew up in, she viewed it in a more positive light than the condo. Though not a village, she likened it to one because people get involved in annual religious activities, giving the opportunity for people to talk, help each other, and share things. However, in the condominium, “From work, everyone just goes into their room and just, don’t know, even in the same floor right? Next door, we just don’t know each other”. There was also, unlike those in the neighbourhood, little integration between them as a social group. Thus free time has come at the expense of day-to-day interactions. But Vee revealed that the busy lifestyle she led made concerns over a lack of interaction with other residents a low priority:

I think that's ok cause there's no time to think about how I feel about it, cause everyone seems busy so just when I come back, and I need to finish everything myself, or themselves, so I don't have time to think, 'Ah, why don't we talk to each other?' You know? Cause everyone just hurries up for the hectic day. But I just noticed that it's different, cause in the house or in that area [a housing estate] we have more time to talk to people, but here everyone works and is busy.

Thus although her new style of living gives her more free time, it’s not free time that appears to be focused towards or allows communal activities at home. When she does go out, this is focused around places accessible from the Skytrain, and she says there are not enough places to socialise in the neighbourhood. The importance of family relationships in fostering a feeling of home were evident when discussing whether she would call the condominium a ‘home’. She said there was “some feeling” as she still lived with her sisters, and if they did not return home at weekends, her parents would come over. She went on:

If I lived here alone, I think it's just a place to sleep and just drive to, you know? But here I still have my sisters and when we get back home, like when we are back here we still talk and have the meal in the family, at home, it's like in the Asian style to have dinner with the family.

Without any relationships, the condo would therefore simply be a place to sleep and get to and from work easily. This lends further support to the notion that ‘home’ is not just the homestead, but the activities, relationships and memories one is immersed in within and around the place where one lives (Schutz, 1945). Vee too sympathised with the fact that people had been displaced from the area, but revealing a habitus conditioned to see society developing as a natural progression and positive way forward, she explained that “It’s life, [things] need to change”. She also recognised the

power dynamics of the situation, making it something that is unavoidable in any case, as the power lies with those rich in economic capital: “No one can control it because people who have money can buy the land, right? So it’s their right to buy legally”.

7.3.2 *A Place of Transience: May*

Another experience common amongst all the condominium dwellers interviewed was the transient nature of life there, leading to what can be termed in this case study area a form of *transitory gentrification*. Davidson (2007, p. 493) described life in large new-build apartment complexes around the Thames as more akin to ‘habitat’ than ‘habitus’, meaning they are functional in nature, and this was reflected in condominium resident’s every day practices and perceptions. But this was also borne out in plans for the future, for despite the apparent emerging transformation in Thai cultural norms in relation to young people moving out from the family home before they are married, another side to this change was revealed by the Thai agent from Colliers who was interviewed. He emphasised the strong pull factor that remains with regard to obligations to the family and the desire to retain close physical contact. This was seen as something that will always eventually prevail meaning that young people will eventually move back home:

Many of the new generation, they think they stay in a condominium by themselves, it’s maybe more freedom but at one time they will think about their family. This is because of the Thai relationship with their family which is quite close because they stay together maybe more than 30 years. So I think they cannot live alone in the future, one day they will live, move together.

These patterns are illustrated through the story of May, 30, one of the Skytrain generation and living in the exclusive Q House Condominium with her sister. For most of her earlier life they had lived in a house they owned in the business district of Silom, using their property as a home and the first and second floors for their family’s jewelry business, which was where May currently worked. They then moved to a moo baan in 2006 to the west of the city in the Rachapruk area so they could have more space and a garden, but also use the first house which they kept as a fully functioning office and business. She explained that her moo baan has all the facilities such as a swimming pool, park and a playground, but a few years ago she began to experience much worse difficulties getting to work since moving out of the city which was the main motivation to move to the condominium:

Well mostly it’s the commuting problem because it saves me much more time. Once I moved to Q House from like almost 2 hours to work it only takes me like 20 minutes to work, so it saves much more time.

Figure 18: Condominiums by Krung Thonburi BTS



Source: Author

Illustrative of the lack of constraints May faced in her housing pathway, economic capital and family support were employed to resolve this problem of commuting. She came from a wealthy family and, like Vee, it was her parents who bought the condominium, reserving it off-plan and then purchasing it outright with no mortgage after paying the instalments prior to the building completion. She was thus in the position where she had no mortgage or rent to pay. The marketing, she claimed, played little part in the purchase, the main factor initially drawing them to it being the fact that they passed it every day on the way to work. Her lifestyle though and perception of herself ties in with the stereotypical person envisioned by the developers as being drawn to a condominium by the advertising, as when May was asked if the condominium reflected herself in anyway, she said it did “A bit. Like the modern lifestyle, business people, we like convenience”. Thus, for May, there is evidence that residing in a condominium is linked to the image that she has of herself, but this association by her own admission appears quite weak.

But in terms of her experiences of living there, it was more functional in nature. She explained that it was not ‘cosy’ or ‘friendly’ because everyone just goes to their separate floors and into the unit,

and there is no chance to meet other people unless going to the pool or park. As a result of this, she did not know anybody else in the condominium. Again, like Vee, she appeared to show a greater level of attachment to her family home than she demonstrated with the condominium, and this also highlights the importance of the demographic composition of the condominiums and its built form in creating a situation where mixing is limited:

I think life in Rachapruk area is more slower paced. Some people are working people but each family is bigger. Considering Q House it's more of like singles or just newly married couples and all that but the houses over there [her moo baan], it's more bigger families. So sometimes there are kids and older people and in the evenings they sometimes come out and walk and they get to know each other more and there are also pets. Here at Q House pets are not allowed so I think it's less friendly and less cosy. It's more of like a modern lifestyle and, you know, time is the matter, like everyone is in a rush, it's more like that. You only get to say 'hi' in an elevator and that's it.

Her comments also allude to the fact that, like Vee, rather than desiring or longing for engagement with others, she accepts a more solitary home existence as part of 'modern life'. She also did not know anybody else in her new neighbourhood and the only socialising she did involved friends coming to meet at her condo. When she socialised it was out of the area in Siam or Central World, and she stated that her life had changed in this respect because she now socialises more often in the evening because of her proximity to town, usually not arriving home till around 10pm as she has dinner with friends after work.

This reflects the key way in which transit can influence the formation and maintenance of social networks. For Butler (1997) and Butler with Robson (2003) gentrification is about the fostering of community and social networks in the locality, but in May's case, any kind of community building is away from the neighbourhood. She thus had little emotional attachment to the area. This is similar to the respondents in Davidson's (2010) study into social mixing and new-build gentrification in London and it also supports the findings of previous research into condominium dwellers in this area (Moore, 2015). In these studies, gentrifiers had little interaction with those in the neighbourhood or emotional attachment to it, with a tendency to partake in social activities out of the locale and in the city centre. But this social polarisation may be accentuated to a greater degree in the context of Thailand because May, like many of the Skytrain generation in this locale, usually only stayed in the condo five days a week, returning to her parent's house at the weekend. Thus the cultural obligation and desire to maintain close relationships with family mean that the condominiums were usually not used on a permanent basis.

And May's description of the condominium further underlined how, rather than reflecting a habitus generating place-based identities (Butler and Robson, 2003) or place-based practices employed to reproduce class position (Bridge, 2001; Butler and Robson, 2003) it is more akin to 'habitat' (Davidson, 2007). She explained that she was at the condominium infrequently since in the week she didn't really live there, but only slept there and then in the morning had to rush out. When asked if it felt like a home, she replied, "Not really, actually to be honest I feel like it's more of a temporary place, like a hotel". However, this view of it as transient in nature is not just in relation to her spending little time there during the week. It is also connected to her views of the condominium's long-term suitability in the context of her lifecycle:

I mean I would've loved it more if I had moved here 5 years ago when I was younger. The freedom, nobody needs tell me when to go home, I don't have to live in the same place as my parents and all that, but as I get older I kind of like the home lifestyle more.

May explained that in the future, should she need to be in the city, a condominium would continue be her preference, but otherwise a house would be more suitable. Thus overall, May's experience of life in a gentrifying neighbourhood has little in common with the gentrifiers identified in London by Butler (1997) and Butler with Robson (2003), who were seen to be building social networks and a sense of community in the locality. Her lived experience is more like Davidson's (2007) habitat, reflected in May's lack of connection to the neighbourhood or condominium in terms of day-to-day living or long term plans.

7.3.3 *A Place of Safety: Nat*

A common theme seen running through the vignettes of these young single women from the Skytrain generation is the way in which condominiums provide freedom from the restrictions of parental control. This was particularly evident in Nat's story, but her story also reveals how this is intrinsically connected to aspects of safety and the habitus. For Kern (2010), gender was seen to be vital to the success of new-build gentrification in Toronto as women's fear of the city meant that the security features, exclusiveness, and privacy of condominiums promoted through marketing were integral in women's daily lives. Likewise, for Nat and others, the condominium provided a physical space that symbolised protection from what was seen as a dangerous world outside. But in explaining this, discourses around 'class' were common for Nat, which she connected to these perceptions of wider Thai society as 'scary' due to high incidences of crime and rape.

Nat, 25, was born in the Silom area but her family moved when she was only four to another area of the city where they have lived since then in a four-story town house that her family own. Her parents just finished high school but they now have a successful label printing business, with the

ground floor of the house operating as the factory. Nat, on the other hand, attended a prestigious fee paying university and now works as an air hostess. In discussing her current family home she explained how she felt safe when younger but that there are now “so many classes of people in that area” that she does not feel secure. This she felt was unlike a detached house where people tend to be “the same class of people”. For Nat, mixing with people of other classes is thus seen to be potentially dangerous, but this can be avoided through certain types of accommodation associated with the wealthy, as the fact that a detached house is more expensive would by default exclude those dangerous elements that she fears within wider society.

Revealing the way in which these are embodied dispositions, her narratives around living in a condominium also reflected these same patterns of thinking. Her parents had bought two condo units about five years ago, and discussing the main motivations for this highlighted the significant issues with driving and parking in the city and the monetary expenses those with economic capital may part with to solve this: “Because of the BTS I guess. They need somewhere to park the car. But my parents like...they don't intend to live here because they don't like condominiums, they say it's too small”. Profit was also a motivation as they could capitalise on its close proximity to the Skytrain. One is a 45 metre one-bedroom apartment in which Nat stayed, though she had actually only managed to live there for two months because soon after she moved in her father got sick and she had to return to the family home, but she really liked living there when she did. Like Mills' (1997) observations on the modern versus the traditional in Thai family relationships, Nat's reflections on why she decided to move there revealed the cultural divide that may exist between the generations in some families in relation to condominium life. Her move to the condominium arose because whilst at university she went on an exchange program to Korea where she lived alone for the first time. Having “got used to it”, upon her return she asked if she could live at the condo. Her parents were “shocked” but finally agreed after she persuaded them over the need to concentrate on her studies. She now only uses it to park and also to go swimming, but she wants to return to the condominium lifestyle and is intending to soon move to another two-bedroomed condominium further up the line that her parents have just purchased, which she thinks was for herself and her brother, as he will be working on shifts as a doctor and needs quick access to the city.

She explained that adults, particularly those of Chinese decent, “don't like this [condo], they like one big house, a big dining table” but the modern lifestyle on offer continues to attract her. She viewed a home as too big, and she doesn't see anyone at home as her family are working. It also offers the convenience of not having to clean. But although these practical aspects were important, a key factor was again the independence provided:

Yeah when I go out. I'm not kind of party thing but sometimes...you know parents. They're gonna call you like, "Where are you now?" Like that; but if you live somewhere else they're not gonna bother because they don't know.

Discussing what her friends thought of her living at a condo revealed the way in which Nat sees the difficulties of gaining freedom as a particular issue characteristic of Thai culture:

You get freedom, you're near the swimming pool...because my friends are like...healthy, they like exercising, things like that. And yeah. I think freedom. Because you know Thai families are like...they don't treat the kids like foreigners, like the Westerners do. They're gonna treat their kids forever as kids, and sometimes we want to have more freedom. That's why.

Nat explained that there was "no way" her parents would let her stay in a house in the neighbourhood, which highlights the fact that a house cannot provide the security on offer that would allow parents to give their children such freedom. A condo can due to its closeness to mass transit meaning contact with strangers is avoided, and also the key cards and security guards which restrict entry by others are added safety. The move to a condominium is thus an emancipatory practice in that the particular characteristics of its built form provide the liberty and freedom sought by some young women. However, perceptions around fear and safety are also class related, with the safety emanating from the fact of knowing you are with like-minded people:

It's like a mix of people and...I'm not saying I'm rich or I'm beautiful, but you know, it's better not to be exposed to that, to reduce the risk, because there is so much news and... Thailand is not that safe, I would say, so...better to live somewhere bright, and you know, you know there are people, because the...I mean the price here is quite high, and even now it's higher. And then you know the people that live here have some certain education. That's why.

Nat hence operates a narrative in which public space is constructed as threatening and dangerous. However, being in a domestic space in which she perceives her habitus as matching the habitus of others and where those of a lower status are excluded through price gives her a sense of safety and security. When the displacement in the area was discussed, she felt pity for those that had to move and recognised the unfair dynamics of power, blaming it on businessmen who can do as they like and do not consider the background of the situation. But notions of class and typifications of those in the lower classes were also evident, as when asked if anything should be done to keep the communities together, she broadly viewed them as undeserving of this due the elements within them that are seen as detrimental to society:

I think for me that kind of community is like...somehow, it might sound bad, but I think it's good to be knocked down because some of the areas are so, like, there are so many people without education and then they do things like drugs, rape and the criminal things. I think it's good to wipe them out, but the good people there...but I heard they got the money.

Nat thus displays a reductionist discourse in which perceptions of crime in society are correlated with those seen to have low economic and cultural capital, which by default are then projected onto a pathologised local population whom she is aware may be of a lower status to herself.

7.3.4 A Place of Education: Oat

The importance of capital accumulation in terms of education for gentrifiers has been noted in studies in both the West (Bridge, 2003, 2006; Butler and Robson, 2003) and China (Wu, Zhang, and Waley, 2015). Many households were parents who had previously moved to the suburbs but were now purchasing a condominium to avoid a commute as their children attended one of the many exclusive private schools nearby. In many cases, children would stay alone. Unlike the West however, it is driven by aspects of safety and security rather than catchment areas. Oat is 57 and an Engineer living at Ideo. His wife works for the Irrigation Department and they have two daughters, both now at university. He originally came from the province of Krabi, moving to Bangkok to live with relatives in Bang Kaen District when he was 19 to study engineering. After graduating in 1980 he worked at power plants in Bangkok and various provinces but has been settled in Bangkok for the last thirteen years. He built up his economic capital over these years as his parents bought a house in Bangkok for him and his sisters to live in, and he bought three properties and a condominium. His main house in recent years is in a moo baan in Nonthaburi, which is in the northern suburbs.

He bought in Ideo five years ago because two his daughters were studying at the time at a high school in the centre of Bangkok. Like most others, Oat was aware of the condominiums in the area from driving through it regularly rather than any marketing. Purchasing a resale unit, he decided on this side of town because it also has easy access back to his house. But it provided spatial capital in other ways as he can also get to his head office in the centre easily or to a project site which is on the outskirts. Before buying a condominium, his wife would drive in the morning to drop the children off at the BTS station to go to school and then pick them up later:

It took a long time in the evening because of the traffic problems; it could take one, one and a half hours from the BTS station to my house. So after.... one year later, after they were studying at the school, I bought this condominium, and then moved them in, moved two of them to live here. But I still stayed at my house at the time.

So the condominium provided them with spatial capital. However, an essential factor was safety. In the Anglo-American gentrification literature, issues of safety have tended to be discussed in terms of the impacts of crime rates or fear of crime (Covington and Taylor, 1989; McDonald, 1986; O'Sullivan, 2005). In this context in relation to the movement of families for education, the goal was to make sure that children would not be at risk, especially given that some parents were allowing them to stay alone. Given the traditionally very protective nature of Thai parents and the ages of the children at that time, 13 and 15, the decision by Oat to let his children stay there alone demonstrates the security with which parents feel a luxury condominium provides. When asked about his decision, he explained how he carefully considered this:

Because I felt that this [Ideo] is close to the BTS station and they can walk to the BTS station, I feel...to myself, this area looks fine to me. I came here [to the Condo itself] two times before I made the decision to buy this; I came here two times and saw the security is ok.

Thus spatial capital is not just about being in the neighbourhood, but being directly in front of an actual transit station, for Oat saw other condominiums further away and felt that a five or ten minute walk was unsafe. They could also get food at the 7-11 convenience store which is just out the front, or easily go shopping at the department stores that can be accessed by the mass transit. Due to the flooding of their house in the city wide floods of 2011, Oat and his wife also moved into the condominium as well. This was meant to be a temporary move, but they stayed because of the convenience of travel for himself. His wife works in Nonthaburi which is less convenient but she can now look after the children. Now one daughter stays in the dormitory of her university but the other is still at the condominium as she attends medical school in Bangkok. Like Vee and her sisters who moved due to their flooded family home, he and his wife's move was thus accidental rather than planned. This supports the comments of the Colliers agent in relation to the elderly, whom he claimed have discovered the benefits after the flooding. This may reflect, as was the case with Nat's parents, the habitus of an older generation predisposed to perceive life in a condo in a negative light, with this view only changing once it was experienced and reflected upon. However, again reflecting the temporal nature of this, they may move back to their house in the future as the BTS line is being extended to reach Nonthaburi, meaning they would have a station near to their house.

Such moves as that of Oat's family, though, reveal the central part that a condominium now plays in the life planning of those rich in economic capital. Oat explained how some of his friends had also bought a condominium because of the flooding or for schooling, and in his social circles, this is a common pattern for those with sufficient economic capital:

So for the people that can afford it, they will have at least one condominium in Bangkok, at least. For investment or sometimes in case we have kids, especially if we have the condominium next to BTS train. It's convenient for our kids to live on their own during the weekdays, and then we can pick them up back to our home during the weekend. So most of my friends who can afford it, they will have at least one condominium room for the kids.

Figure 19: Typical smaller size condominium unit (lounge) in the case study area



Source: Author

And security again over-rode any symbolism attached to living in a condominium, as when asked if he felt there was any kind of image that people have of someone who owns a condominium, he explained how that was not of any importance: “To me, I just look at the location and how convenient it is for the transportation and the security in the building.” He also spoke of few interactions in the local neighbourhood and socialising elsewhere in the city. However, more of a connection within the condominium was evident. This was not through mixing with other residents as he worked too much to meet many people, but, like Nat, it was through the habitus and thus the comfort of feeling that he was surrounded by other people of a similar background, with other condominiums dwellers typified by him as a “new generation” and “educated”. He also explained how he felt “the class of people is quite close” with a “good mind set”. This despite the fact he knew few people there.

Figure 20: Typical smaller size condominium unit (lounge, Kitchen and Diner) in the case study area

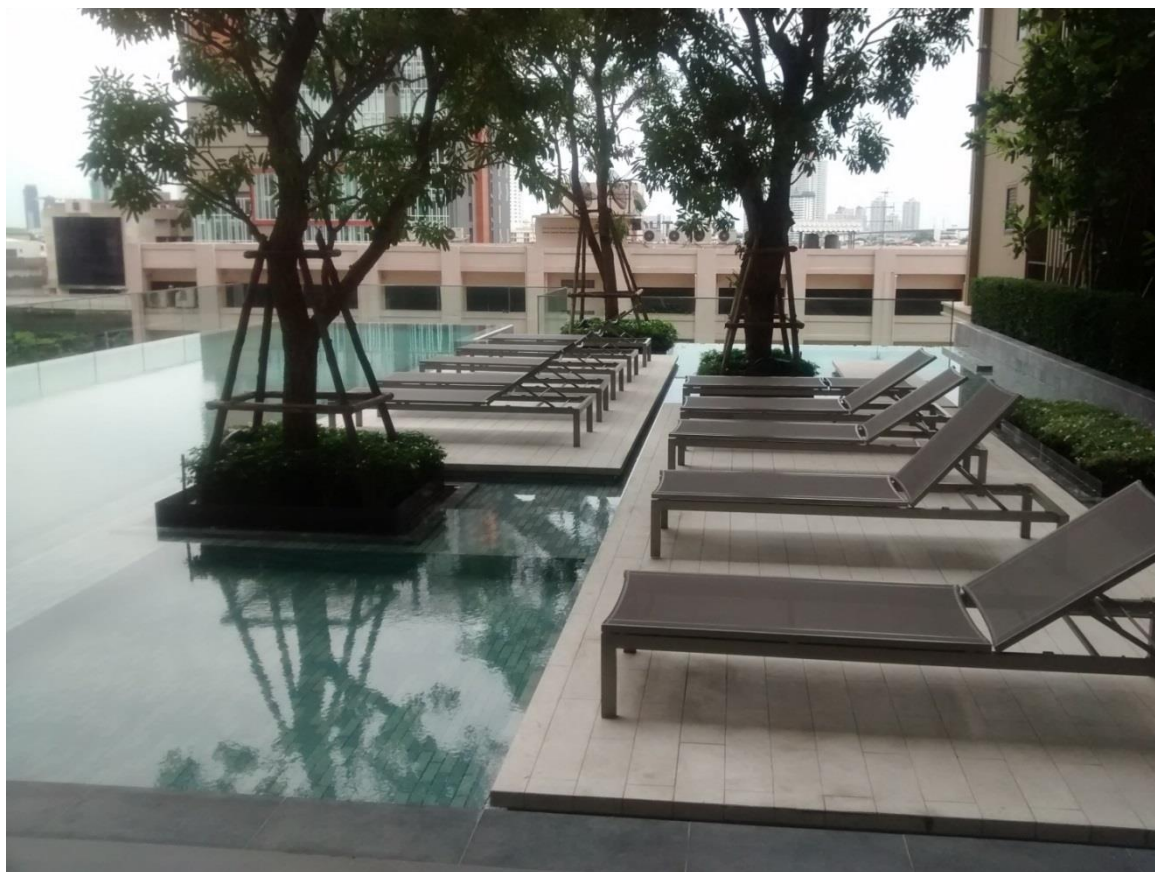


Source: Author

There are thus several similarities in the dynamics of this education-led gentrification with that in China (Wu, Zhang, and Waley, 2015). Parents are buying a room for their children and often not even staying there themselves, but rather keeping their house in the suburbs, and so it is characterised by a transient population with little attachment to the neighbourhood, who are attuned to the investment potential. These gentrifiers are investing little in the way of the gentrification habitus of those identified by Ley (2003), Butler and Robson (2003) or Bridge (2006) in terms of social capital or cultural capital. Also in contrast to the UK, it cannot be seen as class reproduction in the way this is understood by Butler and Robson (2003) and Bridge (2003; 2006). For them, class reproduction was ensured by the house move itself as this ensured access to the best schools and neighbourhoods in the same locale. However, in this instance, this form of cultural capital would be occurring regardless as most children were already at the schools. However, residing in a condominium in the neighbourhood can be seen as a strategy that is utilised in order to ease the

transmission of cultural capital. Again, as Bourdieu (1986 p. 19) argued, “the initial accumulation of every kind of cultural capital, starts at the outset, without delay, without wasted time”. The children can use the time not spent commuting on homework, as several parents mentioned, but also spend more time with their family. Spatial capital thus eases the transmission of cultural capital.

Figure 21: Swimming pool in a new condominium in the case study area



Source: Author

7.3.5 A Place of Reciprocity: Paul

Reciprocity has been seen to be a key aspect of Thai practice (Askew, 2002; Mulder, 2000) and filial obligations as part of the intergenerational contract are a key part of this (Knodel, 2014; Knodel and Saengtienchai, 2007). Condominiums as places of reciprocity illustrates the ways in which they are possibly starting to be used by younger people as a way to take care of their elderly parents. Though it may only be a small group who are doing this, indications from what has been said by one estate agent and this vignette are suggesting that it may be another cultural transformation taking place, or at least a modification of cultural practices as condos alleviate the burden of filial obligations. Paul is a retired widower aged 71, and although he is fit enough to have made his own decisions to live in a condominium rather than his children playing a part in it, his

story and his more general observations on others reveals the benefits that a life here provides for more elderly residents.

Paul had been renting a room at Q House for one month at the time he was interviewed and is someone who has embraced life in a condominium by mass transit at the expense of life in the suburbs because of the convenience and social life it gives him. His parents were immigrants from China and he was originally born in the Thonburi area, so knows it quite well. He cannot pin point all the houses he lived in because it was during the war when he was young and he says people moved around a lot. His grandmother had factories near Chulalongkorn University, which his parents worked at, and his family owned a lot of property. He moved to the US in 1963 when he was about 15 to work in his uncle's restaurant. He lived mostly in New York, renting accommodation. After 28 years he returned because he felt it was "time", but his wife and children stayed there, and his wife has now passed away. When he came back to Thailand he worked at a company in sales. He initially stayed with his sister and her children for 3-4 years, but then he bought his own detached house on a moo baan on Phetkasem Road in the western suburbs. In New York it was a "tiny space" so he liked the space he had at Phetkasem. He had dreamed about owning his "own property, own land, with a dog and a cat and all that sort of thing" and he also liked the fresh air there. But he retired when he was 57 and now finds the location inconvenient. He explained why he decided to rent somewhere in town:

Reason why I moved here? Like I tell you, now I'm getting older, I'm getting tired of house cleaning and maintenance and back and forth and commuting to here and there, to the city for me is not that easy anymore, so inconvenient for me.

He had then intended to sell his house and buy at the condo but his family convinced him it was better at his age to keep the house, so he now rents it out to his nieces. His family were supportive of his move because of the difficulties he was having commuting from his home and because he is still very active, wanting to go to the city to meet friends regularly. He now intends to stay at the condominium in the future. The Thonburi area is convenient for him because he is by the BTS for easy access to the city centre and this area is also close to Chinatown where he likes to go. He thinks the price is quite high but he liked the facilities such as the swimming pool and sauna. The condo thus provides Paul with the spatial capital he needs but it is a wholly different dynamic to that identified by Rerat and Lees (2011) who developed their understanding of the concept in relation to new-build gentrifiers in Swiss cities seeking spatial capital in order to cope with dual career households and restrictive job markets. For Paul, the purpose is to live a more fulfilled life in retirement as he can continue to live an active life, something he could not achieve by remaining in the suburbs. Like the safety aspect for others, it is the particular built form that has allowed this

change in practices to occur, something not possible with a house, as the price of a house by mass transit would be prohibitive and a condominium has features and facilities seen as desirable such as the pool and sauna.

However, again, despite the fact that his socialising around Bangkok itself has increased, he socialises little in his immediate environment. Paul had only lived there a month, but he had noticed a more private lifestyle to that of a moo baan, and, having lived in the US for many years, he likened it more to life in the West:

Yeah, it seems to me like yes, it's quite different to me like, the lifestyle is more like in America, in Europe. It's less family orientated than when you live in a moo baan; in a moo baan you still like say "hello", or just... but here it seems like... it's different.

He also described walking through the neighbourhood as seeming "like very cold" and making him feel like he is in Florida: "Everybody driving a car, doing their own thing, and just come back here" [to their condo]. So like the younger generation, Paul too has lost the feelings of being part of a community around the immediate home environment and does not have a strong sense of place, but this is viewed as an acceptable sacrifice given the advantages it provides for him in terms of more human contact and socialising away from home and this neighbourhood. Lending support to the fact that using a condominium for retirement purposes is part of an emerging cultural change in Thai society and a change in the habitus, Paul also explained how, though some of his friends were living with their families, some others had got condominiums like him. When asked to what extent he thought this was occurring in families more generally, he explained how it was happening in cases because some elderly parents still lived in shop houses in the centre, whilst the children lived in their own houses elsewhere, making it difficult to come and see them:

Nowadays even the family, they even push their parents to stay in the condominium because they think it's easier for them to take care of their parents, instead of all the houses or things like that. More so, the older generation, usually they have a house, you know more like a commercial house [shop house]; they sell things in the shop, go and then they live upstairs, those sorts of things, even the parents. But the kids they all move out to their houses [in the suburbs] or somewhere and then for them to visit their parents it's very difficult, because the car, the parking, everything. What I know, from my experience...they want the parents to live in the condo, it's easy to see why - all they have to do is rent one room for them or something like that. But the lifestyle is different. So I don't know, well I know, all I can tell you is what I know.

Paul's experience was that some of them like it but some do not as they are attached to their neighbours so they do not want to leave. Thus it is not a trend being driven solely by retirees, but may also be something desired by children in order to take care of their parents more easily whilst fulfilling the intergenerational contract. In this sense it can be seen as part of a coping mechanism. Finding ways to better cope with changing lifestyles and managing the family was what Warde (1991) and Rose (1984) viewed as a spur to gentrification in the West. But in this case, with the onus on the children as carers embedded in Thai cultural practices rather than the state or private institutions, it is the relatives of the older gentrifiers that are driving it, and a condominium by transit allows this.

7.4 Conclusions

In most cases there is little evidence that the symbolic discourse that developers present around the image of living in a condominium has been a major influence in people's buying decisions or reflects the images that the gentrifiers have of themselves once in the condominiums. The desire to accumulate spatial capital has been the key driver of the demand for condominiums, with nearly all buyers seeking to avoid the lengthy commutes they were facing by driving into the city or seeking to avoid driving around the city if they already lived there. However, importantly a deeper understanding of some of the cultural dynamics around this gentrification have been uncovered through the vignettes, with people immersed in a world with its own history, values, and traditions that influence housing pathways. Taking a close look at this has revealed how the move to the condominiums can be seen as a form of emancipatory practice. Households are avoiding some kind of restriction, be it the lack of time spent with family, the desire to gain a degree of independence, or the alleviation of obligations tied to the intergenerational contract, and the form that this emancipation takes is linked to stages in the lifecycle. Issues of safety and status are also key factors in housing pathways and condominiums, with the complexes viewed as a form of protection from the outside world. Yet for many this change comes at the expense of social interactions or mixing, both in the condominium and the neighbourhood, which is accentuated by this transient form of gentrification, with households generally maintaining more emotional ties elsewhere.

8 Neighbourhood Pathways

8.1 Introduction

The following chapter presents the vignettes of local households who had been living in the neighbourhood prior to its gentrification. The housing pathways discussed have been constructed around the stories of the residents based on their experiences and the factors that constituted their pathways. But in contrast to those of the condominium residents, the stories that emerged were around *loss*, *struggle*, *coping*, and *adapting*. Though the vignettes have not been chosen on the basis of which area a household was located in, those suffering *loss* were particularly those from the Self-build Community, who experienced immense emotional upheaval from displacement given that they had lived there for generations. The first three vignettes of Toom, Mam and Aeh illustrate stories around loss of the home, of status, and of ontological security. The vignettes following this are related to the 200 Houses Community and the neighbourhood around. There are three stories of household *struggle* from Suta, his brother Sit, and Kanha, all displaced, and Prakong. They reveal particular issues with serial displacement, a lack of collective consumption, and day-to-day survival in a gentrifying neighbourhood. The next vignettes illustrate stories of *coping*. The stories are those of Samran and Yuthani, both displaced, and Riem and Pom, and they highlight how reciprocity and identity connected to migration are used as coping mechanisms in relation to dealing with displacement and neighbourhood change. Finally, the vignettes Charlie, Lek and Yai, and the vignette of Charnvit illustrate *adapting* to urban change. Their stories contrast with the others as they draw out the way in which these residents have developed dispositions more accepting of change and seeing ways that they may benefit from this.

8.2 Stories of Loss

These stories of loss focus around three households who came from the Self-build Community, all of whom were displaced but remained in the area. Their stories illustrate three ways in which loss was felt by residents who were displaced in terms of the *loss of the homestead*, *loss of status*, and *loss of ontological security*. But given they remained in the area after eviction but in worse housing conditions, they also highlight the dangers of relying on the out-migration of people alone when assessing levels of displacement (Choi, 2014; Davidson, 2009; Slater, 2002, 2008; Wyly and Newman, 2006; Moore, 2015).

8.2.1 *Loss of the Homestead: Toom*

Bourdieu (2005) and Schutz, (1945) have both succinctly noted how a person's house can be much more than just a capital asset, instead being intertwined with deep cultural, social, and symbolic significance, and this was illustrated in the loss felt by Toom when she had to move. Toom, 60, had

a long connection to the area as the land in question belonged to her grandma but she sold it to the landlords because they had no money. She lived there with her two children and parents until they passed away. Like all the residents in the community, Toom faced a struggle as she grew up, having to help her family earn a living when a child. This can be seen to reproduce inequality as it limited opportunities to accumulate cultural capital in terms of education. Toom's parents originally both worked at a power plant, but later her father stayed at home and her mother "sold little stuff like snacks or things like that". She had to finish school at grade nine (age fourteen to fifteen) as her aunt didn't have money to continue sending her. So she found "little jobs to do at home" making necklaces and painting buttons for extra money. Then, her friend opened a 7-11 store and she worked there for 10 years. After several other jobs she took over from her cousin who rented an outside space in the local area selling food, which she still does today. Yet despite her difficult childhood in terms of making a living, she had very strong attachment to and fond memories of where they lived. Saying there was nothing she didn't like about it, she continued:

I liked it because I'd lived here since I was born. Even though I didn't have much, when I went to bed I felt happy. It was my room, right? One day passed and sometimes I didn't really associate with anyone. I had a bed in front of my house, right here. After selling food, I went to sleep because I had to wake up at 2am. I would sleep and wake up in the afternoon like this to continue to prepare stuff. When things were prepared, I would come out to sit and relax in front of my house. Sometimes, if I didn't sit and relax, I would listen to music. Then, at around 5-6 pm, I would take a shower, go up to my room and sleep. I was happy.

For Toom, her house was not simply the homestead, but the lived history in terms of cherished memories, relationships and a particular way of life (Schutz, 1945). However, the security she had here was based around implicit assurances of reciprocity rather than contractual obligations as it was through a long-term relationship with the landlords that households were able to establish such long term bonds to the area and remain. It was thus based on clientship and user rights rather than contractual obligations. Their parents had been friends with the original landlord and the rents had barely increased. The original landlord had died some time ago, and his son, Athorn, had inherited it, and a similar relationship continued. All the other residents of this area explained how they were paying similarly low rents. Thus a *bunkun* relationship of mutual respect is evident, in which the landlord recognised their difficulties, or lack of material capital, and took measures to ensure they could afford to remain in their home. They thus did not possess the configurations of capital (*habitus*) required to maintain a desirable position in the field, but were able to do so through patron-clientism. In effect then, the families were still living in Cohen's (1985) 'semi-urban' stage of *soi* development, characterised by renting land from a landlord for a nominal sum without any

formal agreement, and building wooden houses. It did not in essence reflect the reality of the urban environment around them, which has seen the development of high rise buildings and townhouses, and ever increasing rents.

Figure 22: Vacant land where Self-build community once stood



Source: author

But as Cohen (1985), De Wandeler (2002), and Evers and Korff (2000) noted, patron-client relationships can change upon inheritance to the detriment of the tenants. Khun Athorn had now passed the land onto his son, and several of the residents on the land complained that the bunkun relationship had broken down, explaining how the original landlord had never thought about making them leave, but with their grandchildren this had started to change. Toom explained this further:

He [the original landlord] didn't collect the rent from our house. But, afterwards, his children complained that the house and building tax was expensive. So, we helped pay it. But they didn't collect a lot, just 200 baht a month [approximately \$6]. 200 baht per month. And then, after collecting the rent for a while, they could not get money from other houses. So, they might be bored or annoyed and decided to just sell it.

The landlord told them a few years in advance that they might have to leave, but it took time to occur because of the houses being sold at the front. The tenants were never exactly sure who they were, but representatives came around after the landlord had spoken to them the first time to negotiate compensation and to get them to sign for it, but it was not till a long time later that others came and gave them two months' notice to vacate. They showed coordinated resistance though as originally they had been offered just 50,000 baht [approximately \$1,500] and the representatives tried to trick them by speaking to each person individually and offering a lower amount. But once one stood firm for 100,000, he told the others and they refused as a group to accept less. They were also able to keep the wood from their houses to sell, valued at around 20,000 baht.

All the residents found the actual eviction extremely difficult, partly because of the loss of the emotional bonds they had to the community and their home, but also because of the uncertainty ahead. Toom described herself as "being under stress" as she prepared for it as she did not know where she would live. Highlighting the importance of informal networks, Toom went to ask people around the market by where she worked if anyone knew of a place to rent, and the sister of the person she buys vegetables from at the market who senged a three-story building had a tenant moving out, so she took that at 6000 baht per month. Experiencing a decline in her already low economic capital due to this higher rent, she struggles to meet the payments but also feels she had been taken advantage of as she also has to pay the 800 baht seng fee which she says is normally the sengers responsibility and she also agreed to pay the land and building tax, but it was not till after that she found out this was another 4,500 baht each year. She also now has the added responsibility of paying the rent herself, which she then has to collect off the others in the house, not all of whom will always pay. Her situation thus resonates with the common difficulties faced in gentrified neighbourhoods in the West, with a depletion in the amount of affordable housing available, forcing households who remain or wish to move to the neighbourhood to take what they can at potentially higher rents (Atkinson, 2004; Slater, 2002; Wyly and Newman, 2006).

Though she is happy to have somewhere to stay, Toom did not feel she could think of anything good about the new place, describing it as *Suk Hua Non*, an idiom meaning to have a place to stay, usually used by poor people who can hardly find a place to live. This lack of attachment was evident when she reminisced over her old place, bringing the natural aspects to the fore as opposed to the practical description of her current home. For example, she described how she knew when it rained because "the water hit the roof", but in her new place she does not even know as she is downstairs, and that in her old house "On Buddhist holy days or full-moon nights, sometimes I woke up at night and saw the big moon. Living there [current house], I cannot see anything. I just

live in a building”. Her home now is thus purely functional in nature, somewhere that she can sleep and remain in the neighbourhood, and the ‘home’ as a realm imbued with meaning has been lost.

Regarding the future, Toom did not feel positive about improving her situation. Toom says the person she pays the rent to for the space where she works was kind enough to decrease it from 1,500 to 1000 baht per month when she was displaced. But revealing her low expectations of life, she feels fortunate just to have a job that allows her to live day-to-day:

I am still lucky to have a career to support myself. These days, I work and I don’t get much because right now it looks like the economy is not very good. I sell it and get just enough money to eat, to use and to pay the rent. That’s it.

She bought a piece of land outside of Bangkok 30 years ago for a low price, paying it off each month over a number of years, but she can’t afford to build a house on it, and selling it at its current value of around 600,000 baht would not bring her anywhere near enough to get a house in Bangkok. Juree (1979) noted how part of the middle classes’ sense of prestige and security is related to the ability to raise finance and improve their position, and Toom’s comments support this. She partly blames the inability to improve her housing situation on the fact that she cannot access mortgage finance because neither she nor anyone in her family has contract work that would allow this. She links this to her status when she explains how a child of a cousin of hers who lived on the land benefitted from this:

Her daughter had a job so she bought a house. She could buy a house because her daughter had a job and she could do stuff with the bank. People at my *radap* [level] cannot be involved with the bank, right? [Her voice shaking with emotion]. Actually, I want to have it. I want to have a house.

There was hope that development, symbolised by the arrival of the BTS, may lead to more positive prospects, but this did not come to fruition:

At first, I thought it was OK [arrival of the BTS]. Development is good. But when I think about it, when development comes, I have to go back to live in a hole just like before [sad laugh]. It’s like a hole. When development reaches here, I have to go down to live in the undeveloped place just the same.

Status is thus central to Toom’s typifications around her perceived lower status in relation to those higher up. Toom reveals that she views her economic situation in a very negative way relative to those who are participating in a ‘developed’ society. Yet despite this negative discourse about her own position, she rejects the idea of a condominium as an alternative habitat as well as the lifestyle

of those who stay there. She viewed the condos as lacking in character: “It’s an ordinary square room”; and lacking physical contact or relationships: “[It] is like just living upstairs in a room, not knowing anything that’s going on. If something happens to anyone or anything, you don’t know it, right?” She went as far as to say that: “If someone asked me to go live there for free, I still wouldn’t take it. I think it’s not a nice place to live. Living in a small hut would be better”. And Toom further distanced herself from this type of existence when she discussed her lifestyle compared to the newcomers, rejecting any aspirations to be the same as those she sees as having a higher status: “Different. It’s because I have already thought about it, I don’t — I am a simple person. I don’t want to be high like them” [laughs]. Toom thus feels deeply the inequalities that exist as she is excluded from the benefits of development, yet emulating the lives of those of a higher status is not seen as an escape from this, as she embraces the identity of being a ‘simple person’. The lack of desire for a condominium could partly reflect generational differences given the ages of the subjects, as some younger condo owners suggested their parents would not live in a condominium. However, the very strong way in which Toom and other residents rejected any thought of such a lifestyle, especially given some were now living in housing conditions they did not like, suggests otherwise. Echoing Guinness’ (2002) claims that at the core of understanding the city in relation to lower income communities is ‘community’, not ‘status’, what it appears to reflect is that though she does not want to be excluded from the material benefits of a society that is modernising, the route to happiness is not in mirroring the lives of those of a higher status. A sacrifice not worth making for this is the loss of her own lifeworld and social identity, which for her has been constructed around her home and the relationships she had there.

8.2.2 *Loss of Status: Mam*

Many scholars who have written on Thailand have identified status as central to understanding social interactions and social differentiation in Thailand (Askew, 2002; Basham, 1989; De Wandaler, 2002; Juree, 1979; Klausner, 1993; Mulder, 2000; Vorng, 2011a), and Histock et al (2001) related ontological security to status, in that one’s home is intertwined with a positive sense of self-identity. The importance of this is illustrated through the story of Mam. The cousin of Toom, Mam is 54 and she too originally lived in a house on the land with her parents, who have since passed away. As well as her parents, she lived with two siblings (though her brother died soon after her parents) and later on also her son, daughter-in-law, grandchildren, and another older sister from her step-father. Thus there were about 7 or 8 people in her house. Like Toom, she was forced to leave school early (at nine or ten years old) so that she could work to bring in an income and assist with household chores. She described her father as a “drunk”, and whilst her mother sold things to make a living, such as fried bananas on the street, she explained how she bought the ingredients,

mixed the flour, and delivered them. She thus had the status of the main breadwinner whilst her siblings, she claimed, did not do anything: “I worked...but my brothers and sisters ate and lived with me. They did not have to pay for anything”. She now has a mobile cart from which she sells food in the area.

Figure 23: New condominium (The Rich) that replaced the Self-build Community



Source: Author

As with all those from this area, Mam had positive memories of her home. But this was also tied in with her status as she recalled fondly the natural environment of the area in the past and how it enabled her to be self-sufficient and provide for her siblings:

They [some of the other households] came to this area later...I was here before them. Before there were only 2 or 3 houses on this piece of land. It was all a *suan* [an area of greenery, such as a garden or park] here. There were mangos, morning glory...anything I could gather, I would, and cook food with it for my younger brothers and sisters. In the past, I even caught shrimps with nets...it was a *suan* that had mangoes, durians...I would pick them for my younger brothers and sisters to eat.

Her family paid little or no rent, and possibly less than others. At first her mother paid nothing but the landlord increased it because his taxes were increasing, so they were asked to pay 100 baht per month, and then 200 baht just before her mother died about 5 years ago:

Sometimes he would come and ask for the rent...sometimes he didn't. He didn't really charge my mother. It was most likely because he felt sorry for my mother and father [for being poor]. My parents knew the landlord. Before the landlord was known to be a 'Khun Phra' [someone of high social status, and a close relation to the King]. In the past his land was near the canal. So my family...we didn't really have to pay...pay a lot for the rent because...they would charge us only 100 baht. As for the other houses, he charged them 500 or 600 baht. Here...the rent price is really cheap. Some houses paid 500, some 700 or 800 baht.

Figure 24: Plush lobby area of The Rich Condominium



Source: Author

In terms of compensation, all households received 100,000 baht but Mam ended up with 65,000. Revealing how underhand tactics were employed by those seeking to remove them, she said that the representatives claimed that was all that anyone else was getting and she got “confused” by it, but by the time she realised she had been misled it was too late as she had signed to accept it. Other residents later told me in interviews that they had warned her not to accept it. She then says she had to use the money to pay off debts she had anyway. Mam's cousin, Toom, had said that one of those that does not always pay the rent on the new home she found is Mam. Mam moved in there with her son, daughter-in-law, and her grandchild. Like Toom, Mam didn't view this as a home but simply a place to sleep. Her costs have also increased as she explained that now she has to pay 2000-3000

baht per month. It is cramped conditions as there are five families living together, and her sleeping area is not actually a room, but a space in the hallway:

I don't have a room, but I still have to pay the rent like everyone else. I pay like everyone else. I pay for the water...about 100 baht, and the electricity...about 400 baht. Each month [the payments] are different. I have to pay...but I get to sleep on the floor. I have a blanket, where I sleep on.

This finding is thus the same as that what has been found in Western contexts such as the United States (Newman and Wyly, 2006) but also Southeast Asia, namely the Philippines (Choi, 2016), where overcrowding can be a consequence of displacement as households attempt to remain in the locality where they have lost their house. It is thus a hidden cost of the process as it may appear that households have not been affected as they are not displaced from the area, but in fact they have doubled up or tripled-up with family or friends in order to remain. This also supports previous research in this area which found that simply counting numbers when assessing the impacts of gentrification is inadequate (Moore, 2015), as well as supporting those scholars in the West who have argued that 'displacement' must be understood as more than the identification of movement of people between locations (Davidson, 2009; Slater, 2004).

Gentrification research drawing on Bourdieu (1984) has tended to focus on the way in which communal social identities, or a distinct habitus, are constructed in urban environments, amongst gentrifiers (Butler and Robson, 2003), but an opposing process that has not been discussed in the literature may be occurring to others. This is the damage to communal and individual identities within the wider community, as was seen with Mam's different reality to that identified by Butler and Robson (2003) as she talked about her old house:

I miss everything about it. I felt very happy staying at my old house. I got to stay with my brothers and sisters. Stay with my children and my grandchildren. I lived in that house since my parents weren't even old yet, and now they are dead. Everybody died here: my father, mother and my younger brother. They all died here. I was the one that took care of everyone. I was the eldest sister. I had to take care of everything.

Mam's home had provided a spatial context for the memories and performance of day-to-day routines of caring for her family as the eldest sibling, and thus a status as the carer and breadwinner constructed around that. This reflects a weakness in relying solely on a structural Bourdieusian analysis which focuses on the shared elements of experience at the expense of an analysis differentiating and disaggregating between individual household attitudes, meanings and identities. The displacement occurring in the locality and the experiences of those being impacted by the

influx of newcomers reflects a breakdown of social groups and social identity rather than the generation of a common habitus, as has been seen with Mam. This is more akin to the phenomenological habitus (Crossley, 2001), as it is Mam's personal experience and social milieu that have imprinted upon her dispositions and schemes of perception to construct this identity rather than the incorporation of external structures. Ultimately though, the loss of her home and her memories of this has seen the status identity she held as part of her household impossible to hold on to.

Like Toom, she has particular difficulty in coming to terms with the clear economic disparities between their lives and others and the difficulties they feel they have to face in life making a living, seen again as status is brought the fore as a way for Mam to differentiate her life with those of the newcomers:

It is a lot different. They are the sky, I am the dirt. They live in the condos...like that...they must have a lot of money...a lot of income. As for me...I barely have any money. It is a lot different. I am stressed every day. Especially today, I didn't sell all of my food. I cooked the food...but people were not used to the food I made. I had to hurry and put the food in the fridge first...I will go sell more later. I am so stressed. Now I only have two baht left.

Idioms around status are again used to voice inequalities. Mam shows an acute awareness of her status in regard to others and its connection to her everyday life, relating the newcomer's higher status to an assumption that they will have more money and less stressful lives. Mam went on to explain how her job has also been affected by the move. She sells food in the street from a mobile cart, but her previous house was closer to the place where she sells, so she now has to work harder and is more tired with less time.

8.2.3 *Loss of Ontological Security: Aeh*

Examining ontological security is relevant to all households impacted by gentrification, but Aeh's story illustrated the critical place that the concept of ontological security (Depuis and Thorns, 1998; Histock et al, 2001; Saunders, 1990) must have in other non-Western contexts, as drawing on it helps to understand the particularly acute ways in which her loss of her home through displacement manifested itself. Her loss in this respect was particularly detrimental because, unlike others, she did not have family networks (non-financial resources) to draw on to help her resolve her situation. She also did not have the economic capital in the form of monetary compensation for eviction to help her move and resettle. These two factors, family support and economic capital, have often been seen as central in ensuring a more stable housing pathway in the Western literature (Ford, Rugg and Burrow, 2002; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2015; Natalier and Johnson, 2012). Without these the

house was the central structure of Aeh's security, ensuring that she had some control of her situation. What also emerges from her story is the link between status and access to the land market, something which has been strongly associated with cultural value and a vehicle for upward mobility in the Global East (Askew, 2002; Ley and Teo, 2014).

The house Aeh lived in was actually owned by her aunt, who allowed her to stay there when she moved back to the countryside, as she says she "felt pity for me. She paid about 500 baht a month or 1000 baht with utilities. Initially she lived there with her husband and three children but after they split up he took two of the children away to stay with his parents. Her household is now her frail 80 year old mother and 11 year old son. At the old house they had three rooms, so each had one to sleep in. She explained the displacement was very stressful. They had been told they would have to leave but thinking it would not actually happen, she was caught unawares when they were suddenly told they had two months to vacate her house. She got no compensation because she was not the tenant, and although her aunt wanted to help her, her aunt's children did not want her to have any of the money as, Aeh claimed, they did not want to share it. Like the other residents, losing the familiarity of the place she had lived so long and the lead up to that hit Aeh hard:

I felt sad because I didn't want to move out. This house was where I lived since I was born. Living somewhere else would not be the same as living here. I knew how things were around here. During the first nights away I couldn't get to sleep because I never lived anywhere else. In the early days, I cried every night because I didn't want to move out. When it was nearer to the deadline, on the day we were supposed to move out, I just sat and cried because I didn't want to go. Also, we had to move stuff out, and there was only my kid and me. We had to help each other; no one came to help us. I have to accept that I was so tired back then.

Again this shows how the routines and familiarity connected to Aeh's house and the neighbourhood provided her with ontological security, with the fear of losing this coming to the fore as eviction approached. But she was also unable to draw on reciprocal relationships to solve her housing crisis as Toom and Mam had done. Because of the need to work and the suddenness of the eviction, she did not have much time to look for alternative accommodation. She earns money day-by-day by selling food from a mobile cart so she could not stop working and she needed to stay in the area:

I could not take days off since I lived from hand to mouth. In the morning after I went to buy stuff from the market and put them in the fridge, I had to walk around to find a house. After 10 or 11, I was too tired of walking so I went back. Why? I was too tired and I still had to prepare stuff for selling. I couldn't take days off.

Aeh thus does not have the time available to resolve her housing situation and like Mam, she is stressed just finding the time to make food and then sell it. It was noted with the condominium residents how the accumulation of spatial capital was linked to increased free time, benefiting quality of life and the development of cultural capital, but with household's from the Self-build Community living who are living on the margins, opposing forces are evident, with the loss of spatial capital leading to less time and greater stress.

This rush led to her taking a place nearby that a friend told her about, but utilities with rent came to around 7,000 baht per month, far higher than she had been used to. Without access to the compensation, she's now in debt as she had to take out a loan to pay the deposit and rent with an "acquaintance" at 120% interest, and if she cannot make a daily payment, it gets added to the loan as compound interest, which for Aeh is a "Headache. Thinking about it makes me stressed". Demonstrating the lack of control or security associated with the lower classes over their social environment (Juree, 1979; Paton, 2014), Aeh was unable to plan given her erratic and unpredictable income, evident as she explains the reasons for the loan:

I wanted the money to pay off the rent. Whatever the creditor asked for, I had to accept it. It was better than letting the landlord rebuke us. It was necessary, right? Better than letting the landlord keep on demanding the rent because the due date was on the 5th. I couldn't get money on time because some days I sold a lot while other days were quiet. It was unpredictable.

It is thus the lack of a guaranteed regular income which meant Aeh could not have any real stability. Aeh has always had unpredictability as a result of her occupation, but this could be better controlled when she had stability in her housing with a predicable rent, but this has been lost. Being unable to afford this rent, she moved only a few months later to a room a friend had turned down as it was too small for her. Like Toom and Mam, higher rents and less space was the outcome of Aeh's attempts to stay in the neighbourhood, reflecting again the impacts of displacement for those remaining in a neighbourhood, which are overcrowding and reduced affordability (Choi, 2016; Newman and Wyly, 2006; Slater, 2002). It is just one room with one bed for 2500 baht per month (over double that of her original house) that the three of them now live in, which she refers to as "cramped" and "very uncomfortable", and "*maew din tai*" (metaphorically used to refer to a tiny space). Unlike the natural environment and open space of her old place, this is a large building with two floors, divided up into 9 rooms. With the new room being much further from the road she sells on, she describes her commute as much more difficult and time consuming as she has to push her food cart much further, a negative impact due to the loss of spatial capital.

Figure 25: The Rich condo - walls separate it from the neighbourhood



Source: Author

Aeh's perceptions of the injustice of her situation and where the causes lie were evident as she explained that "rich people" are taking the opportunity to buy more land, whereas they, "the poor" cannot do anything. This just accentuates this inequality: "I also think they are already rich. They shouldn't have taken advantage of the poor. This is what I think. I cannot think any more than this". Aeh thus places the blame on the inequalities produced through one's position in the land and housing market, again reflected in her views towards condos in the area: "I don't like them because they make things harder for the poor. For example, people who rent houses or land have to move out. These condos make poor people's life much more difficult". The importance of land or property ownership is also emphasised in her reflections on the lifestyles of the newcomers:

It's not the same. These people buy condos, but I rent other people's places. The difference is just here. As for the rest, we actually have a similar way of life. It's just that they are a bit richer. That's all. I am poor and they are rich. Are we different? Not really, actually.

Aeh does not actually view their lives in themselves as that different, focusing instead on the wide gulf in opportunity symbolised by the ability to rent or buy. Importantly, Aeh, like others, made few references to the past accumulation of merit, or karma, (Juree, 1979) in seeking to find causes for the difficulties in life. Rather, as claimed by several Thai scholars (Basham, 1989; Podhisita, 1998; Vorng, 2011b) social position is related to more contemporary understandings of society. Specifically, it is inequality in the land market that is viewed as central to social differentiation in

society, and this is now being reproduced through the consumption of condominiums, and a way in which those higher up in the social hierarchy maintain their domination and positions of privilege.

Aeh's hopelessness for anything changing in society to improve her life was clear: "No it's not [fair]. Because they don't give poor people opportunities. To be honest, poorer people are not given any opportunity at all. Even these days it doesn't change, leave alone the future. It's impossible". The only way that Aeh sees this happening is through her son as she is waiting for him to finish his studies so he can work and make a "better change" in her life. Her low aspirations and hope simply to have a less stressful and more stable life manifest themselves in her thoughts on what would be her ideal home, which hark back to the memories of her past:

I probably want it to be a wooden house like the one that we used to live in. I don't ask for much. I only want a place where we can live in and sleep in. It doesn't have to be luxurious, I don't want it. I just want to have no problem with the dwelling, just want to live somewhere comfortable.

Aeh has shown resentment at the inability to improve her position, but like Toom and Mam, her desire for a house reflects her dispositions acquired as she grew up in her first house, clearly rejecting modern forms of housing: "I don't want it". Her priority is to find ontological security in terms of the psycho-social benefits of housing again, with a stable housing situation where she is not faced with any threats to leave.

8.3 Stories of Struggle

The essence of some of the stories focused around aspects of struggle related to attempts to try and avoid displacement in order to retain spatial capital, keep the family together, and simply survive in the face of gentrification. The first pathway is that of Suta and his brother Sit, who had faced a long-term *battle with displacement*, as they had already been displaced once prior to then being displaced from the "200 Houses Community". Kanha, displaced from the same community, faced a *fight without collective consumption*, as a lack of state support accentuated her issues with illness in the family. Several households revealed narratives of fatalism related to the potential spiral of decline that always felt close-by, and this is illustrated well in Prakong and his wife's *struggle to survive* when renting and living with an unpredictable income.

Figure 26: Soi in 200 Houses before demolition



Figure 27: Soi in 200 Houses before demolition



Photo sources: Author

Figure 28: 200 Houses soi partially demolished



Figure 29: 200 Houses during demolition



Photo sources: Author

Figure 30: 200 Houses during demolition



Figure 31: New NYE condos under construction at old 200 Houses land

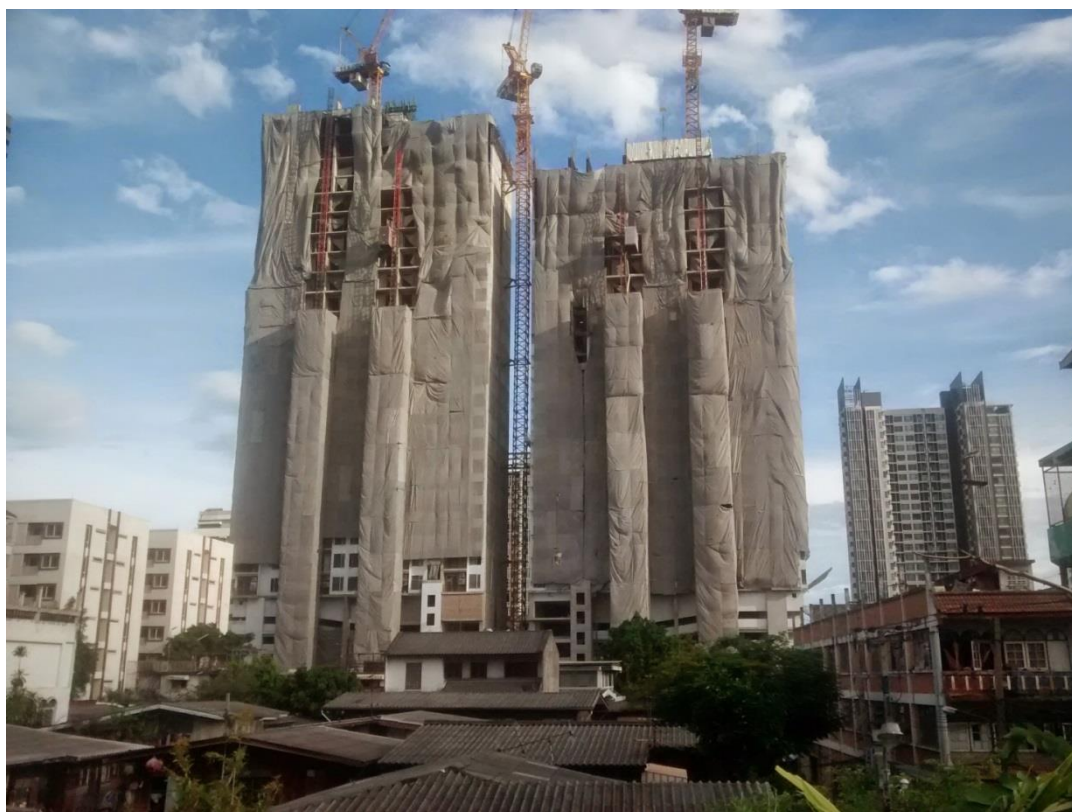


Photo sources: Author

Figure 32: Completed NYE Condominiums, towering over local community



Photo sources: Author

8.3.1 A Battle with Displacement: Suta and Sit

Rerat and Lees (2011) stressed the importance of spatial capital for middle class households who are seeking convenience and improved mobility, and this has been evident in the pathways of the condominium residents. However, they also noted the need to examine spatial capital in relation to inequality and low-income households and the story of Suta and Sit and their battle to avoid displacement, provides important insights into this. Suta and Sit have actually been displaced twice due to the building of condominiums in the area, leaving an area just a few minutes from this one three years before.

Suta is 54 and a taxi driver. He is divorced and has four children who live with the mother. Sit is 55 and has been working in a garment factory for 25 years. He is married and has children. They were born in Bangkok and there were 7 children in total in his family, but two siblings have died, so they

now have two older sisters and another older brother. They have rented all their lives, and they moved around regularly in their early life before settling in this area at around the age of 10, firstly in an old house of wood and concrete that has since been demolished. Like all the interviewees in insecure housing positions, Sit linked land ownership, inequality, and life chances, evident when he discussed his first accommodation in the area: “We rented it. In my life, I’ve always been renting a place. To simply put it, my mother had no money”. The opportunity to accumulate cultural capital through education was again limited, as at the age of 10 they both went to work in a theatre where they performed *Ngiu*, a traditional Chinese opera, until they were about 15, but they then ran away because the adults would beat them. They both then went to paint motorbikes.

Their housing pathways were not quite clear because as is common for some families, they moved between each other’s properties depending on the circumstances. But they had a family home in the area where Suta lived for much of the time with his mother, sisters and the other older brother, a place he says his sister got on a long-term seng for 20,000 baht. It was a place they stayed in for many years before being displaced the first time by the building of ‘My Condo’, one of the earliest condominiums built in the area close to Wongwian Yai BTS station. Suta described the community:

When it became developed, they drove people in the whole area out. Over there, there were 200 units. People who lived in those 200 units were all poor. They kicked us all out. Behind *My Condo*, there were lots of old wooden houses. It was a slum, a bad slum where people who *Ha Chao Kin Kham* [Literally, working to get money in the morning and spend it all at night - a term used with people who work and get a low income so they have to struggle with money each day] gathered together. They sold a lot of stuff over there. They sold desserts on carts. It was a slum which was—I can’t describe it. A slum with lots of food. These days, it is no more.

Suta was bitter about the course his life had taken since he began to be displaced, viewing those who have money and power as taking advantage of those who are poorer. He explained how those with a lot of land but with little assets in the form of actual money make a contract for developers to build on their land, which will then all revert back to the landowner after a set period, usually 25 years, which was the case in this area:

In fact, this goddamn Muslim [the land owner] didn’t have money, either. I went to see his house and saw that it was old, but these people had a lot of land...The areas in Nongjok and Min Buri are in the same style [other areas in Bangkok outside of the city centre Suta knows of where the same situation occurred]. They have land, but they *Mai Mee Pan Ya* [cannot afford to] build buildings themselves. So, they let other people build them. At one point,

everything belongs to them, you know. They take advantage. They Tham Na Bon Lang Khon [A Thai proverb which means taking advantage of other people who have to work hard], these people, tell him [speaking to his brother, Sit].

This thus represents an example of the agency of less wealthy households, taking advantage of urbanisation by using land to improve their economic position and moulding their local environment (Askew, 2002; De Wandeler, 2002). But, as was seen with Aeh, Suta's bitterness about being excluded from such strategies demonstrates that for the many without land, such opportunities for advancement do not exist. For them, land and its ownership symbolises the structural inequalities of Thai society, a cycle of which it is impossible to escape.

Following the eviction which occurred around 2008, they held onto their spatial capital as they moved to a house in the 200 Houses Community just a short walk away. Despite attempts to re-establish themselves here though, it was to end leaving them feeling upset and resentful. In an attempt to secure a more solid footing in the neighbourhood, their older brother used all his savings in order to *seng* the building, which was for three years but with a verbal agreement that this would then be extended, which did not happen as the landlady sold the land. Adding to the betrayal they felt had occurred over this broken promise, the total cost of the *seng* worked out more than it would have been had they rented it for three years instead:

She sold it out and didn't let us extend the contract. We paid 300,000 something for *senging* at that time. 380,000 [\$11,500]. She only let us extend the contract for 3 years and no more. The money was all gone. She lied to us, telling us that she would let us extend it. It was my brother's money, but I felt *Jeb Jai* [extremely angry] because she should have extended the contract for 3 or 6 years because we just bought the right.

They explained how stressed their brother was, who then died before they left, which Suta attributed to their situation: "But we *Sia jai* [sad] to leave the place behind. Over there [first place displaced from], we *Sia jai*. Our brother died because of this evil woman. He was too stressed about her. He was under stress". Their strategy to hold on to their spatial capital thus failed. Though there was no legal obligation to extend, they had felt the landlord's word was enough. Several other residents from the area said they were basing their future on the understanding that they would later be able to buy their property. Resonating with Bourdieu's (2005) concept of symbolic capital in which the economy of honour and good faith are central, this may represent a *habitus* built around the expected moral obligations and trust of patron-clientism, with an assumption that the word from someone of a higher status whom they knew would be honoured, but instead the economic rewards of selling the land superseded this.

With nowhere to go, Suta lived with his niece's ex-husband for three years, which was far from the place they were bought up. They now both live in separate one-bedroom flats in the same complex, a low-rise older apartment block still in Bangkok but not very close to Wongwian Yai, and they cannot afford to live around their old neighbourhood because of increased rents and a lack of housing, a common consequence of gentrification in the West (Atkinson, 2004). When they compared their new situation with the old one, the loss they experienced in several ways was clear. One was the loss of habitual associations in the old area that they had developed through reciprocal relationships within the community. These familiar and long established social networks and other local resources are drawn upon in order to maintain position and function effectively in the neighbourhood and thus are crucial for survival in the city. This resonates with situations identified in the West (Atkinson, 2015), in which there is a knock-on effect of displacement due to the loss of social networks. Suta explained how this worked in relation to employment:

For example, they [friends/acquaintances in the community] recommend us to go sell stuff. But when we live here, we don't know anyone. It's like we're alone. You get an idea? In the community, at least they would recommend you like, hey, you're unemployed, go do this. People would tell you to go work there. When we come here, we don't know anyone. We just live like this [sitting inside as we are in the interview]. When it's time, we just get in our room and go to sleep. When it's time to go, we go...In Wongwian Yai, they have *Jub Yi Ki* [underground lottery]. We went to jot it [administer the lottery] and we could get some money. You know *Jub Yi Ki*, right?

Thus again Suta's experiences could be likened to Cohen's (1985) 'early urban' stage of soi development, where the locality is a "semi-autonomous ecological sub-system" based on more traditional values and norms, in which a local population lives, works and satisfies their needs within that locality. But these networks and the resources connected to them have now gone with the loss of spatial capital. As Bourdieu (1984, 171-2) argued, the habitus fits a specific social field, which was the case for Suta and Sit in their old surroundings, and one may not be aware of the habitus as it feels 'natural'. But awareness of this has now surfaced as away from this familiar everyday world they do not feel they belong and have to learn to negotiate new practices. The brothers explained how people they knew "just disappeared" and now live far away, making it nearly impossible to see them because they cannot take the time off work. As a result, like Toom, development was not viewed in a positive light, with an inverse relationship being seen to exist between development and quality of life: "It's difficult [life]. The more developed the community is, the harder our lives become". Telling their story led Suta to reflect on the ease with which he felt those with economic capital could continue to accumulate it, whereas he could not:

I drive a taxi and rich people get in my car. We talk and it seems that it is so easy for them to find money. Why is it difficult for me to find some? That's it. I feel envious.

With regard to any housing security or confidence about his future, Suta was bleak, saying that "People like us will continue to be kicked out", and feeling "Noi Jai [small/inferior] about my fate". Like the residents displaced in the other area, there is an embodied sense of status through which the world is perceived and explained. One's social position in life is seen in terms of a simple dichotomy of rich and poor, the former being synonymous with the accumulation of economic capital through minimal effort, and the latter with instability and an uncertain future. When discussing his future housing, he initially explained that he has no money so he cannot even think about it. This unwillingness to consider it, something several displaced residents said when asked about having their own house in the future, could be what Bourdieu (1977; 1990; 2000) means when he says the habitus is a 'generative scheme' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 95) that only allows a person to grasp what is there for them, or an adjustment to the objective chances inscribed in the dispositions constituting the habitus (Bourdieu, 1984 p. 380).

8.3.2 *A Life without Collective Consumption: Kanha*

Like Suta, Kanha was displaced from the area, and her story highlights the difficulties experienced when there is no access to collective consumption if a family falls on difficult times such as displacement. A lack of recourse to this in Thailand is something that Evers and Korff (2000) noted as of particular importance to lower-class households living on the margins, requiring the intergenerational contract in order to meet day-to-day needs (Knodel, 2014). But Kanha's story shows that this can also be extended to the lower middle classes and those with contractual work. Kanha was originally a migrant from the South, working within a company as an accountant, and thus could be categorised within Juree's (1979) middle-class. She was born to a fishing family in the south of Thailand and worked on the boats. She did not get educated initially as it was not the norm to educate girls at the time, but desiring to study and with her brother thinking her work inappropriate, she joined him in Chiang Mai where he was at university in the north to attend school. After a brief return to her hometown and rejecting a proposal for marriage, she then went to university in Bangkok and trained to be a qualified accountant, a career in which she has worked since. She had ended up living in the community at Wongwian Yai as she got married and her mother and father-in-law senged a house there when it was built 25 years ago and, as was often tradition, they moved in with her husband's family. Family members also senged the house next door originally. Her in-laws have since passed away, but they made clothes at their house and so used the local market for materials.

Unlike many of the other people displaced from this area, Kanha was not emotionally attached to it, but she went further and explained how she had never actually liked it particularly, evidenced by her description of it in the past when she said “there were drugs and everything; drunkards – we were sleeping and we would hear them fighting and running. It was bad”. Her views were also evident in her lack of desire to improve the house: “Didn’t you see how worn out it looked? I didn’t do anything to it...I didn’t paint it; I didn’t renovate the floor; we left it as it was”. This highlights the importance of spatial capital, because despite having no real emotional attachment to her house or the neighbourhood, she still wished to stay there because her two children went to the schools nearby, her husband worked close by, and she could get to work easily in another part of the city by the BTS when it was built. Like Suta and Sit, she felt secure as she had believed she could buy the property in the future, relying on the landlady’s word alone:

Her house was next to the shrine. When we went to worship at the shrine, we would talk to each other. Like Thai people in general, we talked to each other without having any document which stated that she would sell it to me...It’s like she wanted to keep this land and make money from it until the next generation.

Kanha’s comments again show the faith that is placed in what has been communicated verbally without any legal backing, demonstrating how the cultural obligations and expectations of patron-clientism are an embodied disposition and a part of the habitus. She went on to explain how the tenants had been deserted by the landlady, being left to fend for themselves during the displacement. She was more fortunate than some others in that she had bought a house many years ago with her husband but it was further from the centre of the city and not by transit, thus not providing the spatial capital of this area. Also, they had not had the money to renovate it to make it habitable. For this reason they tried to hold out as long as they could at Wongwian Yai. When she explained the other reasons why they did not move when they were asked to, the extent of her difficulties became clear:

Money too because I was an office worker. Thai society is like...we just had enough money to send our kids to school. As for the house that I bought, it was still not paid off yet. We had it but it was very far. We didn’t go to live there and we didn’t have money to renovate it. So, we didn’t move there. But these people had their own business [referring to those displaced who had businesses or let their factory workers live in their houses]. So, they had money to buy houses. My case was different. My husband was a salesperson and I was an accountant at Grammy [a large media company]. We had to take care of our children. Our salaries were just enough for each month. When we hired someone to renovate our house, the cost was high. At that time, my husband had just retired.

Several other residents viewed fixed contracts and guaranteed salaries as a key factor in making life much easier, but Kanha's experiences reveal that this is not necessarily the case. Although she had the security of knowing her monthly income, she still faced acute difficulties when other problems arose, and this was accentuated by the lack of collective consumption (Evers and Korff, 2000), or access to other financial resources such as welfare support. Her husband's company did not run the government Provident fund, so apart from a year's salary after retiring, he would get no pension. At the same time her mother-in-law got colon cancer, and she could not have got treated without them paying:

We arranged an operation for her so that she could eat. Actually, the doctor almost refused to treat her. It was difficult because we had to treat her and renovate our house as well. My children also had to go different ways [when displaced]. There were so many issues.

Because her other house was not ready, she at first did not leave despite houses being knocked down around her. In order to force her to move, she said the developers did not directly make threats but used indirect tactics. For example, she felt scared as they allowed Myanmar workers who were clearing the area to stay in the empty houses next to hers, and she said they "just drank, and drank and drank". She also said representatives spoke loudly on the phone so she could overhear about how people would be sent to deal with other cases, and they asked her if she was simply trying to get more compensation. Hochstenbach and Boterman (2015) argued that in trying to cope in a gentrified neighbourhood and follow a linear pathway, some respondents had knowledge of the "rules of the game", which can be considered a form of cultural capital. Kanha made use of such cultural capital by gaining information from family members who were lawyers and from the district office, establishing that when a contract expires they can remain another three to six months if they have nowhere else to go and she could file a complaint to the courts if forced to move.

Like Suta, she thus fought to hold onto her spatial capital for longer and to keep her family together as a unit, employing strategies to achieve this, but given the threats, she did not stay the extra six. Not wanting to risk her daughter's safety, she rented her an apartment by her university, which was an added expense of 8,000 baht [\$240] per month, and her son moved to dormitories at his university, costing 4,000 per month. Kanha and her husband moved in with friends temporarily though Kanha occasionally stayed with her daughter as she felt "*kreng jai*" [imposing on someone] being at their house. A 550,000 baht lump sum her husband received on retirement plus re-mortgaging the house allowed them to eventually get together the 1 million baht needed to finish renovating it, which is where they now live. Kanha was thus fortunate that she had another place to go to that she could call home even though they faced difficulties moving there, and she says they

now “live more comfortably”. Some consequences of the displacement remain, however, as she is in debt and relying on reciprocity, with her daughter, who is now working and has moved back in with them, helping with money and helping to pay her brother’s school expenses. Her husband could also not retire so his employer allowed him to continue working on a non-contractual basis. Thus with no outside financial assistance provided, as a family they have thus had to come together and pool their income to ensure they can stay afloat financially

8.3.3 *The Struggle for day-to-day Survival: Prakong*

Several residents in the study used emotive language about dying as an ultimate fate or in relation to giving up in the fight to survive in their environment, demonstrating the fragility with which they view their very existence. Some experiences were thus reminiscent of the suffering of the economically powerless in contemporary society recorded by Bourdieu (1999) and Charlesworth (2000), and can be viewed as living a life that is being born to a habitus of necessity (Bourdieu, 1984). An example of this is Prakong, aged 54, who was not displaced, but lived in a soi nearby the 200 Houses Community. He was born in the countryside in Saraburi but the necessity and importance of migrating to Bangkok in order to improve social status and position was evident when he was asked about his reasons for moving: “Oh, poverty, poverty, poverty. Also I wanted to build my skills, for myself”. His parents only finished primary school and he finished secondary. He described a difficult upbringing: “Before, when I went to school I didn’t even have shoes. I would run barefoot to school, very poor” and he explained how they had no utilities or electricity and he had to look after his five siblings. He still spoke of growing up in his hometown with fondness though, explaining how everyone knew each other, socialising during ceremonies such as weddings, ordinations and funerals. This he said was unlike Bangkok where people often do not know their neighbours, reflecting how certain stereotypes around the different characteristics of those from the countryside and those from Bangkok (Evers and Korff, 2000; Komin, 1998) appear in the narratives of many migrants.

He moved to Bangkok when he was 13, and like most migrants made use of family contacts to establish himself, staying at his uncle’s home in Klong San where he trained and learned his current trade as an amulet maker, which he now makes in his own home and sells to local businesses. Despite his negative views about the sense of community in Bangkok, he spoke positively about how as a teenager he discovered the city “never sleeps”, and how electricity and the modern conveniences improved his life:

When I came to BKK, even at 9pm, 10pm, it would still be bright. It was bright like in the afternoon. But I didn't sneak out to party, but my happiness was that there was television. I could watch TV, but in the countryside there was no TV for us to watch.

He said it was hard though and he wanted to go home. Echoing Bourdieu's (1984; 1990) interpretations of the working classes' struggle to gain position in the field, Prakong likened his attempts to improve his position to a battle, having little free time and working long hours to learn his trade and earn money: "If we don't fight, we won't gain any skills". He and his wife currently rent their house, subletting it off a person who senged it but does not want to give them the seng. His wife viewed their situation as unfair as the senger makes a "50% profit" from them, more than from a bank. Prakong explained the insecurity renting brings them:

The person that is letting us rent the place, if he starts to walk by, we start to perspire. People that don't have money, we get frustrated about where we are going to find the money today, when the rent has to be paid tomorrow, when the lessor is asking for the rent. I get worried. The person that is renting the house worries a lot. The person that is renting is very worried. Others that have a monthly salary, they are not bothered right. They have a fixed salary. Maybe they get 10,000 or 12,000 baht...it is a fixed income. But what if we have to use the money for something else. For example, people get sick right? What if we are short of money? If we are able to talk and negotiate with the lessor that we don't have money for this month's rent because something came up [and] if the lessor understood us then there wouldn't be a problem but if he didn't then that means we are in big trouble. We would have to find the money from somewhere else. Maybe borrow *Nok Rabob* [Out of the system, so not from the bank]. You understand right? The interest is 120, 105, 110 [percent]. This is called hot money. This is what life is like when you rent. This is the difficulty.

Again, the symbolism of renting is evident, with its direct association to a life that is a struggle. But also the insecurities that Juree (1979) argued characterised those in the lowest economic positions are evident, with a lack of collective consumption in the form of a welfare state available as a back-up in times of need. Instead, in the back of their minds lies the constant unease that should they suddenly require money above what they make day-to-day, such as for sickness, they could fall into a downward spiral. And supporting Juree's (1979) contention that a positive sense of identification and status in society arises due to having permanent work, this is in contrast to what they perceive as the security of a guaranteed income through a contract. As Prakong's wife explained:

We get paid wages [meaning given money as and when they produce goods]. But for employees that work in companies, their life is easier. All they have to do is go to work at

their company every day and they [the company] would have jobs for them. But for us, if people don't have any work for us we have to go and find work at another place. This is because we have skills [i.e. they are skilled labourers]. Like for those that sew clothes. They get work from here and there. We call it "*Ka Raang*" [Get paid in return for their work]. So if you are asking if we have difficulties, we do. Those that work in companies, their lives are easier.

Perceiving the lives of the rich in the same way as other poorer households in this study, there is seen to be an ease with which others can live their lives, whilst Prakong and his wife face everyday hardship in making ends meet. Although they felt an element of security as there are many owners around their soi thus making the purchase of a large area more difficult, Prakong's fear over possible displacement due to the power developers wield to secure the land they desire was palpable:

I am scared that they might start building another condo. The buyers might start coming around and buying the areas...because usually they come from big companies, right? So if they start buying the areas around here, for sure, we will be in trouble. This is what I am worried about. If they come and buy, take over...in order to build a condo...we are going to be in trouble. We are going to have to find another place to live.

As Atkinson (2015), Davidson and Lees (2010) and Shaw and Hagemans (2015) found in relation to lower income residents remaining in a gentrifying neighbourhood, there is a sense of ontological unease and fear over the possibility of eviction. But unlike the findings of these scholars, there was little evidence that there was a loss of sense of place or disconnection from place. This would be because although the main road has changed along with the demolition of some communities close by, the condominiums are walled off and the neighbourhoods and sois not impacted have retained their social character. Thus people continue their day-to-day lives in the same way.

Unlike some other migrants, Prakong did not have a desire to return to the provinces thus making him more concerned about leaving. He had a strong desire to buy a house, and his thoughts on how impossible this was revealed again how precarious his current stability is in his eyes and the fatalistic attitude towards life this creates:

Oh. In my heart I want to own my own house 100 percent. I wouldn't even have enough for a deposit. We would probably only be able to pay off the interest. Life, the value of money is increasing; it is running away from us. Today, if we live like this, there aren't any problems. We have enough money for food but not enough to save up. If we get sick you

can just let us die. We don't have the money to get treatment, if not for the 30 baht project provided by the government, our lives would have probably ended.

But they also perceived the way in which others in the community had been affected by development in a very negative way. His wife described the recent eviction as being like “a bee hive being destroyed. Poor people had to wander around”, and she explained how people they know now have to travel to the area from afar to buy materials for their work, thus highlighting the widespread loss of spatial capital for many in the local community. She also felt that the community was being steadily destroyed and that the BTS only really helped those who worked in offices whilst resulting in poor people facing difficulties.

8.4 Stories of Coping

The ideal type housing pathways of some residents illustrated aspects of ‘coping’ with gentrification, and they could be likened to ‘linear pathways’ (Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2013) as they are characterised by some stability. They can be typified as being smoother in that issues of displacement or threats to it were ‘resolved’ satisfactorily and were being coped with emotionally, due to practical solutions or through the deployment of strategies related to identity. In the cases of Samran and Yuthani, both displaced from the 200 Houses Community, they resolved their displacement practically through utilising family networks. But Yuthani and Riem and Pom, the latter two living nearby but not displaced, also relied on their identity as migrants to cope with displacement or the threat of it, with Riem and Pom’s vignettes highlighting the lack of social mixing due to “disjunctured lifeworlds” (Davidson, 2010, p.533) that exist at the neighbourhood level.

8.4.1 *Reciprocity of Kinship: Samran*

Reciprocity has been seen to be a key aspect of Thai social relations (Askew, 2002; Mulder, 2000), and reliance on the kinship aspects of this, or the intergenerational contract, to resolve displacement were seen through the experiences of a number of households. Illustrating this is the story of Samran, now 59 and a migrant to the city. Samran was born to a very poor family in the province of Ubon Rachathani, and she moved to Bangkok when she finished 10th grade at age 16 to find work because of their poverty. Her parents were farmers but they worked on other people’s land rather than having their own and she explained how they did not even have enough money to buy food: “They were *Rub Jang* [to take whatever job opportunities came by]. We didn’t have our own farms. We had to find things [e.g. food, vegetables etc.] in the forest so that we could trade it for food. Very poor”. She has four siblings, but she was the youngest and the only one to get an education. Her siblings had to sleep at the houses of their employers while they worked harvesting rice. Her

family has a small wooden house there where some of her brothers and sisters still live, which they were only able to buy when her brother started working in Bangkok.

For the first ten years in Bangkok she worked in a factory where she learned to sew and lived in factory accommodation with her husband, a factory mechanic whom she married when she was 21. Due to both family networks and luck, Samran described the move to Wongwian Yai as “perfect timing” because at the same time that her employer decided to sell his house, thus forcing them to leave, her sister-in-law left her house she was sencing at Wongwian Yai to move back to the countryside as she was in a lot of debt. So they took the seng over. Since having children she has stayed at home ironing clothes for money and raising her children, both of whom have attended university, with her daughter now working at a jewelry company.

Like some others, she felt angry about the eviction as she did not know about the selling of the land until she saw houses were being knocked down and she also felt that they were not ready to be demolished. She had little power with regard to negotiating the 50,000 baht compensation she was offered, saying that she “had to take whatever they gave me and leave” as her contract was close to renewal. She feared for what she would do when the eviction began, and, like those without contract work had no access to official alternative sources of money such as a loan. But some good timing was on Samran’s side again because her sister and brother-in-law who senged a house close by had just bought their own house somewhere else and so it became available:

When I had to move? I felt *Jai Hai* [Frightened/startled/stunned]. How will I find the money to buy a house? I won’t have money to raise my children. I work, my daughter works too but her salary is not much. So I don’t have money to buy a house right? I can’t take any loans either. I was worried. When my sister told me to come live here, because my brother-in-law and she were moving, I felt a bit relieved because I had a place to stay. And now I am senging this place from year to year. 35,000 baht a year.

The fear Samran felt in relation to the threats to her ontological security were thus alleviated by this option. Given the difficulties people talked about in finding alternative accommodation in the area these days, Samran was fortunate to find a place which meant she was still close to the people she ironed clothes for and a place that she could seng and have some longer-term security. Unlike Suta, then, she still had those habitual associations and has retained her spatial capital, albeit through good fortune. She was fully aware of the importance of this as she stated how lucky she was to have a sister living there, and, highlighting the importance of family connections in retaining locational advantage, she went on to reflect on the problems posed for those without relatives and the bitterness they felt towards the landlady, who had since had some relatives pass away:

Two of her relatives already passed away. Maybe it is because many people cursed them. Those people that had to move, who didn't have a home like me...if I didn't have my brother-in-law who lived here, I wouldn't have a place to stay. Don't know where I would have gone. There were others, they were in worse situations than me. Was it hard to find a new home? Well it was difficult [talking generally about those that had to move]. So maybe a lot of people cursed them. A lot of people *dah* [said bad things] about them. They made others go through a lot of difficulty.

She saw the development of the BTS in a positive light as it made moving around the city that much easier, but she viewed the growth of condominiums unfavourably as they only provided benefits to those in better economic positions: "Is it good? For poor people it isn't good but for rich poor it is a good thing. Rich people have money. They would buy condos and leave it for rent. Poor people have to work, so it isn't good". Resonating with Paton's (2014) claim that it is the level of choice and control over one's location that distinguishes the working and middle classes, the lack of power Samran felt she had to resist any of this was evident as she explained that "We are just renting from them [landlords/rich people]. I am just a normal person. Can't do anything." Like Suta, she has experienced poverty throughout her life and this has always been understood in terms of those who have wealth and those who do not, in other words the rich and poor, with the rich taking advantage of the poor. And again this is specifically associated with the possession of land, demonstrating that inequality in these terms is embedded in workings of the habitus, as too is the fatalism around it.

Samran had had no interactions with those living in the condos, and queried why they would want to mingle with her. But despite this lack of personal contact, she had formed her own perceptions of the typical type of person and lifestyle of those residing there based around status, consumption, exclusivity, and ease of everyday life:

When they arrive, they drive up to their condo and go to their rooms. There are only *Poo Dee* [People with money with good social status] living in the condos and foreigners. The people living in the condos are *hi-so* [high society]. They have cars. They go up to their buildings [condos]. They eat at the malls, seven eleven but as for me, I have to make my own food. I made chili pastes for food. Our lifestyles are very different. They don't have to do much. They do not have to do anything. They just buy instant food and bring it up [to their rooms] and eat. Some of them work at the office. Some are owners. They eat nice luxurious food. Not like us.

And like the disposition towards rejecting life in a condo room seen in others, she viewed the rooms as small and said she would not live there, even if she had the money, saying how they look

luxurious but are “not for me”. The typifications Samran uses to explain the differences between her life and others support the contention that people now make use of new indices by which social status is appraised relative to others, such as those around being ‘hi-so’ and the consumerism of modernity associated with that (Askew, 2002; Pinches, 1999; Vorng, 2011a; Young, 1999), which points to the importance of this to an understanding of the habitus. Samran makes sense of her situation by drawing on her previous life experiences, or perceptual habitual schemas, of what lifestyle a typical ‘hi-so’ person has, and associates those qualities to the new condo dwellers, evaluating her status in relation to this. As Schutz (1967 p. 229-230) explains: “This form of familiarity...rests on the set of types in the stock of knowledge. New experiences are determined by means of a type constituted in earlier experiences. In many situations of daily life the type is sufficient for the mastery of the current situation”. Condos appear to have become then an active association, in other words they are actively associated with the rich and their stereo-typical lifestyles through the workings of the biographical habitus, and are used by Samram to make sense of the gentrifying neighbourhood and her identity within it.

Samran remains concerned that she could be displaced again but she has some peace of mind for the near future as she has just re-signed a contract, the landlord has said he is not intending to sell, and also there are multiple owners in the sois around her as people had bought some of the properties they had been sening. She has thus retained her spatial capital. She has added security as she has also bought a house with her daughter on the outskirts of Bangkok using all her life savings to buy fifty percent, while her daughter got a loan for the other half. She views this a way to “protect” herself should she have to move. However, living in Bangkok now is still crucial as she would have no customers around the new place and it is too far for her daughter to travel for work. She became upset when addressing her inability to buy a house in the city yet still views herself as in a good position:

I don't want to talk about it, I am going to cry. I was really poor. Some of my friends, I feel bad for them. Some didn't come to work in Bangkok. I am lucky that I got to come and work in Bangkok. I am lucky that some people are nice to me. They let me iron their clothes. I am lucky because I am not educated.

Her emphasis on the good fortune she feels she has had in comparison to her peers despite her own evaluation of her low status and economic capital reveals Samran's low expectations of life, and the way the world has inscribed the limited possibilities upon her (Bourdieu, 1984), making her appreciative of that which she can achieve compared to those in a worse situation rather than constructing a narrative about the possibilities open to her. A good education is seen as the gateway to improving status but because of her poverty that was never available to her.

8.4.2 *A Place to Make Money: Yuthani*

Several of those interviewed could be likened to Gullette's (2013) migrant workers, as they had originated from the countryside and had strong affirmation of a rural identity coupled with strong denials of identification with the city. The existence of such a perception was evident when Colliers International discussed the impacts of displacement on some local communities:

Their families are based in the provinces, so they often think of their ancestral home as outside of Bangkok. Not always as obviously there is a very strong Bangkok community, but a lot of people are from the provinces anyway so Bangkok is just where they live and work, it's not like you are knocking down the family home: "We've been here for 500 years" or something. So they don't have that as strong a connection with their property – it's a 'property', not an 'ancestral home', as you would say in the provinces.

Narratives emerged in the interviews suggesting that this is the case for many migrants, with several strongly affirming a rural identity as a way to explain and cope with displacement or threats of displacement. This can be illustrated with the stories of Yuthani, who was displaced from the 200 Houses Community, and Riem and Pom, who lived in a neighbourhood nearby but had not been displaced.

Yuthani was more accepting of the eviction than others and there was evidence that this was connected to his strong identification with his origins, describing himself as a "country boy", but also his belief that the eviction was carried out in an acceptable way. Now 34 and single, he was born in Maha Sarakorn Province, to parents who were farmers and fairly poor. They owned their own home as they inherited it from their grandparents. When he was born his parents moved to the city to start a jewelry business and his grandparents cared for him. He followed when he was 15 and helped them in the business. Initially they rented a house but they then fell on hard times because his father died. That meant moving into a one room apartment with his mother and two other siblings and leaving the old place behind:

At first we lived quite comfortably and happily because everyone was living together. It wasn't hard. We faced difficulty when my dad died. After he died, our life became harder. My mother and I had to struggle and so we decided to move out of that place. But the community itself was good. We had a good time living in that community.

Eventually they moved with their aunt as well to Wongwian Yai because Yuthani got a job on that side of the city. It provided spatial capital for them:

The life on Soi Krung Thon? It was easy and convenient since it was next to the BTS. There was also the market near Wongwian Yai so we didn't have to go far. The house was big too. We also knew people around there so it was really comfortable living there.

Regarding the eviction, Yuthani was sad at the loss of community, saying that his "heart dropped a bit" as he felt attached to it. In contrast then to those in the Self-Build Community, the house itself and any emotional bond to it was not at the forefront of his mind with regard to what he had lost, but rather he focused on his social networks and relationships around the home. In relation to the eviction process too, he viewed it in a more positive way than the others who had been displaced from both areas, explaining that they were given six months' notice, and this was extended by a further two months. They were also given 20,000 baht [\$600] compensation and free rent over this time, giving them time to save up for somewhere else:

I felt good, I was satisfied that the landlord didn't just kick us out. We were still given time to find a new place to live and also some money for moving. We had five to six months to save up money for the deposit of the next place. It was good.

He went on to say he did not believe that other people were not properly warned about the eviction. When asked though what he thought about the development and change in the area, despite his sadness at leaving, his reflections also showed how he distanced himself from it due to his identification of the countryside as his real home:

What did I feel? Not much, I just thought like "We're gonna have to bloody move again?" [laughs]. I wasn't attached to that area as much as the countryside which was my birthplace. It was a different feeling, you know what I mean? It was just a pity because it took us a while to find this place, to feel attached to this area, to find a good community to live in and then we had to move again. We had to adapt ourselves again.

Yuthani explained how, being a "country person", he will eventually go back to his house there. When asked why, his answer revealed how his negative views of Bangkok may have arisen from his negative experiences of the way he saw that people behave towards each other in the city compared to the countryside:

Because living here doesn't give me mental happiness. Living in our hometown, we know people, the society is different. Over there people are kind, friendly, sympathetic and everything. There's no such thing in Bangkok. If you walk on the street and fall down or if a motorbike hits you, no one will come to help you in Bangkok. But in the countryside people will come to help and even take you to hospital. They won't just say, "Oh a crash, are you

crazy? Can't take you". Something like that. It's not a place to live; it's a place to make money [laughs].

In Yuthani's mind, Bangkok is a necessary evil that he has to temporarily endure as he seeks to improve his economic capital, with little attachment to the city or even his homes. Thus rather than being a cosmopolitan migrant, those with higher socio-economic standing and favourable opinions of Bangkok (Gullette, 2013), he was more akin to her migrant workers, who, with only the mandatory education and with working-class occupations, viewed the city more negatively, focusing on the exclusionary aspects of life there and desiring to eventually return to their hometowns. The example he uses to explain the differences between Bangkok and the countryside also reflect the stereotypes identified by some Thai scholars (Evers and Korff, 2000; Komin, 1998) who sought to understand how values or personality types may vary between city dwellers and those from the countryside, with interpersonal morals coming to the fore in Yuthani's case.

This shows the durability of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990), given that Yuthani has been in Bangkok since he was a child and has retained dispositions of the countryside. But, again, Yuthani's habitus also needs to be understood biographically, as the structural habitus leaves elements of his social milieu and personal experience from his locality that have imprinted upon his dispositions and schemes of perception unaccounted for (Atkinson, 2010). It is through his communicative and emotional engagements with people on a day-to-day basis in light of the disturbingly different surroundings, or field, he found himself in that has led him to reflect on his own expectations and dispositions, or habitus, he has acquired in the countryside. Attention thus must be paid to shared negotiated lifeworlds, and the role of these relationships between agents in the construction of everyday meaning and identity (Bottero, 2010; Sayer, 2005; Skeggs, 1997).

As has been evident with several households in successfully resolving displacement, the family networks he could also draw on through intergenerational solidarity (Knodel, 2014) were important, as he used this to find adequate and affordable alternative accommodation. Now with this mother, aunt, niece and another relative, they worked out that if they went their separate ways they would have to pay 2,500 baht each per month in rent but if they all went together and shared they could get a house for 8-9,000 baht so they moved back to their old neighbourhood where they had their first house, further from their work but still within commuting distance.

Like others, Yuthani did not view condos as an option because, regardless of the price, they were not seen to be desirable due to the lack of space and human interaction:

I'd rather live like this [in a shared house]. If I have to choose, if I can choose, I'll choose to live like this. Condos are like little boxes, you can only walk around the room and cannot

get anywhere. Living like this we can still have friends coming to visit us. It's easier and better in my opinion.

Condos are again not seen as places that have any kind of meaning or emotional substance. Given that Yuthani is only 35, his opinions again suggest that the rejection of a condominium lifestyle is more than a preference driven solely by generational differences. He viewed the BTS and development as positive as it allows people to live conveniently and comfortably, but felt there must be limits on it rather than aiming to “dig up more and more”. He did not see it as making anything else better, especially people: “Development doesn't really help when the human heart is getting worse, right?” He feels settled now and has got to know people again in their old neighbourhood, but he jokes that he could get kicked out again as condos only take 1-2 years to build. Given the lack of mental happiness he feels there, he says he will be “done” with Bangkok by the time he is 45. Supporting again the stereotypical view of the more easy going and simplistic life of the countryside compared to the city (Evers and Korff, 2000; Komin, 1998), his plan is to return to the countryside where he would be happy with just a house where he can grow vegetables in his own garden.

8.4.3 *Them and Us: Riem and Pom*

Riem and Pom were both shoe makes who have lived in the area for many years, making shoes in their homes. Unlike Yuthani they had not been displaced, but like Yuthani, they had a sense of detachment from possible displacement due to their strong identification with the countryside and a family home that they intended to return to. However, their stories also revealed the psychological and physical divisions between those living in the condo and those in the neighbourhood more generally, something already alluded to by other residents, a phenomena Davidson (2010 p. 533) called “disjunctured lifeworlds”.

They now live in different houses but had been part of the same household for many years as Pom is Riem's sister-in-law. Riem came from the northern province of Khon Kaen, where she lived until she was 19. She lived with her parents, who had been farmers but had now both passed away, and her four other siblings. Needing to find work, she left and came to live and work with her brother and his family who already had a shoe making business established in Wongwian Yai. She lived with them for about 25 years before just a month ago moving into her own house as she now has three children and two grandchildren. Fortunately a house came up for sale when she was looking to move. Pom was born in Roi Et, again in the north, and stayed there till she finished grade 12. She left at 18 and came to study at Ramkanghaeng University but left when she met and got married to Riem's brother. They lived in several places, moving around for work, before settling in the house

at Wongwian Yai: “Before, we were just shoemakers and we had to rent a small room near the factory, something like that. In whichever Soi the factory was located, we followed.” Riem’s brother died in 2007 so she now lives with her children in the property that they seng.

Pom explained how they feel a sense of community in the area but, showing a habitus again akin to Gullette’s (2013) migrant workers, this focused on their north-eastern origins as she said it was because there are many people from Isaan (Northeast Thailand) living in the neighbourhood and they speak the same language. Both said they were more “country people” than Bangkokian, and the fact that they still have family homes they own there fostered a greater sense of connection to their villages: “We are people who live in this house, this house number, but we are still country people. We can move back at any time”. Discussing the changes to the area, the mass transit was seen in a positive light. The government has kept fare prices low through subsidisation, and like most residents, Riem viewed the BTS as affordable and as a positive addition to transport around the city: “Yeah. The price is good. For people in general, it’s just the appropriate rate. The fare is lower for students. It’s good. It’s fast”. But they also described how there are now condos where communities used to be and the disappearance of a lot of neighbours. They were not close to the people who had left but they knew that many had to stay in Bangkok as they could not get work in their hometowns, underscoring the importance of Bangkok itself as a form of spatial capital for migrants. Many who had left want to move back to Wongwian Yai but are struggling because there is no longer the accommodation available: “Yeah, they gradually moved out and there are fewer houses. There are only condos...We *Mai Mee Panya* [cannot afford] a condo” [laughs].

Yet Riem’s response when asked how they felt about the displacement was to state that, “It’s not like our real home,” further underlining her dis-identification with the area as a place that she has a deep seated connection to. She also dis-identified with those living in condominiums, labelling them with a different status and lifestyle, seen to be lacking what she considered central to a “normal” life - everyday interactions:

When the condos arrive, it’s like we live in different styles, different classes. Their lives—they live in their own lifestyle, but we live like normal people. We live in a normal community. It’s actually not that different. People who live in condos wake up and go to study. As for us, when we wake up, we talk to each other if there is anything. But people in condos get up and leave. They go their own ways. They don’t really know each other.

Figure 33: Vegetable stalls in the local neighbourhood



Source: Author

‘Normal’ is viewed as interacting with those around you, which arises living *and* working within a neighbourhood community. Thus like many of the others interviewed in the neighbourhood, the distinction between condo life and theirs is linked to social mixing with those in the immediate vicinity. Yet there was no animosity or any kind of desire to avoid interactions between the newcomers, but rather the built form created this scenario, for as Pom continued:

It’s not that we want to limit them or don’t want them to be involved, but we don’t know how to talk to them because it’s like we live in different places. We never see them; we only see the condos. And we don’t know them. How can we talk then? That’s all.

Thus despite the close proximity, the perception is of them living in completely different places, again reflecting Cohen’s (1985) observations of soi development, in which new higher-class residents are never seen and interactions are limited. This is also reflected in much of the Western literature on gentrification and social mixing, which in most cases has found polarised socio-economic-groups rather than cohesive communities (Butler, 1997; Butler and Robson, 2001; Butler with Robson, 2003; Rose, 2004; Slater, 2004) but in particular it resonates with Davidson’s (2010) findings with regards to new apartment complexes built on the River Thames, where low levels of social mixing represented “disjunctured lifeworlds” (Davidson’s, 2010 p. 13), reinforced by the built form which negated the need for or likelihood of social relations to be entered into.

When discussing their own possible displacement, they both explained that if they cannot find elsewhere, they would go back home as it's where they want to eventually end up anyway. They were also aware of the fortunate position they were in compared to others who don't have another place as security. They thus had some stability if thinking about their future housing situation, and thus ontological security for at least the near future: "For us, if we don't have anywhere to go, we'll go back to the countryside, both of us. Some people really don't have anywhere to go so they don't know what to do". Riem said though she was not worried about displacement as they would be given plenty of notice, possibly one to two years. But in discussing their lives much further ahead, the insecurities of the lower classes in terms of controlling their social environment referred to by Juree (1979) and as a result of the lack of collective consumption (Evers and Korff, 2000) was evident, as the nature of their work does not provide them with any kind of welfare support. Thus the eventual path back home was partly a necessity as Pom explained the impracticalities of renting in retirement: "If we don't have a house, if we don't buy a house, if we live like this until we are old and cannot work, how can we get money to pay the rent?"

They both brought up the importance of investing in cultural capital in this respect, as a prosperous future for themselves and the chance to remain in Bangkok depended on the success of their children, gained via education. Sage et al. (2013) referred to parental capital as a resource drawn on by students to enable a more stable or linear pathway, and following this logic, children in Thailand could be seen as child capital for those on lower incomes who cannot secure their own future and instead rely on the success of their children. As Riem explained: "Yeah, this is the way of life of people from another province. If our children buy a place for us to live, we'll stay. If they don't, we'll go back to the countryside" [chuckles]. And Pom aspired to Riem's status as one of Riem's children had already finished from one of the best public universities: "But her kid has a high salary. She graduated from Chula so she has a high salary. Soon, they'll have a hope. Mine [my hope] is still *Rib Ree* [weak, far from becoming real]. My kid's salary is low". So the future is still perceived as potentially bleak and precarious, with a dependence on the development of economic capital through the intergenerational obligation of children as a way to avoid this.

8.5 Stories of Adapting

As opposed to those stories about loss, struggle, and coping, some households had actively adapted to the changes, or in cases been instrumental in moulding and contributing to the change. The households of those adapting can be seen to have a particular habitus conditioned through their histories to be amenable to the changes taking place and to view the impacts on others and the future in a way that differed from those who viewed it as very detrimental. The first vignette is that of the stories of Charlie, Lek and Yai, three people who had owned land and grown up in the

neighbourhood since birth. The strong part they played in urban change over the years, including the gentrification, means that they have *adapted through history*. This is in contrast to Charnvit, whose positive view of the future and be seen as *adapting through futurity*.

8.5.1 *Adapting through history: Charlie, Yai, and Lek*

Askew (2002) and De Wandeler (2002) argued that Thais should not be seen simply as passive cyphers of wider structural change and instead noted the way in which households create and influence urban space to their advantage in the face of urban development and encroachment. This can be seen in the case of Charlie, Yai and Lek, all of whom have lived in the area for generations. In this sense then, their backgrounds are similar to those of Toom, Aeh and Mam of the Self-build Community in that they have lived in the area since they were born, along with their parents, and they came from humble beginnings. But whereas there can be potentially devastating effects from renting, ownership can lead to wealth, and Charlie, Yai and Lek were farmers whose families owned their land, resulting in very different pathways and outcomes. They experienced the same situation as the subjects of Askew's (2002) study into change on the rural-urban fringe due to city expansion, turning urbanisation to their own advantage. But their stories also revealed how such a long-term connection to a place and experience of such change over a long period can result in feelings of indifference and social distance to those now being negatively impacted by the latest phase of change in the form of gentrification. Development and its impacts are instead viewed as a natural process which it is unrealistic to think can be stopped.

Charlie was interviewed on his own then the three of them were interviewed together a few weeks later after Charlie offered to invite people he knew to be interviewed. Charlie, 68, is an artist and owns a local guesthouse which is where the interviews took place. Lek, also 68, no longer works and now owns a house outside of the area, and Yai, 59, has a company selling sound systems for educational purposes and still lives in his childhood home. They had very similar backgrounds and said they were "like family" as they lived by each other, and Yai and Charlie are actually cousins. Their families were farmers on the land many years ago when there were just a few houses and families around and no urban development. This could thus be seen as Cohen's (1985) rural phase, with the area's function as agricultural. Lek explained how, when they were children, it was very dark as there were no lights so they took lanterns out and would go bat hunting. They also used to go out in the day and shoot birds or catch fish. The area at that time was abundant with water and fruit trees which their families grew and sold for their income: "All fruits that are known to be grown in Thailand could be grown here. There were no apples or anything else, but other than...you

could say...the name of any fruit...we had everything around here”. But Charlie explained how the farmers were forced to change as the area moved into the semi-urban phase (Cohen, 1985):

30 years ago the salt water came and it made the trees die...a lot. The farmers around here weren't able to grow...take care of the trees...so they had to change to building houses and other things instead. Some sold their land. [The salt came] from the ocean. It would come into the Chao Phraya River. So this made...made all the Thai people...in Thai we say *Lom Jome* [bankrupt/fall into poverty], especially those that do things related to trees. And especially when the area started to develop, very few people kept on growing trees. In the area around here....around here...about thirty years ago it was a very deep, dark forest. And also, when there was news about the road coming in the place started to slowly develop.

They explained how there was a feeling of warmth between people before as they were all like brothers and sisters, but, even before condominium development, this had been lost with the incoming populations. Yet whereas most other people interviewed who had arrived any time in the last thirty years felt a distance between themselves and those in the condominiums, when Charlie, Yai and Lek spoke they tended to perceive anyone in the neighbourhood they did not know and who had not lived there for generations like themselves as newcomers. Yai felt “It has developed and people are like strangers” and Lek felt “roi por pun mae” (Thai saying meaning we don't know their mums or dads). For Charlie this often revealed itself in bitterness towards such people. For example, Askew (2002) explained how land was sometimes donated to build roads by families with significant land holdings as Bangkok expanded further out, and Charlie explained how his mother had done just this:

We donated it to the Municipality so that they can build roads into the soi. If I didn't create the soi for you [others in the community] how would you be able to live? You probably wouldn't come and live around here. Do you understand? The soi from the beginning of the road all the way inside, my mother was the one that donated the land. Donate, meaning that we didn't get one cent. These bastards don't know anything. Saying that they have been here for fifty, thirty years. ‘Your father! [Agitated] If I didn't donate this land, would you be able to stay here?’, I ask.

It is possible that Charlie feels that he has lost social status, or does not have the symbolic capital he deserves, which is inevitable given the vast number of people who now live there and would not know who he is or necessarily know his family's history in the area. However it was the selling of their land which had created wealth for the original families and Charlie explained how some of those families had made millions of baht by selling their land and moving. In fact Lek, who had

moved out of the area around twenty years ago, was one of those as his family had sold their land because they “had no money”. Also it transpired during the interview that he was a part owner of the 200 Houses Community land where displacement of the town houses occurred, his sister being Toom, the landlady those displaced had criticised for disappearing once displacement began. Lek explained how they had administered compensation for the households, giving them 100,000 baht if for example they had a year left on a seng, but as little as 20-30,000 baht if their contract was finished or nearly finished.

When asked how they felt about such displacement, their answers showed a detachment from it, possibly reflecting their lack of any real intimate connection with those in the community who they viewed as outsiders. But it also reflects a habitus conditioned to urban development as they have seen their neighbourhood gradually change throughout their whole lives, themselves losing their original livelihood due to urbanisation yet successfully overcoming this encroachment of the city. Thus the selling of land is viewed as a natural and necessary step to maintain or improve position, despite the negative impacts this may have on others who are viewed as outsiders in any case. Lek left the interview without saying why after discussing the displacement from his land. Though it is not clear why, he may not have liked being pressed on his thoughts about how people may have felt about this. Yai spoke on behalf of Lek, saying that he did not think he would feel sad about it as he made profit and that “When he first bought the land and the price of the land now...it is a hundred times more expensive”. He acknowledged that some people may feel unhappy, but stated that they got appropriate compensation, and others would have felt happy about getting the money and used it to buy somewhere else. Charlie had less sympathy, saying “Before there was nothing [no development] so I don’t care about it”. For him then, having seen so much change over his whole life, it may be that this recent change feels inconsequential within the whole scheme of change that has occurred.

Despite the fact they had sold land and profited from the development of the area, they were not positive about the development of condominiums, viewing it as now being too claustrophobic and crowded. But this was seen as an inevitable path of progress, with Yai feeling unable to say if it is good or bad, but is “the way the world is”. Charlie viewed it as foolish to think development can be stopped:

Some of my friends they tell me, “Oh, this area looks like New York now”, but I say “Yes, maybe...we cannot stop the world”. We cannot tell them “You need to stop, you don’t need to develop”, because the world is developing. Everything, the telephone, everything, the car, everything’s coming to develop. If you are under-developed, you cannot do [anything], if you develop you cannot do [anything to stop it] because the world is growing up. You

cannot stop. You cannot tell your body “I don’t want to get old, I don’t want to die, I don’t want to...do everything”, you cannot. The world is growing up. If the world is growing up, you say, [says in a mocking, desperate voice] “No! You don’t need to grow up! Stop! Stop!”. Crazy. I tell everyone, we cannot stop the world.

Charlie, Yai and Lek had thus seen the area change from children, and although they disliked the recent growth in condominiums, the changes occurring around them were what they had known for decades, and thus just another stage in the process of urban development and indicative of their habitus. They had the security of owning their own houses and had, as in Lek’s and possibly Charlie’s case, benefitted monetarily from development.

8.5.2 *Adapting through Futurity: Charnvit*

Charnvit’s story though can be understood through a habitus of futurity, as his comfortable upbringing meant that he focused on the positive benefits and struggled to see the negative effects. Charnvit lived in a soi close to Prakong and Samran. He has lived in the area for a long time, around 45 years, and was a migrant after moving there from his hometown province, Chumpon, in the south of Thailand. But his reasons to move were to be educated when he was 15 years old and his parents were government workers, both in the education sector. Government workers will usually have the security of benefits such as health cover and a pension when they leave. Unlike some others, he had not faced a difficult childhood:

My life? It was very easy. I did not have to do much. I have a lot of sisters, so life was very easy. My parents, as they would say, were well to do. They had money for country people since they worked in the government. So we were all kids of government workers.

It was having sisters, he explained, that enabled him to go to school. Charnvit thus had prestige and security from an early age and also the economic capital and supportive family networks which enabled him to accumulate cultural capital. In Bangkok he began working as a land surveyor. He married at 20 and moved into his wife’s sister’s house in the neighbourhood, which she leased as she also owned another house in the area. A few years ago he then began renting a house on the same soi to have more space as one of his sons had children too. He had to move around a lot with his job, so once he had children he was able to “quit” as he said his family “wasn’t facing any monetary hardships”. He thus had the stability to take risks, and he started working at home and began what he called his own “ventures”, making and repairing jeans and also working for his sister, whom he said has a textile factory and is very wealthy. It was this that enabled him to send his children to school. He has since retired. The reciprocity he received from his parents and sisters

is now coming from his children, evident as he explained about the sense of community there and his tenure as a renter:

My neighbours are great. Around here, everybody loves each other. Here, I am living like it is my own house. Even though this house is a house I rented out, not own, I feel very comfortable living here. Because living here, I only stay at home to watch over my kids and grandchildren. Right now, living here, I do not need to do anything – my kids take care of me.

He had originally asked for a *seng* but this was rejected. He explained how it was very difficult to *seng* in the area now as more money is made from renting so that is a landlord's first choice. Those with a *seng* are the people who had had their houses for many years and will only sublet them or pass them to relatives, as was the case with Samran. His housing circumstances though were often difficult to follow and at first it seemed he just had his property he rented, but it transpired later in the interview that he and his wife owned two properties further out from Bangkok and also land where his wife is from. He says he never bought in Bangkok as he intends one day to return to southern Thailand, possibly to his family home in Chompon.

He thus had a significant amount of security in terms of his housing, with several options such as his own houses or his wife's sister's leased house in the neighbourhood if he did have to leave. This may have accounted for his positive support for the development of the area as he does not feel any threats. He saw development as increasing his spatial capital as he had the convenience of the Skytrain, more connected *sois*, and easier ways to get to hospitals. Supporting those who have argued that gentrification can have positive impacts in a neighbourhood (Byrne, 2002; Freeman, 2006; Vigdor, Massey, and Rivlin, 2002) and previous research in this vicinity in which people identified positive aspects of development (Moore, 2015), he also felt the area is safer now as there were more robberies when it was a "garden and all the woods", and there are security cameras everywhere now. Reflecting how his dispositions have been shaped by a life without struggle, when asked about the evictions, he did not believe this would have been a hardship, assuming that they too would have alternative accommodation:

When these people are evicted, the condominiums, they all have their own places to move to. The condominiums will give them a fee in compensation for it. I do not think it is a really big struggle.

He was pressed further on whether any of his friends had experienced issues with eviction:

Not really. All the people who have lived here originally think it is good, convenient. Nowadays, the job prospects are really good. You can sell things anywhere, in every alley,

on every corner. There are more jobs for people. Although there is bad, there is also good. Everyone has their own opinions. I think it is good.

Again this positive boost in business opportunities was reported by other residents in the area in earlier research (Moore, 2015). Charnvit went on to say that it is very difficult to find a house around there nowadays and property and land prices are rising, but the security of his own position and self-interest in land as an investment are the likely reasons that he viewed this as positive progress, in contrast to those with more bleak outlooks:

Yes, I think it is a good thing. That means the city is expanding this way, so it must be good. We have to think long term. In that case, it is good. Right now, we might be annoyed or frustrated at the construction of the new buildings and such, but it is good. For the owners of the lands, for example, say the price was \$10 million before. Since then there have been new condominium developments, the price has appreciated to \$100 million. How can this not be good? It is definitely good for those people who have real estate around here. They are reaping the benefits, getting rich.

Here a differentiation in futurity can be seen between Charnvit and others who faced a day-to-day struggle. Not conditioned by a habitus of necessity (Bourdieu, 1984) Charnvit has the luxury of being able to project himself further into the future. In the midst of urban change and with a threat of displacement, he can “think long term” about the positive outcomes, and think in a utilitarian way about the wider benefits to others. This is something not afforded to others interviewed whose temporal consciousness has been shaped by the closeness to material necessity (Bourdieu, 2000) and thus the need to live an existence which is *Ha Chao Kin Kham* [Literally, working to get money in the morning and spend it all at night]. For Charnvit, it was second nature to view the accumulation of wealth for landowners in a positive light given his families own high levels of economic capital and the lack of any real struggle against the forces of capitalism in his own life.

8.6 Conclusions

The themes and vignettes within them have revealed a number of important aspects with regard to gentrification. The stories have shown how like in the West, the impacts of gentrification can remain hidden and underestimated when quantitative methods based on the physical out-migration of people is used to assess displacement. As well as increased rents and overcrowding, they suffered deeply due to the loss of home, seen in the shock for some of moving into the reality of a contemporary urban housing market. It is clear that in order to understand spatial capital and inequality in terms of those with less economic capital, it is not so much about mobility as about the need to be close to one’s habitual associations, which are things such as schools, but also in the

context of Bangkok things such as the local market and social networks that may provide employment opportunities. These social networks in terms of intergenerational contracts are also key to remaining in place, as households may move in together to afford the rent, or family could help them find a new house, but other unique factors to this context in regard to remaining in place have emerged, such as patron-clientism.

It has been seen how a divide exists, both physical and in the mind between the residents of the condominiums and the neighbourhood. However, the neighbourhood and its households cannot be viewed as homogeneous in their experiences or outlooks. They have very different biographies and histories, seen for example in the way that migrants may disassociate with the neighbourhood and those with more economic capital had more positive experiences of neighbourhood change, with some disassociating themselves with others in the neighbourhood. The concept of the habitus can help to understand the experiences of residents, but the structural and biographical habitus must be employed in order to draw out the ways in which both historically constituted, enduring dispositions related to social position, shape the experiences of households during their housing pathways, and the diversity of embodied individual life experiences.

9 Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This study has employed a housing pathways framework to explore the processes and impacts of gentrification on neighbourhoods around two new transit stations in Bangkok. The framework was chosen because to-date there is no research that has taken a qualitative approach to explore in-depth the relationships between the populations of a newly gentrifying neighbourhood in Bangkok and also it is a framework suitable to a study of gentrification. Point-in-time studies do not draw out the complexities of housing moves over time and space, the importance of which has been highlighted in gentrification research (Bondi, 1999; Bridge, 2003; D. Smith, 2002). But though this approach focuses the researcher on these aspects of housing, this is a framework rather than a theory. It can, however, be theoretically underpinned through employing the concept of the habitus as interpreted by Bourdieu and phenomenological philosophy, which links in the strategies and actions of households to wider structural factors.

There are four contributions to knowledge from the implementation of this analytical framework. The first contribution is that this research has added to the literature on housing pathways by using vignettes to bridge the structural and biographical habitus and identify typical pathways experienced in relation to gentrification in this cultural context. The second contribution is that it has revealed that the theories of gentrification from the West, and particularly new-build gentrification, can provide valuable insights into the processes occurring in Bangkok. The third way the research has contributed to knowledge is through the finding that, like in the West, social mixing is limited, with a combination of distinct lifeworlds and the particular built environment explaining differing perceptions and degrees of social mixing. Finally, a contribution to knowledge has been made by highlighting the ways in which long-term residents of a neighbourhood subject to gentrification, whether displaced or remaining, experience, cope with, adapt, and seek to understand their changing neighbourhood and life situation.

9.2 Key Findings and Contribution to Knowledge

9.2.1 Changes in Housing Pathways in relation to Thailand and Social Conditions

A key research question was to examine whether a housing pathways framework is a suitable approach to studying the social and cultural conditions of an Asian city in relation to

gentrification. This study has shown that by framing housing pathways through the concept of the habitus and illustrating them through vignettes, such an approach can be used to bridge the gap between phenomenological and structural approaches, revealing the factors that mould consumers' conceptions and practices. Specifically in relation to the Thai context, housing pathways have been shown to be complex in nature, influenced by traditional values but intertwined with emerging cultural shifts within contemporary Thai society. Thus, Western conceptions of housing pathways (Ford, Rugg and Burrows, 2002; Hochstenbach and Boterman, 2015) in relation to the need for economic capital and the support of family and friends are relevant in understanding housing pathways, but as important is the need to draw out factors related to traditional influences on a culture evident in housing pathways outside of the West (Stillerman, 2017). In relation to this, a key finding of the application of the housing pathways framework as interpreted in this study is the way in which moves are interlinked with wider cultural change and the relations between people in the case study area can involve a form of cultural struggle.

Although moves to condominiums are emancipatory in nature, underlying this is a degree of cultural tension which can firstly be seen in the housing pathways of young single women and the retired. In terms of women, these moves can be viewed as another phase in wider cultural change, as in earlier decades Askew (2002) noted the developing trend of newly married couples deciding to commute and buy houses in the suburbs to gain their independence, which he saw as a "distinctively new ecology of living in Bangkok" (Askew, 2002, p. 64). Now condominiums symbolise yet a new ecology of living in Bangkok, of which the independence of young career-oriented women is key as they seek to find central locations by transit. This also ties in with the findings of Kern (2010), who related the occupation of condominiums in Canada to gender as it led to the emancipation of women, as is the case in Bangkok, for it is specifically this type of modern built form and its aspects of safety that have enabled women to gentrify. But their vignettes reveal that the moves to condominiums are much more than a shift in physical location, as they also signify a cultural struggle between a habitus born of the traditional kinship-based values, evident in the view that daughters should remain living with the parents until marriage, versus the desire for autonomy and independence. In other words, there is a disjunction between young people's cultural attitudes and social boundaries, and it is condominiums by transit providing the arena around which this can be seen playing out. More research needs to be undertaken to understand the dynamics of those using condominiums for retirement, but this again may

demonstrate housing pathways that are changing alongside cultural shifts in family relationships and the intergenerational contract, which will involve change as a result of negotiations between family members over the best way to care for their parents.

A similar tension can thus be seen to that noted by Mills (1997) in relation to the autonomy and commodified display desired by young female migrants which stood in conflict with their moral obligations and emotional ties to their parents, though in this case it is in relation to urban middle class households. These aspects of culture and social boundaries can be explained through the structural habitus and the incorporation of shared and durable dispositions over time, but it also has to be understood through the biographical habitus as these are not changes occurring in times of crisis, but reflect goals achieved through reflection and intersubjective coordination and negotiation between household members and family. This was seen in the case of young single women, but also the elderly, with Paul claiming children now “push their parents to stay in the condominium”, suggesting perhaps that Thailand is seeing in this context intergenerational contracts being reinterpreted and renegotiated as condominiums provide a way to meet filial obligations for some. As Bottero (2010, p. 4) states, there is a uniformity of group dispositions but this understates the “adjustments, constraints, and calls to account, that all joint practice necessitates”. Issues of morality, emotion and familial and communal relations and the way that individuals negotiate this are central to explaining the way in which practices are evolving and changing. Thus these pathways can be seen in terms of cultural forces but also as the “outcome of the (negotiated) relationships between variously disposed agents [and the] expectations and influence of concrete networks of others” (Bottero, 2010, p. 15-16).

However, some gentrification scholars have stressed the need to take account of the way in which gentrification may be sustained or not over time and space (Bondi, 1999; Bridge, 2003; D. Smith, 2001), something key to the housing pathways approach, and by doing this, the research has revealed that cultural factors are also at work in the way in which this tension could be mediated in the long term. This is because for young women, staying in a condominium was a stage in the life-cycle, and, as the Thai agent from Colliers noted and households explained, the pull-factor of the family will mean that these households will eventually return to be nearer their parents once they are thinking about settling down with a family. Thus for most, living in a condominium was “a staging post en route to elsewhere” (Bondi, 1999, p. 276), which was in most cases back to the suburbs where households could

be close the their family again and a house could be afforded in a better environment to that of the city. This difference is similar to that noted in Chile (Stillerman, 2017), where there is a pull-factor of the extended family, something not identified in Western conceptions of housing pathways or in gentrification. As Bridge (2003) concluded therefore, the gentrification habitus may not be sustained over time.

The housing pathways of neighbourhood residents can also be understood in terms of a struggle between traditional and contemporary values, but specifically in relation to reciprocity and patron-client relations. In reference to Bourdieu's (1962) work in Algeria, the country was originally based on the 'domestic economy', with the home and household at the centre. The logic of the domestic economy was based on honour and good faith, from which Bourdieu (2005) conceived the concept symbolic capital. But the move to a modern capitalist economy, based openly on profit and calculation, required a habitus of economic rationality, meaning a clash between old cultural-economic attitudes and the new economic behaviours required. And as he states in relation to this and the 'economic habitus' in his later work (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 2), "the spirit of calculation...gradually wins out in all fields of practice over the logic of the domestic economy".

This provides an explanatory model for the ways in which reciprocity and patron-clientism lay at the core of local resident's ability to operate successfully in the field, which has been lost as the field has changed. For instance, reciprocity in relation to the intergenerational contract was key to understanding migration, as families would house newcomers to the city and also help each other to move around once they had arrived. Reciprocal relationships were also important to maintain position, seen for instance in the case of Suta, who could draw on social networks to find employment. But the building of transit has meant that developers, real estate agents, and condominium purchasers have sought a stake in the field, and it is principally through the deployment of economic and social capital that this has been achieved. With households, the purchase was often in ways reminiscent of middle class households in Chile (Stillerman, 2017, p.76) with the 'intergenerational transmission of homeownership' through inheritance or gifts from family, as parents bought units that their children could reside in and possibly own. Thus the introduction of mass transit to this case study area has led to a change in the strategies and configurations of capital that are required to be successful in the field with the economic habitus winning out over the cultural-

economic habitus, to the detriment of those who relied on non-financial reciprocal relationships to live there.

However, the way in which a habitus based on the domestic economy has persisted but been disrupted was also seen in the patron-client relationship between landlord and tenants and its breakdown, which can again be seen as a gap between old cultural-economic attitudes and new economic behaviours. Falling outside of the contractual relations that govern buying, selling, or renting, residents from the Self-build Community had been granted the right to build their own house for a nominal monthly sum, with no written form of contract, agreements that are commonly found in slums (De Wandeler, 2002). It was a contract built on symbolic capital, in which long-term bonds between patron and client had developed, with housing solutions outside of the contemporary property sector enabling this community on extremely low incomes to secure a position in the field. These housing solutions can thus be understood from a habitus conditioned by a culture of patron-clientage, based on personal networks, clientships and user rights and it was this relationship which meant the residents had retained a habitus synonymous with the earlier stage of urban development noted by Cohen (1985), or what Bourdieu (1962; 2005) termed the ‘domestic economy’. This explains the shock for residents that resulted when this security was lost through the inheritance of the land to the landlord’s son, which meant the loss of symbolic capital resulting in eviction and living in the reality of housing in the mature urban phase (Cohen, 1985). The acute suffering that residents experienced, seen in the way they got emotional as they spoke about the displacement and the practical issues they faced around increased rents can be likened to Bourdieu’s analysis of the Algerians experiences of colonisation in which their habitus oriented towards being a traditional peasant was disrupted by rapidly changing social and economic conditions (Schubert, 2014). Due to gentrification and displacement, households find it much more difficult to rely simply on personal networks and informal arrangements to stay in the area.

The key findings outlined here stress the importance of taking account of housing moves over time and space, as they have drawn out the ways in which these are tied in with wider cultural and economic shifts, and are thus key to understanding the social dynamics of the gentrification in this locale.

9.2.2 *Applying the Western Gentrification Model*

The second contribution to knowledge is in showing that the theories of contemporary gentrification, and specifically new-build gentrification, have significant applicability in relation to understanding processes of gentrification occurring in this alternative context, though notable divergences are apparent. The structural theories of Smith (1979; 1982; 1996) and the rent gap have applicability in that development has become sufficiently profitable on land by transit such that developers are capitalising on this, leading to an inflow of private capital into these areas as they purchase brownfield land or old housing communities to develop new condominiums. Linking moves to the early Western gentrification literature, the idea of a 'back to the city movement' (Caulfield, 1989; Ley, 1996) also has resonance, as there appears to be a move of many middle-class households from the suburbs to the city, with many of them having left the city in the 1980s and 1990s (Askew, 2002; Hamilton, 2002). But the movement cannot be likened with Smith's (2008) understanding of a class conquest of the city and applying his theoretical approach does not lead to any insights into what is driving the demand for condominiums. The movement of households also cannot be seen to be related to the desire to find diversity and tolerance (Caulfield, 1989) and nor can it be seen as being driven by an over-riding desire for distinction (Butler, 2002, 2007; Ley, 1996). There are also few similarities to the idea that it is a form of 'elective belonging', where identities are constructed and performed in the neighbourhood one moves to (Butler, 2007; Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst, 2004).

This lack of evidence that a primary motive to move to a condominium was related to identity construction or to accumulate symbolic or cultural capital is despite the fact that developers instigated rigorous marketing campaigns built around an image of a lifestyle that they believe symbolises a new generation of condominium purchasers and what they desire, namely 'Generation C'. In the West in relation to complexes built by The Thames, Davidson (2007) viewed the marketing practices of the developers as successful as those who purchased matched developer perceptions of the stereo-typical customer when they devised their material, namely a time-constrained professional wanting onsite facilities and services and associating themselves with the cultural attractions of the city centre. In this sense, the situation in Thailand could be viewed similarly, as the narratives and practices of some respondents correlated closely to the lifestyles envisioned by the Thai developers, seen for instance in the desire to gain time and convenience, coupled with a focus on partaking in

activities in the centre of the city. However, this research has revealed that a connection between marketing success and condominium purchase could be misleading, because there was no evidence that the marketing campaigns or discourses themselves influenced decisions to buy in the case study area, and little evidence that respondents felt that living in a condominium provided them with symbolic or cultural capital. Rather decisions arose predominantly from the fact that households had knowledge of the area or Bangkok more generally, and had calculated the benefits this could provide to them if they moved. Also of importance was investment or the reputation of the developer, which could ensure it was a safe purchase. Thus although these spaces have been viewed in both Thailand and around Southeast Asia as outwardly symbolic of social differentiation and status (Askew, 2002; De Wandeler, 2002; Evers and Korff, 2000; Guinness, 2002; Jenks, 2003; Vorng, 2012) a deeper analysis of the way in which household's perceive themselves in relation to the marketing reveals that this may not necessarily reflect the perception households who reside in them have of themselves.

Thus the main driver of the gentrification in this locale can be seen as intrinsically linked to aspects of mobility and proximity, similar in nature to the gentrification in the West seen by those as driven by practical considerations (Beauregard 1986; Bondi, 1999; Brun and Fagani, 1993; Butler and Hamnett, 1994; Karsten, 2003; Rose, 1984; Warde, 1991) and is a way of coping with modern working life (Butler and Robson, 2003). This was evident in the motivations to move which were mainly to avoid time spent commuting and to be close to schools, universities, work and opportunities to socialise. And similar to Warde's (1991) claims, a common driving force behind gentrification may be the strategies of career-oriented women, seen in the large number of single professional women residing in the condominiums. Another key group was families with children who desired to be close to schools and universities. Like the UK (Butler and Robson, 2003; Bridge, 2006), education in Thailand can be seen as a key social field in the reproduction of the middle classes, yet unlike in the UK, households did not move out of neighbourhoods they had gentrified in order to maintain class reproduction in terms of schooling (Bridge, 2003). The aim was to gain spatial capital, though this could be seen as improving the ease with which they could transmit cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) via time saved with easier access to educational establishments.

Housing preferences have therefore altered for some middle-class Bangkokian households, but this is a modification in the habitus, not a transformation, as the desire for the cultural capital of a house in the suburbs remained for many respondents. As Bourdieu explained, people's values and dispositions arise through cultural history and they will remain across contexts as they are transposable and durable (Robbins, 2014). However, they can be modified if they no longer make sense or, because of the knowledge of the rules of the game, other strategies that can improve capital or positions within a cultural field make more sense. Demonstrating a 'feel for the game' and the self-interest inherent in the habitus, households have thus embraced the chance to improve their lifestyle and capitalise on this new real estate investment opportunity.

The bid-rent models of Alonso (1964) and Muth (1969) and those who built on them in relation to gentrification and transit-oriented development, such as Leroy and Sonstelie (1983), Khan (2007), Fejarang (1994) and Knapp, Din, and Hopkins (2001), thus still have resonance in understanding the changes that are occurring as the patterns they identified in relation to cities of the West have close similarities to that which has occurred in Thailand. Significant suburbanisation took place in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s as people desired space and could get a larger property for their money. But, as noted by LeRoy and Sonstelie (1983), the economic attraction of this can change due to increased congestion. Thus the more affluent who could buy a condominium as a second home chose to move back to town and commute by transit, this being a major factor in the gentrification occurring in this case study area. It can thus be said that transit leads to gentrification (Feinstein and Allen, 2010; Khan, 2007; LeRoy and Sonstelie, 1983; Lin, 2002). However, these economic theorists were rightly criticised by Bourdieu (2005) for their focus on decision making through rational action at the expense of the influences of one's personal value systems and interest, a fact demonstrated in this study, which has revealed not only the complexities inherent in such decisions to move, but also the impacts on inequality.

This inequality is particularly evident in the displacement that occurred, which can be seen to have characteristics similar to that of new-build gentrification in the West and East Asia, though it fits neither model easily. There has been fairly large scale displacement in cases as in many East Asian countries, but it has also often been on small plots where one house has been sold or on brownfield land. Also, property rights have tended to be respected, with developers waiting for contracts to expire. Thus, unlike many cases reported in China (Shin, 2016) and South Korea (Kim and Kyung, 2011) where legal rights have been ignored, it

cannot be labelled as 'revanchist', a term employed to represent a central city that is a combat zone and noted in both the West (Smith, 1996) and East Asia (Jou, Clarke, and Chen, 2016), where capital is embodied in sometimes violent attempts by the middle-class to reclaim space. Fragmented property ownership is hindering further displacement in some places in the area, as there is a mix of owner-occupation and rented accommodation. Unlike the West, displacement is thus prominent, but it is generally piece-meal development, with displacement not seen on the scale of many of the East Asian countries where large swathes of housing in the city have been demolished through state-private urban development. A clear similarity lies though across both regions in the way that the study has highlighted the dangers of using quantitative methods to count out-migration when assessing the impacts of displacement, something already noted by Moore (2015). As in the West (Newman and Wyly, 2006; Slater, 2006) and Manila in Southeast Asia (Choi, 2016), many of those displaced remain in the area but in worse housing conditions, facing overcrowding and higher rents. This means that quantitative figures judging levels of displacement through the measurement of households moving out of a specific locale cannot be relied upon (Newman and Wyly, 2006; Moore, 2015).

It has also emerged from this study that the nature of the attitudes towards the demolition and replacement of old property may have more in common with the dystopian perceptions of gentrification of the West (Atkinson, 2004) rather than what has been alluded to from several East Asian countries (Ley and Teo, 2014; Wang and Lau, 2009), where claims that the association of property with upward mobility, aspirations to emulate the wealthier middle classes, and opportunities for rehousing in the public sector may counter the negative outcomes. In Bangkok the change is driven by the private sector and is not linked to affordable public housing. In any case, social housing has been shown to be limited in scope, and as the interview with the NHA revealed, the focus is on housing around the suburbs. But either way there was little evidence households would wish to move from the area as their work and community is based there. This desire to stay-put resonates with the observations of Hamilton (2002) who noted that, in relation to those on low incomes in slums in Bangkok, despite the fact they often lived in poor housing conditions that were overcrowded, damp and infested with rats, they fought to resist removal and returned if they were removed. And although modernisation in general found support, such as the development of the BTS and the perception that Bangkok was improving, when probed further the local residents on low incomes mostly did not support the knocking down of old housing and the development of

condominiums, nor did they hold any aspirations to emulate the lifestyles of those living there or to live in that type of accommodation. Thus this, coupled with the distress caused to residents as they were displaced and the fear felt by many in-situ of their own fate, means that the situation could be likened to the dystopian gentrification of the West, with the overriding desire to retain, in term of their housing, spatial capital, ontological security, and community.

Overall, then, like Choi (2016) concludes when she assesses the applicability of Western gentrification theory to explain processes in Manila, taking a broad view of it as the socio-spatial exclusion of the working class as a consequence of land development for the more affluent classes, the theories provide a framework with which to understand the urban transformations occurring in Bangkok. And in terms of displacement, this mirrors processes in the West as it is both direct and indirect (Davidson and Lees, 2005). Given its early stages and spatial dynamics there is as yet little evidence of neighbourhood resource displacement or community displacement (Davidson, 2008), but it must also be understood in terms of phenomenological displacement (Atkinson, 2014; Davidson and Lees, 2009; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015), as many people remained in the neighbourhood but suffered from worse housing conditions and even for those not displaced, many felt a sense of unease at the changes occurring and feared future displacement.

9.2.3 A Separation of Space and Locality

Another key finding of this study is the way in which there is limited social mixing in the vicinity of the case study area. This can firstly be understood with reference to the way the landscape has been constructed and the nature of exclusive large apartment complexes. As Davidson (2010) noted in relation to developments on the Thames, separation has been reinforced by the built form which has negated the need for or likelihood of social relations to be entered into. Previous research (Moore, 2015) found that interactions in the local area between the two populations were limited, and this study supported this. Condominiums have been mostly built along the main road, not within the local sois, but even those that are have been walled off and have security. Several neighbourhood residents noted that they did not have a particular desire to live separately and there was no animosity towards those living in the condominiums, but the physical urban environment has been constructed around condominiums as exclusive and private places and access to the BTS, meaning households leaving the area for work and leisure. This is thus similar to the findings of Cohen (1985),

Askew (2002), and Evers and Korff (2002) in relation to previous phases of condominium growth.

However, the thesis has revealed that social mixing must also be understood in relation to the differing subjectivities of the households. Previous research in this area (Moore, 2015) found that condominium residents had more of a sense of community within the condominium itself than with the neighbourhood outside, and this can be explained through the habitus by drawing on the interpretations of both Bourdieu and phenomenological philosophy. Condominium residents generally had very little interaction with others living in the same building, but despite this, households had the sense that they were with like-minded people of the same 'class' and background, or 'people like us' (Butler, 2003; Davidson, 2010). This though was not a sense of identity or place constructed through 'elective belonging' with personal biographies attached to a chosen location (Butler, 2007; Savage, Bagnall, and Longhurst, 2004) nor a solution to the problems of ontological security (Depuis and Thorns, 1998; Paton, 2014).

Rather this sense of cohesion and solidarity arose in relation to the workings of the habitus, in that the structuring of the habitus of the condominium dwellers matches the social context, or in other words there was a match between the habitus and the logic of the field. This fostered a sense of identity and belonging with others in the condominium without in most cases actually meeting them, meaning this feeling was constructed through perceptions rather than physical interactions and communication. For instance, this was seen in the discourse of Oat who said "the class of people is quite close" with a "good mind set" or Nat who noted that "the price here is quite high, and even now it's higher. And then you know the people that live here have some certain education". In other words, the price of the condominium means that people of a certain social status will be residing there, and others will be excluded. As Bourdieu (1984, p. 167) claimed, "Social identity is defined and asserted through difference", and it is by unconsciously drawing on their differences with others not of the same status as themselves, or through the workings of the habitus, that they find a sense of ease, comfort, and collective identity. Narratives of class identity and, to a degree, a sense of place were therefore evident, but they were voiced not in relation to physically mixing with others, or with any overt desire to do so, and neither was it through the connection of it to one's biography. It arose through a *sense* of knowing one was living somewhere with like-minded people.

This sense of being with like-minded people can also be related to the perceptions around 'lifestyles', for as Bourdieu (1984, p. 168) noted, "Lifestyles are...the systematic products of habitus, which, perceived in their mutual relations through the schemes of the habitus, become sign systems that are socially qualified (as 'distinguished', 'vulgar' etc.)". For many condominium residents the social world outside of the condominium was typified through reductionist and pathologising discourses as threatening and potentially unsafe, with crime prevalent if venturing too far into the sois, and the condominiums provided protection from this. Such typification around lifestyles was also evident in the way that neighbourhood households had constructed their image of condominium dwellers. Drawing on contemporary indices of status (Askew, 2002; Pinches, 1999; Vorng, 2011a; Young, 1999), they often typified them with labels such as "hi-so", and associated them with eating at malls, shopping at 7-11, buying instant food, or eating at luxurious restaurants. But they were also associated with isolation, and not living a 'normal' life based around the every day-to-day interactions and a sense of community that arises from living and working in the same vicinity. Thus in terms of the biographical habitus and perceptual habitual schemas (Schutz, 1967), both populations can be seen to be making sense of a new situation - the physical and social neighbourhood changes occurring as a result of gentrification - based on their everyday past experiences and interactions with those of a lower or higher socio-economic status, and resulting perceptions of them. This resonates with Davidson's (2010) findings with regard to new apartment complexes built on the River Thames, as low levels of social mixing could partly be explained by "disjunctured lifeworlds" (Davidson's, 2010 p. 13), as household's typifications in relation to each other's tastes, priorities and lives varied significantly, leading to perceptions that they had little in common. For neighbourhood residents in particular, condominiums are now thus an 'active association' with the lives of the rich, or a reflection of typical situations and reactions (Schutz, 1967; 1973), emanating in stereo-typical narratives around status that constitute their taken-for-granted common-sense reality of the social world.

The gentrification occurring here can also be termed *transitory gentrification*, as the lack of social mixing was also accentuated by two aspects specific to this context, which are based around the temporary nature of household's occupation of condominium units. Firstly, in relation to the future, nearly all households did not view the condominium as a long term prospect, often intending to return to the suburbs and buy a house when starting a family. Also, unlike the West, many were living in units bought as investments by parents, and

children would return 'home' most weekends, with some families using it just for its facilities or to stop over when convenient. This can be likened more to the findings of contexts outside the West, such as in Chile (Stillerman, 2017), where 'elective belonging' is more associated with the place where extended family live. This strong lack of attachment and dis-identification with the condominium as a 'home' was demonstrated through the narratives of several residents, likening it to a 'hotel' and stressing the temporary nature of their stay, or viewing it as 'hollow' at the weekends.

There is thus a cultural pull-factor in terms of family ties, and this can be seen to accentuate the sense of detachment from the locale for condominium residents and is contrary to the kinds of social dynamics that may result in long-term community building and social mixing. But this can also be seen in relation to moves for education, with the situation most like that of Nanjing in China (Wu, Zhang, and Waley, 2015), characterised by a transient population with little attachment to the neighbourhood, attuned to the investment potential, and investing little in the way of a gentrification habitus. In this sense then, life in large new-build apartment complexes was more akin to 'habitat' than 'habitus' (Davidson, 2007), reflecting the idea of the home as more functional in nature in terms of eating, sleeping and reproducing than a realm in which a set of place-based practices are employed to reproduce class position (Bridge, 2001; Butler and Robson, 2003) and generate place-based identities (Butler and Robson, 2003).

Overall, the situation in Bangkok therefore has parallels to the processes described in London and other Western cities in relation to gentrification and social mixing, which in most cases has not identified cohesive communities (Butler, 1997; Butler, 2003; Butler and Robson, 2001; Butler with Robson, 2003; Rose, 2004; Slater, 2004). However, the process also takes place in a distinctive cultural and historical context. Hamilton (2002) and Askew (2002) both made points about the importance of middle class moves to the suburbs in the past in terms of the divisions this represented between the middle and lower classes, with Hamilton (2002) viewing it as a fraying of the unifying aspects of public culture. Yet with this return to the city of many of the middle class, the study in this area has found that this does not represent a reversal of this and a coming together again of differing socio-economic groups. Rather, particularly in relation to the differing levels of education between both populations and thus cultural capital, the changing landscape and the condominiums symbolise new forms of socio-spatial inequality and differentiation in Thailand. The socially regressive impacts of this are discussed further in the following section.

9.2.4 *The Impacts of Gentrification on Local Residents*

A final important way that this research has contributed to knowledge is by drawing on the habitus to reveal the way in which the loss of spatial capital, or the threat of its loss, is experienced by households, and how they make sense of this. Knowledge around this has been seen to be lacking in the West (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2009; Davidson and Lees, 2010; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015) but it is also lacking in the Global East. A key finding is that rather than being viewed in terms of mobility, spatial capital must be understood through a phenomenological reading of space in order to understand space from the subject's perspective and in terms of ontological security and the psycho-social impacts of housing.

To firstly understand how gentrification was experienced it is necessary to draw out the subjective way in which households in the neighbourhood perceived inequality, and this was revealed to be mainly based around discourses associated with status in its contemporary manifestations. Supporting Vorng (2011b), Basham (1989), and Podhisita (1998), the discourse on inequality for most households did not tend to arise from a habitus conditioned by Buddhist teachings related to karma, merit, and fate, but rather it was strongly attributed to the inequalities of modern society, with households showing an acute awareness of structural inequalities in Thai society when describing their social position and an ability to reflect on the way this affected them. Though cosmological idioms such as 'the sky and the dirt' were used, the typifications households employed to explain their positions tended to place inequality in simple terms as the differences between the 'rich' and the 'poor', the preferred term that avoids the lack of desirable and possibly moral qualities denoted by references to being 'high' or 'low' (Juree, 1979). Much importance was also attributed to land ownership as a factor in explaining this inequality or securing a way out of it. For households displaced, the ability of the rich to buy and own land and their lack of opportunity to do the same lay at the core of the lack of control and constraints they faced in finding any long-term security or improving social position.

Status is thus key to understanding how inequality is subjectively perceived, but an important aspect that has emerged from the research is an understanding of the diversity of experiences of those in the neighbourhood living through gentrification depending on their unique histories. This can firstly be seen in relation to migrants, whose strong affiliations as 'country people' acted as a coping mechanism in the face of threats of the loss of place in the local neighbourhood, which contrasted strongly with other households who had very strong bonds

to the neighbourhood. In this sense then, migrants can be seen to have a ‘multidimensional’ sense of belonging (May, 2011, p. 370), reflecting the fact that they have emotional attachments to more than one place or group. These are important findings as though it would be simplistic to argue that inequality and identity can be understood through a simple rural-urban dichotomy, it evidently has a place in understanding the subjective experiences of gentrification for local residents in relation to the potential loss of the home and spatial capital.

The workings of the habitus have also helped to understand the very different lived experiences of space for many who were either adapting or facing a struggle and loss. This can be explained through a habitus of necessity versus a habitus of futurity, which emerged from understanding people’s differing biographies. In the condominiums, residents tended to accept change and displacement with phrases such as it is “just the way of the world”, and those in the neighbourhood with more economic security were also more accepting of change. Despite disliking the new physical landscape of condominiums, they could see the current and long-term benefits to the community and supported the potential further accumulation of wealth for those people who own land, whilst at times not being able to accept or admit that others may suffer significantly from this if displaced. It could be expected that those with a long history in the neighbourhood, such as Charlie and Lek, would show more opposition to such change, but the fact that they had actively played a part in moulding the landscape and gained economically may have negated this. This thus highlights the danger as noted by both Askew (2002) and Paton (2014) of viewing households as the passive ciphers of structural change.

However, the lived experience of space is very different for those who lost or struggled with their spatial capital. Conditioned by a habitus of necessity and usually in the insecure position of renting with low economic capital, these households displayed ontological unease over their current position and what the future holds but also concerns over others who have been impacted. Their different dispositions thus result in a different practical logic, or ‘feel for the game’ (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 63). For those able to adapt, the mind can be projected into the future and the possibilities to increase economic capital, but for others there is fear over how they will survive or remain in the area. This can also be tied into aspects of ontological security in terms of the psycho-social benefits of housing (Depuis and Thorns, 1998; Histock et al., 2001; Saunders, 1990) as residents were seen to have lost a haven, autonomy, and status. The research has shown how the environment has become more threatening and

uncontrollable since gentrification has begun. This was seen in the fear of households that they too could be displaced. This concurs with the findings from the Western literature of Atkinson (2015), Davidson and Lees (2010) and Shaw and Hagemans (2015) who drew on phenomenology to understand the impacts of a changing neighbourhood, and also the observations of Juree (1979) in relation to the insecurities felt by the lower-classes over their lack of control of the social environment. This unease though may be worse than in the West as there is no welfare available, the importance of which is seen in the way that households such as Prakong and his wife and Kanha spoke of the downwards spiral they could easily face due to any costs outside of everyday expenses, such as medical bills.

But despite the suffering that was evident amongst those displaced or facing that threat, the research has shown that understandings of the way in which households wished to retain their spatial capital must be treated with caution when employing the structural habitus. Though households strongly desired to keep their spatial capital, this was not on the same terms as those who lived in the condominiums, who had sought out this style of living. Local residents appeared to reject the idea of any aspiration to be the same as those with a higher status, something which goes against the findings of Wang and Lau (2009) and Ley and Teo (2014) who pointed to the possibility that in some countries of this region the less well-off may aspire to have the lives of the middle classes. They rather emphasised their more normal, and in cases, simplistic lives, and the bonds they had with their homes, which in cases were simple wooden constructions. Bourdieu's structural habitus could be employed to explain this, with their aspirations seen as the "choice of the necessary ('that's not for us')"

(Bourdieu, 1984 p. 379), in which the working class do "what is imposed by an economic and social necessity condemning 'simple', 'modest' people to 'simple', 'modest' tastes"

(Bourdieu, 1984 p. 380). Residents could be using this as a defense strategy to distance themselves from the new middle class, or avoid being seen to be socially fixed as lower status with the negative moral qualities that are connected with that.

Yet as noted by Paton (2014), the reliance on Bourdieu's conception of the working class as the 'choice of the necessary' in relation to gentrification can be criticised for not giving enough account to cultural distinctions that the working class make. Like Guinness (2002) found with poorer households in the Kampang of Indonesia, rather than their lives being driven by strategies associated with a desire for status in relation to a modern lifestyle, many of the poorer residents in Wongwian Yai showed themselves to be very proud of their backgrounds and the communities they came from, despite the poverty or basic way in which

some lived. A deficit model emphasising the cultural capital of the middle classes at the expense of a set of tastes imposed on those living a life of necessity does not easily explain this as when reflecting on the differences in status between their lives and those in the condominiums, most neighbourhood residents denigrated the lives of those in the condominiums, seen in the typifications characterising their lives as centred around work and a consumer driven lifestyle, devoid of any real connections to those around them, whilst positively emphasising the ‘normal’ lives that they led. Thus the desire to retain spatial capital was paramount, but the strong terms with which they rejected any desire to assimilate the lives of those living in condominiums and wished to retain what they saw as their more simplistic and normal lives, albeit with more material capital to gain security and control, demonstrated an ability to make cultural distinctions in their lives and housing choices in relation to this.

Overall, however, there is a pattern of winners and losers identified in this study that appears to support Smith’s (1996) analysis. Those losing were households living within the neighbourhood, yet it is a mixed picture as some neighbourhood residents felt ambivalent or positive about the changes. Principally, those losing were households vulnerable due to a lack of security of tenure and low economic capital. Importantly, in this case these issues are arising in relation to new transport infrastructure, with the city landscape being redrawn and divisions appearing around proximity to transit. People are gaining or losing the spatial advantage of being close to people or goods or services that they value, which could be family, work, and social activities, and they may also be experiencing a loss of time as they have to take longer to potentially reach what is of value to them. People are thus gaining or losing what can be seen as a ‘position’ in physical space.

9.3 Looking to the Future

The focus of transit-oriented development research has tended to be on its economic impacts (Cervero, Ferrell, and Murphy, 2002), with only a handful of studies touching on the impacts on lifestyles or housing opportunities (see for example Brown and Werner, 2008 ; Feinstein and Allen, 2011; Lin, 2002). However, this more in-depth qualitative study has drawn out the potentially damaging impacts in respect of these issues on low income communities, something that tends not to be mentioned in the predominately US urban design literature. Given the plan to significantly extend the mass transit system in Bangkok, it is likely that lifestyles and housing opportunities will continue to be affected. It may also be likely that

areas currently served by transit gentrify further in the future as household's long-term loans expire in other neighbourhoods similar to the 200 Houses Community. Gaining from this will be those with high economic capital, which is the developers who can purchase the land and the households who can afford to buy the units. Units may be more affordable the further they are away from the centre, but this will still exclude those who are restricted from getting a mortgage. Thus those losing out from this will be households displaced or households unable to access, or not wishing to access, this new type of housing.

Despite the potentially negative impacts, it is widely accepted that cities across the world must strive to be more sustainable and that transport is a key factor in achieving this (Cervero, 2013). This is particularly true of many large cities in developing countries that commonly face acute issues of, for example, rapid population growth, wide income disparities, overcrowded urban areas, severe congestion, deteriorating environmental conditions, and poorly designed road networks (Cervero, 2013). Urban mass transit has been promoted as a way to resolve some of these issues on the basis that it provides a quick and reliable way to move across large cities and reduces dependence on the car, thus leading if successful to reduced congestion and pollution. Like other countries in the region, this type of modernisation is seen as desirable by the state as Bangkok can be a modern global city (Askew, 2002), and most of the households in the case study area supported the broad notion of Thailand being seen by the outside world as modern and developed. It is this support of modernisation and development in general that may mask the detrimental impacts on some communities. For unlike in the cases described by Smith (1996), where it was seen as inevitable that communities would actively oppose gentrification and possibly rise up in protest against it, there appeared to be a greater acceptance in Bangkok from many households that it was natural for the city to develop and for landowners to sell land when considerable profit could be gained. Yet this should not detract from the suffering that ensues, and it is evident from the findings of this thesis that a path needs to be found that can alleviate the fear and suffering of local communities and enable them to benefit from such development and modernisation.

In relation to finding solutions, the first key aspect drawn out from this research is the need to consider how the development of urban mass transit links in with affordable housing. The interview with the National Housing Federation (NHA), which is responsible for building affordable housing, revealed the difficulties it has in competing with private developers as it

works under a strict regulatory framework, which makes it too difficult to compete with the private sector for land. Government agencies such as the NHA therefore need to be given a clearly defined mandate by the government allowing them to operate on the same commercial basis as private sector agencies, which will then allow them to negotiate in a more effective way with private land holders and their partners. And with the ever-expanding mass transit lines to more suburban areas further outside of the city, the NHA could try to focus on these new locations.

However, the comments of the NHA respondent are limited to their knowledge of policy options. There are other ways of ensuring the inclusion of social housing in urban redevelopment, notably through the planning system. From a review of successful TOD schemes in China, Mu and Jong (2012, p. 237) identified a key factor in this success as ‘governance conditions’, including specifically *transport service coordination* and *pro-active town planning*. However, a recent roundtable forum organised by the NHA and involving the Pacific Rim Council on Urban Development (PRCUD) (Pacific Rim Council on Urban Development, 2013, p. 2 and p. 4), which consisted of experts from around the world on urban development, concluded that “New developments in Bangkok materialise on an ad-hoc basis in the absence of an overall planning strategy, including transit plans” and “Thailand does not have a strong ‘planning culture’. This means that urban planning instruments (including land use plans) are probably not going to make much difference in Bangkok in the quest to achieve TOD projects”. There thus needs to be a commitment from those in political power to continue with housing and transport plans and to learn from other countries in the region with successful TOD how to incorporate this with long-term strategies that link in key organisations such as planning, transport, and housing.

Yet the research has also revealed the inherent problems with devising any policy to ensure lower income households who were being displaced could retain spatial capital. This is because households were averse to living in a condominium or emulating the lives of those living there. The only real solution may possibly be to set in motion an environment that fosters property fragmentation, something that has been shown to hinder gentrification (Shin, Lees, Lopez-morales, 2016). This could be done by increasing the rights of occupation of households in their current homes. Granting rights to purchase for households on long leases who could afford it would create fragmented property rights making purchase of the whole area difficult, thus ensuring all households could remain. This is what is securing the position

of some of the neighbourhoods in the study area. Though rents and house prices could increase, these areas do not tend to follow classical gentrification with middle-class households gradually moving in as they are not seen as desirable to the middle-classes (Herzfeld, 2006). But where displacement cannot be avoided, district councils need to be involved to minimise the impacts of displacement and to make the process fairer. Making an official negotiation process mandatory in cases of eviction would at least ease the hardship faced by households as they are evicted and ensure compensation is fairly paid to all and harassment is avoided. Given the lack of involvement of the state into the gentrification occurring and the power of private capital, this may be the only policy likely to be possible.

9.4 Limitations of the Study and Future Research

Future research needs to focus on some of the limitations that were outlined in Chapter Five. The case study, though providing the benefits of an in-depth analysis of a particular example of a phenomenon, has the clear disadvantage that it is often one example of many. This is particularly the case with this study as there are many neighbourhoods that have been impacted by mass transit, and this will continue to expand. As noted by Gospidini (2005), whilst commonalities can exist around different transit stations, there can also be great variation in how these impacts manifest themselves. This is certainly the case in Bangkok. Some transit stations are in commercial or business areas with little residential accommodation so there will be limited impacts to households, whilst some areas, like in the case study area, have an abundance of residential. But in some cases, such as Ari (Doctor, 2014), it is mainly middle-class housing in owner-occupation, resulting in little evidence of displacement, but with commercial gentrification occurring, seen in the changing character of many shops and bars. Future research around other transit stations would therefore provide more insights into a number of areas, revealing in particular more about the way in which property relations act as buffers or enablers of gentrification.

The research was also limited in scope in other ways due to the fact that it is a PhD which means there are restricted resources and time constraints. Although a significant amount of data was collected from the interviews, interviewing more people would lead to deeper understandings of the experiences of gentrifiers and those impacted by this. Interviewing more landlords and land owners would be conducive to further deepening understandings of their motivations to sell land and to what extent, as Askew (2002) noted, this is viewed as

cultural capital that shapes the urban landscape. One landlady was interviewed and she was not intending to sell as the houses had been passed down through her parents. Shin, Lees, Lopez-morales (2016) noted the important relationship between the commodification of land and properly relations, so these are thus factors that hinder gentrification and would merit further exploration. With a few exceptions, it was also difficult to interview households, rather individual heads of households were mainly interviewed. Clapham (2005) notes the importance of the family as the unit of analysis as motivations and experiences can differ between family members and these are also interrelated. Further research in which family members can be interviewed together would thus be beneficial. This would be particularly useful to explore further gender and gentrification in relation to the way young women are making use of transit to change their housing situation and the way this ties in with family relationships and expectations.

A longitudinal study would also be of great benefit to understanding gentrification over time and space. As Slater (2004) has noted, the most insights can be gained from research of a place that is undergoing gentrification rather than one that is already gentrified, with one key benefit being that the research may give voices to those who are under threat of displacement or being displaced. This research has had the benefit of being in an area undergoing gentrification and one in which displaced households were interviewed. However, it would be beneficial to understand how gentrification continues over the coming years. At present, there is not much evidence of commercial gentrification, though the opening a few years ago of a beauty shop catering to the new middle-class condominium households is evidence that things may start to change. A community mall also opened a few years ago, though being close to the river area and not an easy walk in the heat from the study area, it is not clear if this is directly related to the growth in condominiums.

For recent scholars seeking to understand the impacts of gentrification on those remaining in a neighbourhood (Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2009; Davidson and Lees, 2010; Shaw and Hagemans, 2015), ‘neighbourhood resource displacement’, which is the changing of neighbourhood services (Davidson, 2008), is one of the key ways in which people lose their sense of place and identification with their surroundings. At present there is little evidence that such resource displacement or significant loss of a sense of place has occurred as most condominiums have been built on or very close to the main road, so local shops or restaurants that are situated in the sois appeared to have thus largely remained to-date. And in terms of a

loss of a sense of place due to new people arriving in the area, those condominiums that have been built further in are walled-in and, as many residents stated, they rarely see the new residents of the condominiums, who work and socialise away from the neighbourhood and go to their rooms when they come home. But it is possible that this could change in the future as gentrification continues apace. Communities have been lost and if more are lost as developers seek further development opportunities away from the transit, people may start to feel they are losing their sense of place. Further research to follow up this research in the future would therefore be valuable to understand the spatial and temporal aspects of gentrification better.

This research may also be drawing out differences between the developed Tiger economies and market transition economies of East Asia and those still developing, as the findings from this case study area in Bangkok have more in common with Vietnam (Yip and Tran, 2015) and The Philippines (Choi, 2016) where the state is seen to be weak, and, in the case of Manila, powerful landed elites define the way in which urban space is used. This differs from many of the other countries such as China, Singapore, Japan, and Taiwan, where a strong state in tandem with the private sector has been driving the process. The aim of this research has been to focus on the experiences of gentrifying households and those impacted by this, but an interesting avenue of research would be an in-depth and detailed comparison between these countries in terms of the ways in which their political and cultural history is influencing the involvement of the state and how this relates to powerful elites.

10 References

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11 Appendix

Appendix 1

Data on housing market changes in Bangkok

Condominiums first appeared as a type of housing in Bangkok after the Condominium Act of 1979, which allowed a number of ownership titles on a single piece of land. Demand and supply of this asset continued to grow during the late 1980s and 1990s, driven by a number of factors. On the supply side, increasing inner-city land prices due to demand for businesses and residential uses were leading to the sale of land for development purposes, high structures were needed to maximize investment returns, and the national government of the time (in response to the building industry) allowed foreigners to have partial equity in new construction. On the demand side, there was a foreign investment boom resulting in demand for conveniently located expatriate accommodation and offices. The attractiveness of residential accommodation in the form of condominiums was given a further boost by legislation in 1991 which allowed non-resident foreign investors 49 per cent equity in the units and up to 40 per cent of equity in condominium blocks. This demand from foreigners was also combined with a desire of wealthy Thais to have central weekday residences due to worsening traffic. The city predominantly saw the development of luxury condominiums, mostly around the Sukumvit Road area, a main road running out of the city from the centre, which was and is popular for expatriates to live, and around the business district of Silom-Sathorn. In 1989, these areas accounted for 60% and 32% respectively of all completed luxury condominium units.

Turning first to look at the land market, the effects of the mass transit are clear, with figures for 2014, which also include a new ‘purple’ transit line under construction at the time, showing how land price increases for parcels around transit have outpaced Bangkok more generally:

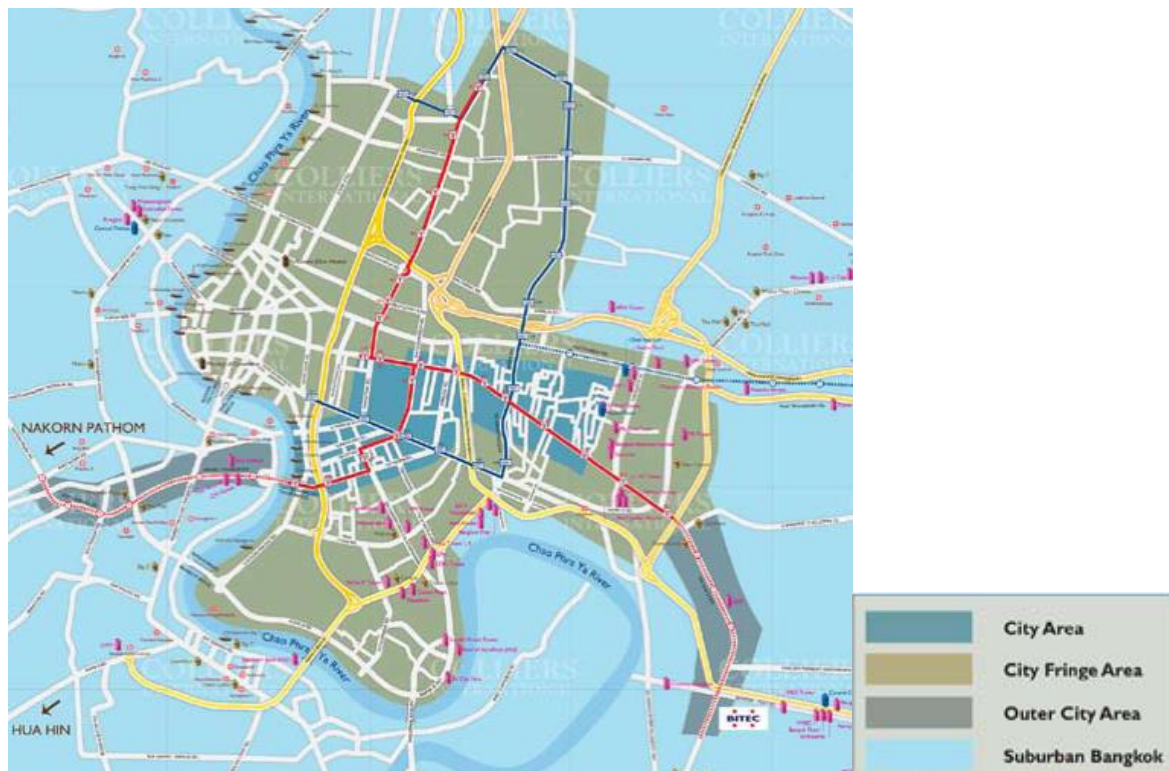
Table 1: Average Bangkok Land Price Increases: 2014

Location	Change (%)
Bangkok	3.5
Land Parcels along the MRT	8.5
Land Parcels along the BTS	8.5
Land Parcels along the Purple Line	10.5

Source: Thai Appraisal Foundation Website - <http://www.thaiappraisal.org/index.php>

Prices generally around the new mass-transit routes have tripled from 2011 to 2014 and specifically in relation to this Purple Line extension, which runs along the Bangkok-Nonthaburi road, it has been noted how this has given a massive boost to land prices, with the average in 2014 at Bt300,000 per square wah (4 square metres / \$9100), 200 per cent higher than the Bt100,000 average four years prior to that. Colliers International Thailand produce a quarterly condominium market report which tracks the building of condominiums around the city and its suburbs. For the purposes of analysis, they divide the city into four broad areas (figure 34): the city area, which is downtown Bangkok including the main shopping and business areas, the city fringe area, the outer-city areas, and suburban Bangkok.

Figure 34: Map of the mass transit areas in Bangkok



Source: Colliers International Thailand Website – Permission from author

The blue line on the map shows the MRT (underground line) and the red line the two BTS (Sky train) routes. The blue dotted line seen heading east out of the city is the new Airport Link, and the red dotted lines running west and south-east are the new BTS extension lines. These areas are broken down further into the ‘northern fringe’ (including the BTS and MRT routes in the north of the city), the ‘eastern fringe’ (with the section of the BTS running east) and the ‘southern fringe’ which has no mass transit. The outer areas with the BTS extensions are ‘outer-city east’ and ‘outer-city west’. The

effect of the mass transit on different parts of the city with regard to condominiums is evident from the analysis of the changes in supply from 2005 to 2013 (Table 2). The southern fringe area, which has no mass transit, was the only area to experience a significant drop in the supply of condominiums.

Table 2: Bangkok Condominium Supply by area: 2005 - 2013

Area	2005	2009	2013	Change (%)
City Area	27%	25%	21% (34,469)	-16
Northern Fringe	26%	33%	34% (55,626)	3
Southern Fringe	28%	19%	13% (21,690)	-32
Eastern Fringe	9%	9%	11% (18,811)	22
Outer City East	9%	11%	13% (21,253)	18
Outer City West	1%	3%	8% (13,311)	167

Source: Collated for the author by Colliers International Thailand in 2014

Although with high demand, supply in the city area decreased due to the limited land available to build, but all other areas saw an increase. The most noticeable increases took place in the Northern fringe area from 2005 to 2009, which according to the Colliers market report, was due to the cheaper land in the area during this period. A marked increase also took place in the outer city west area from 2009 to 2013, the location of the extension line which is the focus on this study. This can be accounted for by the fact that a further four stations became operational during this time. The more steady changes in the eastern fringe (which is part of Sukumvit road, an area popular for nightlife and expatriate living) can be accounted for by the lack of available or cheap land.

The effect of mass transit can also be seen from the price changes in the same areas over this same period (Table 3). Looking firstly at 2005 to 2009, all areas with the exception of the southern fringe saw significant price rises. The importance of having mass transit lines operational to experience this full effect is evident in the outer city east, which had yet to open its new line, only seeing only a slight increase, but the outer city west (part of the case study area), which was operational, witnessing one of the highest rises in condominium prices. Over the next four years, prices rises were steadier. The large drop in the outer city east is due to the significant number of units being released onto the market during this period.

Table 3: Bangkok Condominium Prices per Square Meter: 2005 - 2013

Area	2005	2009	2013	Change (%)
City Area	81,000	121,000	129,700	7
Northern Fringe	52,000	70,000	79,500	14
Southern Fringe	73,000	72,000	75,600	5
Eastern Fringe	45,000	90,000	105,100	17
Outer City East	65,000	66,000	45,000	-32
Outer City West	43,000	69,000	66,900	-3

Source: Collated for the author by Colliers International Thailand in 2014

The higher land prices along mass transit lines, particularly close to stations, is also reflected in the prices of these condominiums, with far higher prices of those close to actual stations compared to those further away (Table 4).

Table 4: Average condominium selling price by proximity to existing mass transit:

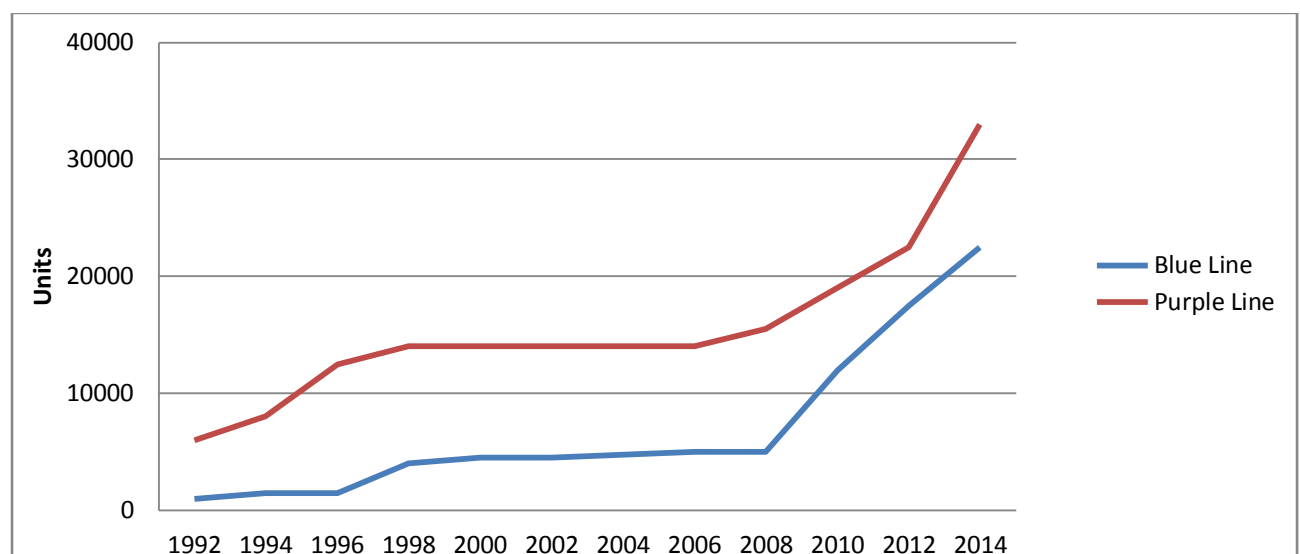
Distance to BTS / MRT (M)	THB / Sq M.
0 - 200	83,000
201 - 500	52,000
501 - 1,000 m	35,000
> 1,000 m	32,000

Source: Colliers International Thailand, 2011). Bangkok Condominium Market, Quarter 1, 2011. Bangkok Condominium Market Report.

Those within 0-200 meters are 159% higher than those over 1,000 meters away. With the heat in a hot Asian country, the preference is usually to be within easy walking distance to a station. It is those

closer to stations, therefore, that tend to be the more luxurious and more expensive due to this high demand and high land prices as developers seek to maximize returns. The implications of this are that condominiums close to stations, at least in the more central and in-demand areas, will be the more expensive type and predominately catering for higher income groups. More recently, the impacts have been seen due to the expected opening of extensions of the MRT to include a ‘purple’ and ‘blue’ line. In the last quarter of 2006, the government announced they would open in 2009 and 2011. The impact is evident from figure 2 which illustrates the routes. Developers started to develop condominium projects from 2006, with completions starting from 2007 onwards.

Figure 35: Condominium developments within 1km of the blue and purple line extensions



Based on figures compiled for the author by Colliers in 2015

Appendix 2

Structural Housing Biographies

Occupational Status

Table 5: Occupational Status of Neighbourhood and Condominiums Households

Criteria	Skill Level	Neighbourhood (25)	Condominium (22)
Managers, Professionals and Technicians	3 + 4	2	15
Clerical Support	2	-	-
Services & Sales	2	7	1
Skilled Agricultural, Forestry & Fishery	2	-	-
Craft & Related Trades	2	7	-
Plant & Machine Operators and Assemblers	2	3	-
Elementary Occupations	1	2	-
Armed Forces	1 + 2 + 4	-	-
Student	-	-	4
Unemployed	-	1	-
Retired	-	3	2
Housewife	-	-	-

Some adaptation and choices had to be made with regards to the categorisations. The final four for those not working do not fall under the ISCO as the classifications refer only to occupation, but they have been added as they are common categories falling outside of those connected to occupation. There were also several business owners, for which the classifications were not always clear where

they would be placed. An example of this would be those with family businesses. Thus, for those who owned their own family businesses, who had quite a large workforce, usually with a factory and earning a significant income, these were placed under “Managers, Professionals and Technicians”. In contrast, those that owned small businesses, possibly employing or with help from some family members or a few other employees, were classed under skill level 2. For instance, a small convenience shop owner or guesthouse owner, would be “Services and Sales”, whereas the owner of a small shoe making business or jewellers, would be “Craft and Related Trader”.

Monthly Incomes

Table 6: Monthly Incomes of Neighbourhood and Condominium Households

Monthly Income	Neighbourhood	Condominium
< 20,000	8	-
20,001-40,000	-	7
40,001-60,000	1	-
60,001-100,000	-	4
100,001-200,000	-	1
> 200,000		2
Not Known	16	5
Students	-	3

The income brackets were chosen at the lower ends because the figure available at the time of the interview for average income in Thailand was around 20,000 baht (18,660 baht per month 2007: National Statistical Office, 2009). Eight people in the neighbourhood thus had income below the average, though others falling under ‘now known’ had below 20,000, but income was very sporadic and difficult to assess. Some had higher incomes but again it was not possible to find out what they were. Incomes are important as they represent housing affordability.

Education

Table 7: Education of Neighbourhood and Condominiums Households

Education	Neighbourhood	Condominium
None	-	-
Primary School	7	-
Secondary School	14	2
Vocational College	2	-
University	1	16
Still at School	-	1
No Known	1	4

Tenure

Table 8: Tenure of Neighbourhood and Condominiums Households

Tenure	Neighbourhood	Condominium
Owning	8	9
Renting	10	3
Senging (Lease)	4	N/A
Lodging	2	9

Age

Table 9: Age of Neighbourhood and Condominiums Households

Age Range (by individual)	Neighbourhood	Condominium
0-17	-	1
18-24	-	5

Age Range (by individual)	Neighbourhood	Condominium
25-34	2	8
35-44	2	5
45-54	11	-
55-64	6	2
65+	4	1
Average Age	54	33

Household Composition

Table 10: Household Composition of Neighbourhood and Condominiums Households

Households	Neighbourhood	Condominium
Married/Co-habiting with child(ren)	10	4
Married/Co-habiting no child(ren)	-	1
Single person, with child(ren)	4	
Single person, no child(ren)	4	9
Sharing with relatives	7	6
Sharing with friends	-	2

Residential Mobility and Settlement Patterns

Table 11: Residential Mobility and Settlement Patterns of Neighbourhood and Condominiums Households

Mobility	Neighbourhood	Condominium
Born in Bangkok	16	15
Born in Klongsan	13	2
Born in the Provinces	9	7
Average time in Kongsan (years)	41	1.9

Profiles of Individual Study Participants

In each table, the respondent's name is highlighted if their story was used as a vignette.

Condominiums Households

Nearly all in both complexes were owners with only three people renting. For one, the decision to rent was lack of economic capital, but for the other two this was out of choice and not wanting to commit to the area rather than issues of affordability. A high number (eleven households) could be classed as lodging. In nearly all cases, though, this represents adult children staying in a condominium a parent has bought specifically for their children to reside in to be closer to university or work or originally or for investment purposes, with a child moving in later once the convenience was realised. Often it was siblings sharing in these cases, accounting for many 'lodgers' to be 'sharing with relatives'. Only a minority in the condominiums were not university educated, but this represented the fact that some older residents were not necessarily university educated but were wealthy through owning large family businesses.

Table 12: Profiles of Condominiums Households

Name	Age	Sex	Household	Occupation	Education	Tenure	Condominium
Phay	35	F	Sharing with relatives	Freelance	University	Renting	Ideo

Name	Age	Sex	Household	Occupation	Education	Tenure	Condominium
Pop	37	M	Single	IT Operation Team Leader	University	Owner	Ideo
Oat	57	M	Married with Children	Engineer	University	Owner	Ideo
Cool	32	M	Single	Freelance Writer	University	Owner	Ideo
Pang	36	F	Single	Researcher	Not Known	Owner	Ideo
Framee	29	F	Single	Retail Manager	University	Owner	Ideo
Mooky	21	F	Single	Student	University	Lodger	Ideo
Mild	25	F	Sharing with relatives	Investment Consultant	University	Renting	Ideo
Gai	16	F	Single	At school	Secondary	Lodger	Ideo
Sunisa	25	F	Sharing with friends	Marketing Officer	University	Lodger	Ideo
V	25	F	Sharing with friends	Marketing Officer	University	Owner	Ideo
May	30	F	Sharing with relatives	Working in parent's company	University	Lodger	Q House
Wuwit	59	M	Sharing with relatives	Works with family	Not Known	Lodger	Q House
Mai	24	F	Sharing with relatives	Agro Industry Officer	University	Lodger	Q House

Name	Age	Sex	Household	Occupation	Education	Tenure	Condominium
Lek	42	F	Married with Children	Works in husband's business	Not Known	Owner	Q House
Oat	23	M	Sharing with relatives	Trainee Doctor	University	Lodger	Q House
June	23	F	Sharing with relatives	Research Assistant	University	Lodger	Q House
Mook	43	F	Married with Children	Works family business	Not Known	Owner	Q House
Nat	25	F	Sharing with relatives	Air Hostess	University	Lodger	Q House
Vee	31	F	Sharing with relatives	Consultant	University	Lodger	Q House
Title	21	M	Single	University	University	Lodger	Q House
Paul	71	M	Single	Retired	Secondary	Renting	Q House

Neighbourhood Households

Table 13: Profiles of Neighbourhood Households

Name	Age	Sex	Household	Occupation	Education	Tenure	Displaced
Tawee	58	M	Sharing with relatives	Taxi Driver	Primary	Lodging	Yes
Mam	54	F	Sharing with relatives	Food Vendor	Primary	Renting	Yes
Toh	57	M	Single with	Motobike	Vocational	Renting	Yes

Name	Age	Sex	Household	Occupation	Education	Tenure	Displaced
			children	Taxi Driver	College		
Toom	60	F	Sharing with relatives	Food vendor	Primary	Senging	Yes
Aeh	45	F	Sharing with relatives	Food Vendor	Primary	Renting	Yes
Samran	52	F	Married with Children	Sewing and Ironing	Primary	Senging	Yes
Suta	54	M	Single	Taxi Driver	Primary	Renting	Yes
Sit	55	M	Single	Factory Worker	Primary	Renting	Yes
Kanha	52	F	Married with Children	Accountant	University	Owner	Yes
Pongsathorn	68	M	Sharing with relatives	Carpenter	Primary	Lodging	Yes
Yuthani	34	M	Sharing with relatives	Jewellery seller	Primary	Renting	Yes
Charlie	68	M	Single	Guesthouse owner / Artist	Primary	Owner	No
Lek	68	M	Sharing with relatives	Retired	Primary	Owner	No
Yai	59	M	Married with Children	Sound Machine Maker	Primary	Owner	No
Suwanee	45	F	Married with Children	Shoe Making Business	Primary	Senging	No

Name	Age	Sex	Household	Occupation	Education	Tenure	Displaced
Muy	35	F	Married with Children	Family Convenience Store	Primary	Owner	No
Charnvit	59	M	Married with Children	Retired	Vocational College	Renting	No
Prakong	54	M	Married with Children	Trinket Maker	Primary	Renting	No
Siriporn	35	F	Married with Children	Family Convenience Store	Primary	Owner	No
Pisit	49	M	Single	Community President	Primary	Renting	No
Ya	52	F	Married with Children	Landlandy	Secondary	Owner	No
Riem	47	F	Married with Children	Shoe Making Business	Primary	Senging	No
Pom	54	F	Married with Children	Shoe Making Business	Primary	Senging	No
Korn	67	M	Married with Children	Leather bag maker	Primary	Owner	No
Orathai	67	F	Single with children	Retired	Primary	Renting	No

Appendix 3

Interviews with Stakeholders

This section provides information and interview excerpts from the interviews undertaken with the developers, real estate agents, planners, and the National Housing Federation that were not included in the main thesis.

Discussion around the role of the private sector and the state in the housing market

The importance of the private sector in the Bangkok housing market was discussed with the estate agents. CBRE emphasised the important role it plays, and compared this with the public sector:

Most land is privately owned. Apart from certain chunks...thank God for inefficiency, right? So that's the tobacco monopoly, the state cigarette company...because they're so inefficient, and the state enterprises cannot sell free hold land, they can only lease it out. We still got large chunks of Bangkok that have preserved very large sections of land from people like the State Railways of Thailand...large, generally inefficient, ranging in competency from reasonable to hopeless state enterprises. But the rest of the land is free hold, there's no land holding tax currently, [they are] planning one, and there has been no inheritance tax. So you only sell when you really need the money. And everybody's a broker, right? The top multinational branded name, lots of compliance brokers, and then there's a banana seller down the street who would sell you a bit of land. And developers will sit there and people come to them, brokers come to them with bits of land, and they say, you know that's quite interesting, let's have a look at it. (Author's interview with CBRE, 2015).

There are however a number of ways that the state can be seen to have been indirectly influential in the development of the condominium market. They have also created a regulatory environment that encourages high-density development through the local plan and a financial environment that has encouraged the purchase of condominiums. The Bangkok City Plan is published every 6 to 7 years, the first appearing in 1992. However, it was not until the third plan in 2006 that mass transit was taken into account, with specific policies implemented to discourage car use and encourage condominium development and living

(Interview with Planning Department, 2015). Given the importance of the car to Thais, one way was by making car parking a requirement of planning permission for condominiums:

Yes, we encouraged it —at this time the traffic jams were serious, right? Then, the government asked us to help, to reduce [the traffic jams] by encouraging people to use the sky train. How can we do it? Then, this time we tried to think of how to encourage them to stay close to the sky train. Then, we allow them in the law, the regulation. If you construct the building within 500 metres — 500 metres is a walking distance for Thai people, and we assume that if you construct the condominium or high-rise building and you provide free-of-charge parking, then the people can park and drive use the sky train, OK? That is our idea. Then, we encourage them from this one. (Interview with Planning Department, 2015).

If developers met this criteria of the parking and within the 500 radius, they got a FAR bonus so they could build higher than in the zones usually allowed in this area. More generally, the planning department strictly enforces the regulations that control the height of buildings, dependent on road access. The results of this can be seen in the case study area, with high-rise condominiums situated along the main road, and low-rise condominiums of no more than eight floors being seen further into the neighbourhood where access is only possible through smaller side sois.

In terms of finance, the government is supportive of home-ownership and various incentives have been introduced to encourage this. After the financial crisis of the late 1990s, the Government Housing Bank (a governmental financial institution set up in 1953 to help secure appropriate housing finance for the general public) introduced 30-year fixed low-interest loans. Further initiatives and incentives over the following years such as tax breaks, continued low-interest rates, and help with purchasing furnishings have continued to stimulate the housing market more generally. Outstanding housing loans doubled from around Bt 640,000 million in 2001 to Bt 1,551,305 million in the third quarter of 2008 (Government Housing Bank, 2008). This has impacted the condominium market, as they have become the only affordable option for many wishing to purchase, and possibly better than a house of similar value in the suburbs. As Colliers explained:

Houses are expensive, it's sheer land, purely the size. How many houses are this big [referring to the small size of some condominiums]? So you're reaching into affordability where houses are not affordable for the low-end market. How many

houses can you get below a million [baht]? If you can, it's miles out nowhere by an industrial estate, and they are very poor quality. And they look pretty depressing, I've been to a couple, and they are horrible, like a ghetto. It's worse, it's far, far worse than a condo. And talk about privacy, these cheap town houses, the really cheap ones, you're staring into each other's windows. If I have a condo, I might have a really nice view, even for a cheap condo. So the condo culture - unless you're in a high-end house, or a villa or something, that's a different matter - the condo culture, it's driving the market, which it wouldn't do in London. (Author's interview with Colliers International in 2012).

Affordability was also highlighted by CBRE (Interview with the author, 2015) who explained that, although lending criteria has been tightened in recent years due to fears of another boom and bust, six years ago it was cheaper to buy a condominium than a car. This was not in terms of lump sum payments but in terms of the monthly payments. This he illustrated in reference to the purchases of many of his Thai office staff:

They bought at 40,000 baht per square meter, so let's say they paid 2 million, and a small girly car, like a Honda Jazz will cost you about 6-700,000. But your monthly repayments - you would take a 20 year mortgage on the condo, for the car you're on 5 year repayment, so your monthly repayments on your condo were less than the car.

Housing policies have thus influenced the purchasing of condominiums. However, interviews with the National Housing Federation and CBRE further underlined the restrained role of the state in the way that land around transit has been utilised. There has been no development of partnerships with the government and the private sector to manage or develop land around transit stations. Also, interviews with a representative of the National Housing Association (NHA), who provide affordable housing, revealed that their role in the market more generally was limited. This was firstly because of the difficulties in forward planning as a result of regular changes in government and subsequently government housing policy. Another problem is that many low-income families do not have the records of income to get a private mortgage, so they have to help them out with what she termed a hire-purchase program, which means the NHA takes out the mortgage then the tenant pays them back over twenty years. Importantly, they also have the difficulty of competing with private developers in the land market. They have to finance land purchase out of their own budget with the help of loans or subsidies and their purchase process can take up to a year because of procedures.

This makes it difficult to compete against private developers who are usually rich in economic capital and can complete a purchase in a few weeks. She explained how the developers thus have the best locations:

We are not like the private developer. If they want land, they can send their nominee to buy it, to collect the land. If you notice, in Bangkok, there are lots of projects, private projects in good locations such as LPN, Lumpini, Lumpini Condo. Oh, they have many good locations, condos, a lot. But you know, they [development company] did not go straight to the landowner. They just send their nominee to negotiate to buy the land.

In other words they can bypass the normal procedures that the NHA must follow. Pilot projects to build by the mass transit with the NHA working alongside the MRTA have been attempted, but she explained that these have yet to start and may not do so. She thinks given the difficulties and costs of building by mass transit or in the city generally, the focus for their organisation will be on developing large estates, called housing community projects, out of the city centre and in the surrounding provinces where they can better compete for land and can afford to develop.

Discussion around Partnership Working

In terms of procuring land for development, the developers rely predominantly on real estate companies such as CBRE or Colliers International who act as brokers, either sourcing land in specific areas on the instructions of the development companies, but more often approaching the developers with land that has come up for sale. This was confirmed by the three developers interviewed for the study. For example, Ananda explained how brokers are much more efficient at finding more plots or larger plots than if they did this in-house. An important factor in securing the best land given the competition in the market, particularly for location by transit, was ensuring good social relationships with brokers: “I want to say that we are in partnership with brokers. So, most brokers will inform us about the land first. The deal is from partnerships”. And it is the big developers that are in a particularly good position to take advantage of such relationships, as Sansiri explained: “Yeah, the agents will always contact us because we are a top five developer. So, we always gain lots of information from many brokers and agents”. The developers were not always passive in the process of finding land. Sansiri explained how sometimes they are interested in a specific area and so will send

someone out to knock on doors to ask if there is interest in selling the land. They were asked though what would happen if there are multiple owners and they find only one willing to sell:

It will work under the agent. For example, if she's an agent and she's coming to meet me and, OK, we have one piece of land here. I will tell her that this is too small. Could you please combine the other piece together because it's enough to develop as a high-rise building? So, it is her work that she has to try to contact with the owner besides that.

CBRE also explained that if a developers wants a specific area, they still have to approach a broker:

Well there's lots of people coming [to the brokers to sell their land] but if you want a specific area, you've got to tell the brokers "Well I really want something here so go and knock on every grandma's house downtown and see if you can get junior to flog grandma's house from under her."

Developers also have more formal partnerships. Sansiri explained how in 2014 they signed a joint venture agreement with the owner of the BTS company, who owns various plots of land around mass transit. In this 50/50 partnership, Sansiri now has access to the BTS land bank and is responsible for development, and around five or six projects are now in the pipeline. This also gives them the advantage of being able to provide walkway connections from the condominiums to transit. Sansiri were clearly pleased with this development, explaining how it will provide them with a clear long-term advantage over their competitors. Since 2013, the number of joint Thai-Japanese ventures in condominium development has increased, with 33 projects being developed up until 2017 worth 132 billion baht as Thai developers seek to utilise Japanese innovations in technology in order to improve quality and make the best use of limited floor space as unit sizes shrink and prices rise. It thus ensures they can still market and sell to those on lower incomes.

Discussions with Developers around marketing and branding

A common theme from the websites of developments in the case study area was an emphasis, despite their positioning close to a main road and in built up residential areas, on nature, health, and peacefulness combined with modern urban living, as these examples illustrate:

Here comes an oasis in a city space. Blissfully embrace the cool winds, touch the sprinkles of warm sunlight through a reflection of crystal blue water and live

peacefully at the heart of nature. Ideo Bluecove Sathorn condominium under the design philosophy of simplicity.... At ideo Bluecove Sathorn you can put yourself on the restful mode after days of hectic city living...Let the freshness of Bluecover water and shadowy green garden bring back to you the energy of life...a stay in a core of nature's emblem. Back to a balance. A filling in of the missing piece of peacefulness" (Ideo Bluecove Sathorn Condominium sales website – Ananda Development Company Ltd).

"Fuse blends various lifestyles, exploring in a new modern life. Luxury condominium in a prime location, 27 floors high, with a private atmosphere that is suitable for a private party with your special person...Escape from the busy city to an ordinary peaceful place...Every room has a stunning post-modern design, a new style with comfortable living...Convenience and luxury with a large hallway makes you feel like you are living in the finest hotel" (Fuse Condominium sales website – Pruksa Real Estate PLC).

Access to schools and work was a key factor for all the developers with regards to the marketing of this specific area. TCC, who opened one of the first condos in the area called Villa Sathorn, also explained that they were targeting those seeking the good schools in the centre and office workers from Silom who cannot afford the higher prices of the centre of the city. This she believed, then acts as a catalyst for the area as other people see its attraction:

So they want to get a good education so they study in town. A lot of people buy the unit just for the children to be close to the school and to get back to study [i.e. get back home early]. But it is one target. Another is absolutely for the workers, I mean the officers who work here [in Silom, the business district over the river]. Even new workers that just start working. The location at Villa Sathorn is affordable compared to other stations on the BTS and MRT. So once this location is established and everyone sees that, "Oh it's good, it's close to the mass transit and it's easy to get into town, at an affordable price", so it's ok to have a residence here. (Author's interview with TCC Development, 2015)

This focus on particular end users was also evident in another strategy to encourage sales, which was the targeting of certain styles of condominiums to certain groups. Colliers noted what they saw as the uniqueness of the approach taken by Thai developers to this:

Developers are branding different levels of products. I've never seen it in any other property market in the world, where they, a company like Sansiri or Proctsur, they'll have different segments and they'll brand it at different target markets. So they'll have a lower end condo, they'll brand that, you know, affordability, near the city or something, and you'll have higher brands, and each one will have a separate identity. But still the developer backing it up, you'll still need the developer's name, because the developer's reputation is very important. But within that they'll brand at different levels. (Author's Interview with Colliers, 2015).

As an example of this, Sansiri explained how they targeted according to three segments. For the 'Low End', purchaser's incomes were expected to be around 30-40k per month, and they were targeted at those who are single or just married with no children. Units were small, around 30 square metres, and the façade would usually be plain. The condos would be sold completed internally. But in Bangkok there were also 'Middle' and High End' buyers, and in these cases the façade would be decorative such as with marble at the high end, and the unit may be left for the end user to decorate themselves.

Similarly, Ananda branded their condos with different names, Unio, Ellio, Ideo, Ideo Mobi, Ideo Q and Aston, to reflect different market segments and also location. And drawing on the symbolic capital of living by transit, their main promotional strategy was to brand themselves as the market leaders of condos close by transit, with Ideo condos always positioned directly adjacent to a station. There are currently three Ideo condominiums right next to the transit stations in the case study area. Marketing by the developers also included sales suites, brochures, show rooms and bill boards but also, particularly for the middle to low end buyers according to Sansiri, social media. ced, and niche-marketed product", with a lifestyle sold commercially to the more wealthy.

Appendix 4

Sample Analysis / Coding Sheet

Socio-economic Data					
Age	Sex	Mar. Status	Origin	Education	Job
54	Female	Separated	BKK (Study area 2)	Not even 4 th grade	Food cart seller
Income	Household	Location	Tenure	Parent's Educ.	Parent's Job
100-200 bt per day	One son (lives with Toom)	KTB	Lodger	4 th Grade	M=electrical factory then seller F= Drunk
Housing Pathway					
<p>Second displaced area since born (family home)</p> <p>Moved to shared townhouse on other side</p>					
Summary					
<p>Mam's parents had their first house. It was built from wood on the land they rented. Other members of her family also lived on this piece of land. They paid either no or very little rent because they had lived there so long and it had not been increased. She thinks the landlord took pity on her parents. They were very poor, her father being described as a drunk and her mother sold things to make money. She had to leave school very young to help her Mum sell things to bring in money and she was the main breadwinner - "nobody else worked". She worked from when she was 11 years old. She appeared to gain a sense of identity by the fact that she took care of people in her family. She was not happy about the displacement as she got less than everyone else during the negotiations (though later others blamed her for this). She had no rights when evicted because they just rented the land. The landlord did not tell them but representatives</p>					

negotiated. She did not get to use the money as she had to use it to pay off debts. She now lives in a shared 3-storey house on the other side with different members of her family. She only has a space on the floor and describes it as not having much community and arguments with her brother. Like Toom, she thinks they are getting ripped off with the taxes. She works selling food by the BTS. She struggles with money and said other such as her son do not help her. She wants to and another place to rent but does not have the deposit money.

Key Themes

- Loss of identity
- New place not like home
- Struggle
- No deposit for new place

Constraints	Opportunities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very low income • No money for deposit for new place <p><i>“The money I have now is not enough. When we want to rent a place we also have to put down a deposit. One day I only get 100 or 200 baht, how am I supposed to put down a two month deposit?”</i></p>	
Influences on pathway	Aspects of pathway
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displaced / BTS / Development • Culture – living with family • Social capital –moved with sister • Reduced rent / Landlord (this enabled her to stay so long) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hereditary • Family led
Spatial Capital	Social Capital

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lost – tired as further to work • Lack of time as 2 jobs • Evicted – now does not have personal space / lacks OS • Fear of moving again (OS) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Had this in old place – looking after family • Lost when moved • Family together in new house (affordable) • Daughter gives her money • Work LL reduced rent out of pity
Economic Capital	Cultural capital
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very low • Daughter gives her 500bt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Looking after family = CC • Could not gain educational capital as mother made to work**** • No time – 2 jobs
Habitus	
<i>(Aspirations, expectations, Sense of what is reasonable / unreasonable, Sense of what is likely Unlikely, belief about what are the obvious actions to take and the natural ways of doing them, What is desired (crucial))</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development seen as natural and accepted – “has to happen” • “No luck” referred to with regards to getting her ideal house 	
Symbolic Capital	
Views as low – herself as ‘dirt’	
Strategies	
Moved in with other family members – lower costs	
Themes	
New place ‘not like home’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home = history of relationships – now all ‘separated’ • Identity as a ‘carer’ and breadwinner – lost when moved (= loss of symbolic capital i.e. status, recognition)
Now no space(6)	Sleeps on balcony
House practical	No aesthetics (‘place to sleep’)
‘Death’	Related struggle to dying (x2)

Patron-client relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empathy with situation <i>“the landlord...he felt sorry for my parents...so he (landlord) did not ask for much rent. From 100 baht, he only increased the rent to 200 baht a month”</i> • Kept in a good situation as LL kept rent low • Creates a sudden change when have to rent in ‘normal’ sector <i>“When I had my own house...I only had to pay for the land rent...I only paid for the electricity and water... I have to pay for the house rent (now)...2000...3000 baht. I have to pay about 2000 baht a month...split it”.</i>
Domino effect	Her land only sold when others upfront sold their houses. Before that LL said it was not possible = ‘blind spot’
Subsistence production	Built own house and built section for sister-in-law
Time	Lack of this as two jobs
Acceptance of eviction	Did not own land
Status	<p>Lifestyles of condo residents very different</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Sky’ and ‘dirt’ <p>= deficit of capitals in her view – no symbolic capital (see Crossley, ‘The Social Body’, p. 97)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They have money, she has none (8)
Taken advantage of over compensation	She took less than everyone else but they would not renegotiate
Accepts development	<p>Has to happen – says all she wants is place to sleep</p> <p>= misrecognition as the way things are / facts of life i.e. passing unnoticed by those suffering / benefitting from it (=pre-reflexive habitus). (see Crossley, ‘The Social Body’, p. 98)</p>
Symbolic Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lost this with loss of role as carer and provider = deficit of capitals • Views herself as ‘dirt’

Loss of identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use to be carer • All family lived there
Separation	<p>All family has been separated:</p> <p><i>“This is why I am saying that...this (getting kicked out) has brought nothing good to my family. It has separated us”.</i></p> <p>Could happen again (no ontological security):</p> <p><i>“Yes. If I have to move out again, I am going to faint. I won’t have anything to do for a living. I am going to have to find another house to rent. We will probably all split up (If her family moves again)”.</i></p>
Low self-esteem	<p>Boyfriend left her:</p> <p><i>“They (her husband and new girlfriend) left together. They went to another province. At first I was sad about it...but then later I thought...I probably wasn’t good enough for him”.</i></p>
Resilience	<p>Does not blame anyone:</p> <p><i>“I never thought about it. I am okay with everything now. I know it isn’t as convenient like having my own house anymore. When I had my own house...I only had to pay for the land rent...I only paid for the electricity and water. Now...how I am living (now) ...”</i></p>
Time (7)	No free time at all – such a busy schedule
BTS	“Well, it isn’t expensive”
Religion as support	Prays at temple for children when things are not going well (9)

Appendix 5

Interview Schedules for Households

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Condo Residents)

Part 1 – Housing Biography / Personal Background

The aim of this first part of the interview is to find out about your housing biography / history.

a) Mapping their biography

Go through the housing biography diagram with the subject. For each house ask:

1. When did you move in / out?
2. Where was it located?

b) Family home / personal background

Now I'd just like to ask you about the place where you grew up.

1. Where did you grow up?
2. Can you tell me about the home and the household where you grew up in?
3. What was the tenure?
4. Property type? (e.g. house, townhouse, apartment, condo etc)
5. What were the housing costs (i.e. rent, mortgage)?
6. Can you tell me a bit about the neighbourhood?

Further prompts / details to get:

- Region/city/neighbourhood

- Education (also of parents)
- Job (of parents)
- Parental home (describe type of house, neighbourhood)
- Social milieu

c) Interview about each home

(if they moved straight from the family home to their current dwelling, go to part 3)

Now I'd like to talk to you a bit more about your first home after leaving your parents home.

Dwelling 1

Property details

1. What was the tenure?
2. Property type? (e.g. house, townhouse, apartment, condo etc)
3. What were the housing costs (i.e. rent, mortgage)?

Searching Process

1. How did you get this dwelling?
2. Why did you choose this dwelling?
3. Were there any alternatives?
4. Which points did you take into account when looking for/choosing the dwelling?
5. Which were the most important?
6. Do you live with anyone else in the household? If so, how did they feel about moving into this home?
7. Were their views on the above taken into account.

Ask follow up questions

- Broad questions asking *how* or *why* in more detail about the above (e.g. reasons for

choosing dwelling, constraints they faced, factors that helped find a home, reasons for turning down other choices)

The home

1. What did you like about living there?
2. Was there anything you didn't like?
3. Were you happy/unhappy? Why?
4. What did you think of the neighbourhood?
5. Why did you move out?

(ask the same question for any other dwellings before their current home)

Part 3 – Current Home and Neighbourhood

I'd like to talk to you now about this home.

Property details

1. What was the tenure?
2. Property type? (e.g. house, townhouse, apartment, condo etc)
3. What were the housing costs (i.e. rent, mortgage)?

Searching Process

1. How did you get this dwelling?
2. Why did you choose this dwelling?
3. Were there any alternatives?
4. Which points did you take into account when looking for/choosing the dwelling?
5. Which were the most important?

Ask follow up questions

- Broad questions asking *how* or *why* in more detail about the above (e.g. reasons for choosing dwelling, constraints they faced, factors that helped find a home)

Marketing

1. What marketing material did you come into contact with regarding your condominium? (i.e. website; brochure; TV; magazines)
2. How did you feel about what you saw / read?
3. Did this influence your decision to purchase this home?
4. How does your life here compare with what you saw / read?

The home and identity

1. What do you like about this home?
2. Is there anything you don't like?
3. Are you happy/unhappy living here?
4. Is your house a reflection of yourselves / does it say something about yourselves in anyway? *(if they don't understand, change the question to "Does the way you have decorated or designed the house say anything about you")*
5. Do you think there is an image that people associate with a person who lives in a condominium?
6. What did your family think about you moving to a condominium?
7. What did your friends think?
8. Is living in a condominium like what you expected it to be before you moved in?
9. Is it important to own your own home? Why? *(ask if an owner)*

The surrounding area / neighbourhood

1. What do you like about living in this area?
2. Any things that you don't like?
3. How would you describe this area to someone who didn't know the area?
4. How would you describe the kinds of people typical of this area to someone who did not know the area?
5. Do you know many of your neighbours?

6. Do you have any social interaction with your neighbours (prompt: e.g. say 'hello'; help out in any way; socialise with etc)

Activities in the area

1. What activities are you involved in in the local area?
2. Where do you partake in activities such as meeting friends or eating out (socialising)?

Lifestyle

Tell me about how you think your life has changed since moving from your previous home to live here?

Use the following prompts as necessary:

- Social life
- Home life
- Work life
- Travel (ask about use of mass transit)
- Personal connections e.g. frequency of seeing family / friends / neighbours
- Finances

Displacement

In some cases, townhouses have been knocked down in this area to make way for condominiums and the residents have been displaced.

- 1) Were you aware of this?
- 2) What are your thoughts on this?
- 3) Should something be done to prevent it?

Part 4 – Future Housing

Housing future

1. How long do you think you will stay in your current dwelling?
2. What would be the reasons to move or not to move?
3. Where do you think you will live in 5 years?
4. And where in 10 years?
5. Would you consider moving to the suburbs in the future? Why / why not?
6. What points do you consider especially important for your future dwelling to have – both regarding the neighbourhood and house itself?
7. What would your ideal home look like?
8. Would you like to own your own home? Why? (*ask if renting*)
9. What compromises would you be willing to make?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Neighbourhood Residents)

Part 1 – Housing Biography / Personal Background

The aim of this first part of the interview is to find out about your housing biography / history.

a) Mapping their biography

Go through the housing biography diagram with the subject. For each house ask:

1. When did you move in / out?
2. Where was it located?

b) Family home / personal background

Now I'd just like to ask you about the place where you grew up.

1. Where did you grow up?
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3. What was the tenure?
4. Property type? (e.g. house, townhouse, apartment, condo etc)
5. What were the housing costs (i.e. rent, mortgage)?
6. Can you tell me a bit about the neighbourhood?

Further prompts / details to get:

- Region/city/neighbourhood
- Education (also of parents)
- Job (of parents)

- Parental home (describe type of house, neighbourhood)
- Social milieu

c) Interview about each home

(if they moved straight from the family home to their current dwelling, go to part 3)

Now I'd like to talk to you a bit more about your first home after leaving your parent's home.

Property details

1. What was the tenure?
2. Property type? (e.g. house, townhouse, apartment, condo etc)
3. What were the housing costs (i.e. rent, mortgage)?

Searching & Property Details

1. How did you get this dwelling?
2. Why did you choose this dwelling?
3. Were there any alternatives?
4. Which points did you take into account when looking for/choosing the dwelling?
5. Which were the most important?

Ask follow up questions

- Broad questions asking *how* or *why* in more detail about the above (e.g. reasons for choosing dwelling, constraints they faced, factors that helped find a home, reasons for turning down other choices)

The home

1. What did you like about living there?
2. Was there anything you didn't like?
3. Were you happy/unhappy? Why?
4. What did you think of the neighbourhood?

5. Why did you move out?*

(ask the same question for any other dwellings before their current home)

***If the interviewee was displaced, go to part 2. If not, move to part 3.*

Part 2 – Displacement

The move

1. Can you tell me more about the circumstances of leaving?

(ask follow-up questions a-f if not covered by interviewee)

- a. How did you find out that you were going to have to move?
- b. How much notice were you given?
- c. Can you give me more details about what kind of contract you had?
- d. Were you given any incentives to move?
- e. How did you feel at the time about being forced to move?
- f. Do you think things could have been done differently? How / why?
- g. Do you blame anyone or anything for the displacement?

The neighbourhood

1. Was the area changing when you lived there? In what ways?

2. How did you feel about the changes?

(ask follow-up questions a-c if not covered by interviewee)

- a. How did you feel about the mass transit being introduced to the area?
- b. How did you feel about the building of the condominiums?
- c. How did you feel about having newcomers to live in the area?

- d. Do you think the area developing / modernizing is positive? Why / why not?

Social Networks

1. Did you know many of your neighbours?
2. Was there a sense of community in the neighbourhood?
3. Did you know /mix with any of the newcomers to the area?
4. Are you in contact with any of your neighbours now?

The present day

1. How do you feel now when you think about being displaced from your old neighbourhood?
2. Could you describe to me how your life is different now to when it was in your old home / neighbourhood?

Use the following prompts as necessary:

- Social life
- Home life
- Work life
- Travel (e.g. ease of getting to work, visit friends)
- Personal connections e.g. frequency of seeing family / friends / neighbours
- Finances

Part 3 – Current Home and Neighbourhood

I'd like to talk to you now about this home.

Property details

1. What was the tenure?
2. Property type? (e.g. house, townhouse, apartment, condo etc)
3. What were the housing costs (i.e. rent, mortgage)?

Searching Process

1. How did you get this dwelling?
2. Why did you choose this dwelling?
3. Were there any alternatives?
4. Which points did you take into account when looking for/choosing the dwelling?
5. Which were the most important?
6. Do you live with anyone else in the household? If so, how did they feel about moving into this home?
7. Were their views on the above taken into account.

Ask follow up questions

- Broad questions asking *how* or *why* in more detail about the above (e.g. reasons for choosing dwelling, constraints they faced, factors that helped find a home)

The home and identity

1. What do you like about this home?
2. Is there anything you don't like?
3. Are you happy/unhappy living here?
4. Is your house a reflection of yourselves / does it say something about yourselves in anyway?

(if they don't understand, change the question to "Does the way you have decorated or designed the house say anything about you")

5. Is it important to own your own home? Why? *(ask if an owner)*

The surrounding area / neighbourhood

1. What do you like about living in this area?
2. Any things that you don't like?
3. How would you describe this area to someone who didn't know the area
4. How would you describe the kinds of people typical of this area to someone who did not know the area?

5. Do you know many of your neighbours?
6. Do you have any social interaction with your neighbours (prompt: e.g. say 'hello'; help out in any way; socialise with etc)

Activities in the area

1. What activities are you involved in in the local area?
2. Where do you partake in activities such as meeting friends or eating out?

Changes to the neighbourhood

1. Has the area changed in recent years? In what ways?
2. What are your feelings about this?

(Ask questions a-d if not covered by interviewee)

- a) How do you feel about the introduction of mass transit?
- b) Do you use the mass transit? How often? What for?
- c) How do you feel about the condominiums?
- d) How do you feel about having many new people come to live in the area?
- e) Do you view yourself as quite similar or different to the newer residents in the area who reside in the condominiums? In what way?
- f) In some cases, townhouses have been knocked down in this area to make way for condominiums and the residents have been displaced. What are your thoughts on this?

Sense of identity

Do you view yourself as Bangkokian? *(ask if originated from a rural area)*

Part 4 – Future Housing

Housing future

1. How long do you think you will stay in your current dwelling?

2. What would be the reasons to move or not to move?
3. Where do you think you will live in 5 years?
4. And where in 10 years?
5. Would you consider moving to the suburbs in the future? Why / why not?
6. What points do you consider especially important for your future dwelling to have – both regarding the neighbourhood and house itself?
7. What would your ideal home look like?
8. Would you like to own your own home? Why? (*ask if renting*)
9. What compromises would you be willing to make?

Part 5 – Personal Details

I'd just like to get some final personal details about yourself. If there is any information that you would not like to share, that is fine.

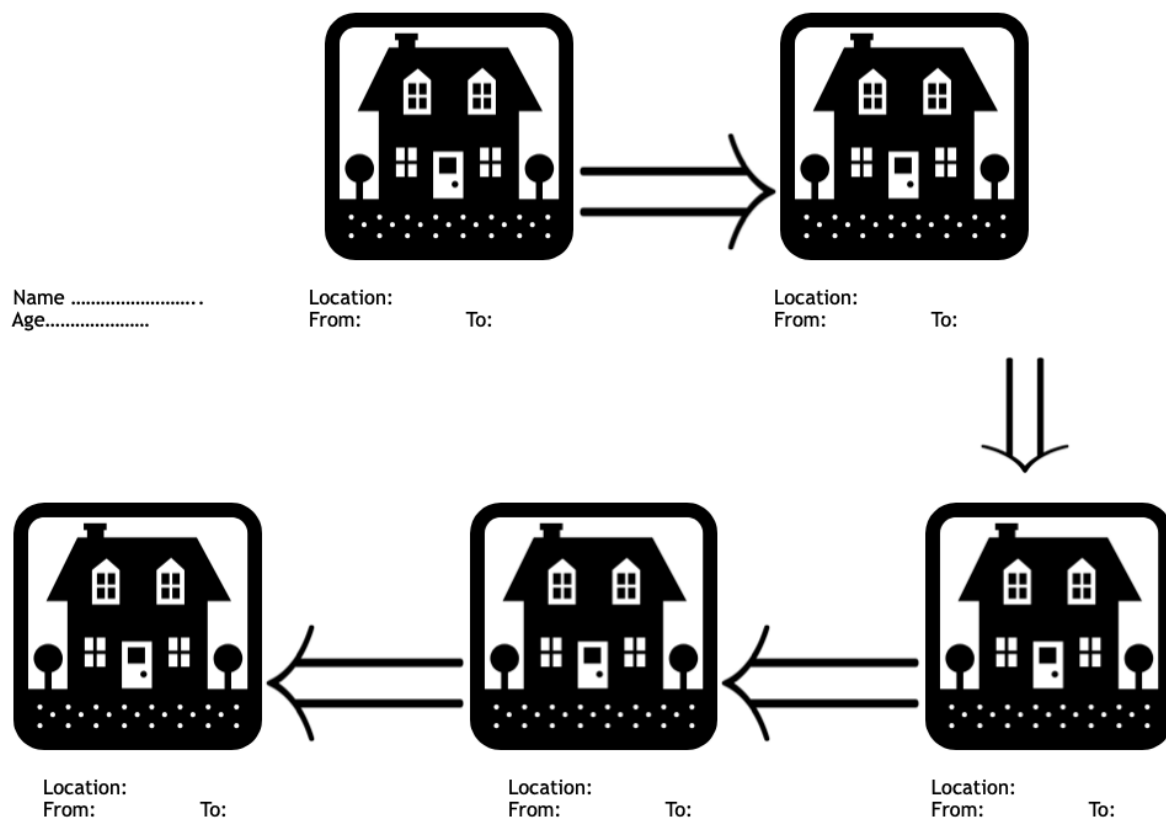
1. What is your age?
 2. What is your partner/husband/wife's age?
 3. Who is living in the current household here?
 4. What is your occupation?
 5. How long have you been doing that?
 6. What is the occupation of your partner/husband/wife?
 7. How long have they been doing that?
 8. What is your average monthly household income?
-

Part 5 – Personal Details

I'd just like to get some final personal details about yourself. If there is any information that you would not like to share, that is fine.

1. What is your age?
2. What is your partner/husband/wife's age?
3. Who is living in the current household here?
4. What is your occupation?
5. How long have you been doing that?
6. What is the occupation of your partner/husband/wife?
7. How long have they been doing that?
8. What is your average monthly household income?

Supplementary sheet used to collect and diagrammatically present household pathways



Appendix 6

Interview schedules for Stakeholders

NHA Interview Schedule

Generally

The National Housing Authority (NHA) plans to launch 22 projects with 7,812 units worth 4.7 billion baht in July (total 48000 by 2016). [around country]

1. How does NHA help people to get affordable homes?

Transit

Pilot Condos

"The authority is also studying the Transit Oriented Development Project in which it will join the Mass Rapid Transit Authority of Thailand to develop condo projects along 10 MRT underground railway lines."

Two plots planned:

- Bang Yai (2015) – pilot (14 rai site)
- Bang Ping (next) (18 rai site)

2. Has the project at Bang Yai been built?

Yes:

3. How many rooms?
4. What types?
5. How successful have the current projects been e.g. those at Baan Yai and Bang Ping?

No

1. How is it progressing?

Generally

2. How many condos have now been built by mass transit?
3. How many planned?

Partnerships

4. How were these / will any future projects be financed / developed? e.g. joint venture with MRTA etc
5. Why do you have to have partnerships?
6. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this?
7. What have been the difficulties / obstacles involved for the NHA in trying to build affordable housing by mass transit

Future

8. What are the future plans / strategies for building around mass transit

Target market / Prices

9. Who exactly are the condos targeted at?
10. What are the criteria to purchase a home?
11. How much more affordable are they than normal condos in the same area?
12. What kind of household are buying them?
13. Are you finding that people want condos or prefer houses? (See below)

Demand

"REIC reported unsold condominiums last year stood at 57,324 units valued at 148.4 billion baht. Of those, 53% were in the budget segments".

1. Seems to say budget market struggling, so focusing on middle end market?
2. Is the demand there?

Selection

1. How are people selected?
2. What average incomes are people on who purchase?
3. Is there a waiting list?
4. How is fairness ensured?

Research results

Did study at WWY and Krunghthonburi. A lot of people have been displaced over the years. True of other areas, e.g. Prakanong. Clearly this could potentially get worse as time goes by and effect more places as the lines extend.

1. How do you see the situation developing?
2. Is NHA aware of the levels of displacement?
3. Does NHA have any specific plans or policies to help those affected?
4. People would obviously like to stay nearer their own areas and communities – anything to help with this?
5. Some are on extremely low incomes and could never get a mortgage? How can they be helped?

Developer Interview Schedule

Personal details and company background

1. Could you tell me your names and roles in the company?
2. When was the company established?
3. Is it a Solely Thai company?

Development Process

1. What areas of development are you involved in?
2. Are condos the main source of demand?
3. What type of condominiums do you focus on? (E.g. Size, location)
4. Do you work with partners in the development process?
5. How do you choose sites for development?
6. Are there any no go areas / areas you won't develop?
7. How do you judge price on the completed scheme

Designing the condos

1. Are you responsible for the whole process, from procurement and development?
2. How are the condominiums you build conceived i.e. How do you come up with the style and design?
3. How do you choose architects?
4. How is a design agreed upon?
5. Do you take account of the local area / neighbourhood when the condo is being designed?
6. What do you think is most important when designing a condominium?
7. What key sources of information/data are used in the decision-making process?

Buyers

1. Who do you think are the buyers of your condominiums?
2. Are the condos designed for a particular market?
3. How does this influence the design?
4. What do you think the buyers are looking for when they purchase a condo?
5. Have expected standards increased over time?
6. Are consumers more demanding than in the past?

Marketing

1. What kind of marketing do you do for your condos?
2. What kind of marketing do you feel is the most effective / important?
3. Is developing a certain image of a condominium important?
4. How would you describe that image?
5. Usually computer generated pictures are used - what do you think it is important that these pictures portray / show?
6. If the condo is not in a very central location, such as in the case study area, how does this influence the marketing of the building?

Changes

1. Has the condominium market changed over the last 10 years?
2. How have you adapted to these changes?
3. Has this impacted on the design?
4. Has it impacted on the target market?
5. How do you think it will change in the future?

Procurement

1. Who do you purchase sites from?
2. How do you approach procuring land for development?

Purchase of large plots of land with one owner and residents in occupation:

There have been cases in Bangkok and the case study area where displacement occurs if local landowners decide to sell a large plot of land they have. Sometimes people who have lived for many years in the neighbourhood may have to leave.

3. How do you approach a procurement such as this?
4. Do you have any procedures or guidelines on how you approach this?
5. Do you get involved in the liaisons with tenants or is the dealt with by the landowner?
6. Do you offer compensation?
7. Under what circumstances?
8. How is the amount worked out?

9. Would everyone receive the same?
10. Who would carry out the negotiations with the tenants?
11. The National Housing Association along with the mass transit authority is trying to develop condominiums by transit for lower income households. Do you think this is important?

Buying up individual plots.

Sometimes as a developer it is necessary to buy up individual houses one at a time in order to secure a large plot to develop.

1. How do you approach a procurement such as this? (Who is responsible?)
2. Are there any official procedures or guidelines?
3. How is the price set that you will pay to purchase a house?
4. What happens if someone refuses to sell?

Building controls and regulations

1. Are any controls imposed through the planning or building control system?
2. What are these controls?
3. Are the controls and standards flexible in their operation?

The president of one community in the area aired concerns because they say a condominium built there recently exceeded the limits of the area they were allowed to build on.

1. How do you ensure that regulations are followed?

Planning Department Interview Schedule

Organisation / Position

1. Could you give me an overview of the duties of the City Planning Office?
2. What areas of the city do you cover?
3. Could you please tell me your position and responsibilities?

Bangkok City Plan

I'd like to discuss with you further the City Plans.

1. When did Bangkok first start developing a City Plan?
2. Who is responsible for developing the City Plans?
3. Who is normally consulted over the City Plans?

New 5 Year City Plan (From May 2013)

1. What are the main aims of the latest city plan?
2. What plans are in place with regards to mass transit?
3. Does the City Plan encourage high-density developments? Is this encouraged by mass transit?
4. There is a lack of affordable housing in Bangkok. What measures are included in the new City Plan to try and address this?
5. What difficulties have you faced in devising and implementing the city plan?
6. Some have criticized the plan. For example, Dr Sophon Pornchoke-chai, chairman of the real estate data and appraisal centre, said land use should be improved in densely-populated areas such as inner-city sections of Sukhumvit Road and the FAR should be as high as 20 so that land use is more efficient in terms of building high-rises to promote inner-city accommodation.

Do you think the best use is made of land in densely-populated areas? Do you think the FAR, at 10, is as high as it should be?

7. He also said it would be useful if Bangkok's city plan was formulated in tandem with the city plans of neighbouring provinces so that the overall area of so-called greater Bangkok can be properly planned.

Would you agree with this?

General Planning Issues

1. What factors make planning difficult in Bangkok?
2. From reading about planning in Bangkok, it appears that some of the major difficulties in the planning process are:
 - a. *Difficulties in controlling market:* Many in top echelons of real estate development have good connections to influential people in the government and administration
 - b. *Difficulties controlling planning:*
 - i. So many government agencies involved in terms of land ownership and development of the city.
 - ii. No central agency to coordinate and enforce the implementation of projects within the realm of different agencies.
 - iii. Have different priorities and don't want to lose control and autonomy.
3. Do these issues still exist?
4. What do you do to overcome them?
5. Has the development of City Plans over the last decade helped to mitigate these issues?
6. Some people prefer high-rise inner-city living, others prefer more spacious low-rise living in outlying areas. How does planning ensure both these lifestyle preferences are taken account of?

Affordable housing

1. Are there any planning regulations to encourage the development of affordable housing? (I think this is pretty non-existent in terms the equivalent of things such as Section 106 agreements)

2. What are these? How do they operate?
3. What types of construction / dwellings do they apply to?
4. What areas?
5. Have they helped to increase the supply of affordable housing?

Condominiums & Building Regulations

1. Who is responsible for planning applications for condominiums?
2. What factors are taken into account when considering a planning application?
3. Do planning regulations encourage high density development by mass transit?
4. What restrictions are in place?
5. A resident at Wongwian Yai explained to me that condos must have a 3 meter building setback, but that didn't happen with one condo built and they took the entire area. The community gathered together to protest against this but the district director said the condo did everything right. This resident thinks the district director probably took a bribe already.

Are there issues with the enforcement of buildings regulations with condominiums?

6. We spoke previously about the problems with the number of agencies involved in development of the city. Do these issues impact on the development of condominiums in anyway?

Appendix 7

Interview Introduction and Consent Forms

Interview Introduction

English Version

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview.

The purpose of the research is to understand some of the changes occurring in Bangkok as a result of the introduction of mass transit and people's experiences of this. As this area has recently seen the extension of the mass transit line, I am using it as a case study.

In order to get a deep understanding of the subjects in the research, I am also discussing people's housing histories from when they were born.

So the research has several parts. Firstly, I will discuss with you your experiences of all the housing you have lived in and then your current home. Then I'll ask you more about your experiences of living around here. I'll also show you some photos of this area and ask for your thoughts on them.

The interview will take one to two hours.

These are some other important points about the research (pass interviewee the form to be signed):

- The research recordings will be recorded and transcribed
- Everything said and produced during the conduct of the research will be anonymous, so nobody will be able to identify you
- The research findings may be used in future academic work
- You do not have to answer every question, or any questions, if you do not want to. If there is a question you do not wish to answer, then just let me know
- If requested, your contributions to the research will be deleted

Anything you say could be interesting and important, so please don't avoid saying anything because you think it may not be of importance. Try to be as open as possible and tell me everything you want.

Thai Version

ขอขอบคุณที่ท่านได้สละเวลาเพื่อเข้ามาเป็นส่วนร่วมในการสัมภาษณ์นี้

เหตุผลของงานวิจัยนี้ คือ เพื่อจะได้เข้าใจถึงการเปลี่ยนแปลงที่เกิดขึ้นในกรุงเทพฯ อันเป็นผลมาจากการสร้างรถไฟฟ้าบีทีเอส (BTS) และรถไฟฟ้าใต้ดิน (MRT)

ซึ่งงานวิจัยนี้ต้องการเรียนรู้ถึงประสบการณ์ชีวิตของคนที่อยู่ในช่วงเหตุการณ์ของการเปลี่ยนแปลงดังกล่าว

เนื่องจากในบริเวณนี้เพิ่งได้มีรถไฟฟ้าหรือรถไฟฟ้าใต้ดินมาถึง ผมจึงสนใจและอยากนำประเด็นดังกล่าวนี้มาเป็นกรณีศึกษา

โดยหวังว่าจะได้เข้าใจอย่างลึกซึ้งยิ่งขึ้น ดังนั้น กระผมจึงจำเป็นต้องพูดคุย สัมภาษณ์

และอภิปรายเกี่ยวกับประวัติของที่อยู่อาศัยดังกล่าวของผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์จากตั้งแต่เกิดถึงปัจจุบัน

โดยในงานวิจัยนี้ได้แบ่งขั้นตอนการสัมภาษณ์ออกเป็นหลายส่วน อันดับแรกนั้น คือ การสัมภาษณ์เกี่ยวกับประวัติความเป็นอยู่ตั้งแต่เกิดจนถึงปัจจุบัน หลังจากนั้นก็จะสัมภาษณ์ถึงประสบการณ์ความเป็นอยู่ ณ บริเวณนี้ และก็จะนำรูปภาพของบริเวณนี้มาประกอบกับการสอบถามความคิดเห็นและความรู้สึกของผู้ที่อาศัยในบริเวณดังกล่าว

งานวิจัยนี้จะใช้เวลาประมาณหนึ่งถึงสองชั่วโมง

จุดสำคัญของการสัมภาษณ์ที่เกี่ยวกับงานวิจัยนี้ ประกอบด้วย

1. จะมีการอัดเสียงและบันทึกเสียงในระหว่างการสัมภาษณ์
 2. ในงานวิจัยนี้ ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์จะถูกกำหนดให้ชื่อ “นิรนาม” ดังนั้น จะไม่มีผู้ใดสามารถระบุถึงตัวจริงของผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ได้
 3. สิ่งที่ค้นพบจากงานวิจัยนี้อาจจะนำไปใช้ในงานวิจัยอื่นในอนาคต
 4. ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ไม่จำเป็นต้องตอบทุกคำถาม หรือ คำถามที่ไม่พึงพอใจก็ได้
- ซึ่งท่านสามารถบอกผู้สัมภาษณ์ได้ทันทีถ้ามีคำถามใดที่ท่านไม่อยากจะตอบ
5. และในกรณีที่ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ไม่ต้องการให้นำข้อมูลในการสัมภาษณ์นั้นไปใช้ ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์สามารถบอกผู้สัมภาษณ์ลบทิ้งข้อมูลนั้นได้

ทุกอย่างที่ท่านได้ให้สัมภาษณ์นั้น จะมีความสำคัญและมีประโยชน์ต่องานวิจัยมาก

ดังนั้นท่านจะมีอิสระในการให้สัมภาษณ์อย่างเต็มที่

Interview Consent Forms

English Version

PhD Research by Russell Moore into neighbourhood change around Wongwian Yai / Krung Thonburi

Declaration

- I hereby give my consent to take part in this study. I understand that:
 - The research recordings will be recorded and transcribed
 - Everything said and produced during the conduct of the research will be anonymous
 - The research findings may be used in future academic work
 - I do not have to answer every question, or any questions, if I do not want to
 - If requested, my contributions to the research will be deleted

Signed:

Date:

Thai Version

ใบยินยอมเข้าร่วมเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของงานวิจัย

งานวิจัยระดับดุษฎีบัณฑิต โดยนาย Russell Moore เกี่ยวกับการเปลี่ยนแปลงแถวถนนวงเวียนใหญ่และกรุงธนบุรี

ข้าพเจ้าได้อินยอมเป็นส่วนหนึ่งในงานวิจัย ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจแล้วว่า

1. จะมีการอัดเสียงและบันทึกเสียงในระหว่างการสัมภาษณ์
2. ในงานวิจัยนี้ ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์จะถูกกำหนดให้มีชื่อ “นิรนาม” ดังนั้น จะไม่มีผู้ใดสามารถระบุถึงตัวจริงของผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ได้
3. สิ่งที่ค้นพบจากงานวิจัยนี้อาจจะนำไปใช้ในงานวิจัยอื่นในอนาคต
4. ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ไม่จำเป็นต้องตอบทุกคำถาม หรือ คำถามที่ไม่พึงพอใจก็ได้

ซึ่งท่านสามารถบอกผู้สัมภาษณ์ได้ทันทีถ้ามีคำถามใดที่ท่านไม่อยากจะตอบ

5. และในกรณีที่ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์ไม่ต้องการให้นำข้อมูลในการสัมภาษณ์นั้นไปใช้

ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์สามารถบอกผู้สัมภาษณ์ลบทิ้งข้อมูลนั้นได้

ลายเซ็น.....

วันที่.....

Appendix 8

Interview Request Letter for Interviewing in Condominiums

Russell Moore
Mahidol University International College
Salaya
Phutthamonthon District
Nakhon Pathom

6th February 2014

Dear,

Re: Interviews with residents of Ideo Condo

I am currently employed by Mahidol University International College and I am doing PhD research at Sheffield Hallam University, UK.

My research is a study of the impacts of the BTS on neighbourhoods and residents in Bangkok.

I am using Krungthongburi / Wongwian Yai as a case study area and I would like to interview residents this condominium about their experiences of the changes occurring due to the BTS.

It is an in-depth interview and so it will take about one hour.

I would therefore like to request that you allow me to use your lobby area in order to ask residents who are entering or leaving the building if they would like to take part in the interview.

The interview can be at a place and time that is suitable for the resident.

I thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Yours sincerely

Russell Moore